

1920-23

Dietrich Eckhart
Behavior from Moss to end

With looking at study
material for life in Eckhart

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Posted Thursday, August 1, 2002

Henry Picker and Heinrich Heim were the two scribes who took down what Hitler said at his mealtime conversations. Hermann Rauschning wrote a book called *Conversations with Hitler* (also: *Hitler Speaks*). Problem: How can we assess their reliability?

Table Talk

How Reliable is Henry Picker?

by [Joe Pryce](#)

NO one will go to bat for -- although one or two of us would have enjoyed taking a bat to -- the **Hermann Rauschning** baggage [*Gespräche mit Hitler*], who should by now have been driven out of the game *per saecula saeculorum*; but, of course, he is still too useful to certain parties so he is to be stored in the broom closet: they won't give him the sack outright.

I well remember back in the late 1960s, when my 16 year old sister performed a devastating feat of philological criticism when she proved to her imbecile High School history teacher -- who ranked *Hitler Speaks* with such "existentialist" and gratefully forgotten bilge of yesteryear as **Albert Camus** and **Jean Paul Sartre** -- that huge hunks of "Hitler's" dialogue were hoisted *ne varietur* out of **Guy de Maupassant's** shattering later works, those horror contes that were written when the spirochaetes were delving into his little gray cells and madness was right around the bend ("The Horla," "Diary of a Madman," etc.); while other bits were plundered from "unknown" author **Fyodor Dostoyevsky**, and some moodily Gothic hunks of *mise en scene* were hammered together out of bits and pieces left from **Zarathustra's** first Paris Opera run.

Yes, high marks all round to the professoriate! But as **Huysmans** once said, "The sea of human stupidity is forever at high tide," and so recently I learned that an author had indulged, in a poor and pallid piece of hackwork on Adolf Hitler for the Sunday supplement of the Sunday Pail of Swill, in the goofiest bit of circular reasoning that I had encountered in donkey's

years.

He blandly stated that even though Rauschning may not have been an intimate with Hitler, the work in question may still prove to be a viable documentary source, because it still "rings true" as resonating with what we "intuitively recognize as Hitler's own voice."

Yeah, after we have allowed Rauschning, Maupassant, **Dostoyevsky**, and -- who knows! -- **Bela Lugosi** and **Boris Karloff**, to drill that melodramatic blather into our heads for 60 years! However, I do believe that at least some small degree of caution may be in order when dealing with the documentary records provided by Herr **Henry Picker**, for at least one reputable authority holds that Picker may not have been all that he should be.

Heinrich Haertle seems to have thought that Picker can be positioned more along the lines of what the late **Mark Twain** referred to as a provider of "stretchers" (third or fourth cousins of the truth) rather than the more creative and culpable outright liar of the Munchhausen or Rauschning or **Speer** species.



*Heinrich Haertle, former officer
with rank of Major, 1st Division
Hindenburg 1934*

Still, counsel may well want to check out what Heinrich Haertle has to say. In Herr Haertle's edition of **Alfred Rosenberg's** post-war memoirs, entitled (by the editor) *Grossdeutschland Traum und Tragödie: Rosenbergs Kritik am Hitlerismus* (and in spite of the usual Fleet-Street sneering, these memoirs are precisely that, a "critique," which, when conjoined with Rosenberg's principled refusal to join the winning team, as it were, once all had been made clear to him, certainly makes the post-war cynicism at his tenacious stand at Nuremberg tell us a bit more about the rancid souls of our hollow men at the daily rags than we may have wanted to know.

It certainly casts a more noble radiance upon Rosenberg (left): a man who kept his nerve, his pride, and his principles intact and entire after his downfall.

Strange, is it not, how so many commentators almost come right out and say something that no 19th century historian would have dreamed of saying under any circumstances; I'm paraphrasing, of course: come on, don't be an idiot, get real, make a deal and say what they want you to say. Everybody's doing it!

No wonder they found him incomprehensible! Here's what Haertle has to say with reference to Picker's editorial methods in the *apparatus criticus* appended to the memoirs; Haertle doesn't pound Picker to a perfect pulp as, say, Housman was wont to do with a bold blockhead who was quite wrong -- and about to learn the fact -- in his deeply-held conviction that he was quite well-prepared to edit a new improved edition of Manilius (which would turn out to be, like as not, something that he would never do again, in some cases because the savagery of the review by Housman may well have tempted him to thoughts of an early retirement from the career he had chosen, and perhaps even the planet he had not!), but the contempt is surely in evidence -- and Haertle, though an NSDAP loyalist, was a real scholar, and one of the few men in brown whose integrity was not for sale, viz., he was one of the rare Party spokesmen who insisted in public that Nietzsche was not one of the Parteigenossen and that he would never look the part in jackboots and armband:

Die Legende, Hitler habe den Inhalt des *Mythus* nicht gekannt, dürfte damit widerlegt sein. Schon aus Vorsicht und des mit der Veröffentlichung verbundenen Wagnisses wegen wird sich Hitler das Manuskript genau angesehen haben. In einem Gespräch im Führerhauptquartier am 11. April 1942 soll er jedoch behauptet haben, der *Mythus* sei von ihm nur zum geringen Teil gelesen worden. Er betonte dabei, dass dieses Werk keinen parteiamtlichen Charakter habe. Der Titel sei schief, da etwas "Mystisches" gegen die Geistesauffassungen des 19. Jahrhunderts gestellt werde. Als Nationalsozialist müsse man aber "den Glauben an das Wissen des 20. Jahrhunderts gegen den Mythos des 19. Jahrhunderts stellen." Diese angeblichen "Tischgespräche" sind allerdings nur mit entsprechender Vorsicht verwertbar. Der "Protokollant", Henry Picker, hat sich ohne Auftrag und Genehmigung nur heimlich Notizen angefertigt und diese später zu subjektiven "Niederschriften" ausgebaut, bei denen niemand mehr wahrheitsgetreue Wiedergabe und formal und inhaltliche Veränderungen zu unterscheiden vermag. Offensichtlich wird dabei "mythisch" mit "mystisch" verwechselt. [p. 296]

My own studies are in philosophy, but you know as an historian full well just what kind of mischief junk philology can get up to when it has a sinister end in view. So, can you imagine what the great minds of 19th century European scholarship would have said of an author like **Michael Hauskeller**, who, in an essay on "Ludwig Klages und die Moderne Ethik" could indulge in such a filthy bit of trickery as this:

Und wenn Rudolf Hess dann später erklärt, dass der nationalsozialistisch Massenmord "nichts als angewandte Biologie" sei,'

I do believe that the only way to retaliate against such an offense is in kind, say, with a glitzy pamphlet featuring Hauskeller, with the intervention of

some space-age quilt-quotations and a few nifty graphics, endorsements from **Joe McCarthy** and **Jeff Dahmer**, and several snaps of the guy with three or four underage zebras, as he gets all smarmy and sentimental confessing that nothing is more fun than a spot of NS genocide on the weekend -- and then he winks and winks again -- fade-to-black with Current 93 soundtrack. □

Relevant items on this website:

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David Irving comments:

HENRY Picker took over the duties of writing the notes on Hitler's conversations from **Heinrich Heim**, **Martin Bormann's** adjutant, in 1942. I interviewed Heim in the 1960s. He told me that Picker had found a sheaf of his notes in the desk when he took over, and after the war rewrote them in the third person and published them as his own work. Picker, a wealthy landowner after the war, established a private Hitler museum stuffed with priceless Hitleriana, for example he purchased all of **Julius Schaub's** personal effects.

Far more significant than Picker's are the original Heim Aufzeichnungen, of which one (October 25, 1941) is illustrated here. Heim ("H") wrote them in the first person, in direct speech, and Bormann personally signed each day's notes as accurate. The several ring binders of the notes were purchased from the Bormann family, along with Bormann's own correspondence with his wife, by Swiss banker **François Genoud** after the war.

Austrian-born publisher **George Weidenfeld** published an English translation as *Hitler's Table Talk*, with an introduction by **Hugh Trevor-Roper** -- the book is still in my view one of the best windows into the mind of Hitler himself. Weidenfeld had purchased rights from Genoud (as the latter told me) for forty thousand pounds. Genoud insisted that half the payment be made direct to Hitler's sister **Paula**! Weidenfeld choked, but did as he was bidden (Weidenfeld later denied this story). Genoud allowed me privileged access to the original German documents for *Hitler's War*. Other scholars like **Martin Broszat** and **Charles Syndour** were unfamiliar with the
German
texts, and
jealously
accused me
of
misquoting
when I
produced

Führerhauptquartier, 25.10.1941, abends
(Gäste: SS.-Obergruppenführer Heydrich,
RFSS. Himmler)
H/Fu.

Der Chef sprach sich dem Sinne nach u.a. in folgenden Gedankengängen aus:

my own translations of the notes, but that is another story. Finally, the table-talk notes

Vor dem Reichstag habe ich den Judentum prophezeit, der Jude werde aus Europa verschwinden, wenn der Krieg nicht vernieden bleibt. Diese Verbrecher-Rasse hat die zwei Millionen Toten des Weltkrieges auf dem Gewissen, jetzt wieder Hunderttausende. Sage mir keiner: wir können sie doch nicht in den Morast schicken! Wer kümmert sich denn um unsere Menschen? Es ist gut, wenn uns der Schrecken vorangeht, dass wir das Judentum ausrotten.

Der Versuch, einen Judenstaat zu gründen, wird ein Fehlschlag sein.

Das Buch mit den Aussprüchen des Kaisers Julian müsste man in

written by **Dr Werner Koeppen** (Rosenberg's adjutant) should not be overlooked. I donated a transcript to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte many years ago.

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

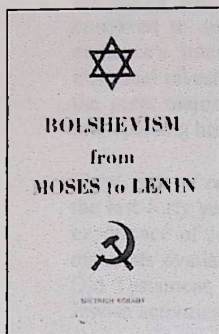
The Foreword required has been translated from a manuscript found in the files of the Reich Ministry of Propaganda. It was the first of a series of documents which the Reich Ministry of Propaganda received from Adolf Hitler in 1923, and it was originally published in Munich in 1923. It was the first of a series of documents which the Reich Ministry of Propaganda received from Adolf Hitler in 1923, and it was originally published in Munich in 1923.

Adolf Hitler was born on March 20, 1889, at the Bavarian town of Braunau, which is about 100 miles southwest of Vienna, and he died on January 30, 1945, at the Reich Chancellery in Berlin. He was a German politician, a writer, a philosopher, as well as a dedicated fighter for the National Socialist cause. Among his better-known works are his play "Mein Kampf" and his translation and adaptation of the German stage of "Mein Kampf". He was for a while editor of the "Völkischer Beobachter", and he wrote the "Mein Kampf" book, with the famous words "Mein Kampf" which later became a "Mein Kampf" byword.

The study included in more details of Hitler's life, as well as a fairly extensive sampling of his work, is referred to as Adolf Hitler's Last Days by the Reich Ministry of Propaganda, 1923 (1).

The Reich Ministry of Propaganda is of interest to Americans today for three reasons. First, it is the last earthly work of the man who, in the intense competition of Adolf Hitler during those critical, early years in Munich, helped prepare the spiritual foundations of National Socialism. Hitler had been seriously ill as he was writing the pamphlet, and his arrest and temporary imprisonment, as a consequence of the Munich pact of November 9, 1923, were followed shortly by his death.

Second, it is instructive, as being representative of a certain category of propaganda. Hitler was a practical propagandist as well as an idealist and a poet, and the "Mein Kampf" is an excellent example of his style. As such, it



BOLSHEVISM from MOSES to LENIN

by Dietrich Eckart

Translated from the German by William L. Pierce

A Dialogue Between Adolf Hitler and Me

HRP Historical Review Press: £ 3,,50 including p+p - hrp@larc.demon.co.uk

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The following material has been translated from a pamphlet found in the NSDAP Hauptarchiv. Its German title was *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin: Zwiegespräch zwischen Adolf Hitler und mir*, and it was originally published in Munich in March 1924 from unfinished notes on which Dietrich Eckart had been working in the autumn of 1923.

7 weeks before Munich Putsch
 Dietrich Eckart was born on March 23, 1868 in the Bavarian town of Neumarkt, which is about twenty miles southeast of Nürnberg, and he died on December 26, 1923, in Berchtesgaden. He was a poet, a playwright, a journalist, scholar, and a philosopher, as well as a dedicated fighter for the National Socialist cause. Among his better-known works are his play *Lorenzaccio* and his translation and adaptation to the German stage of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. He was for a while editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and he wrote the NSDAP song, with the famous words "Deutschland erwache," which later became a NSDAP byword.

The reader interested in more details of Eckart's life, as well as a fairly extensive sampling of his poetry, is referred to Alfred Rosenberg's book, Dietrich Eckart: Ein Vermächtnis (Munich, 1928 ff.)

Der Bolschewismus is of interest to Americans today for three reasons. First, it is the last earthly work of the man who, as the intimate companion of Adolf Hitler during those critical, early years in Munich, helped prepare the spiritual foundations of National Socialism. Eckart had been seriously ill as he was writing the pamphlet, and his arrest and temporary imprisonment, as a consequence of the Munich putsch of November 9, 1923, were followed shortly by his death.

Second, it is instructive, as being representative of a certain category of propaganda. Eckart was a practical propagandist as well as an idealist and a poet, and *Der Bolschewismus* is an excellent example of his style. Aimed at

the reader with the equivalent of a high-school education, it is skillfully contrived to avoid tediousness and maintain a relatively unsophisticated audience's interest while making a rather extensive, if not intensive, historical investigation of the Jewish question. It achieves this by relegating the great majority of documentary evidence to footnotes and by liberally interspersing historically significant points with spicy or amusing tidbits..

Third, it is of considerable interest, even today, for its own sake. Although the last forty years have unfortunately provided us with considerably more experience of Jewish-Bolshevist activities, Eckart did quite well with the materials available to him in 1923. Of particular interest is his use of the Old Testament, as a history of the Jews, to throw light onto more recent Jewish activities.

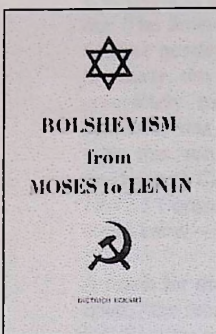
Eckart's notes for *Der Bolschewismus* were still in rather rough and unfinished form when he died, and this will be evident at a few places in the text which follows. The editor has slightly condensed the original material during his translation, omitting several of the more ragged portions and such things as untranslatable puns, as well as a few sections which have limited interest for present-day readers. Additional footnotes have been added by the editor in a few places, and these are so designated.

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CHAPTER I

"Yes!" he cried. "We've been on the wrong track! Consider how an astronomer would handle a similar situation. Suppose that he has been carefully observing the motion of a certain group of celestial bodies over a long period of time. Examining his records, he suddenly notices something amiss: 'Damn it!' he says. 'Something's wrong here. Normally, these bodies would have to be situated differently relative to one another; not this way. So there must be a hidden force somewhere which is responsible for the deviation. And, using his observations, he performs lengthy calculations and accurately computes the location of a planet which no eye has yet seen, but which is there all the same, as he has just proved. But what does the historian do, on the other hand? He explains an anomaly of the same type solely in terms of the conspicuous statesmen of the time. It never occurs to him that there might have been a hidden force which caused a certain turn of events. But it was there, nevertheless; it has been there since the beginning of history. You know what that force is: the Jew."

"Yes, certainly," I replied, "but to prove it, to prove it! For the last fifty or hundred years, so far as I'm concerned, it's been obvious; indeed, a good deal further back, perhaps even in pre-Christian times..."

"My dear fellow," he replied to me, "we can read in Strabo {NOTE: Strabo (Greek geographer and historian, ca. 63 B.C. -- ca. 24 A.D.), *Geographica*.} that already in his time, shortly after the birth of Christ, there was hardly a place to be found on the whole earth which was not then dominated by the Jews; dominated, he writes, not merely inhabited. Already decades earlier, Cicero {NOTE: Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Oratio pro L. Flacco*. In 59 B.C. Cicero defended the proconsul Flaccus, who, at the urging of Jews, was accused of corruption in connection with his administrative activity in Syria.} -- at that time a great and powerful man, my friend! -- suddenly lost his nerve when, in his well-known defense plea in the Capitol, he was obliged to point out the great influence and the

cohesiveness of the Jews: 'Softly, softly! I want none but the judges to hear me. The Jews have already gotten me into a fine mess, as they have many another gentleman. I have no desire to furnish further grist for their mills.' Similarly, the influence of the Jews with Augustus was so great that they completely intimidated Pontius Pilate, who, as deputy of the Roman Emperor, was certainly not a nobody. Thus he said, 'For God's sake, away with this sordid Jewish affair!' as he reached for the washbasin and condemned Christ, whom he considered guiltless, to death. {NOTE: John 19:12.} Considering these things, my friend, every child knows -- or rather, could know -- how late the hour already was at that time."

A reach for the Old Testament, a brief flipping of pages, and -- "There," he cried, "the recipe from which the Jews always brew their hellish broth! We anti-Semites are really something. We manage to find out everything except that which is really important." Word for word, he emphatically read with a hard voice:

"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother and every one against his neighbor; city against city and kingdom against kingdom. And the spirit of Egypt shall fall in the midst thereof; and I will destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. {NOTE: Isaiah 19:2-3.}

"Yes indeed," he laughed bitterly, "now the people will seek to Dr. Cuno, and Dr. Schweyer, and Dr. Heim, {NOTE: Three figures prominent in German politics in 1923: the German Chancellor, the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, and the founder and leader of the Bavarian People's Party, respectively. [Translator]} and whatever other charmers and wizards they have. When asked why Germany has become a pigsty these gentlemen will answer reproachfully, 'You yourselves are to blame. You have no more good breeding, no faith, only selfishness and conceit. Now you will try to put the blame on the Jews. It's always been like that when you have needed a scapegoat. Then everyone has jumped on the Jews and persecuted them unmercifully. And just because they had the money, and because they were defenseless. Is it any wonder that a few individual Jews are behaving in a reprehensible manner now? After all, one finds some black sheep in every group. As if there weren't a good number of decent Jews! Look at their piety, their sense of family responsibility, their sober way of life, their readiness to make sacrifices, and, above all, their ability to stick together! And you? At one another like dogs and cats: sheer insanity!'

Thus will the charmers and wizards prattle on and on, till one night the blood sign will appear on all the Jewish houses, and the infuriated masses, led by the Jews, will swarm forth to smite all the firstborn in the land again as in Egypt." {NOTE: Exodus 12:7-13, 29-30.}

"Remember how it was here in Munich during the communist takeover?" I interjected. "The houses of the Jews certainly weren't marked with blood, but there must have been a secret arrangement, because among all those

who suffered the misfortune of a house search not one was a Jew. As a matter of fact, one of the stupid Red troopers who had me by the hair answered my sarcastic question by explaining that it was forbidden to search the Jewish houses.

"And in 1871, in Paris, the Jewish defense also ran according to plan. There the communists destroyed whatever they could, but the many places and houses of the Rothschilds remained completely intact. {NOTE: James K. Hosmer, *The Jews* (New York, 1885), p. 272. [Translator]} All this enables us to understand the place in Exodus according to which 'a mixed multitude' also left Egypt with the Jews."

"In Egypt the scoundrels' scheme succeed only about halfway," he finished. "The Egyptians became masters of the situation at the last moment and sent the 'mixed multitude' to the devil, together with the Jews. There must have been a desperate struggle. The slaughter of the firstborn reveals that clearly enough. Just as they have done with us, the Jews had won the great lower stratum of the population for themselves -- 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!' -- until one night they sent out the order, 'Down with the bourgeois! Kill them, tie dogs!' but things didn't turn out so well as they had expected. That portion of the Egyptian nation that had remained patriotic turned the tables and booted Moses, Cohn, and Levi out of the country, followed by the inhabitants whom they had incited. During this exodus they carried along as much stolen booty as they could manage, the Bible reports with satisfaction. It also reports, in no uncertain terms, that the Egyptians were glad to be rid of them. {NOTE: Exodus 12:35-36; Psalms 105:38} The best, though, was the reward the Jews gave their stupid accomplices. Suddenly they began calling them 'rabble,' {NOTE: In the translation from the Hebrew of Exodus 12:38, that word which is rendered in the King James version as "mixed multitude" appears in the German Bible as "Pöbelvolk," meaning "rabble." [Translator]} whereas formerly they had called them 'comrade' and pretended to love them. Imagine the faces these deluded ones must have made in the desert when they heard this."

"The murder of seventy-five thousand Persians, in the Book of Esther, no doubt had the same Bolshevik background," I answered. "The Jews certainly didn't accomplish that all by themselves."

"No more," he confirmed, "than the dreadful bloodbath over half the Roman Empire, which took place during the reign of Emperor Trajan. Hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish nobles in Babylonia, in Cyrenaica, in Egypt, and on Cyprus butchered like cattle, most of them after the most abominable torture! {NOTE: In volume two, chapter 16 (page 384 of the 1783 London edition) of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward Gibbon reports:

"From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of

*Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwell in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives.... In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus, 240,000, in Egypt, a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawed asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies." [Translator]] And today the Jews still rejoice over that. 'If only the various centers of rebellion had cooperated,' triumphs the Jew, Graetz, 'then perhaps they would have already been able to give the Roman colossus its death blow at that time.' {NOTE: Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den Ältesten Zeiten* (Breslau, 1853).}*

"The Jews call our Sedan Day {NOTE: September 2. Sedan was the site of the great Prussian victory in the Franco-Prussian war, on this day in 1870. [Translator]] celebration barbarous," I remarked. "But they find entirely in order the fact that, year in and year out, they still, after all this enormous time, celebrate in the synagogues their heroic deed concerning the seventy-five thousand Persians, in the feast of Purim."

"None of this evidence seems to make any impression on us, however," he said dryly. "One would think us deaf and blind."

"Before the first clash with the Egyptians, the head scoundrel, the modest Joseph, had pretty well prepared: the seven lean cows, all the granaries filled, the people raging with hunger, the reigning Pharaoh a perfect flunky of the Jews, and Joseph, with a corner on the grain supply, ruler over all the land! {NOTE: Genesis 41:43.} All the lamentations of the Egyptians were in vain; the Jew held the warehouse closed with an iron fist until they, in return for a bit of bread, were obliged to give away first their money, then their cattle and their land, and finally their freedom. And suddenly the capital was swarming with Jews; old Jacob was there, and 'his sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed' -- the entire hodgepodge. {NOTE: Genesis 46:7.} And Joseph 'wept a good while' for joy. Afterward, he said to his brothers: 'ye shall eat the fat of the land,' and 'the good of all the land of Egypt is yours.' {NOTE: Genesis 45:18,20.}

"But some time after this glorious Egyptian citizen of the Jewish faith, one hundred and ten years old, had died, the old Pharaoh also passed away and was succeeded by another Pharaoh, who 'knew not Joseph,' and, seeing the multitude of Jews, who meanwhile had grown very powerful, he became quite frightened. He feared lest: 'when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies'; {NOTE: Exodus 1:6-10.} thus he was smarter than Wilhelm II. {NOTE: Emperor William II of Germany, who abdicated in 1918 after the Marxist-Jewish revolution in Germany led to the crumbling of her war effort and the loss of World War I. [Translator]] who hoped for their support. The Jews must work, he decided. In all seriousness, work. 'Unmerciful,' wailed the Jewish chronicler. No wonder that they breathed vengeance. After all, for what did one have the Pöbelvolk, if not to do the work?

?
usable?

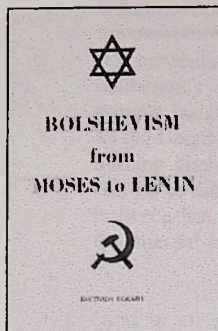
He paused with a dark look at the Book of Hate.

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CHAPTER II

"And so it goes, through the entire Old Testament," he began again. "Indeed, I'm telling you nothing new, but we must bring it home to ourselves as often as possible in order to be able to negate the constant hypocritical babble. Really, the Book of Joshua should suffice; such a thing of uninterrupted genocide, of bestial cruelty, of shameless rapacity and cold-blooded cunning -- Hell incarnate! And everything in the name of Jehova, in fact, according to his express wish! When the city of Jericho fell victim to the Jews through the treachery of the harlot Rahab, neither man nor beast, neither young nor old remained among the living; only the harlot was spared. She and her whole, noble family were rewarded with the privilege of living in Israel. {NOTE: Joshua 6:25.} And what good-natured peoples they were who, one after another, were completely exterminated! Delitzsch, who has thoroughly investigated that period, writes, for example, about the Canaanites: on all the hills, under every shady tree, they rendered adoration and reverence to the sun god and to the salutary goddess Aschera; and he compares this beautiful, poetic custom with the pious way of our Catholic villagers, serving the Almighty in remote mountain chapels." {NOTE: Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Grosse Täuschung: Kritische Betrachtungen zu den alttestamentlichen Berichten über Israels Eindringen in Kanaan, Die Gottesoffenbarung vom Sinai, und die Wirksamkeit der Propheten* (Stuttgart, 1920).}

"Joshua alone," I emphasized, "was responsible for the massacre of thirty-one kings, with all their people. Among those nations exterminated in these predatory raids were several who had yielded themselves trustingly to him. Each time the sinister words, 'let none survive' were heard. I am inclined to believe that the Pöbelvolk or at least their descendants, must have still been the obedient shock troops of the Jews, not because the work was so atrocious, but because the children of Israel have always let deluded Gentiles do their dirty work, particularly where danger was involved. Besides, they would not have been strong enough to subdue the peoples to

whom they were opposed, without the bellicose enthusiasm of their brutalized comrades.

"Of particular interest is the evident satisfaction with which the Jews have deliberately enumerated each of the slain kings one is reminded of the prophet Isaiah. In one place, he raves as if possessed: 'The Lord is angry at all the Gentiles; he will deliver them to the slaughter; their land will become burning pitch; it will become a wasteland, soaked with their blood; there will be no nobles in the land; their princes will die out.' {NOTE: Isaiah 34.} Between Isaiah and Joshua were hundreds of years, but in that whole time the infernal rage of the Jews against non-Jewish royalty hadn't changed a bit."

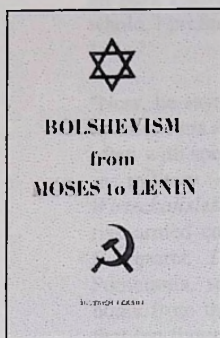
"And in all eternity nothing will change," he proceeded, "so far as the attitude of the Jews toward our kings and our leaders is concerned. To destroy them is their eternal sin, and when they can't accomplish this by force, then they will use cunning. Whenever we have a strong leadership, the Jews are obliged to keep their noses clean. Our leadership can be truly strong, however, only if it is based completely in our people; only if it concerns itself with the welfare of the least among them just as much as with that of the wealthiest of them; only if, in the firm conviction of its own worth, it bars every alien influence from the beginning; only if it is not merely national, but is also social, down to its very bones. No matter what others may say, I assert this: a time will come when all the elite nations of the world will have such a leadership; and then everyone will be astonished to see that, instead of grating on one another as has previously been the case, they will treat one another with respect and consideration. For then there will be no more whipping up of land greed, of an itching for power, of suspicion -- sentiments which exist in unmixed form only in the isolated few, and not in the more trusting general populace, anyhow. There will be an end to the lying praise of an indiscriminate human brotherhood, which would be possible, if at all, only under the supposition that one had from the first excluded that eternal mischief-maker, the Jew. But had this been done, there would be no need to push the universal brotherhood idea; the various peoples would find themselves compatible of their own accord."

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BOLSHEVISM from MOSES to LENIN

by Dietrich Eckart

Translated from the German by William L. Pierce

A Dialogue Between Adolf Hitler and Me

HRP Historical Review Press: £ 3,,50 including p+p - hrp@larc.demon.co.uk

CHAPTER III

"Tell me," I interrupted him; "strictly speaking, do you consider the Jew to be national, or international?"

"Neither," was the answer. "One who really feels international has as much regard for the rest of the world as he does for his own nation. Were our so-called international swarms really like that -- fine. But I fear that they are secretly more concerned with the attitude of the rest of the world toward themselves than with their own attitude toward the world. Internationalism requires basically good intentions. But the Jew fundamentally and completely lacks these. He hasn't the remotest idea of classifying himself with the rest of humanity. His aim is to dominate others in order to extort from them at his leisure. Were he really interested in comradeship, he has had the longest and most abundant opportunity for it. Jehovah command to him to make no alliances with foreign peoples, but, on the contrary, to devour one after the other, went straight to his heart. {NOTE: Exodus 34:12; Deuteronomy 7:16.} Everywhere one greeted him with cordiality, at first: in ancient Egypt, in Persia, in Babylonia, in Europe; the cloven hoof appeared everywhere. The early Germanic conquerors found him with a number of arrogated rights and made no move to dispossess him of these. He was allowed to do business wherever and however he wanted, even in the slave trade, toward which he has always been peculiarly inclined. Like everyone else, he could hold public office, including the magistracy; and his so-called religion was protected by the state. Thus wrote Otto Hauser, who is an excellent source of fascinating illuminations regarding the Jews." {NOTE: Otto Hauser, *Geschichte des Judentums* (Weimar, 1921), p. 251.}

"I should say so!" I nodded. "One must partake of him with caution though, otherwise one may not see the black forest for the 'blond' trees. {NOTE: Hauser distinguishes "light" or "blond" men, or, as he says, men of noble race, from "dark" or "black" men of inferior race. Wherever he has occasion to mention a blond Jew in his book, he praises him to the sky. For

my part, I have met some of the greatest rascals among blond Jews.} On the whole, I prefer Werner Sombart, even though his Berlin lectures swarm with Jews."

"Now, he says the same thing!" he cried. "According to him the Jews were by no means always second-class citizens. In antiquity one even found them often with special privileges which absolved them from certain duties, such as military service. {NOTE: Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 356.} It was never their strong side to risk armed conflict. In the War of Liberation, {NOTE: *Against Napoleon Bonaparte, 1813- 1815. [Translator]}* the Jews of Deutsch-Krone, in Pomerania, sent a petition to the king, requesting permission to remain home from the campaign in return for money. In this petition they argued that ten thousand talers would be of much more use in the war effort than the frankly questionable fighting ability of a Jew. The petition was accepted, not only from them, but also from the Jews of five more of the seven Prussian districts." {NOTE: Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 376.}

"Yes, I know that place in Hauser," I added; "it is authentic. He also quotes there from Mayer's Encyclopedia, however, a statement which calmly claims that the Jews, through their heroic spirit in the War of Liberation, proved themselves as worthy German citizens."

"Just as they did in the World War," he winked expressively. "If I had my way, I'd require placards to be hung in all the schools, at every street corner, and in every public room, on which would be printed nothing but Schopenhauer's description of the Jews: 'Great masters of the lie!' {NOTE: *Arthur Schopenhauer, Parerga und Paralipomena II p. 174.*} There is no better description. And it applies without exception to every Jew equally, whether high or low, stock exchange tycoon or rabbi, baptized or circumcised. Our servile people! Provoked for thousands of years! And the innocents are taken in again and again by this blatant swindle. It is understandable that they become surly with the Jews, but only after the latter have shamelessly abused their naive good nature and plundered them to the skin with their usury and fraud. And that has been the case everywhere: in the old Roman Empire, in Egypt, in Asia, later in England, Italy, France, Poland, Holland, Germany, and even, as Sombart writes, 'in the Iberian peninsula, where the Jews have experienced so many blessings!'

"And the game they're playing today, they have been at for two thousand years," he continued. "I think that suffices to characterize the nature of Jewish internationalism. Now we still have left to consider the national feeling of the Jews. Naturally not that of the one for Germany, of the other for England, and so on. Not many mice are to be caught with that bait any longer. 'Send me a box full of German soil, so that I can at least symbolically defile the accursed country,' wrote the German Jew, Börne; {NOTE: *Ludwig Börne (alias Löb Baruch), Briefe aus Paris (Hamburg, 1832), I.*} and Heinrich Heine sniffed out Germany's future from a toilet bowl. {NOTE: *Heinrich (alias Chaim) Heine, Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen (1844).*} The physicist, Einstein, whom the Jewish publicity

agents celebrate as a second Kepler, explained he would have nothing to do with German nationalism. He considered 'deceitful' the custom of the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith {NOTE: *Zentralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens.. [Translator]}* of concerning themselves only with the religious interests of the Jews and not with their racial community also. A rare bird? No, only one who believed his people already safely in control, and thus considered it no longer necessary to keep up pretenses. In the Central Association itself, the mask has already fallen. A Dr. Brünn frankly admitted there that the Jews could have no German national spirit. {NOTE: *Artur Brünn, Im Deutschen Reich (the periodical of the Zentralverein) 1913, No. 8.*} We always mistake their unprincipled exertions to accommodate themselves to all and everyone for impulses of the heart. Whenever they see an advantage to be gained by adopting a certain pose, they never hesitate, and certainly wouldn't let ethical considerations stand in their way. How many Galician Jews have first become Germans, then Englishmen, and finally Americans! And every time in the twinkling of an eye. With startling rapidity they change their nationality back and forth, and wherever their feet touch, there resounds either the 'Watch on the Rhine,' or the 'Marsellaise,' or 'Yankee Doodle.' Dr. Heim does not once question the fact that our Warburgs, our Bleichroders, or our Mendelssohns are able to transfer their patriotism as well as their residence of today to London or to New York on the morrow. 'On the sands of Brandenburg an Asiatic horde!' Walther Rathenau once blurted out about the Berlin Jews. {NOTE: *Walther Rathenau, Berliner Kulturzentrum, 1913. Rathenau was a Jewish war profiteer in World War I and later a minister in the Weimar government. He was executed by German patriots in 1922. [Translator]}* He forgot to add that the same horde is on the Isar, the Elbe, the Main, the Thames, the Seine, the Hudson, the Neva, and the Volga. And all of them with the same deceit toward their neighbors. Our charmers and wizards, however, distinguish between respectable and not-so-respectable, between settled and newly immigrated, between western and eastern Jews, and if worse comes to worst, they shrug their shoulders and mutter, 'Every country has the Jews it deserves. It means nothing to them that it was a Jew who coined this fine-sounding phrase. Nor that in the case of Germany, considering the quality of the Jews we have 'deserved,' it becomes a resounding slap in the face. 'All Israel stands openly in the British camp!' announced the American union leader Samuel Gompers in 1916. And that includes the German Jews too, as the American, Ford, well knew. He has written of the faithlessness of the so-called 'German' Jews toward the country where they live, of the fact that they have united themselves with the rest of the world's Jews toward the ruin of Germany. 'Why?' jeers the Jew. 'Because the German is a vulgar scoundrel, a backward, medieval creature, who hasn't the faintest idea of our worth. And we should help such rabble? No, he has the Jews he deserves!' Such arrogance is indeed staggering to behold."

I reminded him of Russia. "Before the revolution, the Jews condemned her as a downright sewer of vileness, even though they were the evident vermin in that sewer; now, the same Jews are at the helm, and, wuppdiwupp, the same Russia is a great nation."

"In the year 1870," he rejoined, "we Germans had the privilege of being a great people. The Jews considered that the time had arrived for replacing the French emperor, who had become undependable, with a pliable president. This also seemed an excellent opportunity to establish the Commune; {NOTE: A Jew-controlled, socialist government of Paris which lasted only from March 18 to May 27, 1871, but which was responsible for thousands of horribly atrocious murders during this brief period. [Translator]} thus the 'heroic German people.' No wonder that right behind our princes and generals a pack of gesticulating Jewish financiers rode into Paris. Meanwhile, though, we have sunk back down into the pack again. The press, 'that select tool of the Anti-christ,' as Bismarck called it, has designated us as 'Boches' and as 'Huns.' But have patience! The more quickly we approach Bolshevism, the more glorious we will become again. And one fine day it will be the English and the French who are the scoundrels. One doesn't need spectacles to see that. 'I am a British subject but, first and foremost, a Jew,' screamed a Hebrew years ago in a large English- Jewish newspaper. {NOTE: M.J. Wodeslowsky, *Jewish World*, January 1, 1909.} And another: 'Whoever has to choose between his duties as an Englishman and as a Jew must choose the latter.' {NOTE: Joseph Cohen, *Jewish World*, November 4, 1913.} And a third: 'Jews who want to be both patriotic Englishmen and good Jews are simply living lies.' {NOTE: *Jewish Chronicle*, December 10, 1911.} That they could venture things of that sort so openly indicates how overrun with Jews England already was then."

"The stronghold of European Jewry had its origin in the period between Cromwell and Edward VII," I emphasized. "Since then, however, the center of Jewish activity seems to have been transferred to America. They have had a good footing there for a long time. Sombart maintains that it was Jewish money which made the first two voyages of Columbus possible. {NOTE: Sombart, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.} A Jew, Luis de Torres, is supposed to have been the first European to step on American soil. And, topping everything else, the Jews have recently claimed Columbus himself as one of them."

"That's not surprising," he laughed. "Everyone who has somehow played a role in the world, the dear Lord included, is a Jew. They even have Goethe and Schopenhauer on their list. And blessed be he who believes it. For my part, I contest them Columbus as well as Torres; ocean travel was much more hazardous then than now."

"According to Hauser," I replied, "Columbus was an Aryan, perhaps even of German descent."

"It's all the same to me," he responded. "As far as I'm concerned, he could have been a Zulu, I'd sooner attribute his deed to a Negro than to a Jew."

"Completely aside from that, it's clear that they have had America by the throat for quite a while," I continued. "No country, writes Sombart displays

more of a Jewish character than the United States. {NOTE: *Ibid.*, p. 39} We have already seen a consequence of this in the World War. In 1915, at a time when the true Americans hadn't the slightest thought of a war against us and, in fact, were so disposed toward us that any indication of a possible conflict of interest could have been smoothly and amicably settled, a secret advisory committee met with President Wilson for the sole purpose of preparing the country for war against Germany. {NOTE: Five years after *Der Bolschewismus* was written -- on June 2, 1928 -- an article appeared in *Liberty* magazine, by the former head of the United States Secret Service, William J. Flynn, detailing the previously secret intrigues of Wilson, Baruch, et al. in 1915 to engage the United States in the World War. But these treacherous proceedings pale into insignificance when compared to the activities of the Zionist Jews in 1916, following the negotiations between the British Government and world Jewry which led to the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

In a pamphlet published in London in March 1936 by the New Zion Press and entitled *Great Britain, The Jews, and Palestine*, Samuel Landman, the well-known Zionist, states that these negotiations led to a "quid pro quo contract" in which Jewry agreed to use its influence to bring America into the war on Britain's side in return for Britain's guarantee that Palestine would be handed over to the Jews. He says that, once the negotiations were complete, "the change in official and public opinion as reflected in the American press in favor of joining the Allies in the War was as gratifying as it was surprisingly rapid."

Eckart, of course, did not know the full story of these arrangements in 1923. [Translator]} And who was the chief wire-puller in these nefarious activities, which were set into motion a full two years before the engagement of the United States in the war? The previously unknown Jew, Bernard Baruch. 'I believed that the war would come, long before it came,' he later calmly explained to the special committee of Congress which confirmed all this. And no one got up and beat the crafty scoundrel to a pulp."

"The resolution of the Jewish high command many years ago to unleash the World War is well authenticated," he said. "At the sixth Zionist Congress in Basel, in 1903, the president, Max Nordau, proclaimed: 'Herzl knows that we stand before a tremendous upheaval of the whole world.' {NOTE: *Litman Rosenthal, American Jewish News*, September 19, 1919. *Rosenthal*, writing in reminiscence of his attendance at the 1903 conference, blatantly lays bare the eager Jewish anticipation of a world war, eleven years before the fact. Nordau's speech continues "...let me tell you the following words as if I were showing you the rungs of a ladder leading upward and upward: Herzl, the Zionist Congress, the English Uganda proposition, the future world war, the peace conference where with the help of England a free and Jewish Palestine will be created." [Translator]} Good old Herzl! What an idealist! Our charmers and wizards were filled with awe at the thought of this noble patriarch. The scoundrel knew, however, what his filthy people had in mind for us!"

"But Herzl was a Zionist," I interjected.

"He was a Jew!" he said, striking the table with his fist. "The word Jew says everything. There is no need for any further distinction! God's chosen people want to have their own 'God's country' again. Catch that: 'again!' God's people and God's country, neither of which, in reality, ever existed! Every portrayal ridicules for its depravity that general state of affairs which existed for some six hundred years in Palestine, till the Assyrians put an end to the mischief. Can you call that a country? Can't one accept the Old Testament as the authority on the matter? First we read of the uninterrupted murders and plunderings of the other peoples of Palestine, which, naturally, took many years. Then right up to the last, with the most abominable vileness, one state of anarchy followed another. The pinnacle, the flowering, the glory of Jewish statesmanship, namely, King David, was such a rascal that even the unprecedented villainy of the letter condemning Uriah was not enough for him; on his deathbed he urged his son to murder his old war comrade, Joab.

"When Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to Palestine (from their Babylonian 'captivity') the overwhelming majority ignored Zion and remained in immeasurably rich Babylonia. Completely content there, they continued their financial speculations and other activities."

"In the year 1267," I informed him, "there were only two Jewish residents in Jerusalem. Up to the World War, the number of Jews in all Palestine had grown to only 12,000, {NOTE: Hauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 484, 491.} even though they had been free to return there since ancient times and certainly weren't lacking travel expenses. The remaining twenty or so millions -- exactly how many is difficult to ascertain, since the Jews themselves do the counting -- fatten themselves upon the sweat of others all over the world. It is hard to understand how tiny Palestine can hope to accommodate this enormous crowd."

"That's not necessary," he retorted. "The point is that it is now official. Israel has remembered itself. Its chains are cast aside. The sun of a new God's state rises over Zion. What an act! Finally liberated from bondage! Everyone is numbed with awe. The Jews grin."

"They have already issued a resolution..." I wanted to continue.

"Yes indeed," he cried, "if anywhere, this is where the cat jumps out of the bag! The resolution of the Pan-Jewish Conference of 1919, in Philadelphia! The Jews are citizens of the new Jewish state of Palestine, but at the same time they have complete rights of citizenship of whatever countries they choose to live in. One must read that non plus ultra of arrogance twice, indeed, a hundred times, in order to be sure one isn't dreaming. Imagine instead: 'The English are citizens of Great Britain. Each Englishman who chooses to live in Germany or France or Italy retains all his rights of English

citizenship, but at the same time he has the complete rights of citizenship of the country in which he is living.' Now ask yourself what a scream of indignation, not we or the French or the Italians, but the Jews themselves would raise if the English people had actually made such a resolution! The Pan-Jewish Congress, however, issued its resolution as categorically as a command.

"This assembly comprised representatives of all the Jews of the world, including the Zionists. Their intentions were, in short, that the Jews should stay where they were and that the new Zion should simply have the purpose, first, to strengthen their political backbone, second, to gratify their arrogance, and last but most important, to provide them a state where they could carry on their dirty business without fear of detection.

"I think we can form a pretty good idea of Jewish nationalism from this."

"Okay. So they are neither national nor international," I acknowledged. "What, then?"

"In terms of our customary concepts," he shrugged, "it really can't be defined. It is a rank growth over the whole earth, sometimes advancing slowly, sometimes leaping ahead in great bounds. Everywhere it sucks voraciously at the lifeblood of the planet. What was in the beginning a swollen abundance will become in the end nothing but dried-up sap. Zionism is the visible, surface aspect. It is connected underground to the rest of the monstrous growth.

"And nowhere is there to be found a trace of opposition to this thing."

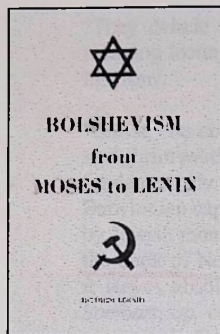
"One might say," I laughed, "that the wolves have split themselves into two packs. It has been agreed that one of these shall abandon the land of the sheep in order to go live somewhere, quite among themselves, as pure vegetarians."

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CHAPTER IV

"There is one thing above all of which we must always keep in mind," he tendered, "one thing of which we must always remind ourselves: 'Great masters of the lie! One need only forget Schopenhauer's words for an instant in order to begin slipping under the influence of their deceptions. To be sure, we also lie but, in the first place, not as a matter of habit and, in the second place, clumsily. Any really experienced judge of human nature is able to detect the lie of an Aryan, even a very shrewd one. Sherlock Holmes himself, however, would be at a loss when confronted with the Jewish cold-bloodedness in deception. A Jew is only embarrassed when he inadvertently blurts out the truth. If he should happen to deliberately tell the truth, it is always with a mental reservation, thus making a lie even of the truth.'"

"Indeed, Luther," I replied, "said to the Jews: 'You are not a German, but a deceiver, not a Frenchman, but a faker.' {NOTE: Martin Luther, *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*. Luther's words are more poetic in German: "Du bist nicht ein Deutscher, sondern ein Täuscher; nicht ein Welcher, sondern ein Fälscher." [Translator]} His synonym for Jew was 'liar!'"

That's what everyone who knows them says of them." he rejoined, "from the Pharaohs up to Goethe and our time. It has been said in every dead and living language: in Greek, Latin, Persian, Turkish, English, French, or what have you. One would hope that these universal condemnations, throughout the whole world, would give our charmers and wizards at least a little to think about. God forbid! Not even Christ was able to reach them. He stood there among the cringing Jewish rabble, his eyes flashing, the very image of scorn, and his words fell among them like whiplashes: Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar and the father of it. {NOTE: John 8:44.} But to our charmers and wizards that means no more than the unintelligible stammering of a child."

"They delude themselves by believing that to be only a stern but well-meaning lecture of the Lord to his beloved people of Israel," I underscored his irony.

"Christ," he continued with a raised voice, "was never other than perfectly straightforward and frank. God, not to feel the fact that there two fundamentally different worlds opposed one another! In Palestine after the Babylonian captivity there was a great lower stratum of non-Jews ruled over by Jewish moneylenders, powerful through their usury. One can read that in the book of Nehemiah (especially in chapter five -- Ed.). Sombart says that it leaves absolutely nothing to be desired in the way of clarity. {NOTE: Sombart, *op. cit.*, p. 371.} The outstanding point is that the real population, composed of oppressed peasants, was of an entirely different race than the Hebrews. Gradually the Jews forced their religion on them. Christ himself growled about that: 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye encompass sea and land to make one proselyte....' {NOTE: Matthew 23:15.} To the Jews, Galilee was the land of the Gentiles, whose population 'sat in darkness,' as they impudently imagined. {NOTE: Matthew 4:15-16.} They said: Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?' and 'Art thou also of Galilee? Search, and look: for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.' {NOTE: John 1:46; 7:52.} The Hebrews were so firmly convinced of the non-Jewish ancestry of Christ that they counted him among the especially hated Samaritans. {NOTE: John 7:48.} We live and learn! There are many more such examples."

One could hardly recommend a better policy than that which lets each man find salvation in his own fashion," I stressed. "The tacit assumption in that policy, though, is that each man's fashion should involve some sort of decent sentiment, some genuine belief, and not just a contemptible Phariseeism. This distinction should have been expressly emphasized long ago. It wasn't, and the religion of the moneychanger has received the benefit of this misguided tolerance. Christ was not so tolerant. With a whip he put a stop to the business of the children of the devil, even though he had said, 'Love your enemy!'"

"Yes," he replied, "but we must understand what Christ meant by 'enemy.' We can love an honorable and decent enemy, even a brutal one, who is frank and forthright in his enmity. And at the same time we can beware of him. But Christ never dreamed that we should love men whom no love whatever could dissuade from their implacable determination to poison us, body and soul. Indeed, he himself did not do that. On the contrary, he continued to strike with his whip as hard as he could. And the words that he flung with indignation into the faces of the rabble breathed of irreconcilability itself. To me, he acted very proudly in the founding of his religion: there was very little contradiction between his sermons and his deeds! Why, then, have the 'pious' never followed his example? They least of all. They mercilessly persecute even their decent adversaries -- as a matter of fact, only their decent adversaries. Their eyes remain closed to the most cunning bunch of swindlers in existence. The Bavarian People's Party,

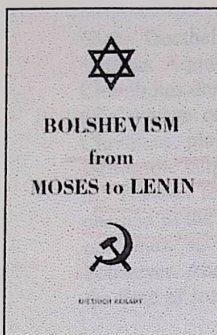
for instance, knows quite well that we are defending the Christian foundations of our nation without mental reservations. They also know, however, that we can make no common cause with them as long as they adhere to their present policies. And so they turned to the Jews, hoping to remain in power with their help. They surprised themselves. Dripping with friendliness at first, the Jews turned on them murderously when they had gotten the upper hand."

"That was inevitable," I agreed with him. "Fortunately, the Jews would not be able to provide us with that same sort of dreadful experience, for we do not betray and murder our own flesh and blood for the sales of profit. So far as we are concerned, the Bavarian People's party could even remain in office, provided they clean the manure out of their pigsty and perceive the correctness of our views. We are not willing to tear ourselves apart just for power. But we want Germanism, we want genuine Christianity, we want order and propriety, and we want these things so firmly established that our children and grandchildren can remain satisfied with them."

"They consider that impossible," he said, "and therefore they consider our program nothing but empty phrases, of no more sincerity than the empty phrases with which they consciously try to peddle themselves to the people. But our goals are not only possible, they are certain, even if we don't attain them tomorrow. But first a beginning must be made. So far, never and nowhere has there been a truly social state. Everywhere and always the upper crust has leaned much more strongly to the principle, 'what is yours, is mine,' than to, 'what is mine, is yours.' These wise ones have only themselves to blame for the fact the lower stratum, full of rage, now is committing the same error. The Jew is able to take advantage of both these groups. One of them provides for his affairs, the other carries them out. Therefore, we oppose them both. We will put an end to unfair privileges as well as to slavery."

"Decidedly," I replied. "Our front stands against both left and right. A strange situation; from two directions we must ward off attackers who also fight one another. The Reds scream at us as reactionaries, and to the reactionaries we are Bolsheviks. From both sides the Jew directs the attack on us. The lower stratum doesn't see him yet and thus, hates us from sheer stupidity; the upper stratum sees him but thinks it can serve its own selfish purposes with him and thus, shoots us in the back more from unscrupulousness than stupidity. One really needs a good deal of faith under such circumstances in order to maintain one's courage."

"Which we have, God be thanked, in a hundred ways," he said, laughing, as he stretched himself. "No words were spoken more directly to our hearts than 'Be not afraid!' {NOTE: Matthew 28:10.} And that was supposed to have been said by a Jew? Those creatures of eternal fear? Crazy!"



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CHAPTER V

"Every time new and promising opportunities for meddling have arisen," he brought out, "the Jew has been immediately involved. He has demonstrated an uncanny ability to sniff out like a bloodhound anything which was dangerous to him. Having found it, he uses all his cunning to get at it, to divert it, to change its nature, or, at least, to deflect its point from its goal. Schopenhauer called the Jew 'the dregs of mankind,' 'a beast,' 'the great master of the lie.' How does the Jew respond? He establishes a Schopenhauer Society. Likewise, the Kant Society in his work, in spite of the fact that — or, rather, because — Kant summarily declared the Jewish people to be a 'nation of swindlers.' {NOTE: Immanuel Kant, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (Königsberg, 1798).} The same with the Goethe Society. 'We tolerate no Jews among us,' said Goethe. {NOTE: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre.*} 'Their religion permits them to rob non-Jews,' he wrote. {NOTE: Goethe, *Das Jahrmärkfest zu Plundersweiler.*} 'This crafty race has one great principle: as long as order prevails, there is nothing to be gamed,' he continued. {NOTE: *Ibid.*} He categorically emphasized: 'I refrain from all cooperation with Jews and their accomplices.' {NOTE: Goethe, *Tag- und Jahresfeste.*} All in vain: the Jewish Goethe Society is still there. It would be there even if he himself had expressly forbidden such knavery."

"With exactly the same right," I interjected, "the two of us could join a Talmud Society. What impudence that would require! Inconceivable."

"Not to the Jew," he replied. "To him impudence has no meaning. He is only able to think in terms of advantage or disadvantage, profit or loss. One must approach him with a different sort of measuring stick."

"Our charmers and wizards," I rejoined, "all fall for their trick. Goethe, Kant, Schopenhauer seem to be nothing but babblers to them."

"Bah, Goethe!" he interrupted contemptuously. "Not even the saintly Thomas Aquinas is able to reach these people. The great father of the Church has described in his writings our relationship with the Jews in terms of a voyage on a ship. The Jews, embarked on the same vessel with the Christians, play a characteristic role: while the Christians are occupied with sailing the ship, the Jews plunder the storeroom and bore holes in the hull. St. Thomas recommends that they should be relieved of their booty and chained to the rudder. What an atrocity! How un-Christian! Poor Jews! One can learn so much from them! At least, according to Drs. Heim and Schweyer. And so the world goes on, governed with the same wisdom as in the time of Joseph's Pharaoh."

"Namely, by statesmen," I completed, "who are so busy ruling that they completely fail to notice that not they but others actually rule; by men like Czar Nicholas, who indulged himself in the same self-deception and got a bullet in the head for it. As early as 1843 Disraeli gave us a hint of what we should expect there. 'The mysterious Russian diplomacy is organized by Jews,' he boasted. Also, 'the mighty revolution which is in the making in Germany is evolving entirely under the leadership of Jews.'" {NOTE: Benjamin Disraeli, *Conningsby* (London, 1844).}

"Most of our revolutions," he said, "whether initially with desirable goals or not, have evolved under Jewish leadership. The revolutions of vulgar predisposition were, for the most part, the work of Jews; and those with loftier tendencies were soon subverted into a darker course by Jews. In the case of the struggling young Christianity, for example, the Jews, quick as a flash, began hanging onto its coattails. Consider Paul, properly called Schaul, who was a rabbinical student. That Schaul first chose the Roman-sounding name, Saulus, and then had himself renamed Paulus gives cause for thought. Still more, the fact that in the beginning he persecuted the fledgling Christian community with first-rate ferocity. I don't know: mass murderers who later become saints -- is that not too much of a marvel? Indeed, the Jew Weininger supposed that Christ had also originally been a criminal. {NOTE: Otto Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1903).} But, my God, a Jew could say that a hundred times, and it still need not be true on that account."

"As a Jew, Paul certainly knew that of all the peoples of the world the Jews, first and foremost, needed their souls saved. 'Go not...to the Gentiles,...But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' demanded Christ. {NOTE: *Matthew 10:5-6*.} Paul ignored it. He went to the Greeks and the Romans and brought them his 'Christianity.' A 'Christianity' with which the Roman Empire became unhinged. 'All men are equal! Brotherhood! Pacifism! No more privileges!' And the Jew triumphed."

"I always think," I spun the thread further, "of the admirable Herr Levine in the Berliner Lokalanzeiger. {NOTE: i.e., Berlin Advertiser, a Berlin Newspaper. [Translator]} He suddenly burst out one day, as if in rapture: only a Jew could have done that; could have, with Paul's impudence, put

himself in the middle of the Capitol and there expounded a doctrine which must bring about the utter ruin of the Roman Empire! That's what the man said, word for word; I still remember it perfectly."

"It certainly hits the nail on the head," he rejoined. "It may be a long time yet before Christianity recovers from Paul. Oh, what gullible souls we are! A Jew murders hundreds of Christians; suddenly he notices that the rest only become even more zealous; the well-known light dawns on him; he pretends to be converted, throws himself into the great pose, and behold: even though he deviates in nearly all his doctrines from the other apostles, we listen devoutly to his sermons. The simple teachings of the Master, which the most childlike mind might comprehend, we must have explained to us by a Hebrew."

— Paul.

"The Jew," I replied, "certainly must be tempted to say, 'Why are you so stupid that you let everyone make fools of you?' And there are many charmers and wizards who, on account of his extraordinary cunning, or 'spirituality' as they call it, look upon him with timid admiration."

"If it depended on mere possessions," he returned, "they would be justified. Someone named Goldstein once boasted that the Jews administer the spiritual property of the German people. {NOTE: Moritz Goldstein, *Kunstwart*, March, 1912.} A pity that he didn't add how they administer it."

"Well, let us be thankful that there will always be men who, for example, will read Goethe through the eyes of Goethe and not through the slimy spectacles of Goldstein. They may not be professors, but perhaps vagabonds of a sort. A breed, anyway, which will not become extinct and through which the original Goethe will be safely preserved. The Jews can then quietly 'administer' the new Goethe. It will not be begrudged them." {NOTE: One is reminded here of what has happened to Wagner in recent years. If Eckart could have foreseen how Wagner's immortal operas would be someday perverted at Bayreuth, he would have been far more distressed than he was over Jewish "interpretations" of Goethe's writing. [Translator]}

"Suppose, however," I interjected anxiously, "the 'vagabonds' also listen credulously to them and fall into the trap?"

"It lies in the nature of the 'vagabond,'" he laughed, "to have a heart so full that it matters not how his head happens to be persuaded; it will always be his heart that determines the outcome. They feel intuitively that which the clever, despite their understanding, are not able to see. And they preserve it. One may deceive their heads, but not even they have authority over their spirits."

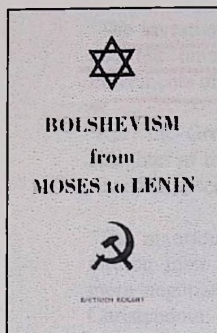
After
he sees
himself
where
talking
to people
about
the sacrifice he has
made to go into politics

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BOLSHEVISM from MOSES to LENIN

by Dietrich Eckart

Translated from the German by William L. Pierce

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HRP Historical Review Press: £ 3,,50 including p+p - hrp@larc.demon.co.uk

CHAPTER VI

"And, you see," he pounded on the table, "they alone are to be thanked that at least part of our Christian heritage, as well as our other cultural legacy, has survived administration by the Jews. Where are they? Where were they? Among high and low, among the kings and the soldiers, among the popes and the mendicant friars, among the learned and the illiterate, everywhere. But not among the nothing-but-rich; but not among the nothing-but-clever; but not among the greedy and the insatiable; but not among the Pöbelvolk. Here the Jew is at home. Whatever appears here in the way of spiritual possessions he matter-of-factly administers; it is his own. Just as everything was transformed into gold for King Midas, every deep and meaningful word is turned into filth at his touch. But for the others, for the..."

"Vagabonds of the spirit," I threw to him.

"Everything remains as of old," he nodded. "There have been popes of Jewish blood. {NOTE: Anacletus II (1130-1138), Innocent II (1130-1143), Calixtus III (1168-1178), Clement VIII (1424-1428), Alexander VI (1492-1503), and even Pius XI (1922-1939). In addition, Gregory VI (1045-1046) and others may have been Jews or part-Jews. Anacletus II, Calixtus III, and Clement VIII are generally classified as antipopes. [Translator]} Also there has seldom or never been a shortage of other dignitaries of the same descent in the Church. Was that which they stood for Catholicism? No, it was Judaism. Let's take just one thing: the selling of indulgences. The very essence of the Jewish spirit. We are both Catholics, but dare we not say that? Are we really supposed to believe that there has never been anything in the Church with which one can find fault? Just because we are Catholics, we say it. That has nothing to do with Catholicism. We know that Catholicism would have remained intact even if half the hierarchy had consisted of Jews. A number of sincere men always held it high, though often only secretly, many times even against the pope. Sometimes there were many such men, sometimes few.

"The investigation of the Jew and his activities should have been the alpha and the omega of our historians. Instead, they investigate the bowel movements of the past."

"Karl the Great favored the Jews at every turn. It seems to me that his slaughter of the 4500 Saxons at Verden -- the best German blood -- and his Jewish advisers had something to do with one another."

"The notorious insanity of the Crusades bled the German people of six million men. Finally the Hohenstaufen, Frederick II, succeeded through mere negotiation, without striking a blow in securing the Holy Land for Christendom. What did the curia do? Full of hatred, they hurled the ban of excommunication on Frederick and refused to recognize his treaty with the sultan, thus neutralizing his great success. It seems that, to those pulling the strings, the incidental bloodletting was more important than the avowed objective of the Crusades."

"At last came the Children's Crusade. Tens of thousands of children sent against the victorious Turkish army, all to be destroyed. I can't believe that the idea for that absurdity originated in a non-Jewish mind. I am always reminded of the murder of the children of Bethlehem and the slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn. I would give anything for a photograph of the priest who preached that Crusade, and his flunkies."

"Giordano Bruno called the Jews 'such a pestilential, leprous, and publicly dangerous race that they deserved to be rooted out and destroyed even before their birth.' {NOTE: *Giordano Bruno, Spacio della Bestis Trionfante (1584).*} This genial philosopher was burned at the stake. For his heresy? Opponents of the Church were swarming in Italy during his time, yet he, the most impartial of them, was seized."

"Well, how about now?" I interrupted him. "In Russia one Catholic priest after another is tortured to death by the Jewish beast; hundreds have already been liquidated; the Church is taking its last gasp; but Rome cannot bring herself to call the child by its real name. Many times she has made a small start in that direction -- but only to be immediately squelched. Catholicism wants to speak; Jewry paralyzes its tongue."

"Rome," he replied, "will pull herself together, but only if we pull ourselves together first. And one day it can be said that the Church is whole again."

"Since those who are responsible for the trouble will have been discovered!" I cried. "Since the disguised Hebrew, together with his cuckoo eggs, will have been thrown out of the Christian community! He has set not only the Egyptians but also the Christians against one another so that 'they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbor,' and he is still at this game. He works from the outside, carefully building his pitfalls and making his destructive influence felt in the press. But he also works

from the inside, where he is even more dangerous, in the mask of the Christian minister. The Christian confessions swarm with Jewish and half-Jewish clergymen, the Protestant denominations even more so than the Catholic. They already feel so sure of victory in the Protestant churches that in Dresden a certain Pastor Wallfisch had the impudence to announce publicly: 'I am a Jew and will remain one; yes, now that I have learned the Christian beliefs I have become more than ever a true Israelite.' {NOTE: In his lecture in 1894, entitled *Umpires of the Jewish Question*.} And in Hamburg a preacher named Schwalb said: 'I consider myself a genuine Jew and have always considered myself thus'. {NOTE: In his farewell sermon in March, 1894.} Where that sort of thing is possible, Christianity might as well let itself be buried.

"Luther's spirit seems to be completely played out among our Protestants.. On the question of all questions, the Jewish question, they either hush him completely or try to tone him down. One of the most well meaning among their theologians, Professor Walther, calls Luther's attitude toward the Jews 'so offensive that it must arouse not only confused astonishment among Christians but also great indignation among Jews.' Those Christians with a confused astonishment wouldn't have found themselves in that state if they had not previously let themselves be confused by the Jews. And as for the great indignation of the Hebrews, we are not grieved a bit. Where, by the way, has that indignation been apparent? So far, Israel has been quiet as a mouse about it. They have always praised Luther greatly as the enemy of Rome. Heine began a ceremonious hymn of joy to the Reformer with the words, 'Luther, you dear man.'"

"He had good reason," he jeered. "All Jews have good reason to celebrate Luther and to ignore his anti-Semitism. Without intending to do so, he paved the way for them, and how! The more they extol his authority, the less the world notices his error. That he later cursed them as a pestilence is indeed bitter to them, but -- how many people are even aware of his condemnation of the Jews.."

"The Jew Goldmann," I put in, "stated their reason plainly enough. 'Luther has again brought the Old Testament to honor.' {NOTE: *Nahum Goldmann, the well-known Russian Jewish Zionist who also had the unbelievable audacity to announce that the Jews 'no longer recognize the right of any country to consider the question of the treatment of its Jewish population as an internal affair.'*}"

"Instead of to dishonor," was the reply. "His translation to the German language might have been of some use; as it is, it has grievously damaged the German power of discernment. Lord in heaven, what a halo now surrounds Satan's 'Bible'! Luther's poetry sparkles so that even the incest of Lot's daughters has been given a religious shimmer. Jehova's command to be fruitful and multiply had to be obeyed by these two pious maidens -- at any price!"

Schopenhauer expressed a similar opinion," I confirmed. "He said that if

one wants to understand the Old Testament one must read it in the Greek version.. There it has an entirely different tone, an entirely different color, with no presentiment of Christianity! Contrasted with the Greek, Luther's translation seems 'pious'; also 'often erroneous, indeed, sometimes intentionally, and delivered throughout in a churchly, edifying tone.' Luther has permitted himself changes 'which one could call forgeries' and so on." {NOTE: Schopenhauer, loc. cit.}

"Not Luther," he raised his finger. "The rabbis who helped him with the entire translation introduced changes and forgeries. Hebrew is a ~~Hebrew~~ language. Luther translated a certain word, for example, as 'racial kinsman.' But then the rabbi came in and said that the word means 'neighbor.' And so we have the translation: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' rather than, as it should be: 'Love thy racial kinsman as thyself.' A small piece of cunning, but -- it served its purpose of giving the Jews the aspect of real humanitarians."

"Yes, even Luther was taken in by the 'chosen people,'" I replied. "He looked upon the Old Testament as divine revelation. He approached the book with infatuation, convinced that it could contain nothing but sheer preciousness.. Then he began wading into the vile thing. After a few steps he blinked his eyes, bewildered. He was stunned. That just couldn't be so! It must have some other meaning! And so, with perfectly honest intentions, he read between the lines what simply wasn't there. Everywhere he managed to see allusions to Christ, although nothing could be farther from the Jews' actual thoughts on the matter. Their Messiah is no 'lamb's tail,' Heine jeered at Christ, no scorn of earthly existence. {NOTE: Heinrich Heine, in his poem "Disputation."} On the contrary, their Messiah is a brutal dog who will conquer the earth for his Jews; he is the 'prince of this world.' Page after page it says: 'Ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and in their glory shall ye boast yourselves,' or 'Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.' One of these is a statement of a 'divinely inspired' prophet, the other a 'deeply spiritual' psalm. {NOTE: Isaiah 61:6, Psalms 2:8.}

"Credulously, Luther viewed everything in a rosy light. This became easier for him when, in the middle of the great morass, he came to passages like: 'Ye will have no permanent existence among the nations, and the soles of thy feet shall find no rest,' and 'Ye will be an abomination among all peoples.' Compassion seized him. "The Jews," he thought to himself, 'have become untrue to their godly doctrine, but they will again find their way home to it.' It never occurred to him that these direly threatening sermons served only the purpose of holding the Jews to their course.

"On the other hand, many passages of apparently lofty stamp have quite a different purpose: namely, they serve as a protective cover. He later recognized this Jewish tactic, but only in the living Hebrews, not in their Bible. 'The Jews desire to make all their affairs ambiguous, so that nothing about them is really certain,' he said. If one belabors them for an especially low-minded passage, they can indignantly point at one which is dripping with loving kindness. Heine, for example, writes an utterly vulgar poem

about Germany; five minutes later he is praising 'the dear homeland' so the skies. A matter of changing mood? Oh, dear God I suppose that we are to believe that an old street whore often finds herself in the mood to sing the 'Ave Maria,' or that a basically honest fellow is often in the mood to steal. What nonsense!"

"No, you are right," he said. "The Jew often plays the role of a benefactor only in order to accomplish his destructive aims without notice. It's always been that way."

"This ambiguity," I completed, "one finds even in Spinoza. {NOTE: Baruch Spinoza, the greatest Jewish philosopher (1632-1677).} One can hardly imagine a bolder, more outspoken world view than his; but his ethics would horrify a pig. In all things seek that which is advantageous is the quintessence of his moral philosophy -- the genuine Jewish viewpoint."

"It is the most terrible tragedy," he said sadly, "that Luther bears the responsibility for such a dire development -- the consequence of deeds committed in perfect innocence -- that today all civilization is in danger of running aground on it. The greatest German the unsuspecting cause of the German collapse; Luther, the mighty opponent of the Jews, the one who most disastrously paved the way for them -- incomprehensible, I tell you, incomprehensible. To happen too late by a paltry ten or twenty years! To first become awake to the Jews shortly before his death, when everything had already been determined! {NOTE: Martin Luther died in 1546. His two principal anti-Semitic writings, *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* and *Vom Schem Hamphoras*, appeared in 1543. A philo-Semitic tract by him was written in 1523. The modern reader may refer to Walther Linden, *Luthers Kampfschriften gegen das Judentum* (Berlin, 1936), which contains the complete text of *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* and extracts from *Vom Schem Hamphoras*; or to E.V. von Rudolf, *Dr. Martin Luther Wider die Juden* (Munich, 1940), which has extracts from both. [Translator]} Previously, body and soul for the traitors! Then the Hebrews had still been 'cousins and brothers of our Lord' to him, while we Christians were only 'brother-in-law and strangers.' Wringing his hands, he entreated the populace to associate with them in a 'decent and proper' manner. To him they were exalted above the Apostles! The late Erzberger couldn't have carried on more absurdly. {NOTE: Matthias Erzberger (1875-1922) was a left-wing member of the Catholic Center Party. A collaborator with the Jews and Social Democrats during World War I, he favored the Versailles Treaty and became German vice chancellor in 1919. He was executed for his treasonable activities by German patriots in 1921. [Translator]}

"Only not for an instant as sincerely," I stopped him. "If Luther had been a contemporary of Erzberger, he wouldn't have had to find out about the purpose of the Jewish hush-money first, in order to see through Judaism. As early as his student days he would have promptly leaped with both feet into the battle against the devil's brood."

"My God," he immediately resumed, "one cannot blame him. A lot has

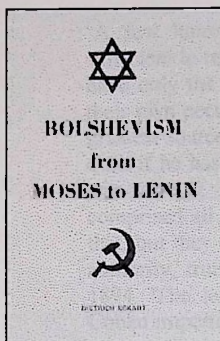
happened in the last four hundred years. But there is one thing to remember: popular instinct was more alert then than nowadays. All along the line mistrust of the Jews was quite firm. Luther was a man of the people, the son of simple folk. His predilection of many years toward the Jews is a bit misleading; one must take into account a certain naivete, a lack of worldliness, the result of his stay in the cloister. The same rule seems to have applied here as elsewhere: too much studying ruined his vision. Nevertheless, Luther was a great man, a giant. With a shock which pierced the twilight he saw the Jews as we have only begun to see them today. But, unfortunately, too late, and even then not there, where he had done the most damage -- in Christianity. Oh, had he only seen them there; had he only seen them in his youth! Then he would not have attacked Catholicism, but, rather, the Jews behind it! Instead of a wholesale condemnation of the Church, he would have let his whole, passionate impetus fall on the true villains. Instead of glorifying the Old Testament, he would have branded it as the arsenal of the Antichrist. And the Jew -- the Jew would have stood there in his abominable nakedness, as an eternal warning. He would have been obliged to get out of the Church, out of society, out of the halls of the princes, out of the castles of the knights and the houses of the citizens. For Luther had the strength and the courage and the overpowering will. It would never have come to the splitting of the Church or to the war which, in accordance with the wishes of the Hebrews, spilled Aryan blood in torrents for thirty long years."

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CHAPTER VII

"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother and every one against his neighbor," he ground out. "What hatred, what demonic hatred! That's not human; what is it?"

"That, my friend," I joked, "is the 'geniality of the heart' of which the Jew, Fritz Kahn, has spoken, through which 'Israel has become the ethical mother of mankind.' These fellows are really quaint in their impudence. Kahn has called Moses 'an almost unique phenomenon in the history of civilized peoples: a national hero without weapons.' At the same time he reproves us with the remark that 'on stormy nights the distressed wail of widows may be heard around the bronze heroes of our market places,' that is, around the statues of Prince Eugene, Marshal Blucher and so on. I wonder what he thinks Moses used to massacre the Egyptian firstborn, if not weapons. Gumdrops, perhaps? Or were they smothered to death from sheer love? Apparently, we are to believe that the Pöbelvolk consisted entirely of baby sitters and wet nurses.

"Well, all these fellows operate the same way at least. They don't even bother to deny anything; instead they flatly maintain exactly the opposite."

"That tactic seems to work quite well with our men of learning," he growled. "The Jews say whatever they please; it is all gospel to our scholars. They wouldn't think of trying to verify anything; the fact that it appears in print is enough for them. A certain Jewess called the Talmud 'a grandiose, monumental work of the spirit,' a 'heroic monument of ideas, to which the millennia have given the breath of their experience.' (NOTE: Doris Wittner, *Ostjüdische Antlitz*, No. 252 (1920).) Immediately upon encountering such a gem, the German professor whips out his notebook -- and the next day his students have devoured and digested the new tidbit. That's the way it goes in our gymnasia. They are all designed, so they say, to turn out nothing but geniuses; instead, one lackey after another is graduated."

"A few hours spent browsing in the Talmud," I proceeded, "is quite sufficient to remove any doubt about the Jews. It is understandable that they have only the most inordinate praise for the book. When they peep into it their own peculiar nature peers back out at them. And that, of course, is the greatest source of joy for them. Thus, in essence, every Jew is a Talmudist, even if he has never looked at the Talmud. It makes no difference when it was written; in fact, it needn't have been written at all. The first Jew comprised all its essential ingredients. The Jewish leaders fully understand that, but they only say it metaphorically. 'The Talmud is an unimpeachable authority,' trumpeted the rabbi Dr. Gronemann, before a Hanover tribunal in 1894. 'The legal doctrines of the Talmud have precedence,' a Professor Cohen imperiously told a criminal court in Marburg in 1888. And he added -- now pay attention to this! -- that it applied also to non-believing Jews who, however, were nonetheless still a part of the Jewish community, since they acknowledge the moral doctrines of the Talmud. 'A masterpiece! From time to time the fellows blurt out a real secret in their babbling, but we just don't pay attention. 'Whatever it is in the Talmud we acknowledge to have absolute precedence over the whole law of Moses,' a group of so-called reformed Jews testified in Paris in 1860, with the concurrence of the Alliance Israelite. And a rabbi, Dr. Rahmer, has written in Pierer's Encyclopaedia that the Schul Aruch, a kind of Talmud for home use, has been 'taken on by the Israelitisch community as an authoritative guide for religious practice.' Taken on? Such a wag! Pretty soon I'll be 'taking on' the features of Dietrich Eckart."

"Lord," he said, "whoever doesn't become sickened and nauseated upon making a closer acquaintance with the Talmud can put himself on display in a circus side show."

"The local side show," I remarked, "has certain limits on the degree of abnormality it will exhibit. The young student from Tübingen who could gulp down half-a-dozen toads with gusto has been its greatest attraction till now. No one, though, has a stomach capable of digesting even this one passage from the Talmud: 'Rabbi Johanan said the penis of Rabbi Ishmael was as large as a six-kab {NOTE: The kab is an ancient Hebrew unit of measure equivalent to about two quarts. [Translator]} wineskin; according to others, three kabs. The penis of Rabbi Papa was as large as one of the baskets of the inhabitants of Harpania.' {NOTE: Talmud, Baba Mecia, 84a. It is interesting to note that recent editions of the Talmud replace the word "penis" (männliches Glied in German) with "waist" (Körperumfang in German). The 1933 Berlin edition translated by Lazarus Goldschmidt, for example, claims in a footnote to this passage that the appearance of männliches Glied in earlier editions was due to a "mistake" in translation. One only needs, however, to read the material adjacent to this passage, with its distinctly smutty character, to see that the original translation was no "mistake." [Translator]} The high-minded competitive zeal of the three old rabbis could knock an unprepared person off his chair."

"One finds a whole series of such pleasantries in this magnificent example

of a religious book," he said disgustedly. "The real clincher, however, is that non-Jewish girls 'who are less than three years and one day old' are considered 'suitable' for rabbis, since Moses had written: 'But all the women children that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves,' namely, for the rabbis. {NOTE: Talmud, Jabmuth, 606. The exact words of Goldschmidt's 1931 Berlin Edition of Jabmuth are: *Es wird gelehrt: R. Simon b. Johaj sagte: Eine Proselytin unter drei Jahren und einem Tage ist für Priester tauglich, denn es heisst: und alle Kinder unter den Weibern, die die Beiwohnung eines Mannes nicht erkannt haben, lass für euch leben...* [Translator]}

"The most abominable perversity and the most tedious syllable-thrashing in the same breath. What goes on within Jewish heads must really be frightful."

"They," I returned, "are of a contrary opinion on that. Otherwise their mirror image, the Talmud, wouldn't inform us that 'the Israelites are more pleasing before God than the angels,' {NOTE: Talmud, Hulin, 91b. One really must take the trouble to look into the Talmud oneself, in order to believe the truly astounding things to be found therein. We have referred to Goldschmidt's German translation, published by the Jüdischer Verlag (Berlin, 1930-1936), but the Talmud is also available in English (with the exception of a few of the more perverse passages) from the Soncino Press (London, 1935). [Translator]} or that 'the world was created on behalf of the Israelites alone,' or that 'whoever slaps a Jew in the face has struck God himself,' or that 'the sun illuminates the earth and the rain makes it fertile only because Israelites live on it,' and more of the same sort of modesty."

"I really doubt that there is any sort of medical encyclopaedia which contains terms suitable for describing the Jewish megalomania," he said. "But what an incredible talent they have for disguising it!"

"Their book Sirach," I completed, "howls: 'Terrify all peoples; lift your hand up against strangers, that they may see your power. The fire of wrath must burn them. Crush the heads of the princes, who are our enemies!' {NOTE: Sirach 36:2-12.} And the Schulchan Aruch rages: 'Pour out, oh Lord, your fury over the goyim, who do not know you, and over the kingdoms which do not invoke your name. Pursue them in wrath and extinguish them beneath God's heaven!' {NOTE: Schulchan Aruch, Orach Gajim, 480.} They make the same threat in both places, with the distinction that the Schulchan Aruch emphasizes that all must be exterminated who do not swear on Jehova."

"And with such an abominable moral doctrine on his conscience," he began to boil, "that marvel of modern Jewry, Moses Mendelssohn, {NOTE: Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) was a troll-like, hunchbacked, little Jew, originally a Talmudic scholar, who eventually displayed a vastly greater affinity for a fast buck than for the peculiar "wisdom" of the Talmud. Starting as a tutor in the house of a rich, Jewish silk merchant in Berlin, he soon became a partner in the business and amassed an enormous fortune. He was celebrated by his fellow Jews, as well as by a circle of Gentile

admirers, however, as an extraordinarily pious and clever philosopher. [Translator]] had the impudence to assert that 'dominion over the earth belongs by right to Jewry.' Because of their religion! As a trained Talmudist he certainly knew his way around in the whole, vile thing -- those extracts we have just quoted are only a tiny fraction -- but he still... oh, this lying, this utterly mendacious pack, the very essence of the lie!"

"All Berlin," I said, "buzzed with praise for the 'wise', for the 'noble' Moses. But Goethe wasn't deceived: 'Jewish trivia!' was his comment on the pious trickery. It struck no one as odd that the incomparable Moses philosophized himself in the twinkling of an eye from a simple, private tutor to the powerfully wealthy founder of the banking house of Mendelssohn, thus avoiding by a wide detour the eye of the needle. This benefactor of mankind slyly promoted the idea that the Jewish people constitute a religious community only. Today this still constitutes a favorite nostrum of the Jews. A certain Dr. Ruppin has revealed why. 'Special laws against the Jews,' he tells us as he chuckles and rubs his hands together, 'have always been directed against the religious aspects of Jewry, since this sphere of activity provided the only easily conceivable target for legislation. Anti-Semitism, has never really been inimicable to the Jewish religion, but has been indifferent to it.' {NOTE: Arthur Ruppin, *Die Juden der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1904), p. 203 ff.} So! We now have an admission that their 'religion' serves a very useful diversionary purpose. Anyone, however, who has become acquainted with it has found out that what the Jews call their religion coincides exactly with their character."

"That's what they themselves say," he said. "They are incessantly boasting, too, that their religion is such a masterful creation that it stands alone in the world. Then bring the Talmud forward! It contains the Jewish religion in its purest form -- theology, dogmatics, morality, everything together in the same place. Why do they hold back the magnificent book so nervously, if indeed 'the millennia have given the breath of its existence' to it? As born benefactors of mankind they should have long since made it accessible to the general populace. Instead, it still hasn't been completely translated, even today. And who in the devil has read what there is of it? One would think they are afraid some medieval church is still waiting to burn it for heresy."

"Some religion! This wallowing in filth, this hate, this malice, this arrogance, this hypocrisy, this pettifogging, this incitement to deceit and murder -- is that a religion? Then there has never been anyone more religious than the devil himself. It is the Jewish essence, the Jewish character, period!"

"Luther," I interjected, "expressed his opinion of it plainly enough. He urges us to burn the synagogues and Jewish schools and to heap earth on the remains 'so that no man would ever again see one stone or cinder of them.' God would forgive us for what we formerly had tolerated through our ignorance -- 'I hadn't known it myself,' he wrote -- but now that we were aware of what went on, we dared not, at any price, protect these buildings 'wherein they slander, curse, spit on, and revile both Christ and us.' {NOTE:

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Luther, Von den Juden und ihren Lügen.} We could hardly speak more strongly ourselves. He also urged the destruction of their houses, for they carried on there the same way as in their schools. 'Some may feel,' he complained, 'that my judgment is too harsh. It is, if anything, too lenient, for I have seen their writings.' {NOTE: *Ibid.*}

"Our school inspectors apparently haven't seen them, nor have our charmers or wizards."

"Burning their synagogues, I am afraid, would have been of little avail," he shrugged. "Even if there had never been a synagogue, a Jewish school, an Old Testament, or a Talmud, the Jewish spirit would still have been there and had its effect. It has always been there. Every Jew ever born has embodied it. And that is even more pronounced with the so-called enlightened Jews. Heine belonged, certainly, among the most enlightened, but he had just as much insane arrogance as the greasiest Galician kike. Moses Mendelssohn passed for a downright wonder of wisdom. Yet, lo and behold, he found it actually shocking that the Jews still didn't have the dominion over the earth which was due them!"

"From long years of experience," I brought out, "Dostoevski depicted the hair-raising conceit of the Russian Jew. {NOTE: *Feodor Dostoevski, An Author's Diary, (1876-1880)*} For a long time he lived with all kinds of convicts, including several Jews, sleeping on the same wooden bunks with them. Everyone treated these Jews in a friendly manner, he reported, not even taking offense at their raving-mad manner of praying. Probably their own religion had once been like that, thought the Russians to themselves, and they quietly let the Jews do as they pleased. But, on the other hand, the Jews haughtily rejected the Russians, didn't want to eat with them, and looked down on them. And where was this? In a Siberian prison! {NOTE: *Dostoevski spent five years in a Siberian prison camp at Omsk (1849-1854).* [Translator]} All over Russia Dostoevski found this antipathy and loathing of the Jews for the natives. Nowhere, however, did the Russian people resent their behavior, indulgently believing it to be a part of the Jewish religion."

"Yes, indeed, and what a religion!" he said scornfully. "It is the character of a people which determines the nature of their religion, not the other way around."

"Dostoevski," I continued, "was compassion itself but, like Christ, he took exception to the Jews. With foreboding, he asked what would happen in Russia if ever the Jews should get the upper hand there. Would they even approximately give the natives the same rights they themselves enjoyed? Would they likewise allow them to pray in the manner they wished or would they not simply make slaves of them? Still worse, 'wouldn't they skin and fleece them?' Wouldn't they even exterminate them, as they had so often done with other peoples in their history?"

"Ah, could our workers but share his forebodings, particularly those who

hope for salvation from the Soviets!" he cried. "Famine, mass graves, slavery, Jewish whips. Whoever goes on strike is hanged. 'Come hither, all ye who are weary and heavy laden.' How they whistle, the dogs! And how fine that sounds, in front of the curtain! Behind it, however, lurk the pampered 'Pöbelvolk' the Red Army, the dregs of non-Jewish humanity."

"The toll of Russians sacrificed since the beginning of Bolshevik domination is estimated by the authorities at about thirty million," I answered. "Those who weren't summarily executed fell to famine and disease. Were they all bourgeois? Only an imbecile could believe that. Who among us then has the most to suffer? The thousands who every day stand for long hours at their various occupations. Capitalists are hardly a majority among them. But that hasn't dawned on our workers. In their eagerness to be the masters, they let themselves be led about by the nose like children."

"Ebert {NOTE: Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925) was the Marxist leader of the Social Democrats. He collaborated with other traitors to bring about the German collapse of 1918 and became Reichspräsident under the new regime, in 1919.. [Translator]} has thundered against capitalism his whole life. Now he is president. And? At every street corner banks sprout from the ground like mushrooms. That is certainly a fact. Everyone sees it. Anyone can reach out and touch it. But does that lead anyone to smell a rat? Not on your life!

"The first thing the Jew Eisner {NOTE: Kurt Eisner (1867-1919) was a Jewish journalist politician and Marxist leader in Bavaria. A principal organizer of the 1918 revolution (Dolchstoß), he became first president of the Bavarian republic. He was executed by a German patriot in 1919. [Translator]} did after the revolution was have the banks guarded by the army. Capitalists smuggled their enormous hordes of money out of the country for months, and he didn't raise a finger to stop them. He felt it was more important to travel to the Socialist Congress in Switzerland and there place the entire guilt for the world war on Germany. Do penance, he said, and the French will forgivingly clasp you to their hearts. Quite likely! Experience has gloriously confirmed it."

"The same Eisner," he nodded, "who, at the beginning of the war, sent a flood of telegrams to the other Social Democrat leaders, entreating them to remain true to the Kaiser. A disgraceful stab in the back must be avoided at all costs, said he. It went like that until the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. {NOTE: The treaty of March 3, 1918, ending hostilities between Germany and Russia, was signed at Brest Litovsk. [Translator]} Up till then all German Jews were inspired monarchists. But then came the about-face. The Moor had done his duty and crushed Czarist Russia; now for him to crush himself. The rest is silence. Visible to all eyes, the Jew also made his bid in Germany."

"Oh, workers! To let yourselves be thus deceived! Things are different than which innocents let themselves dream. The Communist Party in Germany still has fewer than a quarter of a million members; yet it owns over fifty

newspapers. What that costs is simply incalculable. Millions. Who pays these enormous sums? We National Socialists have our hands full just keeping our one Beobachter {NOTE: *The Völkischer Beobachter* was the official NSDAP newspaper, from December, 1920, on. [Translator]} going. If we had an arrangement with the Jews, we would have a prodigious number of party newspapers in an instant. Are there comrades who doubt that? I'd like to meet one. And, look here, this is the incredible thing: they know that the Jews are secretly behind things, but they act as if it weren't so at all. Is that honest? Can that lead to a happy outcome? To rush to destruction unsuspectingly is one thing, but to do it knowingly and to single out one's grimmest enemy as an accomplice is another."

"I'd like to know," I remarked, "what the comrades would say if one proved to them in black and white that the Junkers or the big industrialists have had a secret moral philosophy of the most abominable sort since the time 'x'. Their rage would be unimaginable. 'Aha!' everyone would roar. 'With principles like that it is no wonder the devils torment us so! Imagine that! How can anyone be that mean and vile? The whole bunch of them should be exterminated!' They would carry on like that, as if possessed, and rightly so. But, on the other hand, when one shows them that the Jews have, in their official religious books, the most hair-raising statements about the plundering and murder of all Gentiles, it makes no difference at all to them. They either dispute it or, when that seems hopeless, say that most Jews haven't been that religious for a long time and don't concern themselves with that stuff anymore. It never occurs to them that the Jewish character is the source of their vile literature."

"But this," he said, "tops it all: all -- and I mean all -- social injustices of any significance in the world today can be traced back to the subterranean influence of the Jews. The workers seek, therefore, to eliminate with the help of the Jews those evils which none other than the Jews themselves have consciously and deliberately established. One can imagine what kind of help they will receive."

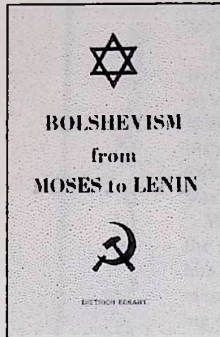
"Behold the modest Joseph!" I rejoined. "His influence on the Pharaoh caused the Egyptians dreadful distress, from which they later thought they would free themselves with the help of Moses. I must admit that the episode does not lack a certain grim humor."

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BOLSHEVISM from MOSES to LENIN

by *Dietrich Eckart*

Translated from the German by William L. Pierce

A Dialogue Between Adolf Hitler and Me

HRP Historical Review Press: £ 3,,50 including p+p - hrp@larc.demon.co.uk

CHAPTER VIII

"The truth," he said, "is, indeed, as you once wrote: one can only understand the Jew when one knows what his ultimate goal is. And that goal is, beyond world domination, the annihilation of the world. He must wear down all the rest of mankind, he persuades himself, in order to prepare a paradise on earth. He has made himself believe that only he is capable of this great task, and, considering his ideas of paradise, that is certainly so. But one sees, if only in the means which he employs, that he is secretly driven to something else. While he pretends to himself to be elevating mankind, he torments men to despair, to madness, to ruin. If a halt is not ordered, he will destroy all men. His nature compels him to that goal, even though he dimly realizes that he must thereby destroy himself. There is no other way for him; he must act thus. This realization of the unconditional dependence of his own existence upon that of his victims appears to me to be the main cause for his hatred. To be obliged to try and annihilate us with all his might, but at the same time to suspect that that must lead inevitably to his own ruin, therein it lies. If you will: the tragedy of Lucifer."

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resounding in the darkness of confusion and doubt within the human soul: Through Compassion to Self-Knowledge.

For the very first time in his life he knew the meaning of compassion, joy and spiritual release. He felt somehow renewed as a complete human being, and he knew intuitively that life itself was a gift of grace from celestial powers. A deep longing arose in his heart to understand the aims of human evolution and to discover the meaning of his own individual destiny. It was a chastening experience.

Walter Stein found that he was not the only one moved by the sight of this historic Spearhead. Adolf Hitler stood beside him like a man in a trance, a man over whom some dreadful magic spell had been cast. His face was flushed and his brooding eyes shone with an alien emanation. He was swaying on his feet as though caught up in some totally inexplicable euphoria. The very space around him seemed enlivened with some subtle irradiation, a kind of ghostly ectoplasmic light. His whole physiognomy and stance appeared transformed as if some mighty Spirit now inhabited his very soul, creating within and around him a kind of evil transfiguration of its own nature and power.

The young student recalled the legend of the two opposing Spirits of Good and Evil associated with this Spear of World Destiny. Was he a witness of the incorporation of the Spirit of the Anti-Christ in this deluded human soul? he asked himself. Had this tramp from the dosshouse momentarily become the vessel of that Spirit which the Bible called "Lucifer", the Spirit whom the verses of the Grail poem described as leading the evil hosts which had been cast down into the souls of mankind.

It was difficult to believe the evidence of his own eyes but events were to prove Walter Stein correct. For it was the sight of this same Spirit within the soul of Adolf Hitler which later inspired Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Wagner's son-in-law and the prophet of the Pan-Germanic world, to proclaim him as the German "Messiah".

It was not only the fanatic followers of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, or people who had been personally affected by the

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charisma and dynamism of Adolf Hitler, who were to give evidence of this remarkable phenomena of his "Luciferic" possession. Take, for instance, the testimony of a rational and extroverted person like Denis de Rougemont:

"Some people believe, from having experienced in his presence a feeling of horror and an impression of supernatural power, that he is the seat of 'Thrones, Dominions and Powers', by which Saint Paul meant those hierarchical spirits which can descend into any ordinary mortal and occupy him like a garrison. . . . Where do the superhuman powers he shows on these occasions come from? It is quite obvious that a force of this kind does not belong to the individual and indeed could not even manifest itself unless the individual were of no importance except as the vehicle of a force for which our psychology has no explanation. . . . What I am saying would be the cheapest form of romantic nonsense were it not that what has been established by this man or rather—through him—is a reality that is one of the wonders of the century."

Of course, Walter Stein could not have foreseen that day in the Treasure House in Vienna in September 1912 that Adolf Hitler would channelise such demonic powers or harness his personal destiny so completely to the Anti-Spirit of the Spear. "At that time when we first stood side by side in front of the Spear of Longinus," Dr. Stein told me thirty-five years later, "it appeared to me that Hitler was in so deep a condition of trance that he was suffering almost complete sense-denudation and a total eclipse of self-consciousness."

In other words, Hitler's soul life was not mature enough at that moment to maintain an awareness of himself and his surroundings when this alien entity entered him. During the following six months during a series of irregular meetings and discussions with Hitler, Walter Stein was to witness a maturing soul development in this enigmatic character through which he became more and more a conscious and responsive tool of the world-shattering purposes of the demonic Spirit which overshadowed him. "I move like a sleep-walker where Providence dictates," said Adolf Hitler at a Press interview. What a

Raven

KAISER WILHELM'S SOOTHSAYER

1938

associated with the Spear; Kaiser Wilhelm who attempted by means of a ruse to steal this talisman of world conquest when Germany stood on the brink of a global conflict; and Quartermaster General Helmuth von Moltke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff of the German Army, who cleverly contrived to keep the sacred weapon out of the hands of his deluded and power-hungry Monarch.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain has been described as both the true successor to the genius of Friedrich Nietzsche and "one of the most astonishing talents in the history of the German mind, a mine of information and ideas."*

He was born in 1855, the son of an English Admiral and the nephew of Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain. Brought up by relatives in Paris, where he was schooled under the private tuition of a remarkable Prussian tutor, his lively and eager mind quickly absorbed the glories of militant Prussia and the works of the great German poets and philosophers like Goethe, Fichte, Hegel and Richard Wagner.

At the age of twenty-seven, Chamberlain moved to Germany where he settled in Dresden and very soon became more German than the Germans, literally adopting their nationality, language, mind and soul. In 1899 he published his most important work, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (The Foundation of the Nineteenth Century) which exploded like a bomb upon the receptive minds of the German nation and made him famous overnight.

With a stupendous erudition which mesmerised the German intellectuals, he contrived to synthesise the opposing doctrines of Richard Wagner and Friedrich Nietzsche. To the delight of the Junker families and the elite of the Officer Corps, he developed and expanded Wagner's doctrine of the Aryan Master Race. According to Chamberlain there was no need for the tragedy of the "Twilight of the Gods" brought about by the pollution of inferior races. With one stroke of the pen, he eradicated the whole idea that a noble race needed to decline and decay with

* Konrad Heiden: *Der Führer*.

Hitler remarks to Neville Chamberlain that he had met his relative. 1938.

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Nobody except the ex-dustman knows where. The vessel of the *Doppelgänger*, the man who never was, had been dumped like any old rubbish in an unknown grave.

It was the deep-seated and widespread myth of 'the stab in the back' which gave the possibility for the World *Doppelgänger* to appear on the scene of German history in the twentieth century. The dissemination of this myth, so loudly proclaimed by Adolf Hitler, persuaded the masses that the German Armies were both unconquered and invincible, and that the Armistice which ended World War I was forced upon Germany by internal treachery.

Within the shadow of this widely-held and dangerous illusion the global Anti-Man arose almost invisibly to power until it was too late to stop it. For the monster who occupied Heinrich Himmler, the world's most unlikely tyrant, achieved the pinnacle of personal power of life and death over the people of Germany under the guise of safeguarding their interests and protecting the Nation from non-existent enemies!

The vessel for this role of mass enslavement and mass extermination of millions of innocent people had to be a man without an Ego, a soulless zombie totally incapable of the experience of love or of any human motive. And this is exactly what Heinrich Himmler was, an anti-human in a human body. One cannot even call Himmler a soul imprisoned and possessed by evil as was the case of Adolf Hitler. For in Himmler there was no self-conscious soul to be possessed, only a body and brain to be occupied and bent to inhuman purposes.

Himmler's father, Professor Gebhard Himmler, had spent several years as a personal tutor to Prince Heinrich of Bavaria, whom he instructed in the august family history of the Wittelsbach monarchy. And the young Heinrich, named after this Roman Catholic prince who became his God-father, grew up in a cultural atmosphere in which he too was nurtured from childhood on the same princely diet of German mythology and stories of the great heroes and kings of Germanic history.

Later at Landshut High School, where his father became headmaster, Heinrich Himmler astonished his teachers with the extent of his colourless card index memory of events and dates in European history. This talent to store away information and spill it out like a computer bank when needed was to become the very talent which took Himmler to power. His capacity for memorising history was also a preparation through which the World *Doppelgänger* could anticipate the *Weltanschauung* of Adolf Hitler, which in itself developed out of a pronounced historical cast of mind.

Entirely lacking in human warmth and personality and devoid of any sense of fun, Himmler appeared to his school fellows as a complete nonentity. Their attitude towards him was a mixture of contempt and fear, for he quickly gained a reputation as a sulky spoilsport and a notorious informer.

Family connections in service of the Bavarian Royal Household assured the right social background for officer training during World War I, but hostilities were over a few weeks before Ensign Himmler was considered old enough for battle service on the Western Front. Still determined to become a professional soldier, he applied for a permanent place in the post-war Reichswehr, a highly efficient force limited to one hundred thousand picked men. He was astonished to find himself refused on the grounds that he was both physically and psychologically unsuitable. He entered Munich Technical College to take a diploma in agriculture and later found a lowly place as a representative of a firm concerned in the manufacture of artificial fertilisers. A morose and disappointed youth he seemed to face a future which offered no hope of success.

While still a student in Munich, Himmler began to take an interest in the contemporary political scene. The race ideology of Nazism with its brutality towards the Jews excited him immensely and he attempted to join the ranks of Adolf Hitler's S.A., the Brown Shirts who appeared *en masse* at Party meetings to terrorise hecklers or to break up the local Communist groups. The tough Non-Coms who recruited for the S.A., all hard-

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THE 'DOPPELGÄNGER'

ened veterans of trench warfare, spurned his repeated applications to join up. The weedy young man with the high-pitched voice and the strangely staring eyes magnified behind the lenses of rimless glasses was the very type of man they did not want. Finally he found a place in one of the many insignificant patriotic front organisations called the *Reichskriegsflagge*.

It was an exciting day for him when he put on his military uniform once more as a member of the *Reichskriegsflagge* who were called out by Captain Ernst Röhm in support of Adolf Hitler's pocket revolution in Munich in 1923.

After the farcical *Putsch* was broken up and dispersed by a couple of well-aimed volleys from the armed police, Himmler stayed on grimly as a member of a revolutionary picket posted outside the War Ministry. Soon the police arrived to break up this picket and arrest its members. But nobody considered the awkward looking ex-Ensign worth arresting, nor did they even bother to relieve him of his pistol! And finally the pale and puffy-faced young man walked back unmolested through the streets of Munich to catch a train home.

Yet fate was plotting secretly for a meteoric rise to power for the egoless zombie who had not been able to secure attention even with a loaded gun. The very failure of the Munich *Putsch* was to bring about the banning and temporary disbandment of the S.A. which had so haughtily spurned his services. And he was to find a backdoor right into the heart of the new and infamous formation which was created to circumvent the ban. When Hitler emerged from the Landsberg Fortress his very first act was to form the SS, the *Schutzstaffeln* or Protective Guards. This new formation of men who wore black breeches, jackets and shirts provided the bodyguard for Adolf Hitler and other Party Leaders when they held political meetings in areas hostile to Nazism.

Meanwhile Himmler had been sacked from the chemical firm which had been employing him, and in seeking for a new job he applied for the position of Secretary to Gregor Strasser, the local Nazi Party Chief in Landshut. Himmler secured the

job for one reason only. Strasser overlooked the obvious lack of personality, hesitant manner and stuttering voice of Heinrich Himmler when he discovered that he had graduated in chemistry. For Strasser himself had been a chemist before turning his hand to full-time political activities. Hitching his career to Strasser's star, Himmler's position became more important when his boss was promoted to assume control of the overall propaganda and publicity of the Party.

The next link in the unlikely chain of events which would lead Himmler along the path to a position of power took place when Adolf Hitler found a remunerative way of employment for the volunteer members of the newly formed SS. Adolf Hitler had a large financial stake in the Party newspaper, *Der Völkischer Beobachter*, and the members of the SS were given jobs as space-sellers.

And so it came about that the first members of the most dreaded Order in Nazi Germany earned their living selling advertising space, acting as both extra reporters gathering news and as spies collecting information about the activities of local Communists and other enemies of the Party. Himmler, in his capacity as Secretary to Gregor Strasser, collated and indexed the information which the SS men brought back to the newspaper office. Very quickly Himmler was promoted to the imposing post of Assistant Propaganda Chief of the Nazi Party.

Willi Frischauer, the author of a work on Heinrich Himmler, spent many months researching the details of Himmler's life at this period. His description of the events leading up to the meeting between Hitler and Himmler and the manner in which their later relationship developed gives a staggering picture of the hidden communion between Lucifer and the World Double. Of course, Frischauer is not an occultist and he had no intention of illustrating such an occult relationship. It is simply that his work is so faithfully researched that the very sequence of events in this biographical study contains within itself all the clues to the presence of the Anti-Man behind the outer façade of Himmler's life.

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THE 'DOPPELGÄNGER'

"The young Party official (Himmler) occupied a small desk in a room crammed with newspaper files and shelves stacked with Party records and correspondence. A framed picture of Adolf Hitler adorned the wall facing Heinrich Himmler: 'I look up to you, mein Führer, look up to you literally!' Himmler ingratiatingly used to say in an attempt to make a deferential joke after his fashion. Hans Erhard, one of the people who knew Himmler at this time, told me he had secretly observed Himmler not only looking up to Hitler, but addressing the picture as a sort of rehearsal for the first time he would meet the Führer.

"When that day came, not much later, Himmler had no opportunity to speak to Hitler. The Führer looked through him, never even asking his name. It is characteristic of Himmler's nebulous insignificance at the time that I have failed to discover any definite date or occasion on which these two men established personal contact. Himmler was around—that was all. Imperceptibly he grew into the group of Nazi leaders who at first disregarded him, later accepted him as someone to whose presence they had become accustomed. His most prominent trait at that time was a dog-like subservience to his superiors, a determined reluctance to express any views of his own, an untiring diligence in keeping records and notes of any sort. Himmler has later often been described as a walking card index. . . ."

There can be no doubt that Hitler himself was totally unaware at this time of the secret communion between the Spirit which possessed him and the World *Doppelgänger* in Himmler, or even that Himmler was occupied by such a Being. Yet it is equally beyond doubt to occult insight that the Luciferic Principal, which utilised the Führer's subconscious mind like a pawn, not only recognised the Cosmic Anti-Man in Himmler but also sparked it into life, directing its inhuman purposes towards the fulfilment of the demonic aims of Nazism.

It is deeply significant in this light that Hitler regarded Himmler at this period in 1925 with every sign of outward contempt. Assessing Himmler's longing for further promotion and his fascination with titles of office, however meaningless, he rewarded him for his services with a title which was regarded

* Willi Frischauer: *Heinrich Himmler* (Odhams Press).

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by all the leading Nazis as the greatest joke in the history of the Party. Even the doleful Rudolf Hess is said to have slapped his thighs with laughter when he heard about it.

The time had arrived for the removal of the Government ban on the S.A. and a fresh and vigorous recruiting campaign was bringing in tens of thousands of new recruits to join the old core of veteran Brown Shirts who now reappeared in the streets in their pre-*Putsch* uniforms.

The very existence of the SS no longer appeared to have any meaning, and Adolf Hitler was convinced that this tiny force of two hundred men in black uniforms would soon disappear altogether from the contemporary Nazi scene.

Accordingly with mock pomp and ceremony he promoted the ambitious filing clerk to the rank of Deputy Leader of the SS. And he gave into Heinrich Himmler's personal keeping the so-called 'blood-flag' of the abortive November *Putsch*, the symbol of the greatest fiasco in the history of the Party.

The only person who did not regard this appointment as uproariously funny was Himmler himself, who did not even sense that he was the butt of the greatest leg-pull in years. He regarded his new post as a personal triumph, a generous recognition of his ability, and a stepping-stone to even greater things. Unfortunately for millions of innocent people, besides the leaders of the S.A., history itself was to prove Himmler correct in his apparently crazy assessment of the importance of his new promotion, title and appointment.

What Adolf Hitler himself was unable to see, but what the evil genius possessing his soul anticipated with startling exactness, was that the day would come when the S.A. would prove a terrible embarrassment to his personal ambition to become the undisputed Führer of a Third Reich. And that there would be an urgent need for an alternative force of determined and dedicated men to liquidate the leaders of the Brown Shirts.

It is true that Adolf Hitler was astonished at the sudden change which had inexplicably come about in the goofy filing clerk, and equally amazed and delighted with the manner in which Himmler had moulded his SS formation, and with the

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innovations and strict disciplines he had introduced, which conformed with the highest Nazi racist ideals. And for this reason Hitler maintained his SS bodyguard, the *Liebstandarte Adolf Hitler*, and permitted Himmler to increase the establishment of the SS to a strength of some 30,000 men.

Yet it was not a further application of Hitler's time-worn tactics of divide and rule which permitted the growth of the SS as a kind of counter balance against the increasing power of the S.A. After all, on the face of it, what were a paltry 30,000 SS compared with the might of the *Sturmabteilung* which numbered approximately three million men.

As late as 1933, when Hitler came to power by means of political cunning, he did not yet foresee that he would be forced to murder off Captain Röhm and the entire Staff Command of the S.A. in order to eliminate the Brown Shirts as a potential danger to his own position as leader of the Nazi Party. Even when he became Chancellor and handed out titles and offices to all the Nazi hierarchy, Himmler received only a minimal recognition for his services with the promotion to Police President of Munich, and his SS formations still remained a nominal part of the overall command of the S.A.

It was the High Command of the German Army, the originators of the myth of 'the stab in the back', who finally forced Hitler to turn against his oldest comrades among the 'Alte Kämpfer' of the S.A. And in demanding the elimination of the *Sturmabteilung* the High Command were unwittingly responsible for bringing Himmler suddenly and almost miraculously to a zenith of power, an unchallengeable position in the land, and second only to Hitler himself.

Watching the emergence of the Nazi régime the German General Staff had dealt shrewdly with Hitler, gaining many vital concessions for their promise not to intervene with force of arms in the internal political scene. The Generals had even induced Hitler to pass a law (Army Law 20) through the House of Representatives which removed all Reichswehr personnel—officers and other ranks—outside the jurisdiction of the

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Civil Courts. And they had persuaded the senile President von Hindenburg that he should retain the right to appoint a Minister of Defence of his own choice to any Government in power. In this manner the German Army had gained a position of total independence outside the control of the Nazi Party when Hitler became Chancellor.

Captain Ernst Röhm, the Chief of Staff of the S.A., and one of Adolf Hitler's closest personal friends, had scant respect for the Generals or for the rigid traditions of the Officer Corps. He pointed out that his own armed volunteers outnumbered the Reichswehr by thirty to one. He was sure he could persuade his Führer to overthrow and disband the German Army and to make the three million strong *Sturmabteilung* the nucleus of the new military arm of the nation.

In such hopes Röhm was greatly deluded, for Adolf Hitler now believed his own constantly-repeated lie about the complete invincibility of the German Army. He considered the Reichswehr to be indispensable for the fulfilment of his dreams of world conquest. He believed that he could not do without their traditional disciplines and fighting spirit, their training courses, military skills, and technical expertise. If it came to a choice between the Reichswehr and the *Sturmabteilung*, it was his old comrades who had helped him in his struggle to power who would have to go to the wall.

For a period Hitler sought a form of compromise in which the cream of the S.A. could be incorporated into the German Army. But such a compromise the German generals would under no circumstances accept.

The Officer Corps rightly regarded the *Sturmabteilung* as a pack of uncouth and undisciplined bums who had been responsible for a reign of violence on the streets unprecedented in the history of the nation, a period of crude brutality and terror in which even innocent people had been murdered in settlement of personal grudges under the guise of justified political activity.

And beyond this the generals pointed to the complete lack of moral qualities in Captain Röhm and his colleagues on the

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Staff of the S.A., men such as Heines who had gained a nation-
wide reputation for the disorder and luxury of their living and
for indulging in homosexual practices. Yet it was not such
criticisms of his own former henchmen which influenced Adolf
Hitler in his final decision.

What finally convinced Adolf Hitler of the potential danger
of Röhm and his *Sturmabteilung* was an open threat of a counter-
revolution. The rank and file of the S.A. felt they had been
shamefully left out in the scramble for titles and jobs when
Hitler came to power. And now they could not wait to take
over the ranks, prestige, pay and perks of the professional army,
and were prepared for any amount of blood-letting to attain
their aims.

Captain Röhm facing a state of mutiny within his own
organisation was forced to voice publicly his understanding of
their needs. "Anyone who thinks that the tasks of the *Sturmab-
teilung* have been accomplished," he told thousands of S.A. men
assembled on the Tempelhofer Feld outside Berlin, "will have to
get used to the idea that we are here and intend to stay here
come what may." In another speech in which he complained
that Hitler's revolution had not gone far enough, he shouted
out: "We must begin to clear out the pig-sty and drive some of
the dirty swine from their troughs."

This was the sign for Adolf Hitler to promote Heinrich
Himmler to a position in which he could become the official
state butcher in order to carry out the blood bath which would
involve the murder of 4,000 leading members of the *Sturmabtei-
lung*, the legacy of Hitler's years of struggle. And where in
German history is there to be found such a spectacular series of
promotions and extensions of power as those given to Heinrich
Himmler at this time? The World *Doppelgänger* was on his way
to that pinnacle of personal power from which he could hold the
lives of every man, woman and child in Germany, and later in
all Europe, in the palm of his hand.

"From October, 1933, onwards the German Press began to
announce the stepping-stones of Himmler's rise with monotonous

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regularity: 27th October, Himmler Chief of Political Police in Mecklenburg and Lübeck; 20 December, Himmler Chief of Political Police in Baden; 21 December, Himmler Chief of Political Police in Hesse and Anhalt; 24 December, Himmler Chief of Political Police in Bremen. The headlines screamed: the German people who were beginning to get acquainted with Himmler's methods, trembled. Ernst Röhm and the S.A. recognised the writing on the wall. Other appointments soon followed: Thuringia, Saxonia, Hamburg, Württemberg. Within a few months Himmler had become Chief of Political Police in every province in Germany except Prussia, where Göring clung to his job." (*Heinrich Himmler: Willi Frischauer.*)

While Himmler took over the running of the Gestapo from Göring and organised it on a national scale, and spies from the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SS Political Intelligence Dept.) kept a close watch on the day-to-day activities of Captain Röhm and his colleagues, Adolf Hitler continued to waver in a state of indecision over the prospect of killing off the men who had brought him to power.

It was at this moment that a significant thing happened which was to precipitate events. Fourteen years earlier, a certain General McClean, a Freemason of a high degree, had suggested to General Eric Ludendorff that the German Army had been stabbed in the back. The two Generals were dining together after the 1918 Armistice and Ludendorff was putting forward his belief that the German Army could never have been beaten on the field of battle. "You mean you were stabbed in the back," said the English General. "Yes, that's it. That is exactly what I do mean. We were stabbed in the back!" said Ludendorff, excited to have heard so apt an expression for the myth he sought to spread.

And now, in the moment of crisis in 1934, Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, a man who followed in the Tory tradition of mixing Freemasonry with power politics, arrived in Berlin for consultations with Adolf Hitler. He had come to Germany with the specific task of demanding that the strength of the *Sturmabteilung* should be reduced by two-thirds. There is

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no intention here to suggest any form of Freemason conspiracy, simply an attempt to illustrate how the Law of Karma worked on an international level in bringing the World *Doppelgänger* in Heinrich Himmler to power.

By conceding to Eden's demand to scrap the S.A., Hitler saw an opportunity to gain an aura of international confidence under the screen of which he could re-arm and expand the Reichswehr. General Blomberg, Army Chief of Staff, mysteriously chose the moment of Eden's visit to force Hitler's hand. "Relax the tension in the nation or President Hindenburg will declare martial law and hand power over to the Army," he told Hitler. The die was cast.

When an unknown assailant aimed a shot at Hitler in the grounds of Göring's home at Schorfheide outside Berlin, it was immediately assumed to be part of an S.A. plot to murder him.

Himmler, standing between Hitler and the unseen gunman, was wounded in the arm. "How grateful I am to destiny," cried the jubilant Himmler. "It has permitted me to save the life of my Führer!" From that time forward Himmler was to refer to himself as Adolf Hitler's "blood brother". The Röhm purge followed almost immediately.

The *Liebstandarte Adolf Hitler*, under the command of Sepp Dietrich, accompanied the Führer to Bavaria to despatch Ernst Röhm and his immediate henchmen. Himmler remained in Berlin to set up an execution H.Q. at the Lichterfelde Barracks where he could personally supervise the killings of the mass of arrested S.A. leaders and other revolutionaries.

The man without a conscience walked up and down behind his firing squads. Among those shot in cold blood was Gregor Strasser, his former boss of Munich days. While the dead piled high and gun barrels became almost too hot to hold, the Anti-Man made note of the names of the waverers and weaklings among his own Blackshirts who showed no stomach for cold-blooded murder.

Every shot fired paved the way for Himmler to assume total power, the blood bath inaugurating what was to become the

* Did Himmler set it up
wasn't he?

short and gruesome history of the Black Order. The era of the *Doppelgänger* had begun.*

By means of a *Schutzhaftbefehl*—an Order of Protective Custody—Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler, his plain-clothes agents in the Gestapo and his minions in the dreaded black uniforms could arrest whosoever they chose. All that was required was the entry of the prisoner's name on a readily available printed form—"In accordance with Paragraph I of the Order for Protection of Nation and Folk, to be taken forth-with into protective custody." This was the road of no-return along which millions were to tread to the brutality, torture and mass extermination of the Concentration Camps.

In the light of all that happened later it is simple enough to identify in retrospect the dissembling of the *Ur-Doppelgänger* in all Himmler's blatant and audacious falsifications regarding the moral justification for the use of 'Protective Custody' and in the manner in which he veiled the real conditions existing in the Concentration Camps.

"Protective Custody is an act of care," said Himmler in a public speech in Munich in the year in which he personally founded Dachau Concentration Camp. On this occasion he was attempting to silence the atrocity stories which were spreading abroad. "If I have taken such measures in rather an extensive

* The most prominent feature in the working of the *Doppelgänger* is an endless capacity to counterfeit and dissemble, to make something look what it is not, and to feign benign reasons and moral justification to cover up evil motives.

The whole Nazi regime was built up on such practices. For instance, Adolf Hitler achieved personal power through such a counterfeit law, the so-called 'Enabling Law', by which the Führer gained complete independence from both President and Reichstag. The actual title of this law, which Hitler secured by burning down the Reichstag to prove the existence of dangerous enemies of the state, was 'Law for Removing the Distress of People and Nation'. In this manner the power of all other political parties, state institutions and the Trades Unions was eliminated overnight. The application of the same law on an individual level extinguished the personal liberty of every single German in the Reich.

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manner, I have been understanding there was hostility against the under Protective Custody who have caused them to guarantee their safety.

"May I say right men on another occasion, voice, "for us the Jewish faith. Their Protective Custody in this spirit."*

Under what Heinrich of men, women and and worked to death products. The Plan the body and brain mastery of this cover items as innocent-extermination chamber sterilise unsuspecting fill in complicated by

The archetypal *Ur-Doppelgänger* in the Crucifixion itself with Chief of the Sanhedrin Guard to break the tion feigned behind could be put to death behind this subterfuge

* Extracts from General Himmler: Willi Frischauer
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manner, I have been misunderstood in many places! You must understand there was justifiable excitement, annoyance and hostility against those who opposed us. Only by taking them under Protective Custody was I able to save these personalities who have caused this annoyance. Only in this way was I able to guarantee their security of health and life."

"May I say right here," he told assembled foreign newspaper men on another occasion in his characteristic high-pitched voice, "for us the Jews are as much citizens as those of non-Jewish faith. Their lives and property are equally respected. Protective Custody where it concerns Jews must be understood in this spirit."*

Under what Heinrich Himmler called 'an act of care' millions of men, women and children were mercilessly enslaved, starved and worked to death in what became a state industry with by-products. The Planetary *Doppelgänger* or Anti-Man inhabiting the body and brain of the Reichsführer SS demonstrated the mastery of this counterfeit technique, culminating with such items as innocent-looking bathhouses for use as disguised extermination chambers and hidden radium-ray machines to sterilise unsuspecting slave workers as they stood at counters to fill in complicated but meaningless forms.

The archetypal instance of this counterfeit working of the *Ur-Doppelgänger* in the evolution of mankind† took place at the Crucifixion itself when Caiaphas, the Jewish High Priest and Chief of the Sanhedrin, ordered the Captain of the Temple Guard to break the bones of Jesus Christ. The moral justification feigned behind this order was that by Jewish Law no man could be put to death on the Sabbath Day. The real motive behind this subterfuge, as we have already described in the

* Extracts from German newspapers 1933-4, translation from Heinrich Himmler: Willi Frischauer.

† The *Doppelgänger* has been active throughout two thousand years of Christendom. And, of course, the working of the *Doppelgänger* sub-hierarchy in the twentieth century has not been confined to the machinations of the Nazis. In the current newspapers and TV news bulletins one can see endless instances of the working of the Anti-Man in all parts of the globe.

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Prologue of this book, was to mutilate the body of Christ so that the masses should not believe in Him as the Messiah; for it was written in the Scriptures that "a bone of Him shall not be broken." It was the presence on Golgotha of the Roman Centurion Gaius Cassius and his martial but compassionate deed with the Spear which defeated this diabolical plan.

In the light of the spiritual background we have uncovered regarding the first unleashing of the *Ur-Doppelgänger* against Jesus Christ and the obstruction of its inhuman aims by the timely, decisive and world historic deed of the Roman Centurion, it is not surprising that the same monstrous Anti-Man inhabiting Himmler had some association with the Spear of Longinus in the twentieth century. Heinrich Himmler was fascinated by the Spear of Destiny and involved himself compulsively in a deep study of its history through the ages. In fact, the two great central themes of interest in the life of the Reichsführer SS were the Spear of Longinus and the occult significance of the blood!

Whereas Adolf Hitler waited patiently for thirty years between his first sight of the Spear in the Hofburg and the day he claimed it as his own possession, Heinrich Himmler anticipated the event by having an exact replica of the Spear made for himself in 1935, three years before his Führer annexed Austria and plundered the treasures of the Hapsburg Dynasty.

It was the threat contained within a Germanic prophecy made a thousand years ago which spurred Heinrich Himmler to order a replica to be made of the Spear associated with a legend of world destiny. This prophecy, from the lips of a Saxon soothsayer in the tenth century reign of King Henry The Fowler, was to come true to the letter. It spoke of "a gigantic storm which would appear out of the East to overwhelm the German peoples if it was not confronted and turned back in the region of the Birkenwald in Westphalia."

Himmler, the man with the card-index mind that registered every facet of German history and legend, interpreted this prophecy to mean that Germany would be vanquished and overrun by Slavonic and yellow hordes from Russia and

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Every German schoolboy is familiar to this day with the heroic deeds of the Teutonic Knights. They came from many lands and had proved their knightly spirit in battle under many different sovereigns and flags. But when they entered the austere precincts of the Marienberg they abandoned their personal shields engraved with the heraldry and arms of at least four knightly and aristocratic ancestors. Their single emblem then became the Cross. They sought no other identity but as selfless Members of the Order and no other honour but to die in battle in order that they might gain eternal life.

For some years Himmler had considered transforming the SS into such a knightly Order. Though a crusade in service of the Cross was very far from his mind. He conceived an Order based on Aryan Blood in which each member should prove the blood in his veins to be unblemished by 'race-shame', *Rassenschande*, or indeed any admixture of non-Aryan blood for at least five generations. And now he envisaged a burg in Westphalia which should become the sacred assembly point and retreat for the leaders of the SS formations and other senior and totally dedicated members of the *Schutzstaffeln*. From this burg would go forth that dedicated Order of the new SS Warriors who would defeat and turn back the prophesied storm from the East. And in this burg would be kept the replica of the Spear to which was attributed powers of world conquest.

On the site of the ruins of an ancient but unidentified medieval burg near Paderborn, Heinrich Himmler ceremoniously laid the foundation stone of what was to become the infamous Wewelsburg. The project, which cost some 13 million marks ~~was built~~ in less than a year, the heaviest labour being carried out by slave workers from a nearby concentration camp under the whips of their SS guards.

"When it was completed it was a unique reconstruction of a medieval castle, yet built to realise the image in Himmler's mind. Every room was furnished in a different style—not even a single

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desk was duplicated. Only leading craftsmen of every branch had been employed to produce fine tapestries, solid oak furniture, wrought-iron door handles, candlesticks. Priceless carpets were acquired, curtains of heavy brocade flanked the high windows. Doors were carved and embellished with precious metals and stones. Built in the old Germanic style on a triangular foundation, the burg's towers rose high over the surrounding forest."*

Though Bartels carried out the major architectural work in the construction of the Wewelsburg, Himmler added his own personal masterstroke in the way that he made the Spear of Destiny the progressive theme of the interior design and symbolic decoration of the whole castle. For Himmler conceived that each room should be designed, laid out and decorated in every detail to personify the life-style, traditions, beliefs and achievements of every individual claimant of the legendary Spear from the ninth century to the nineteenth century—that is, from Charles The Great until the collapse of the Old German Empire in 1806 when the ancient and historic weapon was secreted out of Nuremberg and taken to Vienna where it was out of the ambitious clutches of Napoleon Bonaparte.

There was a room for Frederick Barbarossa which was always kept locked and reserved for Adolf Hitler should he ever wish to visit the sacred sanctuary of his SS elite. There were rooms for Otto The Great, Henry The Lion, Frederick Hohenstauffen, Philip of Swabia, Conrad IV—just to mention a few of the illustrious Kings and Emperors who had staked their claims to the Spear of Longinus and associated the fulfilment of a world-historic destiny to its powers.

Each room contained genuine period pieces and such items as swords, shields, armour, even personal garments and jewels which had belonged to each heroic figure in the succession of claimants to the Spear. Paintings and tapestries hung from the walls along with the regalia of their courts. Himmler sent his minions all over Germany and Europe to search museums and private collections and to bring back their finds whatever the cost.

* *Heinrich Himmler: Willi Frischauer.*

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When the leaders of the SS formations and members of the senior ranks came together several times a year at the Wewelsburg to attend conferences and the like, each officer was allocated a different room on each occasion so that gradually all became thoroughly acquainted with the history of this ancient weapon upon the powers of which the Reichsführer set such store.

Heinrich Himmler never exchanged his own room in which nobody else was permitted to sleep in his absence. This was the room created as a shrine to the memory of the celebrated Henry I, sometimes called the 'Bird Catcher', the first of the great Saxon Kings of whom the ghoulish *Reichsheini* believed himself to be the reincarnation! And it was in this room, the memorial of the Warrior King who turned back the marauding hordes of Magyars from the East, that the replica of the Spear of Destiny was kept. There it stood on Himmler's desk, resting on a faded red velvet cushion in an ancient-looking leather case. A temporary talisman of power until the day the Führer grabbed Austria and brought back to the Fatherland the genuine article, which Himmler wrongly assumed would be handed over to the SS as a symbol of the new Holy Order.

It is not possible to consider the personality of Himmler in connection with reincarnation, for there was no real 'Ego' within him. The question arises here as to what was the real nature of his personal experience of identity. It is a baffling question. He must have experienced several levels of synthetic self-consciousness. For instance, a family identity was very strong in him and he wept like a small child when his mother died, apparently for a time quite unconsolable. There were also elements of an Officer Class identity onto which he clung in the aftermath of World War I. And there was a Race Identity, a totally unrealistic castle in the air upon which much of his personality as Reichsführer SS was based, and under the spell of which he was to commit endless crimes against humanity.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

HITLER CLAIMS THE SPEAR OF LONGINUS

The bell of the Royal Chapel of the Hapsburg Emperors rang out to celebrate the German annexation of Austria and its incorporation in the Third Reich. Crowds filled the Ring and lined both sides of the entire length of the Ringstrasse to welcome the German Führer to Vienna, the capital city of his homeland.

The picked troops of Keitel's 8th Army Group and the tanks of Guderian's vaunted Panzer Division, which had crossed the border into Austria two days previously, were now assembled before the huge reviewing stand immediately in front of the ancient Hofburg. All now awaited the arrival of the man who had once tramped the pavements of the ancient Imperial City "as a vagabond, unwashed and empty-bellied". The same man "who but four years before had assumed in Germany the powers of the Hohenzollern Kings and had now taken upon himself those of the Hapsburg Emperors."*

Adolf Hitler crossed the frontier to drive through decorated villages on his way to Linz where he had once lived and attended school. In Linz he awaited the arrival from Vienna of Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler to confirm that his well-laid plans to secure the Spear of Longinus had been successful

* *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*: William L. Shirer.

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HITLER CLAIMS THE SPEAR OF LONGINUS

and that a guard of picked Stormtroopers were standing guard over it in the Treasure House of the Hofburg.

His fears that this talisman of world-historic destiny might evade his grasp at the last moment, in the same manner as it had eluded the clutches of Napoleon, were now abated. Yet fearing an assassination attempt, like that of Friedrich Staps on the person of the French Emperor in the grounds of the Hapsburg summer palace, Hitler delayed his entry into Vienna for a further day so that additional security measures could be taken to protect him. While excitement reached fever pitch at Hitler's unexpected announcement of a total Anschluss, and the SS rounded up thousands of known and potential anti-Nazis, Adolf Hitler visited Leonding to place a wreath on his mother's grave.

It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of resentment and bitterness which arose in Hitler's heart at the recollection of the poverty and isolation in which his widowed mother had died in Linz, and his own terrible years of starvation and loneliness as an outcast in Vienna which followed immediately upon her death.

Adolf Hitler was to tell the Bürgermeister of Vienna: "Be assured that this City is in my eyes a pearl—I will bring it into a setting which is worthy of it." Yet nothing could have been further from the truth.* He was determined to reduce the ancient Imperial City to the status of a Provincial town and Austria itself to the position of the most insignificant German satellite. The people who "had rejected him and condemned him in his youth to a starved and miserable gutter life" must now pay the price for their mistake.

When Hitler was driven down the Ringstrasse to the Ring and onto the Heldenplatz to the reviewing stand in front of the Hofburg, the tumultuous jubilation of the crowds reached near

* Hitler spoke with incredible and endless venom to rant against the people of Vienna. "Vienna should never have been admitted into the Union with greater Germany," Hitler said. He never felt any love for Vienna. He loathed its people. *Testimony at Nuremberg of Baldur von Shirach, Gauleiter of Vienna.*

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William L. Shirer.

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delirium. How could the citizens of Vienna have known that the ecstasy on the face of Adolf Hitler was the twisted ecstasy of revenge!

The blasphemous spirit of Friedrich Nietzsche must have choked with glee as Adolf Hitler broadcast the greatest deception of his life to his new and unsuspecting subjects: "I felt the call of Providence had come to me. In three days the Lord has smitten them (Miklas, Schuschnigg and those others who had dared to resist him). And to me the grace was given on the day of the betrayal to be able to unite my homeland to the Reich. I would give thanks to Him who let me return to my homeland in order that I might now lead it into the German Reich. Tomorrow may every German recognise the hour and measure its import and bow in humility before the Almighty, who in a few weeks has wrought such a miracle upon us!"*

After reviewing the assembled ranks of the Austrian SS, and granting permission for the founding of a new SS Regiment *Der Führer*, Adolf Hitler refused an invitation to make a grand tour of the City in which he had once frequented the flophouse. He left the Ring to drive directly to the Imperial Hotel where the most luxurious suite in the city awaited him. Arrangements for a civic dinner and reception were cancelled while Hitler, still terrified that an attempt would be made to kill him, remained in his closely-guarded suite.

It was long after midnight when he left the Imperial Hotel in the company of Heinrich Himmler to make the long-awaited visit to the Weltliche Schatzkammer to claim the Spear of Destiny as his own personal possession.

Awaiting him at the Hofburg were Wolfram von Sievers,

* "The ubiquitous Papen, rushing by plane from Berlin to Vienna to get in on the festivities, found Hitler in the reviewing stand opposite the Hofburg, the ancient Palace of the Hapsburgs. 'I can only describe him,' Papen wrote later, 'as being in a state of ecstasy.'

"Yet underneath the ecstasy, and unnoticed by the shallow Papen, there may have burned in Hitler a feeling of revenge for a city and a people which had not appreciated him as a young man and which at heart he despised. This in part may have accounted for his brief stay." *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*: William L. Shirer.

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HITLER CLAIMS THE SPEAR OF LONGINUS

head of the Nazi Occult Bureau, Major Walter Buch, Nazi legal expert and chief of the USCHLA, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner, SS Führer, Austria. All three, along with Reinhardt Heydrich's *Sicherheitspolizei*, had played a separate role in helping to secure the Spear for him.

Von Sievers, responsible to Himmler for organising academic research into the history of the Heilige Lance, had arrived in Vienna several days before the Anschluss to ensure that the talisman of power was not removed from the city. Confidential dossiers had been made on all personnel connected with the Hofburg, from the Director and his archivists down to the most humble attendants.

When German troops first crossed the border into Austria, President Miklas had given orders that special reinforcements of police should be set to cordon off the inner city and that protection should be given to all government buildings, including the Hofburg. When the police arrived outside the Hofburg, they were met by determined ranks of black uniformed SS, fully armed and determined to brook no interference. The keys of the Treasure House, the equivalent of the chamber in the Tower of London where the Crown Jewels are guarded, had been handed over to the Nazis by defected officials. Ernst Kaltenbrunner himself had appeared on the scene with orders that the SS should open fire rather than concede to the directions of the police. As was the case in every city, town and village throughout Austria that night, the police gave in to the Nazis, so obviously on the brink of total power.

Major Walter Buch, father-in-law to Martin Bormann and Head of the *Oberstes Parteigericht*, was present to arrange the legal take-over of the Reichskleinodien, the precious symbols of the ancient German Empire which included the Heilige Lance. His task was to organise the return of the Spear of Longinus across the German border to Nuremberg. But Walter Buch, an occultist who was responsible for the liquidation of Freemasonry in Nazi Germany, had more than a legal interest in the Spear of Destiny and had been allowed to share Hitler's secret concerning his visions before this talisman of world destiny.

Hitler entered the Treasure House with Heinrich Himmler while Kaltenbrunner, von Sievers and Walter Buch waited outside with Hitler's aides and members of his personal body-guard. Shortly afterwards Heinrich Himmler came back down the narrow staircase of the Schatzkammer leaving the German Führer quite alone. There is no evidence of any kind of what took place during the hour or more in which Hitler remained in solitude with the talisman of world-historic destiny he had now come to make into his own personal possession.

Although, as we have amply illustrated, the Spear of Longinus had been the inspiration of his whole life and the key to his meteoric rise to power, it was more than a quarter of a century since he had last seen it, and nearly thirty years since he first beheld it and heard of its unique legend.

Whatever Hitler's visions on this occasion, the scene of the German Führer standing there before the ancient weapon must be regarded as the most critical moment of the twentieth century until the Americans claimed the Spear in Nuremberg in 1945, and, while holding it in their possession, inaugurated the Atomic Age by dropping their atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The British, French, Russian and Czechoslovak Governments had not lifted a finger to stop Adolf Hitler's annexation of Austria, which they regarded as no more than the inevitable union between two German peoples who shared the same heritage, language and culture.

Only the solitary voice of Winston Churchill warned the world that Hitler's entry into Vienna constituted such a decisive change in the balance of European power that world war was now inevitable. In possession, through Dr. Walter Stein, of all the facts regarding Adolf Hitler's fascination with the legend of world destiny associated with the Reich's Lance in the Hofburg, Winston Churchill could see with an even greater transparency the Nazi Führer's plans for world conquest.

In Churchill's eyes, "the acquisition of Vienna, for centuries regarded as the gateway to south-eastern Europe, placed the

German Army on the threshold of the Balkans.

Hitler had also a subjects to the Third Reich with Italy to bolster outflanked Czechoslovakia. He maintained rightly that the Czech State. And because his nerve-shattering and Russia were so apparently measured were no more than

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HITLER CLAIMS THE SPEAR OF LONGINUS

German Army on the edge of the Hungarian plain and at the threshold of the Balkans."*

Hitler had also added some seven or eight million German subjects to the Third Reich. He had gained a common frontier with Italy to bolster up the Berlin-Rome Axis. His armies now outflanked Czechoslovakia on three sides and Churchill maintained rightly that his next step would be the liquidation of the Czech State. And beyond this, Adolf Hitler had learned through his nerve-shattering political opportunism that Britain, France and Russia were so afraid of armed conflict that all their apparently measured plans to curb his territorial ambitions were no more than empty threats.

This same night would be known in Vienna as 'the night of the terror' or 'the night of revenge'. On Hitler's personal orders from the Imperial Hotel, the most dreadful pogrom was initiated against the large, rich and influential Jewish population, and in the coming days 70,000 Jews would be arrested. Such were the scenes of sadism and brutality in the streets that many Jews fled into Germany itself to find refuge. A new Concentration Camp was set up on the north bank of the Danube which was to earn an infamous reputation—Mauthausen. Here the official execution list was to be longer than in any other camp within the confines of the Reich. Reinhardt Heydrich was quickly doing a brisk trade with a new department named 'the Office for Jewish Emigration'. Later, under the direction of Karl Eichmann it would switch its role. Instead of selling exit permits to rich Jews in exchange for their worldly wealth, the department would organise mass deportations to the Gas Ovens of the death camps. It was admitted at the Nuremberg Trials that the decision to go ahead with the plans for the 'final solution' dated from the night of Hitler's triumphant entry into Vienna.

This was the night of decision. The time had come to cast away the instruments of guile and political cunning. From this moment forward Adolf Hitler would strike out openly to achieve his ultimate aim—the conquest of the world.

* *Hitler: Study in Tyranny*: Alan Bullock.

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THE ASHES

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spoor discovered on the Keyserlingk lands for many years to come.

There was to be a sinister sequel to this astonishing demonstra-
tion of pest control at Koberwitz. The Nazis repeated the
experiment with the 'potentised' ashes of the testicles, spleens
and portions of the skin of virile young Jews in an attempt to
drive the remnant of the Jewish population out of Germany for
ever. It was the last horrific act in the final solution when the
Third Reich was collapsing before the onslaught of the Allied
Armies. The order to carry out this diabolical plan came from
Hitler himself, but the evil genius who conceived it was
Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler.

Born in an apartment directly above the famous Liebig
Apothecary in Liebigstrasse, Munich, Himmler became fas-
cinated by the whole realm of chemistry at an early age. At
eighteen, he enrolled at Munich High School for a diploma in
Agriculture in which he specialised in farm chemistry. His
single job before joining the Nazi Party was with a firm* con-
cerned with the production of agricultural fertilisers. He worked
as a laboratory assistant in a department engaged on field tests.

It was through Adolf Hitler, who loudly proclaimed his con-
fidence in Homeopathy and was attended by homeopathic
physicians, that Himmler was first introduced to the idea of
potentising. It was not long before he came into possession by
illicit means of Dr. Steiner's Koberwitz lectures on Bio-
Dynamic farming and realised the immense possibilities in
homeopathic treatments to the soil and the application of
potentising in the elimination of plant and animal diseases. A
branch of the Ahnenerbe was later set up to carry out experi-
ments in this aspect of farming. Himmler also learned all the
details of the homeopathic techniques of pest control but was
too involved at this time (1929) in building up the SS to under-
take experiments in this direction.

* Stickstoff GmbH (Nitrogen), Ltd.

Raven

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

The possible application of such pest control in the human sphere did not arise in Himmler's mind until 1943 when the Final Solution was fully under way and he was involved in an attempt to liquidate some thirty million people, including the total destruction of European Jewry, the Polish intelligentsia and a large slice of the Slavonic Race.

After the fall of Stalingrad and the retreat of the German Armies on the Russian Front, it became gradually apparent to Himmler that the Germans might eventually lose the war and become overrun by their enemies. The urgent call for all available manpower to serve the expansion of the war economy put an end to the mass killings of Jews, Poles and Slavs. Himmler was faced with a new problem: how to sterilise these 'sub-humans' so that they could no longer reproduce their species.

The first attempts to achieve an efficient and practical method of sterilisation were conducted on Jewish males at Auschwitz with *Caladium Seguinum*, a drug recommended for the purpose by Dr. Alfred Pokorny. Its failure to achieve the desired effect initiated further attempts by Dr. Karl Clauberg to sterilise thousands of Jewesses at Ravensbrück. For a while Himmler placed the utmost confidence on Professor Gebhardt's rapid techniques of sterilisation surgery but the procedure was found to be too slow and cumbersome to achieve the sterilisation of the entire Jewish race. Dr. Victor Brack's plan to castrate Jewish males by means of powerful X-rays held far more promise and met with Himmler's immediate approval until it was found that a single costly installation could only effectively castrate 200 Jewish males per day. What possible use were such techniques to a man who had been incarcerating on average some 50,000 Jews a week in Gas Ovens?

After the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944 and further disastrous reversals on the Eastern Front, Himmler was confronted with yet another problem: how to ensure that the remnant of European Jewry would quit the Continent for all time after the final defeat of the Third Reich. It was to achieve this aim that he conceived the idea of the application of pest control to humans.

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Before moving to live beside the lake at Lindenfycht, Heinrich Himmler had himself run a small poultry farm at Munich-Trudering where he had been faced with the problem of liquidating rats with poisons which did not infect his own fowls. As a result of this experience, he ordered that the first experiments in pest control should be carried out with the potentised ashes of rats.

A branch of the Ahnenerbe under the direction of Wolfram von Sievers were ordered to undertake the experiments in all haste, but only one out of five potency samples was effective in a rat-infested area neighbouring on Auschwitz. There was one vital factor which the Nazis had overlooked, and that was the time factor. For some reason the potentised ashes only achieved their maximum functional effect at particular times of the year, for apparently such potencies were sensitive to extra-terrestrial influences in the manner that the phases of the moon effect plant germination and growth. In short, the technique involved astrological aspects the key to which they did not have.

In a long and exhaustive investigation after the War Dr. Walter Stein discovered that the first potentised ashes of male Jews were injected into Jewish inmates at Buchenwald. These experiments were carried out in Block 46 by Wolfram von Sievers and Dr. Eugen Haagen, both later executed for crimes against humanity. At this time the Camp inmates were also forced to submit themselves to other vaccines such as typhus, diphtheria, cholera, small pox, etc., and the results of the pest control injections were destroyed along with the records of the other inhuman experiments in which thousands are known to have died horrible deaths. Nor could these particular victims be identified by the nature of their reaction to the injections of the potentised ashes, for all the human guinea pigs in this block attempted to escape from it only to be kept inside by the prison foreman Arthur Dietzsche with a cat-of-nine-tails.

Himmler appears to have believed that a successful potentisation in this respect depended on discovering the physiological basis of the racial characteristics of the Jewish people. Wolfram von Sievers decided to make a special collection of Jewish skulls

* The doctors attempted - 327
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Raven

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

and corpses so that researches could be made on the blood and bone marrow and the organs of reproduction. The Wehrmacht were ordered to capture alive Jewish-Bolshevik Commissars whom Himmler considered to be the prototypes of this 'sub-human race'. Instructions were relayed as to how the heads should be severed from the shoulders and forwarded separately in hermetically sealed containers. For the sake of secrecy Himmler countermanded this order to the Army on the Eastern Front and decreed that the required specimens should be selected from the living inmates of Auschwitz. These pseudo-scientific researches were still under way when the Allied Armies crossed the Rhine and penetrated into the heart of Germany.

Many rumours, later the subject of a number of black books, circulated in post-war Germany that the SS had scattered the ashes from the gas ovens in the concentration camps across the length and breadth of the Reich. Yet no satisfactory explanation could be given for such an action except in such superstitious terms as 'the final act of sacrifice to the powers of darkness'. These rumours only reflected a half-truth. It was not the ashes which were scattered but the potentised ashes which whisked into the wind like a fine spray.

Immediately following the defeat of the Third Reich in April 1945 there was an exodus of a high proportion of the remnant of the Jewish race from the Continent. Was it the result of this diabolical form of pest control? Or was it because the Jews believed that man's inhumanity to man would always be the rule rather than the exception on this blood-soaked continent?

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EPILOGUE

Petacci had been apprehended at Como in an attempt to cross the border into Switzerland. They had been executed instantly by partisans and their bodies had been driven to Milan where they were strung up by the heels from lamp-posts on the Piazza. Later, the corpses were cut down to fall into the gutter where crowds had reviled them in a most obscene way.

Adolf Hitler, the man who had a terrible indulgence for blood-letting and had once even strung up a German Field Marshal on a meat hook, could expect an even worse fate from his enemies. For this reason he had decided upon suicide with Eva Braun, whom he had just married in a bizarre wedding ceremony in the bunker. Their bodies were then to be burned beyond recognition in the Chancellery Garden.

The last night of his life, while the remainder of the inmates of the bunker, with intense relief that the end was nigh, held a wild and drunken party in the canteen, Adolf Hitler dictated his last will and testament:

"After six years of war, which in spite of all setbacks will one day go down in history as the most glorious and heroic manifestation of the struggle for existence of a nation, I cannot forsake the city that is the capital of this State. . . . I wish to share my fate with that which millions of others have also taken upon themselves by staying in this town. Further, I shall not fall into the hands of the enemy, who require a new spectacle, presented by the Jews, to divert their hysterical masses.

"I have therefore decided to remain in Berlin and there to choose death voluntarily at the moment when I believe that the position of the Führer and the Chancellery itself can no longer be maintained. I will die with a joyful heart in the knowledge of the immeasurable deeds and achievements of our peasants and workers and of a contribution unique in history of our youth which bears my name. . . ."

And then there followed his parting message to the German people, the last recorded words of the mad genius who had attempted to conquer the world and failed:

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1921, there was another invented a new title for himself called upon the audience "Führer—our leader. Later Führer, almost an abstraction represented by *Unser*. The swastika flag the previous demonic accomplishments. The anonymous pamphlet variable temper. On September 1st, he showed the extent of the situation, one of the leaders Hermann Esser, and Oscar Winter, accompanied by their friends, were speaking. Brandenburg to the ground. The police said, "We did what we could." The "three wild men" were with creating a public order. In the year Hitler was he was sent to prison, served his first taste of prison, and

the incident when he was headquarters in East Prussia. "Dangerous opponent," Hitler against him! His father was a "devilish dialectician!" He could not argue him was to

increased. Small supplies around Munich. In October 1923, a navy lieutenant, Johann Zettl, who had been a member of the 1918 putsch, was in command. When he commanded, he had storm troopers wore red arm-bands, Bavarian coats, knee-length breeches, sauntering in the streets. They became more disciplined. The dreaded SA and SS troops. Later,

came when Hitler deliber-

ately loosed them at a meeting in the huge hall of the Hofbräuhaus on November 4, 1921. He wanted them to be "quick as greyhounds, tough as leather, hard as Krupp steel"—and so they were. Late in the afternoon he learned that there would be an attempt to break up the meeting, and he ordered forty-two men from his private army to help keep order. At a quarter to eight, when he arrived at the Hofbräuhaus, he realized that the Communists intended to carry out their threats. The hall was packed. Usually it held about 2,200 people, and perhaps a hundred would be Communists spoiling for a fight. This time there were about 700 Communists, one-third of the total. It was not difficult to recognize them, for they were the workmen from the local factories, while his own followers came from the lower middle class: bank clerks, shopkeepers, students, tradesmen, house servants, soldiers, and government employees. There was a strange, sullen atmosphere in the hall, and he heard or thought he heard mocking cries: "We'll get you this time!" He addressed his forty-two-man army and ordered them to attack on the slightest provocation, remembering that attack was the best defense. He threatened that if anyone behaved like a coward, he would personally tear off his armband and drum him out of the party. The men shouted "Heil!" three times and went back to the hall, where they disposed themselves close to the Communists, watching carefully for the signals Hitler would give them. As usual he spoke from a beer table set up against the wall on the long side of the hall.

At first the Communists seemed mildly amused, not belligerent. With occasional interruptions Hitler succeeded in talking for about an hour and a half. He thought he was the master of the situation, but the hecklers were becoming more and more restless, shouting insults and insisting that he answer their loaded questions. They were edging closer to him, ordering more beer, and hiding the empty beer mugs under the table, so that there was already a large accumulated store of ammunition at their disposal. At any moment someone would shout the Communist slogan "*Freiheit!*" and the entire hall would be transformed into pandemonium.

A sudden shout from a Communist took him by surprise; he faltered when replying; and suddenly they were all standing up shouting and hurling beer mugs. There was a deafening chorus of "*Freiheit!*" Tables were being torn apart so the legs could be used as clubs. The storm troopers, commanded by Emil Maurice, a dark-skinned bruiser of French extraction, formed flying columns to wrestle with the Communists. One of the columns was led by Rudolf Hess, who had already shown himself to be a formidable fighter. They used fists, chair legs, and beer mugs, but not knives or guns. Hitler says the fighting lasted twenty minutes, and his forty-two men gave a good account of them-

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selves, hurling themselves repeatedly against the Communists until they were all expelled from the hall, which looked as though it had received a direct hit from a bomb. When the battle was won, Hermann Esser jumped on a beer table and shouted: "The meeting continues. The speaker has the floor."

Hitler was well pleased with the meeting. The bloody heads, smashed furniture, and shattered beer mugs provided the demonstrable signs of success. He was a man who enjoyed destruction, and as the months passed his appetite for violence increased.

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those who found fault with the conditions and governmental system of republican Germany were coming to idealize as "the good old days." The simple traditionalism gave Heinrich great pleasure and the opportunity to rid himself of much of the tension and foreboding that had developed during his year in Munich. E

Herr Rehrl took Heinrich with him wherever he went. They visited exhibitions of local fruits and vegetables, attended performances of a neighborhood theater group, and even went to the sessions of the local historical association. Since Herr Rehrl was a member of a singing club, Heinrich joined too, though his voice was somewhat shaky so that, when he wrote to his parents that he had also joined the church choir, he asked them not to laugh. He conscientiously attended the club's practice sessions, took part in its performances, and as he had done earlier in the *Bund Apollo*, seized the opportunity it offered to recite poetry. The pastoral poems of Karl Stieler and others he chose for these occasions reflected the interests of the audience as well as his own enjoyment of the simple, homely poetry of an earlier generation.⁹ In spring he joined Herr Rehrl on long walks through the countryside. Sometimes they went hunting or fishing together—outings which were quickly followed by reassurances to his parents that he was perfectly safe and there was no danger that he would be shot or get lost in the woods.¹⁰

His interest in peasant traditions seems to have been strengthened by his experience in Fridolfing. He took more note of peasant customs and collected local songs and sayings, which he promised to share with his father when he returned to Ingolstadt. The appeal of peasant life, however, never broke down his consciousness of class and social distance, nor did it mean that he could forsake his background as an academically trained observer. His basic approach is reflected in his comment on Jeremias Gotthelf's *Uli der Knecht*, an early nineteenth-century account of peasant life which his father had obtained for him: "An excellent book on the characteristics of the peasant mind. One should read it more than once. Especially as an agriculturalist, one can get a lot from it."¹¹

His devotion to correct form and traditional mores also seems to have been reinforced by his experiences in Fridolfing. He was especially anxious that his mother fulfill

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E the demands of gracious propriety when Frau Rehl visited Ingolstadt. The prospect of missing his family's Christmas celebration filled him with such gloom that he finally decided to go to Ingolstadt for the holidays. Later he was disturbed that he could not participate in a *Fasching* party at the Loritz home, which he had greatly enjoyed the year before. His desire to be a part of these festivities arose from something more than mere homesickness; it was due to the strong appeal that established ways held for him. His letters home were full of questions about the activities of *Bund Apollo* and its members and rarely failed to request his parents transmit his greetings to "the fraternity brothers in Ingolstadt" although he was not on particularly friendly terms with any of them.¹²

Similarly, upon receiving news that enrollment in the Ingolstadt *Gymnasium* had sharply increased he wrote his father that this made him "very happy" because "it will show the gentlemen of the *Realschule* that they cannot say that humanism is one of those aged and too-conservative things that is destined to die."¹³ This opinion was no mere gesture in his father's direction; it was an expression of his own devotion to the "good old days," even though his own occupational goals had led him in a different direction.

Heinrich also found great pleasure in the country church. He regularly attended mass and sang in the church choir. Confession and communion were important events in his life, and he frequently mentioned them in his letters to his parents. On his short sightseeing trips he visited important churches, as he had done with the family during his childhood vacations. In one letter describing to his mother a trip which he had made to Salzburg he starts to recount the places he has visited but finally gives up the attempt and merely notes that he has seen "lots of churches."¹⁴ He read more religious books than he had while he was in Munich and devoted particular attention to the works of the popular prewar Catholic apologist Conrad von Bolanden. His comments on these works show his gratitude for new arguments to support his faith and for an "edifying hymn to Christianity."¹⁵ His serious torment about his faith had largely disappeared, and he could note shortcomings in the church, such as the low quality of local sermons, without feeling personally threatened. In his reading, even though he seized on points that would strengthen his belief, he did not

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E country districts, and recounted his adventures in "the beautiful German Fatherland."¹⁸ When he did stay home on the farm, he was seldom by himself for a number of relatives and old family friends, including the Dicknethers and Uncle Hennenberger, made social calls in Fridolfing.¹⁹

The combination of trips and contacts with people in surrounding areas gave him ample opportunity to indulge his love of searching out bargains and making special deals. He found an inexpensive tailor across the border in Austria and persuaded his parents to send money for him to have a suit made. He carefully saved the scraps of material that were left over and sent them home to his mother along with his regular shipments of what he described as "junk," including such things as old books and worn-out underwear. These packages were usually accompanied by requests for return shipments, with heavy emphasis on new clothes, tobacco, and plenty of "goodies." In summer 1921 he got on the track of a cache of inexpensive potatoes and urged his mother to allow him to make the deal and arrange to have the potatoes shipped to Ingolstadt. Account should, however, be taken of the steadily rising inflation which made it increasingly difficult for the Himmlers to make ends meet.²⁰

* Heinrich's enthusiasm for these operations and the pedantry and penchant for precise record keeping that he displayed while engaged in them revealed an important aspect of his personality. His bookkeeper's mentality was most clearly shown in the way he handled the mail he received from Lu and Kaethe. (The letters he received from his family have not been preserved.) On each item he wrote not only the date of receipt but even the precise hour and minute when the letter reached his hands. Since many of these items were birthday greetings and the like, his pedantry went beyond absurdity; it was as if he had suffered a relapse, as if his manner of life and most obvious characteristics had returned to the pattern of his year in the army.²¹

In his relations with his family he also showed some signs of the tone that had prevailed while he was in Regensburg. In his references to his brother Ernst in particular he resumed his earlier mocking, scolding approach. His letters to him abounded with admonitions that he "shouldn't be so vain" or that he "should always be good and pleasant" so as to please his parents.²² These remarks were often followed by mock insults: "I won't even speak of Ernst. . . he is small,

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* He knew that some day his life would be so important that people would want to know the precise circumstances actuation of things, so that important

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insignificant, and dreadful."²³ Much of this was youthful bravado, and there are signs that he had a genuine affection for his younger brother. He looked forward to the time when Ernst could join him in practicing gymnastic exercises and from time to time sent him small mementoes from his travels. But overall Heinrich treated the fifteen-year-old Ernst as if he were a baby and took great pleasure in looking down at him from the lofty height of his own twenty years.²⁴

Some of the same patronizing tone showed up in his relations with his parents. There had been instances of this when he was in the army, especially when he played games with them about his health and the importance of his military duties. But in Fridolfing it was much more obvious. He again complains about lack of mail, but the appeals have become more subtle and suggest that he is in the dominant position. His standard opening line to his mother is, "Since you haven't written to me, I'll have to write to you."²⁵ In his words of thanks and affection the same tone appears; after expressing his gratitude for a box his mother has sent he adds, "Be aware that I will always be faithful to you and try to please you, even though I am a grown man now."²⁶ The state of his father's health also holds his attention, and on a number of occasions he urges Frau Himmler to make certain that "Vati" does not work too hard.²⁷ Perhaps the best example of his affection, dashed with pomposity, is to be found in the birthday greetings he sent to his father in May 1921:

From a heart filled with devotion, let me wish all the conceivable good that one can wish for a father. May you soon experience—and you will surely experience it—that our German Fatherland is again great and strong. That is my first wish, since the Fatherland is to us next to God, the first and highest. Then for my second [wish] may you experience many joys with us and live long and happily with our good mother. . . . And for the third, that you can work long and as prosperously in your position as you have up until now.²⁸

If Ernst and his parents received generous doses of this kind of preaching, his brother Gebhard bore the full brunt of his criticism and caustic comment. The main complaint was that Gebhard was too easygoing, too ready to adjust to circumstances, and insufficiently imbued with the "heroic"

He would want to be found in the haystack, and if he position of every straw was noted as it was placed, one would not have to go over the same ground twice.

could be gained ¹⁰¹ by his brother's about his development and more!—his relation to destiny even as a young man. One never knew where the

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ideal. In addition Gebhard seems to have escaped much of the family mania for orderliness and precision, and his alleged carelessness was a frequent target for Heinrich's snide remarks. Ludwig Zahler was often sarcastic at Gebhard's expense, but even he was on one occasion forced to urge moderation on Heinrich, for the younger brother's attacks had become vitriolic. "You are two different natures," Lu wrote, and he went on to advise Heinrich to be cautious, for Gebhard had been "deeply hurt" by his latest onslaught.²⁹

In part Heinrich seems to have been motivated by jealousy and spite, for Gebhard was passing through his training with little difficulty and no sign of the deep inner torment which afflicted the younger brother. Gebhard also adjusted more easily to female company and in the spring of 1921 was successfully courting a distant cousin; there were clear signs that his approaches were warmly received and that marriage might result. In May 1921 he was belatedly awarded the Iron Cross First Class, one of Germany's highest military decorations, for heroic service during the last days of the war.

This must have been very difficult for Heinrich to bear. He appeared unable to accept the fact that it was Gebhard who, with his easygoing manner and ability to accommodate himself, won the honors as well as the girls and at the same time managed to make easy progress toward his educational goal. He continued to carp at Gebhard's alleged failings, as if to prove that without the inner confusion and need to struggle which characterized his own experience, life was not worth living and trophies were somehow tainted.³⁰

Heinrich's friends also noted his harshness and inability to compromise. Lu often wrote him that he was too rigid and far too ready to condemn weaknesses in others. During one of his trips to Munich Heinrich became embroiled in a nasty scene with Kaethe, and references to this encounter kept cropping up in their correspondence. Kaethe was a highly emotional young lady, given to sentimental outbursts and periods of moroseness, but her complaint against Heinrich was the same as Lu's: he was simply too hard and rigid and pressed people's soft spots too ruthlessly.³¹

Lu and Kaethe were making the final preparations for their marriage, while he finished his thesis and she worked as a piano teacher, and were less tolerant of Heinrich's iron rules of behavior and constant pontificating. Yet they still liked him and by seeking his advice often fed the flames of his

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what the subject of the work, were moral edification and the acquisition of useful information. He continued to make critical comments on the literary and interpretive failings which he detected, but his academic caution was easily washed away by a gripping adventure story or a tale embodying "high ideals."⁴⁴ He made careful note of any references to the danger of Freemasonry which appeared in some of the prewar religious books and jotted down appreciative comments, such as "The clear presentation of Freemasonry was especially good."⁴⁵ No anti-Semitic references appear in his comments on his reading during this period, however, and he was not especially anxious to draw analogies with current conditions. Possible parallels between past and present revolutions alone attracted his interest, but even then he failed to make clear any historical analogies that he might have found.⁴⁶

The dominant theme in his comments was his desire to develop a personal philosophy of life. He read some of the German classics customarily used to guide youth, such as the works of Schiller, and he reread Meyer's *Entstehung der Erde*.⁴⁷ Dabbling for the first time in occult and spiritualist writings, he was at first attracted by Matthius Fidler's *Die Toten Leben!* (The dead live!). He noted that Fidler might have used trick photography but concluded: "I believe however that the material is authentic. If this is the case, there are meaningful new grounds [for believing] in the transmigration of souls."⁴⁸ The major source of his inspiration, however, was not the occult but collections of reflections and significant quotations, especially Schopenhauer's *Über Lesen und Bücher* (On reading and books). For three months during the winter of 1921 he pondered Schopenhauer's quotations and comments. He also wrote down long passages from the book, together with quotations from Ibsen, Schiller, and the nineteenth-century conservative nationalist, Emanuel Geibel, who was one of his favorite poets.⁴⁹ His final comment on Schopenhauer's book makes it clear that he was trying to gain guidance from those whom he considered deep and serious thinkers. "The book has given me a great deal," he writes, "and also confirmed many of my own ideas."⁵⁰

His eagerness to find important personal truths also appeared in the attraction he felt to Ibsen. He was especially fascinated by Brand, noting that "It is a deep insight into

* Later, ^{in charge of} ~~in~~ the death camps, he would think a good deal about resurrection, I don't think come back

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morality and the strengthening of the will. One of the best and most idealistic dramas I know of. It is the book of the will* and of life without compromise."⁵¹ When he was unable to apply himself sufficiently to uncover a personal message in a book which he considered important, he refrained from comment rather than run the risk of overlooking something. For example, after struggling for three days with Ibsen's involved handling of morality and power in *The Pretenders* he gave up, merely noting, "I'm not able to make a judgement now and don't have time for a deeper study."⁵² Such confessions of failure were rare however, for he was determined to strengthen himself by discovering the real truth. In late May he even enrolled in a correspondence course to improve his thinking ability and strengthen his memory. He dutifully worked on the assignments for the course even after his return to the *Technische Hochschule* in the fall and jotted down on scraps of paper such words as "intelligence," "character," and "energy," as if they could somehow be arranged to provide the revelation he sought.⁵³

Judging from the nearly twenty pages of quotations which he copied as well as his comments on the books he read at this time, the central point in his emerging personal *Weltanschauung* was the importance of will power and of obedience to a personal code of honor. He had used this idea as a prop before, but now he buttressed it with philosophic arguments from the masters and emphasized the gap existing between the honorable determined man and society in general. Examples of unsung heroes, unappreciated by their peers, show up frequently in his collection of quotations. At the same time caustic references to the ignorance and stupidity of the majority of the people or rabble (*Pöbel*), abound.⁵⁴

This combination of ideas offered a solution of sorts to the difficulty of applying traditional values to existing conditions. The prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty and the leading doctrines of liberalism, pacificism, and social democracy were intolerable to him; yet his fundamental conservatism made it extremely difficult for him to embrace the cause of radical change. By wrapping himself in the protective mantle of the superior moralist who perseveres through an act of will and is unaffected by the ignorant

*Words in italics are underlined in the original.

as far as I see, 107 had the problem been solved,

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masses who surround him he was able to maintain his beliefs and to avoid the dilemma implicit in revolutionary conservatism. He was thus able to justify his personal rigidity and continue his "highly moral" reserve toward the opposite sex. And he could sustain his belief in the superiority of the class from which he came simply by equating the values of his own group with the characteristics of the dominant and moral man.

In later years this line of thinking may well have made him more susceptible to the elitist doctrines of the radical Right. For the time being, however, it was undermined by his attitude toward personal social success. For all his talk about the heroic man who scorned the mob, he measured personal success by the traditional standards of wealth, social esteem, and professional status. With his faith in the power of the will, it was essential that he act upon his belief and achieve some visible success. Even while in Fridolfing, he understood that more was at stake in his academic work than the customary pursuit of a good record. Again aided by the light winter workload on the farm, he studied very hard and passed his preparatory examinations in April 1921, a full year ahead of schedule.⁵⁵

Side by side with his regular assignments he also tried to teach himself Spanish. Probably because of the Soviets' success in the civil war, he had become discouraged about the chances of emigrating to Russia and had shifted his attention to Latin America. Spanish now became his insurance policy against possible failure to obtain a position which would satisfy his need to prove that he could fight things through alone. The more he learned from friends that attractive positions were hard to find, even for someone with a good school record and social connections, the more he clutched at the possibility of emigration as a means of escape.

By the time his *Praktikum* ended in August 1921 he could look back on a year that had made subtle but significant changes in his manner of life and his view of himself. He was stronger and healthier, and in Fridolfing he now possessed a haven to which he could return when he needed rest and encouragement amid the trials of the outside world. Possibilities for permanent escape from the existing social order, however, had been sharply diminished. Except for the remote chance of a commission and the last resort of emigration, all he had was his new resolve to scorn the mob

Member or not, there is conventional evidence to show that Hitler felt he owed a debt of gratitude to the mad Eckart. On the very last page of *Mein Kampf* Hitler pays Eckart an extraordinary tribute. Beginning with a mention of "the sixteen heroes"—the men who fell in the Munich *Putsch*—who "sacrificed themselves for us all," Hitler goes on: "And among them I want also to count that man, one of the best who devoted his life to the awakening of his, our people, in his writings and his thoughts and finally his deeds: Dietrich Eckart."²⁶ It is doubtful whether any other man received such unstinting praise from Hitler.

When Hitler bought and lavishly renovated the Barlow Palace on Briennerstrasse in Munich as that city's headquarters for the Nazis, two prominent busts were installed in what was known as the "senate room": one of Otto von Bismarck, the other of Dietrich Eckart.²⁷ In the building's canteen a special seat was reserved for Hitler under a portrait of Eckart. "It is a heartbreaking grief to me that Dietrich Eckart did not live to see the party's rise," Hitler said.²⁸

So what was really behind the relationship between the two men that caused such grief at its ending? Alan Bullock points out that Eckart, who talked well even when he was fuddled with drink, lent Hitler books, corrected his style in speaking and writing, and at the same time promoted him as the coming savior of Germany.²⁹ Joachim Fest says Hitler was indebted to Eckart for introduction to the influential and monied segments of Bavarian society.³⁰ Eckart played a major role in saving Hitler in the party crisis of 1921. The crisis erupted when some members of the executive committee became involved in talks with other right-wing socialist parties and splinter groups aimed at creating a mass party. Hitler was against this from the start; he wanted nothing less than the total submission of the other parties to his rule. In his absence in Berlin, the party leaders continued with the negotiations. This led Hitler to resign on his return to Munich. He gave the executive members an ultimatum: he would only return if offered the position of party chairman with dictatorial powers.

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to Hitler was the support he m. who exercised consider- every world of the Freikorps. organizing ability, joined Party before Hitler. When the Party, Röhm pushed in ex-servicemen to swell the elements the first 'strong- d, the nucleus of the S.A. able link in securing for at least the tolerance, of the Government. Without the ce of the Army, Hitler would exercise with impunity his tolerance and intimidation. At 1945 Hitler's varying rela- of the greatest importance man in these early years in

education of Hitler's success ability as a political leader. could never have been forth- as a politician lay in his un- could be done by propaganda, how to do it. He had to learn left night after night, argu- of hall; often, in the early opposition, indifference or ing to hold his audience's

attention, to win them over; most important of all, learning to read the minds of his audiences, finding the sensitive spots on which to hammer. Hitler came to know Germany and the German people at first hand as few of Germany's other leaders ever had. Over nearly all the politicians with whom he had to deal he had one great advantage: his immense practical experience of politics in the street, the level at which any politician must be effective if he is to carry a mass vote.

Hitler was the greatest demagogue in history. Those who add 'only a demagogue' fail to appreciate the nature of political power in an age of mass politics. As he himself said: 'To be a leader, means to be able to move masses.'

The lessons which Hitler drew from the activities of the Austrian Social Democrats and Lueger's Christian Socialists were now tried out in Munich. Success was far from being automatic. Hitler made mistakes and had much to learn before he could persuade people to take him seriously, but he learned from his mistakes, and by the time he came to write *Mein Kampf* in the middle of the 1920s he was able to set down the conditions of success. The pages in which he discusses the technique of mass propaganda stand out in brilliant contrast with the turgid attempts to explain his entirely unoriginal political ideas. He is quite open in explaining this procedure of political leadership: 'The receptive powers of the masses are very restricted, and their understanding is feeble. On the other hand, they quickly forget. Such being the case, all effective propaganda must be confined to a few bare necessities and then must be expressed in a few stereotyped formulas.' Furthermore, it is better to stick to a programme even when certain points in it become out of date: 'As soon as one point is removed from the sphere of dogmatic certainty, the discussion will not simply result in a new

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and better formulation, but may easily lead to endless debates and general confusion.'

When you lie, tell big lies. 'The grossly impudent lie always leaves traces behind it, even after it has been nailed down.'

Above all, never hesitate, never qualify what you say, never concede an inch to the other side, paint all your contrasts in black and white. This is the 'very first condition which has to be fulfilled in every kind of propaganda: a systematically one-sided attitude towards every problem that has to be dealt with. . . .'

Vehemence, passion, fanaticism, these are 'the great magnetic forces which alone attract the great masses; for these masses always respond to the compelling force which emanates from absolute faith in the ideas put forward, combined with an indomitable zest to fight for and defend them. . . . The doom of a nation can be averted only by a storm of glowing passion; but only those who are passionate themselves can arouse passion in others.'

Hitler showed a marked preference for the spoken over the written word. 'The broad masses of a population are more amenable to the appeal of rhetoric than to any other force.' The employment of verbal violence, the repetition of such words as 'smash', 'force', 'ruthless', 'hatred', was deliberate. Hitler's gestures and the emotional character of his speaking, lashing himself up to a pitch of near-hysteria in which he would scream and spit out his resentment, had the same effect on an audience. Men groaned or hissed and women sobbed involuntarily, caught up in the spell of powerful emotions of hatred and exaltation.

Propaganda was not confined to the spoken word. There were the red posters to provoke the Left; the flag, with its black swastika in a white circle on a red background, a design to which Hitler devoted the utmost care; the salute, the uniform, and the hierarchy of ranks. Mass meetings and demonstrations,

1921

another device which Hitler Austrian Social Democrats, w a sense of power, of belonging success was irresistible. Hit psychological fact which was portance in the history of the violence and terror have their and that the display of phys many as it repels. 'When our started,' Hitler writes, 'I made organize a suitable defence square were comrades who had seen a others were young Party men the start had been trained and that only terror is capable of fence is an ambiguous word to ties, for, as Hitler adds, 'the is attack, and the reputation of stamped us as a political fighting debating society.'

From the first these men disturbance and to beat up political of a deliberate campaign of intimidation 1921 Hitler personally led in the platform of a federalism amined by the police commissariat the incident, Hitler replied: 'what we wanted. Ballerstedt di

Far from using violence in way, Hitler gave it the widest that people were forced to pay was doing. No government could would have tolerated such republican Government in Berlin authority in Bavaria, and the ernment showed remarkable political terrorism, provided it the Left.

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The 'strong-arm' squads were first formed in the

officer like Göring and Hess, or the embittered intellectual like Rosenberg and Goebbels, as for the working man who refused to join a trade union or the small shopkeeper who wanted to smash the windows of the big Jewish department stores. Ambition, resentment, envy, avidity for power and wealth—in every class—these were the powerful motive forces Hitler sought to harness. He was prepared to be all things to all men, because to him all men represented only one thing, a means to power.

The committee which had hitherto controlled the Party was now swept away—Hitler had long since ceased to attend its meetings. The new president put in Max Amann, the ex-sergeant-major of the List Regiment, to run the business side of the Party, and Dietrich Eckart as editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the weekly Party paper. The power of making all big decisions Hitler kept in his own hands. He was working as he had never worked before. But it was work which suited him: his hours were irregular, he was his own master, his life was spent in talking, he lived in a whirl of self-dramatization, and the gap between his private dream-world and his outer life had been narrowed, however slightly.

Until the end of his life Hitler regarded these early years of the Nazi movement with pride. It was the heroic period of the Party's struggle, the *Kampfzeit*. 'It is truly a miracle to trace this development of our movement. To posterity it will appear like a fairy-tale. A people is shattered and then a small company of men arises and begins an Odyssey of wanderings, which begins in fanaticism, which in fanaticism pursues its course.'

Who were the men with whom Hitler began his 'Odyssey' in Munich? One of the most important was Ernst Röhm, a man for whom soldiering was his whole life and who had little but contempt for any-

The Years of Struggle, 1
thing outside it. Röhm was too much of the unruly to fit easily into the rigid pattern. None the less he provided Army authorities, even as more than any other man S.A.

Hess and Göring were too Hess, the son of a German and stupid young man whose seriousness, conceived a different figure from swaggering Hermann Göring the crack Richthofen Fighter Germany's highest decoration. In the autumn of 1922 he shortly afterwards he became

Like Röhm, Gottfried Feder had joined the German Workers' Party. Feder had unorthodox ideas and made a great impression on Hitler. He had clipped his moustache in imitation of him. Eckart, a journalist, poet, and playwright, anti-democratic, and an enthusiasm for National Socialism. Eckart had read widely in Hitler books, corrected them in speaking and writing, a fluent people, including the famous piano manufacturer took a great liking to the Party and later visited Hitler.

Through Eckart, Hitler met a refugee of German descent an architect in Moscow, but

1921

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himself adopted!" She was referring to the *von* he added to his name in 1925. "He is a laughingstock! His so-called society friends are laughing!" She thundered on, "I am a Michel of Mainz, the daughter of Geheimrat (Privy Councillor) Michel. Our family pokes fun at our 'titled' son-in-law. He is a nasty fool, a dangerous fool."¹⁰

But Annelies and Joachim von Ribbentrop clung together in rebellious union. Between his new job and her Henkell dowry they had plenty of money. They bought a superb home and property in garden-filled Dahlem and added a tennis court and swimming pool. In the twenties, these were rare luxuries, even in a prosperous suburb. The mansions of Berlin's old, aristocratic families were in the Tiergarten district or near the Imperial Palace along Unter den Linden, but much of its new society, its successful industrialists and professionals, lived in Dahlem, where streets were quiet and tree-lined, and houses were called villas. Each villa had its butlers, chauffeurs, and upstairs and downstairs maids. Dahlem's Protestant church was one of Berlin's "smart" churches, and its pastor, Martin Niemöller, a former U-boat captain, was the "society" pastor. Today's Dahlem is virtually unchanged, although the von Ribbentrop villa at 7-9 Lentzeallee is no more.

Joachim and Annelies seemed to have a sound marriage. Handsome Joachim was a bit of a *boulevardier*, and there are reports of his early philanderings in Berlin's heated round of tea dances, parties, and cabarets. He was often seen alone, and he was a serious dancer. He treated dancing almost as an art form, and he wore white tie and tails with great flair. One of his constant comrades on the dance circuit was a young Russian-Jewish immigrant named Hoffelmann, and they were known as Ribb and Hoff, or Hoff and Ribb.¹¹ One of the reasons for Joachim Ribbentrop's lonely forays was that Annelies was mostly pregnant. She bore two children in quick succession: Rudolf in Wiesbaden on May 11, 1921, and Bettina in Berlin on July 20, 1922.

When the young Ribbentrops were out as a couple, they were usually with the nouveaux riches. Despite their villa and their wealth, they had not yet found their place in upper-crust Berlin.

The mood of Berlin between 1920 and 1930 was strangely light-hearted and full of humor, considering the political turmoil. After the failed left-wing Spartacus revolt, there followed some right-wing attempts. In March 1920 came the Kapp putsch, named after its perpetrator, a prominent East Prussian reactionary. It was supported by small units of mutinous Reichswehr called the Ehrhardt Brigade, led by Captain Hermann Ehrhardt. The brigade moved into Berlin and

installed itself near at Anhalter Station. The government moved the legal government Kapp putsch failed Berliners, who protested.

Most Berliners brand of insurrection doorplates from the German Nationalists expected invaders; Minister of the Interior refused to run (Zu) after the putsch, he; and soon resigned.

Another right-wing nationalist former foreign minister, on July 1, 1920, refused to take part in a reasonable policy or many could not part; hated him for signing to which Germany mutual war claims, in the future. And then post in German industry.

In 1925, stolid Paul von Hindenburg, then elected president. Historically, who remained a Prussian officer. On his 1928, he arrived at the curb and bowed down. He asked, "No car for me," and the porter crashed to the ground and yelled, "Head Putsch!"

Now von Hindenburg asked.

"Cavalry sergeant."

(1921) 22

D

ing, to remove the Jewish cancer and to poison out the Jewish poison would mean—in his unconscious frame of reference—to repeat rather than rectify his traumatic experience of 1907. An inner compulsion to repeat this experience was one earthly source of the unearthly command he received.

This command later served him as well to meet a corresponding need for Germany to relive the traumatic sequence of 1914–1918 in disguise. But his first political message was attuned more to a prior German need for unconscious denial in that it blamed the defeat on non-Germans mistaken for Germans. This blame came from him, and took him into politics. He did not feel it out of his mass audiences, though he did suit it to them continually. And he stuck with it even after he had drawn from his mass public, in 1921–1922, a new policy that met the national need to relive. In brief, he went after Jewry on his own account conformably with his mission. This conformation was as when he had indulged, and overindulged, himself at the breast in serving his mother's attempt to absorb her traumatic loss of her three children before him.² His nursing mother's mute injunction to help her over her loss and then through it again was the original of his mission. The specific terms of the mission—to undo and reverse Germany's defeat—did not cover her traumatic business as they did his.³ But the Providence that conferred that mission was, transparently, his nursing mother: the version he authorized even had him receiving the mission in a nurse's arms.⁴ And the mission left the way open for a second mode of fulfillment, this one suited to his experience of his nursing mother rather than his dying mother.

That mode was his war policy, conveyed by his message for Germany to win more feeding ground for more progeny. He sensed and, with that policy, served Germany's traumatic purposes by way of plying them to his own, just as he had made his own use of his nursing mother's use of him for her traumatic reliving. His dominant motivation toward Germany was the traumatized son's, not the suckling sweetheart's: his Jewish policy came first. But his nursing complex underlay his instrumentality to Germany, which lay with his war policy, and he could apply

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* The anguish and guilt in him of his mother's death, and the extraordinary joy in life in living unsadly her were the

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1920, or 1921

quest for a unitary doctrine was implicit in his outline for an unwritten work labeled "Volume I. The Germanic Revolution."⁸ This outline certainly predates the Putsch and Mein Kampf, as will be seen. It cannot predate August 1920, when the Nazi flag, which dominated Hitler's sketch for a title page, was created.⁹ It also departs too far conceptually from his speech of 13 August 1920 on the Jews, which survives in manuscript (and mentions the new emblem¹⁰), to be from the same period. This speech represented the Aryans as history's only state builders, and the Jews as nomads from way back with attributes the opposite of the instinct for labor, the racial purity, and the artistry required for state-building (the opposite given for "racial purity" was "inbreeding").¹¹ The outline featured the same stock antagonists: "The Jew, the Aryan," and "Germany—An Antipode of the Jew,"¹² and again "2 races. Aryan. Jew." The antithesis was spelled out only in the notation: "2 human types—Toilers and drones—builders and destroyers—children of God and humans." (These were standard epithets of Hitler's for Aryan and Jew except the last, puzzling pair.) Nomadism and artistry were missing—nomadism more significantly, for by 1924 Hitler found that the Aryan rather than the Jew had once been a nomad, defined as a worker who carries his living space around with him.¹³ But the stress fell on racial purity: "Basic racial principle . . . Earliest history of peoples (on the basis of) with clear exposition of the racial law . . . Racial purity Highest basic law . . ." And this time the Jews epitomized racial purity and took a decisive advantage over the Aryans. "Bible: original sin—A dreadful fact—Its consequences, misfortune forever. The Bible teaches two facts: I. All peoples of the Bible (cultural area Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt) perished from it (i.e. racial mixing). One people not: The Jews. Why? Racial purity. Not wars destroy races, only original sin—blood poisoning alone."¹⁴ II. All peoples had states of their own—One people not, the Jews. So: the other peoples (Aryans) had their own 'states' and could not preserve themselves. The Jew had no state of his own and still preserved himself. Only at first sight incomprehensible—why?"¹⁵ The question was left dangling.

1920, (1921)

In "The Germanic Revolution" Hitler was after historic laws covering the Jews along with the rest of humankind and featuring continual warfare among peoples, laws from which his anti-Semitism and expansionism would follow as a twin necessity. But until his "Workers and Peace Treaties" speech like the "land and soil" one of 31 May 1921, his only stated generalizations about the human lot were that right is worthless without might¹⁶ and that human solidarity would be against nature.¹⁷ neither afforded sufficient reason for Germany to remove Jews and conquer land. And until that same speech his only admission of the Jews to a universal law of life was a concessive and partial one in a remark of 13 August 1920 about the Jew in the Middle Ages: "Even he gradually had to conduct a struggle for survival against the increasingly wary and angry peoples."¹⁸ (He had begun using the phrases "self-preservative instinct" and "struggle for survival" only a few weeks earlier.¹⁹) The "Workers and Peace Treaties" speech took up this Darwinist notion for a first, false start in the same theoretical direction as "The Germanic Revolution." His notes for the speech read: "The struggle for one's own survival is justified. But the individual's survival requires the nation's political power."²⁰ Putting the individual before the nation, as here, was inimical to his conception of peoples as the stuff of history.²¹ He must have been fishing around in handbooks of political theory for a start. "The Germanic Revolution" marks an advance toward an amalgam of individual and national necessitation: "Nature is relentlessly harsh, which means: victory of the stronger because he has victory coming to him by reason of his strength or his will. Prerogative of strength as basis of nature as a whole. The man of genius aware of nature does not seek to depart from this basis which is the cause of his favored position in this world but puts his conduct too within the compass of this law". For the rest, this outline for a "monumental history of humankind" dealt only in races or peoples or nations (terms Hitler interchanged).

Hitler's few pre-Putsch texts that link up with distinctive pieces of "The Germanic Revolution" all date from early 1923. That 3 January he called his Party "the bearer of the Germanic

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(1921, '22, '23

APPENDIXES

A. The Pasewalk Hallucination

Hitler's earliest recorded account of his Pasewalk hallucination may be this one of 1921 or 1922, reported by Karl von Wiegand in 1939:

In simple words he once related to me how [his] divine mandate came to him. It was just at the close of the war in November, 1918, as he lay in the Pasewalk hospital, blinded from a gas attack on the front. "And as I lay there, it came over me that I would liberate the German people and make Germany great." That was all. The message, inspiration or whatever you wish to call it did not say he "should" or "must"; it said he "would." That word, to him, contained in it the promise, the assurance that he would succeed in the mission.¹

A similar version was cited in a *Frankfurter Zeitung* editorial of January 1923:

About the background of the [Nazi] leader, the scenic painter from Austria Adolf Hitler, the rightist "Politischer Wochenbrief," mailed out confidentially by the Ring-Verlag, related recently that at the time of the revolution Hitler lay in a military hospital as a battle casualty stricken with a sort of blindness from which he was delivered by an inner rapture that set him the task of becoming his people's deliverer.²

1921 1922

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Hitler called for was for him unconsciously the lost eastern conquest of 1917-1918.³⁵ But now a second, closer look is needed.

In an address to the Party on 31 May 1921 Hitler ruled out birth control, emigration, and industrialization to cope with Germany's human increase and praised the short-lived Brest-Litovsk settlement for having provided the additional land and soil that Germany needed. By then he had long since internationalized the Jewish peril and identified Jewry with Bolshevism.³⁶ Yet on 12 April 1922, after an hour's raging against the Judeo-Bolshevik world peril, he declared: "There are only two possibilities in Germany! . . . Either victory of the Aryan side, or its destruction and victory of the Jews."³⁷ He developed this same theme in a memorandum of 22 October 1922 on building up the Party: "What is involved here is not winning a majority or even so-called political power. What is involved is a life-and-death struggle between two world views that cannot coexist. Their clash will leave only victors and victims. This conception has become second nature to Marxism (witness Russia). A victory of the Marxist idea means the total extermination of its opponents. This basic sense of the struggle has not yet been grasped on the so-called bourgeois side, where the intractable resolve that such awareness would bring with it is consequently lacking. So the brutal power colossus on the one side is faced by, in part, most deplorable inadequacy on the other side, where the consciousness of a fight to the death is altogether lacking."³⁸ Such a "life-and-death struggle between two world views" was the logical grounding for the scheme Hitler hatched of destroying Soviet Russia with England's help. Conversely, logic pushed for carrying that "fight to the death" from German to Russian soil. If the Jews were a deadly international danger with their power center in Russia, that danger could not be met within Germany's borders alone. By destroying Jewish power inside Germany alone, Germans would only incite Jewry to revenge. "To grasp the evil by the roots and eradicate it to the core"³⁹ meant moving on Moscow.

prelude to the civil war.

At Hitler's maiden mention of his eastern scheme, as reported by Cuno's confidant in late December 1922, the anti-Bolshevik

* o.o. ⁵⁹ Destroy both world-views.

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May 1921

uvre to use his position as the party's committee into submission. It was an not getting his own way. His threat of er the Zeitz conference. Now he was Defeat would have meant the party's estern League' (Abendländischer Bund) - which he seems to have contemplated nning again.¹⁶² There were those who ses as an agitator, to have been rid of ity. And the spread of the party that n presented offered more than a little

ier would have been a major, perhaps arture would have split the party. In ration. Dietrich Eckart was asked to ght the conditions under which Hitler was full capitulation from the party mmed from the recent turmoil in the pted by an extraordinary members' n with dictatorial power'; the party all as Munich; the party programme nd of all merger attempts.¹⁶³ All the r's position in the party against any ty committee expressed its readiness dge', his services for the movement, to give him 'dictatorial powers'. It ed down Drexler's offers in the past, nship. Hitler rejoined the party, as

at an end. While Hitler and Drexler a members' meeting on 26 July,¹⁶⁵ had his henchman Hermann Esser olacards denouncing Hitler, and had pamphlet attacking him in the most ster forces intent on damaging the e more to great effect how irreplace- ; packed to the last seat, in Circus ; seat.¹⁶⁷ Now there was no hesitancy. uous applause from the 554 paid-up

members attending the extraordinary members' meeting in the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus on 29 July, he defended himself and Esser and rounded on his opponents. He boasted that he had never sought party office, and had turned down the chairmanship on several occasions. But this time he was prepared to accept. The new party constitution, which Hitler had been forced to draft hurriedly, confirmed on three separate occasions the sole responsibility of the First Chairman for the party's actions (subject only to the membership meeting). There was only one vote against accepting the new dictatorial powers over the party granted to Hitler. His chairmanship was unanimously accepted.¹⁶⁸

The reform of the party statutes was necessary, stated the *Völkischer Beobachter*, in order to prevent any future attempt to dissipate the energies of the party through majority decisions.¹⁶⁹ It was the first step on transforming the NSDAP into a new-style party, a 'Führer party'. The move had come about not through careful planning, but through Hitler's reaction to events which were running out of his control. Rudolf Heß's subsequent assault on Hitler's opponents in the *Völkischer Beobachter* contained the early seeds of the later heroization of Hitler, but also revealed the initial base on which it rested. 'Are you truly blind,' wrote Heß, 'to the fact that this man is the leader personality who alone is able to carry through the struggle? Do you think that without him the masses would pile into the Circus Krone?'¹⁷⁰

July 1921

When Hitler assumed the leadership of his party in July 1921, he was still no more than a beerhall agitator – a local celebrity, to be sure, but otherwise scarcely known. The takeover of the party leadership itself followed internal squabbles – of little moment to the outside world – within the intrinsically fractious *völkisch* movement. The NSDAP certainly made a great deal of noise, and had made its presence felt on the Munich political scene. But it was hardly yet a significant force. Without the extraordinary conditions in Bavaria – the self-proclaimed 'cell of order' – and without the backcloth nationwide of political instability, economic crisis, and social polarization, everything suggests it would have remained insignificant. As it was, while *völkisch* parties struggled to make much of a mark in most German states, including Prussia – by far the largest state – the NSDAP could become by 1923 a key player in the upsurge of nationalist opposition in Bavaria to Weimar democracy. And from a local beerhall agitator, the party's leader emerged between 1921 and 1923 as the 'drummer' of the nationalist Right. That would be his role down to the ill-fated attempt in November 1923 to take over the state by force – the notorious 'Beerhall Putsch'. Only in the light of those dramatic events and their aftermath would a crucial transformation in his self-image be sealed.

Hitler was content in the early 1920s to be the 'drummer' – whipping up the masses for the 'national movement'. He saw himself at this time not, as portrayed in *Mein Kampf*, as Germany's future leader in waiting, the political messiah whose turn would arise once the nation recognized his unique greatness. Rather, he was paving the way for the great leader whose day might not dawn for many years to come. 'I am nothing more than a drummer and rallier (*Frommler und Sammler*),' he told Arthur Moeller van den Bruck in 1922.¹ Some months earlier, he had reputedly stated in an interview in May 1921 with the chief editor of the Pan-German newspaper *Deutsche*

he lived in expectation of final triumph – he would be the dictator – and in 1921 not of how little he felt really for it when he could stand

* D.T.

* D.T. This was the proper public attitude for him to take and he even believed it some of the time but at his core – where we spoke –

1921

Zeitung that he was not the leader and statesman who would 'save the Fatherland that was sinking into chaos', but only 'the agitator who understood how to rally (*sammeln*) the masses'. Nor, he allegedly went on, was he 'the architect who clearly pictured in his own eyes the plan and design of the new building and with calm sureness and creativity was able to lay one stone on the other. He needed the greater one behind him, on whose command he could lean.'²

To be the 'drummer' meant everything to Hitler at this time. It was the 'vocation' that replaced his dreams of becoming a great artist or architect. It was his main task, practically his sole concern. Not only did it allow full expression to his one real talent. It was also in his eyes the greatest and most important role he could play. For politics to Hitler – and so it would in all essence remain – was propaganda: ceaseless mass mobilization for a cause to be followed blindly, not the 'art of the possible'.

The art of the impossible

I

Hitler owed his rise to at least regional prominence on the nationalist Right in Bavaria not simply to his unparalleled ability as a mob-orator at mass meetings in Munich. As before, this was his chief asset. But linked to this, and of crucial importance, was the fact that he was the head of a movement which, in contrast to the earliest phase of the party's existence, now came to develop its own substantial paramilitary force and to enter the maelstrom of Bavarian paramilitary politics.

Acceptance of a high level of political violence was a hallmark of the political culture of Germany between the wars. The brutalization of society engendered by war and near-civil war together with the upheaval and turmoil of the revolution prepared the ground for a readiness to tolerate violence paradoxically seen to be serving the interests of a return to order and normality. It was a mentality which not only contributed to the rise of National Socialism, but also to the moral indifference to violence that was so widespread during the Third Reich itself.³ The exponents of the extreme political violence were for the most part the counter-revolutionary private armies – the Freikorps, the Volunteer Associations, the Citizens' Defence Forces – which sprang up in Germany after the war and were actively supported and deployed by state authorities. Gustav Noske had begun the use of non-state forces in the service of the state in the brutal suppression of the Spartacus Rising in January 1919. The Freikorps participated, as we

have already noted, in the smashing months later. A plethora of parties on the political spectrum, but most on the Right. It was above all in the province of Bavaria that the private armies, with the approval of the Bavarian authorities, could

The massive Citizens' Defence Force of 400,000 men with 2½ million weapons was immediately after the crushing of the revolution a mentality obsessed by the need for order from the Left and ready, as the Kapp Putsch in spring 1919 showed, to use violence in protection.⁴ The *Einwohnerwehr*, a paramilitary organization that emerged alongside it, represented a more sinister paramilitary organization, the Bavarian 'cell of order' after the fashion of the vehemently anti-socialist, conservative President Gustav Ritter von Kahr to whom extremists from all over Germany flocked elsewhere in the country. From a new recruit, Captain Hermann Ehrhardt, a veteran of the Freikorps, including the suppression of the Kapp Putsch, was able to use the network of groups throughout the country for many of the political murders – Right between 1919 and 1922 – that marked the new democracy.⁵ And Kahr's strident opposition to the central government of the Reich that had been acutely shored up during the diminished powers of Bavaria in the aftermath of the linking 'white-blue' particularist federalism and antagonism towards 'red' Berlin. This in September 1921:

Since Reich policy stood, and must stand, for this has continued to be identified with the torrents of particularism and antisemitism. In addition there is then the strong force

Sept 1921

and statesman who would 'save the
is', but only 'the agitator who under-
s'. Nor, he allegedly went on, was
in his own eyes the plan and design
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19. The Freikorps participated, as we

have already noted, in the smashing of the Räterepublik in Munich four months later. A plethora of paramilitary organizations emerged across the political spectrum, but most prominently on the counter-revolutionary Right. It was above all in the peculiar conditions of post-revolutionary Bavaria that the private armies, with the toleration and often active support of the Bavarian authorities, could fully flourish.

The massive Citizens' Defence Force (Einwohnerwehr) – comprising up to 400,000 men with 2½ million weapons – that was established in Bavaria immediately after the crushing of the Räterepublik was the product of a mentality obsessed by the need for protection against a presumed threat from the Left and ready, as the popularity of the counter-revolutionary violence in spring 1919 showed, to resort to any measures to ensure that protection.⁴ The Einwohnerwehr, and a number of other, similar, organizations that emerged alongside it, represented 'white-blue' Bavarian traditionalism and, as the name suggested, was in essence defensively orientated. But more sinister paramilitary organizations found a welcome refuge in the Bavarian 'cell of order' after the collapse of the Kapp Putsch in 1920. The vehemently anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary regime of Minister President Gustav Ritter von Kahr turned Bavaria into a haven for right-wing extremists from all over Germany, including many under order of arrest elsewhere in the country. From a new protected base in Munich, for example, Captain Hermann Ehrhardt, a veteran of orchestrated anti-socialist violence in the Freikorps, including the suppression of the Räterepublik, and a leader of the Kapp Putsch, was able to use his Organisation Consul to build up a network of groups throughout the whole of the German Reich and carry out many of the political murders – there were 354 in all perpetrated by the Right between 1919 and 1922 – that stained the early years of the troubled new democracy.⁵ And Kahr's strident line of Bavarian frontal opposition to the central government of the Reich – feeding the traditional hatred of Berlin that had been acutely shored up during the war, and the resentments at the diminished powers of Bavaria in the Reich constitution – had the effect of linking 'white-blue' particularist feeling with 'black-white-red' nationalist antagonism towards 'red' Berlin. The theologian Ernst Troeltsch commented in September 1921:

Since Reich policy stood, and must stand, strongly under the influence of socialism, this has continued to be identified with the hated Berlin and with Jewry, thus directing the torrents of particularism and antisemitism on to the mills of anti-socialism . . . In addition there is then the strong force of monarchism, the bitterness of former

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members of the military, the collaboration of Prussian emigrants, and the very understandable disaffection of idealist patriots. All this is knotted together into the idea of allocating Bavaria the mission of saving the Reich from socialism, and seeing it as the cell of order and starting-point of reconstruction.⁶

By spring 1921 Kahr was no longer able to prevent the dissolution of the Bavarian Einwohnerwehr after holding out for a year against the Reich's insistence (under Allied pressure) on confiscation of weapons and dismantling of civilian defence units.⁷ The resulting fury towards Berlin prompted further radicalization. And out of the dissolved Einwohnerwehr arose a bewildering array of new or already existing but now strengthened 'patriotic associations' competing with each other in their activism and radicalism. The largest – and intended to be the successor to the Einwohnerwehr, though in reality a coalition of numerous fractions which would eventually split – was the Bund Bayern und Reich, a 'white-blue' Bavarian loyalist organization, combining strong monarchist and Christian traditionalist strains with vehement anti-Marxism and antisemitism, operating under the slogan 'First the Homeland, then the World!'⁸ It was run by the Regensburg public health inspector Dr Otto Pittinger, formerly prominent in the district leadership of the civil defence units in the Upper Palatinate province of Bavaria. Since Pittinger had difficulty in exercising authority over his organization, smaller but more radical associations moved in to fill the vacuum and expand their influence. Among them were the Bund Oberland, which had emerged from Epp's Freikorps Oberland, had been involved in the ending of the 'Councils Republic', and had further cut its teeth in the campaign against the Poles in Upper Silesia in 1921; the Reichsflagge, previously with a following mainly confined to Franconia but now, under the direction of Ernst Röhm (head of the Munich branch), expanding into southern Bavaria; the Vaterländische Vereine Münchens (VVM, Patriotic Associations of Munich), the successor to the Einwohnerwehr in the Bavarian capital; and a variety of organizations and sub-organizations, most prominent of them the Wiking-Bund, headed by Captain Ehrhardt.⁹ It was Ehrhardt, alongside Ernst Röhm, who was to play a leading role in establishing the NSDAP's own paramilitary organization, which was to emerge from 1921 onwards into a significant feature of the Nazi Movement and an important factor in paramilitary politics in Bavaria.¹⁰

The beginnings of the SA, as we have noted, reach back to the start of 1920, when the DAP set out to stage bigger meetings in the Munich beerhalls and, as was the practice in other parties, needed a squad of bouncers – a

'hall protection' (Saalschutz) turned in November 1920 into Sportabteilung). Followed in July 1921, it was reshaped into the new party statutes for movement'.¹² Hitler regarded establishing his claim to lead the SA (Sturmabteilung, 'Storm 1921 onwards'¹³ – was not, solely a product of his will, power.¹⁴ The key figures in it into a paramilitary organization Ehrhardt.

Röhm was, more even than junior officer, he shared the d in the trenches – shared, too, those in staff headquarters be 'incapable' politicians, and a at home. Against these high community', the solidarity of deeds rather than status, and he wanted was a new 'warrior proved their right to rule. Th no return to pre-war bourge fighting men. As for so many paramilitary organizations, t of violence.¹⁵ Like so many, Rö suffered serious facial injury part of his nose, permanent company, but had been force badly injured at Verdun. His s and as the supply officer of a gave him experience in orga revolution drove him into co in the Freikorps Epp during its lik. After brief membership after Hitler, in autumn 1921 responsible for others from interest continued, however,

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have noted, reach back to the start of bigger meetings in the Munich beerhalls rties, needed a squad of bouncers – a

'hall protection' (Saalschutz) to deal with any disturbances.¹¹ This was turned in November 1920 into the party's 'Gym and Sport Section' (Turn- und Sportabteilung). Following Hitler's 'seizure of power' within the party in July 1921, it was reshaped and given a pivotal role, responsible according to the new party statutes for the 'bodily training of the male youth in the movement'.¹² Hitler regarded its quasi-military structure as valuable in establishing his claim to leadership throughout the movement. However, the SA (Sturmabteilung, 'Storm Section') – as it became known from October 1921 onwards¹³ – was not, as has been claimed, 'his personal creation', solely a product of his will, or designed as an instrument of his personal power.¹⁴ The key figures in transforming the party's hall protection squad into a paramilitary organization were Ernst Röhm and, initially, Captain Ehrhardt.

Röhm was, more even than Hitler, typical of the 'front generation'. As a junior officer, he shared the dangers, anxieties, and privations of the troops in the trenches – shared, too, the prejudice and mounting anger levelled at those in staff headquarters behind the lines, at the military bureaucracy, at 'incapable' politicians, and at those seen as shirkers, idlers and profiteers at home. Against these highly negative images, he heroicized the 'front community', the solidarity of the men in the trenches, leadership resting on deeds rather than status, and the blind obedience that this demanded. What he wanted was a new 'warrior' élite whose actions and achievements had proved their right to rule. Though a monarchist, there was for Röhm to be no return to pre-war bourgeois society. His ideal was the community of fighting men. As for so many who joined the Freikorps and their successor paramilitary organizations, this ideal combined male fantasy with the cult of violence.¹⁵ Like so many, Röhm had gone to war in 1914 in wild enthusiasm, suffered serious facial injury within weeks when shell fragments tore away part of his nose, permanently disfiguring him, had returned to lead his company, but had been forced out of service at the front after being again badly injured at Verdun. His subsequent duties in the Bavarian War Ministry, and as the supply officer of a division, sharpened his political antennae and gave him experience in organizational matters. The trauma of defeat and revolution drove him into counter-revolutionary activity – including service in the Freikorps Epp during its participation in the crushing of the Räterepublik. After brief membership of the DNVP, he joined the tiny DAP soon after Hitler, in autumn 1919, and, as he himself claimed, was probably responsible for others from the Reichswehr entering the party.¹⁶ Röhm's interest continued, however, to be dictated by military and paramilitary,

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rather than party, politics. He showed no exclusive interest in the NSDAP before the SA became a significant element in paramilitary politics.

But Röhm's value to the party in engineering its paramilitary connections is hard to overrate. His access both to leading figures on the paramilitary scene and, especially, to weaponry was crucial. His position in control of weapon supplies for the Brigade Epp (the successor to the Freikorps unit, now integrated into the Reichswehr) gave him responsibility for providing the Einwohnerwehr with weapons. The semi-secrecy involved in concealing the extent of weaponry from Allied control – not difficult since there was no occupying army to carry out inspections – also gave Röhm a great deal of scope to build up a large stockpile of mainly small arms in 1920-21. After the dissolution of the Einwohnerwehr, and the official confiscation of weaponry, various paramilitary organizations entrusted him with their weapon supplies. Presiding over such an arsenal, deciding when and if weapons should be handed out, the 'machine-gun king' (*Maschinen-gewehrkönig*), as he became known, was thus in a pivotal position with regard to the demands of all paramilitary organizations. And, through the protection he gained from Epp, Kahr, and the Munich political police, he enjoyed influence beyond his rank on the politics of the nationalist Right.¹⁷

It was in all probability Röhm who arranged the agreement reached between Hitler and Ehrhardt in August 1921 which brought former members of Ehrhardt's naval brigade, seasoned campaigners in paramilitary activity, most of them just returned from the action in Upper Silesia, into the party's 'Sport Section'. This was placed under the leadership of the Ehrhardt veteran Leutnant Klintzsch (later suspected of having a hand in 1922 in the murder of Walter Rathenau – the Reich Foreign Minister, of Jewish background and, as main author of the 'fulfilment policy' towards the Versailles Treaty, a detested figure on the extreme Right),¹⁸ who was given the task of building up a fighting unit and provided by Ehrhardt with the funding to do this. During the first months, this was mainly a matter of sport (especially boxing), marching, exercises, and occasional sharpshooter practice. The members – there were around 300 by November 1921, all under the age of twenty-four and mainly from Munich's lower-middle class – combined this paramilitary training with political activism. They took the 'friend-foe' mentality of the front into what they saw as practically a civil war at home, preparing for violent combat with the political enemy, evoking the spirit of aggressive camaraderie and blind commitment to the leader.¹⁹ From the beginning, the dual role of paramilitary organization (initially linked to Ehrhardt) and party shock troops under Hitler's leadership contained the seeds of the

tension that was to accompany Röhm and Ehrhardt lay on the SA fully into the party, though independence before 1924.²² The latter, before the second half of 19 rapidly mounting crisis in Bavaria swelled, making it a force to be

Hitler, meanwhile, now undisputed ceaseless agitation much as before between Bavaria and the Reich. Matthias Erzberger on 26 August an anarchism that still prevailed in validity for Bavaria of the state Friedrich Ebert, kept things on own part. Prices were already high. Foodstuffs were almost eight times at the end of the war. By the next And that was before the current 1923.²⁵

Hitler's provocation of his popularity was stepped up. In the disruption by his followers of the address by one of his arch-enemies the Bayernbund, Otto Ballerstedt the signal for his supporters, the 'Sport Section' who had taken up seats to storm the podium, screaming at Ballerstedt from speaking. Some to prevent a brawl. But this only lights went on again, Ballerstedt physically attacked and injured it seems, the police had to ask him to stop. 'I was by this time happy enough not to speak any more today,'

The matter did not, however,

Epp. Eckart convinced the latter *Beobachter* and stood guarantor Marks which Epp provided from yielded a further 30,000 Marks, week, took over the remaining noon, becoming the legal owner Eckart, the Reichswehr, and in ler now had his newspaper. His

was the NSDAP. He was its ment. Asked to name the party's ed citizens might have guessed manship. Drexler offered it him sed.¹²⁴ Drexler wrote to Feder in ry movement must have a dicta- tiler is the most suitable for our into the background myself'.¹²⁵ nt organizational responsibility. ng the rise to power, and when de nor ability for organizational ers; propaganda – mobilization and what he wanted to do. For sibility. Propaganda, for Hitler, y. He had learnt at first from antisemites of the Schutz- und Justave Le Bon's tract on crowd hand.¹²⁶ But most of all he learnt he spoken word, given the right e, and a public ready to trust in nt. In Hitler's own conception, on of the masses, without which ot that propaganda and ideology for him. They were inseparable, r was useless unless it mobilized. turous reception of his speeches

assured him that his diagnosis of Germany's ills and the way to national redemption was right – the only one possible. This in turn gave him the self-conviction that conveyed itself to those in his immediate entourage as well as those listening to his speeches in the beerhalls. To see himself as 'drummer' of the national cause was, therefore, for Hitler a high calling. It was why, before the middle of 1921, he preferred to be free for this role, and not to be bogged down in the organizational work which he associated with the chairmanship of the party.¹²⁷

The outrage felt throughout Germany at the punitive sum of 226 thousand million Gold Marks to be paid in reparations, imposed by the Paris Conference at the end of January 1921, ensured there would be no let-up in agitation.¹²⁸ This was the background for the biggest meeting that the NSDAP had until then staged, on 3 February in the Circus Krone. Hitler risked going ahead with the meeting at only one day's notice, and without the usual advance publicity. In a rush, the huge hall was booked and two lorries hired to drive round the city throwing out leaflets.¹²⁹ This was another technique borrowed from the 'Marxists', and the first time the Nazis had used it. Despite worries until the last minute that the hall would be half-empty and the meeting would prove a propaganda débâcle, more than 6,000 turned up to hear Hitler, speaking on 'Future or Ruin' (*Zukunft oder Untergang*), denounce the 'slavery' imposed on Germans by the Allied reparations, and castigate the weakness of the government for accepting them.¹³⁰ 'The known leader of the antisemites, Hitler' had less success three days later when, as third speaker at a mass rally of 20,000 members of the 'patriotic associations' in Odeonsplatz, he made no impact with his 'party-political tendencies'.¹³¹

Hitler wrote that after the Circus Krone success he increased the NSDAP's propaganda activity in Munich still further.¹³² And indeed the propaganda output was impressive. Hitler spoke at twenty-eight major meetings in Munich and twelve elsewhere (nearly all still in Bavaria), apart from several contributions to 'discussions', and seven addresses to the newly-formed SA in the latter part of the year. Between January and June 1921 he also wrote thirty-nine articles for the *Völkischer Beobachter*, and from September onwards contributed a number of pieces to the party's internal information leaflets (*Mitteilungsblätter*).¹³³ Of course, he had the time in which to devote himself solely to propaganda. Unlike the other members of the party leadership, he had no other occupation or interest.

Politics consumed practically his entire existence. When he was not giving speeches, or preparing them, he spent time reading. As always, much of this

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was the newspapers – giving him regular ammunition for his scourge of Weimar politicians. He had books – a lot of them popular editions – on history, geography, Germanic myths, and, especially, war (including Clausewitz) on the shelves of his shabby, sparsely furnished room at 41 Thierschstraße, down by the Isar.¹³⁴ But what, exactly, he read is impossible to know. His lifestyle scarcely lent itself to lengthy periods of systematic reading. He claimed, however, to have read up on his hero Frederick the Great, and pounced on the work of his rival in the *völkisch* camp, Otto Dickel, a 320-page treatise on *Die Auferstehung des Abendlandes* (*The Resurrection of the Western World*), a mystical tract attempting to turn Spengler's pessimism on its head, immediately on its appearance in 1921 in order to be able to castigate it.¹³⁵

Otherwise, as it had been since the Vienna days, much of his time was spent lounging around cafés in Munich. According to his photographer Heinrich Hoffmann, he specially liked the Café Heck in Galeriestraße, his favourite. In a quiet corner of the long, narrow room of this coffee-house, frequented by Munich's solid middle class, he could sit at his reserved table, his back to the wall, holding court among the new-found cronies that he had attracted to the NSDAP.¹³⁶ Among those coming to form an inner circle of Hitler's associates were the young student Rudolf Heß, the Baltic-Germans Alfred Rosenberg (who had worked on Eckart's periodical since 1919) and Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter (an engineer with excellent contacts to wealthy Russian emigrés).¹³⁷ Certainly by the time Putzi Hanfstaengl, the cultured half-American who became his Foreign Press Chief, came to know him, late in 1922, Hitler had a table booked every Monday evening at the old-fashioned Café Neumaier on the edge of the Viktualienmarkt.¹³⁸ His regular accompaniment formed a motley crew – mostly lower-middle class, some unsavoury characters among them. Christian Weber, former pub bouncer and horse-dealer, who, like Hitler, invariably carried a dog-whip and relished the brawls with Communists, was one. Another was Hermann Esser, formerly Mayr's press agent, himself an excellent agitator, and an even better gutter journalist. Max Amann, another roughneck, Hitler's former sergeant who became overlord of the Nazi press empire, was also usually there, as were Ulrich Graf, Hitler's personal bodyguard, and, frequently, the 'philosophers' of the party, Gottfried Feder and Dietrich Eckart. In the long room, with its rows of benches and tables, often occupied by elderly couples, Hitler's entourage would discuss politics, or listen to his monologues on art and architecture, while eating the snacks they had brought with them and drinking their litres of beer or cups of coffee.¹³⁹ At the end

of the evening, Weber, Amann of the Ehrhardt-Brigade who had been as a bodyguard, escorting Hitler by that 'gave him the appearance in Thierschstraße'.¹⁴⁰

Hitler scarcely cut the figure of the Bavarian establishment yet could not ignore him. The old government at the time, Minis had assumed office on 16 March to turn Bavaria into a 'cell of thought Hitler was a propaganda unjustifiable assessment at the forces' in Bavaria in protest at Wirth. And he felt certain that control the 'impetuous Austrian from the NSDAP, led by Hitler. It was the first meeting of the new Weimar democracy was putsch of November 1923 – a Kahr's murder in the 'Night of Whatever Kahr's disdain for Hitler amounted to recognition that the proof that he and his movement

Rudolf Heß, still studying at Karl Haushofer, introverted and was part of the delegation. Thru by Hitler, he wrote a lengthy letter and eulogizing about his political was 'an unusually decent, sincere religious, a good Catholic', with Heß went on to laud Hitler's sacrifice not a penny from the movement fees he received for other speeches

This was the official line that September in the *Völkischer Beobachter* no more than a handful of others other than those of the NSDAP.¹ not have been enough to keep but

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of the evening, Weber, Amann, Graf, and Lieutenant Klintzsch, a veteran of the Ehrhardt-Brigade who had taken part in the Kapp Putsch, would act as a bodyguard, escorting Hitler – wearing the long black overcoat and trilby that 'gave him the appearance of a conspirator' – back to his apartment in Thierschstraße.¹⁴⁰

Hitler scarcely cut the figure of a mainstream politician. Not surprisingly, the Bavarian establishment regarded him largely with contempt. But they could not ignore him. The old-fashioned monarchist head of the Bavarian government at the time, Minister President Gustav Ritter von Kahr, who had assumed office on 16 March 1920 following the Kapp Putsch and aimed to turn Bavaria into a 'cell of order' representing true national values, thought Hitler was a propagandist and nothing more. This was a not unjustifiable assessment at the time. But Kahr was keen to gather 'national forces' in Bavaria in protest at the 'fulfilment policy' of Reich Chancellor Wirth. And he felt certain that he could make use of Hitler, that he could control the 'impetuous Austrian'.¹⁴¹ On 14 May 1921 he invited a delegation from the NSDAP, led by Hitler, to discuss the political situation with him. It was the first meeting of the two men whose identical aim of destroying the new Weimar democracy was to link them, if fleetingly, in the ill-fated putsch of November 1923 – a chequered association that would end with Kahr's murder in the 'Night of the Long Knives' at the end of June 1934. Whatever Kahr's disdain for Hitler, his invitation to a meeting in May 1921 amounted to recognition that the latter was now a factor in Bavarian politics, proof that he and his movement had to be taken seriously. *score?*

Rudolf Heß, still studying at Munich under the geopolitician Professor Karl Haushofer, introverted and idealistic, and already besotted with Hitler, was part of the delegation. Three days later, unsolicited and unprompted by Hitler, he wrote a lengthy letter to Kahr, describing Hitler's early life and eulogizing about his political aims, ideals, and skills. Hitler, he wrote, was 'an unusually decent, sincere character, full of kind-heartedness, religious, a good Catholic', with only one aim: 'the welfare of his country'. Heß went on to laud Hitler's self-sacrifice in this cause, how he received not a penny from the movement itself but made his living purely from the fees he received for other speeches he occasionally made.¹⁴² *score?*

This was the official line that Hitler himself had put out the previous September in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. It was quite disingenuous. On no more than a handful of occasions did he speak at nationalist meetings other than those of the NSDAP.¹⁴³ The fees from these alone would certainly not have been enough to keep body and soul together. Rumours about his

income and lifestyle were avidly taken up on the Left. Even on the *völkisch* Right there were remarks about him being chauffeured around Munich in a big car, and his enemies in the party raised questions about his personal financial irregularities and the amount of time the 'king of Munich' spent in an expensive lifestyle cavorting with women – even women smoking cigarettes.¹⁴⁴ In fact, Hitler was distinctly touchy about his financial affairs. He repeated in court in December 1921 in a libel case against the socialist *Münchener Post* that he had sought no fees from the party for sixty-five speeches delivered in Munich.¹⁴⁵ But he accepted that he was 'supported in a modest way' by party members and 'occasionally' provided with meals by them.¹⁴⁶ One of those who looked after him was the first 'Hitler-Mutti', Frau Carola Hofmann, the elderly widow of a headmaster, who plied Hitler with endless supplies of cakes and turned her house at Solln on the outskirts of Munich for a while into a sort of unofficial party headquarters.¹⁴⁷ A little later the Reichsbahn official Theodor Lauböck – founder of the Rosenheim branch of the NSDAP, but subsequently transferred to Munich – and his wife saw to Hitler's well-being, and could also be called upon to put up important guests of the party.¹⁴⁸ In reality, the miserable accommodation Hitler rented in Thierschstraße, and the shabby clothes he wore, belied the fact that even at this date he was not short of well-to-do party supporters. With the growth of the party and his own expanding reputation in 1922–3, he was able to gain new and wealthy patrons in Munich high society.

VII

The party was, however, perpetually short of money. It was on a fund-raising mission in June 1921 to Berlin by Hitler, to try (in the company of the man with the contacts, Dietrich Eckart) to find backing for the ailing *Völkischer Beobachter*, that the crisis which culminated in Hitler's takeover of the party leadership unfolded.¹⁴⁹

The background was shaped by moves to merge the NSDAP with the DSP. To go from the party programmes, despite some differences of accent, the two *völkisch* parties had more in common than separated them. And the DSP had a following in north Germany, which the Nazi Party, still scarcely more than a small local party, lacked. In itself, therefore, there was certainly an argument for joining forces. Talks about a possible merger had begun the previous August in a gathering in Salzburg, attended by Hitler,

of national socialist parties from Poland.¹⁵⁰ A number of overtun then and April 1921. At a meeting Drexler – presumably delegated Hitler's disapproval – even agreed – anathema to Hitler – a move responded with fury to Drexler's party, and succeeded 'amid unb reached at Zeitz.¹⁵² Eventually, a great rancour and with Hitler in collapsed. The DSP was in no big shot', whose successes had the NSDAP's obstructionism. political programme to be imp mobilization, had set his face r merger. To Hitler, the similarity to the way the DSP had rushed foundations, so that the party readiness to resort to parliament different one. Any merger was but tightly-knit NSDAP. That is a further pointer probably to insecurity.

Of importance for the crisis later was the fact that, although Hitler had encountered significant on the part of those who were b on no more than a constant b successful. It was not simply, as party leadership against the Hitler genuine differences about political committee were sceptical about traditional *völkisch* methods. C to Drexler about Hitler's crucial chairman's conciliatory attitude defending both Hitler and his part. Hitler knew he was the one in exploiting the power this gave there were those on the party's

up on the Left. Even on the *völkisch* eing chauffeured around Munich in raised questions about his personal of time the 'king of Munich' spent th women – even women smoking ly touchy about his financial affairs. 1921 in a libel case against the sought no fees from the party for ch.¹⁴⁵ But he accepted that he was members and 'occasionally' provided who looked after him was the first the elderly widow of a headmaster, s of cakes and turned her house at while into a sort of unofficial party hsbahn official Theodor Lauböck – ie NSDAP, but subsequently trans-) Hitler's well-being, and could also uests of the party.¹⁴⁸ In reality, the d in Thierschstraße, and the shabby ven at this date he was not short of : growth of the party and his own was able to gain new and wealthy

of national socialist parties from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.¹⁵⁰ A number of overtures followed from the DSP leaders between then and April 1921. At a meeting in Zeitz in Thuringia at the end of March, Drexler – presumably delegated by the NSDAP, but plainly in the teeth of Hitler's disapproval – even agreed to tentative proposals for a merger and – anathema to Hitler – a move of the party headquarters to Berlin.¹⁵¹ Hitler responded with fury to Drexler's concessions, threatened to resign from the party, and succeeded 'amid unbelievable anger' in reversing the agreement reached at Zeitz.¹⁵² Eventually, at a meeting in Munich in mid-April, amidst great rancour and with Hitler in a towering rage, negotiations with the DSP collapsed. The DSP was in no doubt that Hitler, the 'fanatical would-be big shot', whose successes had gone to his head, was solely responsible for the NSDAP's obstructionism. Hitler, dismissive of notions of a specific political programme to be implemented, interested only in agitation and mobilization, had set his face rigidly from the outset against any possible merger. To Hitler, the similarities in programme were irrelevant. He objected to the way the DSP had rushed to set up numerous branches without solid foundations, so that the party was 'everywhere and nowhere', and to its readiness to resort to parliamentary tactics.¹⁵³ But the real reason was a different one. Any merger was bound to threaten his supremacy in the small but tightly-knit NSDAP. That he was so fearful of losing his dominance is a further pointer probably to Hitler's personal as well as to his political insecurity.

Of importance for the crisis in the party that was to erupt three months later was the fact that, although he had succeeded in torpedoing the merger, Hitler had encountered significant opposition from within his own movement on the part of those who were by no means convinced that a strategy based on no more than a constant barrage of agitation would ultimately prove successful. It was not simply, as has often been claimed, a matter of the old party leadership against the Hitler clique, thrusting for power. There were genuine differences about political strategy. Four or five members of the committee were sceptical about Hitler's approach, and favoured more traditional *völkisch* methods. Gottfried Feder, no less, complained bitterly to Drexler about Hitler's crude style of propaganda and criticized the chairman's conciliatory attitude towards him. But Drexler replied by defending both Hitler and his approach.¹⁵⁴ Personal factors also played a part. Hitler knew he was the only star the party had, and was not reticent in exploiting the power this gave him. But, as the July crisis was to show, there were those on the party's committee who bitterly resented his special

ort of money. It was on a fund-raising r, to try (in the company of the man nd backing for the ailing *Völkischer* ated in Hitler's takeover of the party

ves to merge the NSDAP with the s, despite some differences of accent, common than separated them. And rmany, which the Nazi Party, still lacked. In itself, therefore, there was s. Talks about a possible merger had ing in Salzburg, attended by Hitler,

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July 1926: Hitler, standing in a car in the rear of the SA, whose banner carries immediately to Hitler's right is Wilhelm Frick the camera, Julius Streicher
August 1927: left to right, Julius Streicher, Rudolf Heß, Adolf Hitler, Ulrich Graf

Hitler, meanwhile, was still in Berlin. He failed to turn up at a meeting with a DSP representative on 1 July for further merger talks, and did not return to Bavaria until ten days later. He had evidently by then got wind of the alarming news that a delegation of the NSDAP's leaders was due to have talks there with Dickel and representatives of the Augsburg and Nuremberg branches of the Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft. He appeared before the NSDAP delegates themselves arrived, beside himself with rage, threatening the Augsburg and Nuremberg representatives that he would see that a merger was stopped. But when his own people eventually turned up, his uncontrolled fury subsided into sulky silence. Three hours of suggestions from Dickel for the formation of a loose confederation of the different groups and recommendations for improvements to the NSDAP's programme prompted numerous outbursts from Hitler before, being able to stand it no longer, he stormed out of the meeting.¹⁵⁸

If Hitler hoped his tantrums would convince his colleagues to drop the negotiations, he was mistaken. They were embarrassed by his behaviour and impressed by what Dickel had to offer. Even Dietrich Eckart thought Hitler had behaved badly. It was accepted that the party programme needed amending, and that Hitler 'as a simple man', was not up to doing this. They agreed to take back Dickel's proposals to Munich and put them to the full party committee.¹⁵⁹

Hitler resigned from the party in anger and disgust on 11 July. In a letter to the committee three days later, he justified his move on the grounds that the representatives in Augsburg had violated the party statutes and acted against the wishes of the members in handing over the movement to a man whose ideas were incompatible with those of the NSDAP. 'I will and can not be any longer a member of such a movement,' he declared.¹⁶⁰ Hitler had resigned 'for ever' from the party's committee in December 1920.¹⁶¹ As we have noted, he threatened resignation yet again following the Zeitz conference in late March 1921. The histrionics of the prima donna were part and parcel of Hitler's make-up – and would remain so. It would always be the same: he only knew all-or-nothing arguments; there was nothing in between, no possibility of reaching a compromise. Always from a maximalist position, with no other way out, he would go for broke. And if he could not get his way he would throw a temper-tantrum and threaten to quit. In power, in years to come, he would sometimes deliberately orchestrate an outburst of rage as a bullying tactic. But usually his tantrums were a sign of frustration, even desperation, not strength. It was to be the case in a number of future crises. And it was so on this occasion. The resignation

* D.T. without me, he was absolutely dependable as a spoiled child

scene
*

acquaintance
is not fact.?
May American?

Feb 1921

your brain and forgotten to flush it?
But in front of a beerhall audience

iting the hangman, Hans Frank, the
alled the moment, in January 1920,
old (though already committed to the
rd Hitler speak. The large room was
izens rubbed shoulders with workers,
young, the state of the nation weighed
bt polarized opinions, but left few
itical meetings were packed. But, to
i-Marxist and nationalistic – speakers
tle to offer. Hitler, in stark contrast,

's fate would be bound for the next
abby blue suit, his tie loosely fastened.
not shrill tones, his blue eyes flashing,
h his right hand. Frank's most immedi-
s, how the words came from the heart
ce. 'He was at that time simply the
ecedent – and, for me, incomparable,'

It was totally different from what was
ethod was completely clear and simple.
pic of the day, the Versailles Diktat, and
at now German people? What's the true
He spoke for over two-and-a-half hours,
ipplause – and one could have listened to
ame from the heart, and he struck a chord
the consciousness of all those present and
standing and the common wishes of those
amme. In the matter itself he was certainly
to act as spokesman of the people . . . He
distress, the despair facing Germany. But
way left to all ruined peoples in history,
most profound depths through courage,
nd devotion to a great, shining, common
of the Almighty in the most serious and

solemn exhortation the salvation of the honour of the German soldier and worker
as his life-task . . . When he finished, the applause would not die down . . . From
this evening onwards, though not a party member, I was convinced that if one man
could do it, Hitler alone would be capable of mastering Germany's fate.⁶⁷

Whatever the pathos of these comments, they testify to Hitler's instinctive
ability, singling him out from other speakers relaying a similar message, to
speak in the language of his listeners, and to stir them through the passion
and – however strange it might now sound to us – the apparent sincerity of
his idealism.

Rising attendances, as he noted in *Mein Kampf*, followed in the next
weeks, between his first appearance as main speaker – on one of his favourite
topics, 'Brest-Litovsk and Versailles?' – in the Eberlbräukeller in November
1919, and the big Hofbräuhaus meeting in February 1920. This was merely
a prelude to Hitler's growing success and mounting reputation as the party's
star speaker. By the end of 1920 he had addressed over thirty mass meetings
– mostly of between 800 and 2,500 persons – and spoken at many smaller
internal party gatherings.⁶⁸ In early February 1921 he would speak at the
biggest meeting so far – over 6,000 people in the Circus Krone, which could
accommodate the biggest indoor crowds in Munich, near the Marsfeld just
to the west of the city centre.⁶⁹ Until mid-1921 he spoke mainly in Munich,
where the propaganda and organization of the meetings would ensure a
satisfactory turn-out, and where the right atmosphere was guaranteed. But,
not counting the speeches made during a fortnight's visit to Austria in early
October, he held ten speeches outside the city in 1920, including one in
Rosenheim where the first local group of the party outside Munich had just
been founded. It was largely owing to Hitler's public profile that the party
membership increased sharply from 190 in January 1920 to 2,000 by the end
of the year and 3,300 by August 1921.⁷⁰ He was rapidly making himself
indispensable to the movement.

IV

Hitler spoke from rough notes – mainly a series of jotted headings with key
words underlined.⁷¹ As a rule, a speech would last around two hours or
more.⁷² In the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus he used a beer table on one of
the long sides of the hall as his platform in order to be in the middle of the
crowd – a novel technique for a speaker which helped create what Hitler

1931

regarded as a special mood in that hall.⁷³ The themes of his speeches varied little: the contrast of Germany's strength in a glorious past with its current weakness and national humiliation – a sick state in the hands of traitors and cowards who had betrayed the Fatherland to its powerful enemies; the reasons for the collapse in a lost war unleashed by these enemies, and behind them, the Jews; betrayal and revolution brought about by criminals and Jews;⁷⁴ English and French intentions of destroying Germany, as shown in the Treaty of Versailles – the 'Peace of shame', the instrument of Germany's slavery; the exploitation of ordinary Germans by Jewish racketeers and profiteers; a cheating and corrupt government and party system presiding over economic misery, social division, political conflict, and ethical collapse; the only way to recovery contained in the points of the party's programme – ruthless showdown with internal enemies and build-up of national consciousness and unity, leading to renewed strength and eventual restored greatness.⁷⁵ The combination of traditional Bavarian dislike of the Prussians and the experience of the Räterepublik in Munich meant that Hitler's repeated onslaught on the 'Marxist' government in Berlin was certain to meet with an enthusiastic response among the still small minority of the local population drawn to his meetings.

While Hitler basically appealed to negative feelings – anger, resentment, hatred – there was also a 'positive' element in the proposed remedy to the proclaimed ills. However platitudinous, the appeal to restoration of liberty through national unity, the need to work together of 'workers of the brain and hand' (*Zusammenarbeiten des Geistes- und Handarbeiters*),⁷⁶ the social harmony of a 'national community', and the protection of the 'little man' through the crushing of his exploiters, were, to go from the applause they invariably produced, undeniably attractive propositions to Hitler's audiences.⁷⁷ And Hitler's own passion and fervour successfully conveyed the message – to those already predisposed to it – that no other way was possible; that Germany's revival would and could be brought about; and that it lay in the power of ordinary Germans to make it happen through their own struggle, sacrifice, and will.⁷⁸ The effect was more that of a religious revivalist meeting than a normal political gathering.⁷⁹

What Hitler was saying had long belonged to the standard repertoire of nationalist and *völkisch* speakers. It was as good as indistinguishable from what the Pan-Germans had been preaching for years. And though Hitler was invariably up-to-date in finding easy targets in the daily politics of the crisis-ridden Republic, his main themes were tediously repetitive. Some, in fact, often taken for granted to be part of Hitler's allegedly unchanging

ideology were missing altogether at a single mention of the need for 'Europe'.⁸⁰ Britain and France were indeed, Hitler jotted among the no 1920, 'brotherhood towards the east' he clamoured for a dictatorship. Such a 1920, on 27 April, in which Hitler declared who is a genius' if it were to rise up against himself was that person.⁸¹ Surprisingly on Marxism did not occur before his (though he had spoken on a number of effects of Bolshevism in Russia, for which, even race theory – where Hitler known antisemitic tracts such as the Adolf Wahrsmund, and, especially, the (one of whose emphases was the alliance – was explicitly treated in only one

This scarcely meant, however, that On the contrary: the all-devouring machine all else is subordinated – not observable – courses through almost every Hitler that had befallen or was threatening Germany. In speech after speech he lashed the German language imaginable.

Genuine socialism, declared Hitler, should be ready to enter into a pact with Jewry.⁸² But, as in his letter to Gemlich emotional antisemitism as the antisemitic concentration camps to prevent 'Jewish racketeering',⁸³ but ultimately, as Gemlich letter – the 'removal of the Jews' as in his explicit demands with regard from Germany. This was undoubtedly some pre-war antisemites, the language genocidal in its biological similes.⁸⁴ 'You parasites (*Trichinen*) and bacilli. Parasites They are as quickly and fully as possible not Hitler. It was Paul de Lagarde, leader in semitic languages, in 1887, writing

by growing numbers in the *volkisch* ship cult reflected mentalities and German society at the time, more so. Nor would his abilities as a leader. He had to offer at the time, in 1921, lifted him to a position where he could prospect, hours of pure melodrama, the light of the German state. To come

product of a lost war, revolution, and nation, Hitler would have remained the same. He came to realize during the course of his life the chances he could inspire an audience by the way he spoke, by the force of his words, by his prejudice, by the conviction he had in Germany's plight, and that only the rebirth of the German people was the only way. Another time, another place, another ineffective, absurd even. As it was, the majority of the citizens of Munich, let alone Hitler was, if at all, only known as a demagogue, a le-rouser, could not be captivated by his message. In that place, Hitler's message did capture the imagination, fear, frustration, resentment, and anger of the Munich beerhalls. The message was in turn much of its power of appeal that combined with appealingly to the people's problems.

Hitler was to stoke up the hatred of the people that was so deeply embedded in the German mind that the effect it was to have now, in the Men's Home in Vienna, was a field headquarters, had been at the time. It was to be Hitler's major asset. The message above all was the milieu and the message should look in the first instance to the motives and actions of those who were his followers and devotees – and not least his lack of success on the political scene. He fell into the mistake of presuming

that he was no more than the puppet of the 'ruling classes' – is that Hitler would have remained a political nonentity without the patronage and support he obtained from influential circles in Bavaria. During this period, Hitler was seldom, if ever, master of his own destiny. The key decisions – to take over the party leadership in 1921, to engage in the putsch adventure in 1923 – were not carefully conceived actions, but desperate forward moves to save face – behaviour characteristic of Hitler to the end.

It was as a propagandist, not as an ideologue with a unique or special set of political ideas, that Hitler made his mark in these early years. There was nothing new, different, original, or distinctive about the ideas he was peddling in the Munich beerhalls. They were common currency among the various *volkisch* groups and sects and had already been advanced in all their essentials by the pre-war Pan-Germans. What Hitler did was to advertise unoriginal ideas in an original way. Others could say the same thing but make no impact at all. It was less *what* he said than *how* he said it that counted. As it was to be throughout his 'career', presentation was what mattered. He consciously learnt how to make an impression through his speaking. He learnt how to devise effective propaganda and to maximize the impact of targeting specific scapegoats. He learnt, in other words, that he was able to mobilize the masses. For him this was from the outset the route to the attainment of political goals. The ability to convince himself that his way and no other could succeed was the platform for the conviction that he conveyed to others. Conversely, the response of the beerhall crowds – later the mass rallies – gave him the certainty, the self-assurance, the sense of security, which at this time he otherwise lacked. According to Heinrich Hoffmann, when asked to give a short speech at Hermann Esser's wedding party in the early 1920s, he refused. 'I must have a crowd when I speak,' he explained. 'In a small intimate circle I never know what to say. I should only disappoint you all, and that is a thing I should hate to do. As a speaker either at a family gathering or a funeral, I'm no use at all.' Hitler's frequently demonstrated diffidence and unease in dealings with individuals contrasted diametrically with his self-confident mastery in exploiting the emotions of his listeners in the theatrical setting of a major speech. He needed the orgasmic excitement which only the ecstatic masses could give him. The satisfaction gained from the rapturous response and wild applause of cheering crowds must have offered compensation for the emptiness of his personal relations. More than that, it was a sign that he was a success, after three decades in which – apart from the pride he took in his war record – he had no achievements of note to set against his outsized ego.

★

P.T.'s advice

to explain
he had his
own occasions

★ P.T. there were times when there were
our only resources.

1921

Simplicity and repetition were two key ingredients in his speaking armoury. These revolved around the unvarying essential driving-points of his message: the nationalization of the masses, the reversal of the great 'betrayal' of 1918, the destruction of Germany's internal enemies (above all the 'removal' of the Jews), and material and psychological rebuilding as the prerequisite for external struggle and the attainment of a position of world power.⁴ This conception of the path to Germany's 'salvation' and rebirth was already partially devised, at least in embryo, by the date of his letter to Gemlich in September 1919.⁵ Important strands remained, however, to be added. The central notion of the quest for 'living-space' in eastern Europe was, for instance, not fully incorporated until the middle of the decade. It was only in the two years or so following the putsch débâcle, therefore, that his ideas finally came together to form the characteristic fully-fledged *Weltanschauung* that thereafter remained unaltered.

But all this is to run ahead of the crucial developments which shaped the first passage of Hitler's political 'career' as the beerhall agitator of an insignificant Munich racist party and the circumstances under which he came to lead that party.

I

The equation of National Socialism with Hitler, the frequently heard claim that it is no more than Hitlerism, always was a quite misleading oversimplification.⁶ That Hitler was indispensable to the rise to and exercise of power of National Socialism is, of course, undeniable. But the phenomenon itself existed before Hitler was heard of, and would have continued to exist if Hitler had remained a 'nobody of Vienna'.⁷ Much of the pot-pourri of ideas that went to make up Nazi ideology – an amalgam of prejudices, phobias, and utopian social expectations rather than a coherent set of intellectual propositions – was to be found in different forms and intensities before the First World War, and later in the programmes and manifestos of fascist parties of many European countries. Integral nationalism, anti-Marxist 'national' socialism, social Darwinism, racism, biological antisemitism, eugenics, elitism intermingled in varying strengths to provide a heady brew of irrationalism attractive to some cultural pessimists among the intelligentsia and bourgeoisie of European societies undergoing rapid social, economic, and political change in the late nineteenth century. There was nothing especially Teutonic about them, though, naturally, as we noted in

an earlier chapter, some of the ideas had a specific intonation in German.

Ideas of a 'national', or 'German', socialism of Marxism, were no new thing. War had given such notions a new lease of life. Naumann had founded a 'Nationalist' view to weaning industrial workers from the pillars of the new nation in 1903, and the notion of a 'German' with the extreme anti-liberal programme. The appeal here was to craftsmen, small farmers, lower middle class, and extreme nationalism, interpreted as 'Jewish' capitalism. At the time of Hitler's youth, we noted in an earlier chapter, in the Schönerer movement, Czech and German workers in the establishment of a German Workers' Party, known as the Sudetenland, Marxist, anti-capitalist socialism. Twenty years earlier, of this Austria, after the Putsch, though disclaimed. Certainly, there is no hint that it was discredited during his youth. It continued after the war, when the 'National Socialist Workers' Party' (Nationalistische Arbeiterpartei). There were early 1920s, but by 1923 the success of Hitler became acknowledged and German branches of the party.

The *völkisch* variant of nationalism was prominent in the First World War, though gauged by Germans, through the dissemination of Theodor Fritsch and Hausmann's popularizing of exclusivist nationalism in schools and youth organizations. There were extreme nationalism, rather than uniquely German social order, harmony, and hierarchy.

journalist and poet, twenty-one years older than Hitler. He had a strong influence on the younger man, probably the strongest anyone ever has had on him. And rightly so. A gifted writer, satirist, orator, even (or so Hitler believed) thinker, Eckart was the same sort of uprooted, agitated, and far from immaculate soul. Born of well-to-do parents in a little town of northern Bavaria, he had been a failure as a law student because he had drunk too much and worked too little. Then in Berlin — already in his forties — he had led the life of a vagrant who believes himself to be a poet. He could tell Hitler that he (like Hitler himself) had lodged in flop houses and slept on park benches because of Jewish machinations which (in his case) had prevented him from becoming a successful playwright. He had grown to be a morphine addict and had spent some time in an asylum for the mentally diseased, where his theatrical gifts finally found a haven, for he had staged plays there and used the inmates as actors. Now he was the grand old — and often drunk — man of the young Nazi Movement. It would be interesting to know how and in which member of the circle the realization dawned that *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* was not a pamphlet at all, but a secret textbook of world domination. Nothing contradicts the assumption that, in any event, Hitler secretly and with sealed lips conceived the idea that he himself would become the 'king' and 'ruler' of the world prophesied in the *Protocols*. He was now — 1921 — in his thirty-third year, exactly the year in which the diabolical vocation, preceded by a short blindness, comes to Soloviev's Antichrist.

The Antichrist first appeared in the form of an utter ne'er-do-well. He is the human scum of all classes. He is the sort of man who in a normal civilized world is totally useless and unsuccessful, but who in a disintegrating society conquers and seizes all. The burning heavens are mirrored in a mud puddle. A world revolution has blown these uprooted existences from all directions to a table in a Munich beer hall; from the wreckage of dead classes arises the new class of intellectuals, and at the head march the most ruthless, those with the least to lose, hence the strongest: the armed bohemians, to whom war is home and civil war fatherland.

Chapter VI

'ARYANS OF A NATIONS, UNI'

THE NEW ARMY SOON WENT INTO had there not been a war, this army would have been called Röhm's army, and military leader at that time had been the name of the war, Hitler's war. For it was this army against their own people, and nobody of this war so clearly and sharply as Hitler did.

Bavaria was the center of this military enterprise and downs, remained so until the end of the utility of this southern country against Prussia an atmosphere in which all preparations of it matured faster than elsewhere. The régime Gustav von Kahr and his Police-President Pö counter-revolution in power. Many of their taken refuge in Bavaria; the first of them G.

Thus, in the summer and fall of 1920, an ill secret army was established, chiefly by Röhm numbered as many as 200,000 men, and it than 100,000 actual effectives. Although it had ramifications through the whole of Austria, and a loosely knit organization cc nucleus with the more clandestine organization

...this miserable human nothing could think
...feel only the feeling of the mass, and when
...with the people, it was as though the voice of
...being.

...the people about the depravity of the Jews, he
...tively about the Prussian junkers, the Pope in
...English nobility. His revelation of a world con-
...ved its extraordinary effect, not because of the
...the world conspiracy. The sentiment that our
...arrived at a breaking point, that millions and
...rushed in the impending collapse, tormented
...With unerring sureness Hitler expressed the
...e masses faced by an invisible enemy and gave
...a name. He was a pure fragment of the mod-
...rved by any personal qualities. One scarcely
...il arts he conquered the masses; he did not con-
...ayed and represented them. His speeches are
...mass soul; they are chaotic, full of contradic-
...le are taken literally, often senseless, as dreams
...it with deeper meaning. Vulgar vilification, flat
...linging, sometimes exalted, phrases. The
...els with deep pessimism and end in overjoyed
...phant happy ending; often they can be refuted
...ollow the far mightier logic of the subconscious,
...can touch. Hitler has given speech to the
...the modern mass, and to the nameless fear he
...That makes him the greatest mass orator of the

...decay of his own cause. Röhm set out to reor-
...broken army with the greatest possible speed.
...one less openly than before. Clubs with harm-
...anded; they were all private armies of varying
...if was given a private band, Röhm producing
...rms, the officers. In place of the little group of
...xbräuhaus, Hitler could soon muster companies
...a. The troop was given (August, 1921) the sup-
...at quite transparent name of 'Gymnastics and
...; first recruiting proclamation said:

The N.S.D.A.P. (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*: National Socialist German Workers' Party) has formed its own gymnastics and sport division within the framework of its organization. It will embody and propagate the military idea of a free nation. . . . It will instill a boundless desire for action in the hearts of our young members, hammer and burn into their brains that history does not make men, but men history. And that the man who lends himself defenseless to the chains of slavery deserves the slave's yoke. In it, we will continue to cultivate loyalty between comrade and comrade, and joyful obedience to the leader. . . .

It was at this time that the corporal from the List Regiment first met the man who one day should be his second in power. This occurred in the thick of the struggle over the Citizens' Defense, at one of those great demonstrations on a public square which raise passions to fever heat but lead only to defeat. A former captain of the *Luftwaffe*, at that time a private citizen unconcerned with politics, was an onlooker. Hitler, by this time widely known and a center of much controversy, was leaning silently against a pillar, not far from the former captain. The demonstration was drawing to an end. Voices arose: Let Hitler speak! A man stepped up and asked Hitler if he would like to say a few words. Only then did Göring see who was standing next to him. He had heard a good deal about Hitler. Hitler said in his firm, thundering voice: 'If I spoke, I would destroy the unity of the meeting. I don't want to do that!' That was all. But the captain went home and said to his wife that he had seen and heard this man for the first time and had carried away an indelible impression; he believed in Hitler. This was a later story, perhaps somewhat exaggerated; but Hermann Wilhelm Göring was neither the first nor the last whom Hitler's astonishing voice had hypnotized with an insignificant remark.

Göring, born January 12, 1893, in Rosenheim, Bavaria, son of a German diplomat at that time consul-general in Haiti, might actually be called a foster-child of the Prussian Army. He spent part of his youth in the house of a Jewish friend of the family in Austria; later he grew up, far from home and family life, in several boarding-schools; finally in the officers' school of Lichtenfelde, near Ber-

D.T. Democracy + Fascism
in one coupling.

of speech; after another meeting
our abreast through the city, sing-
from our knives, things will be
his followers. He learned that this
the power of its fists; it possesses
men's souls. The troopers tramped
itself. Five hundred marching
power and authority than ten
ker, doubts arose; was this march-
dreadly state power?

gh accidents to create a distance
men, to distinguish themselves by
new that his men were disguised
wehr like himself; and so he de-
their caps. But the enthusiastic
gan to gather round the hardened
al military training. To them the
nt elbow was a strain. They took
le a simple wave of the hand, which
it ust. Thus the so-called Fascist or
litew storm-troop salute developed
el the first Fascist symbols in Italy.
ies, songs, attitudes, insignia, and
multicolored, many-voiced expres-
t clear that these people had more
l more than an objective aim: the
e er of being and feeling. A definite
; and it was by their totality and
effect. Seldom could any of them
h t they wanted it with a determina-
il- symbols. The original mind, who
al- ing these symbols, was the Italian
founder of the Fascist Movement,
ster rival, Benito Mussolini. But
r, most original emblem of the new
a
t, whence it came—that is one of
al

those questions which never will find a definite answer. Some decades ago it penetrated white civilization as a symbol of religious or semi-religious cults, which used it in order to exhibit some sort of connection with Buddhism. Since the swastika can be followed back for countless centuries in countries ranging from India to Scandinavia, it seemed to confirm the existence of a national bond between far distant lands—a common possession of that Aryan race which, as one of their prophets, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, admitted, might not exist, but which should exist in the future. Many decades before the appearance of National Socialism, German national leagues in Austria bore the swastika as their insignia. But it is also found in purely Mongolian countries, as in China; and in all innocence it used to grace British stamps from Hong Kong. It is found among the American Indians. It is an official emblem in Finland and Estonia, whence presumably the German Free Corps, who in 1918-19 fought the Bolsheviki in the Baltic, brought it back to Germany.

A brigade of these troops was led by the former naval captain Ehrhardt. This Ehrhardt was a sort of forerunner of Hitler, or rather Röhm; it was he who chased the Reich government out of Berlin in 1920, until a general strike put down the military *putsch*. With the swastika on their tin hats, Ehrhardt's soldiers marched into Berlin. After their defeat, the troop was broken up. Many of the officers fled to Munich, and Röhm enrolled them in Hitler's S.A., of which they formed the real nucleus. It was they who brought the swastika to the National Socialists. It was originally a spider-like figure with thin lines; but the printer who made up the National Socialist leaflets and posters used heavy bars for better visibility. This new type ultimately became the official emblem of National Socialist Germany. It has the effect of an iron octopus, a monster, aggressively reaching out in all directions—hence its menacing and frightening effect. In 1921, Hitler's new red banner with a black swastika in a white disk was unfurled in the open for the first time. The effect was so inflammatory that Hitler himself was surprised and pleased.

In the swastika historical accident gave Hitler one of his mightiest magic weapons. It was a lucky find. The old German Workers'

1921

D.T.
they
note

Party had not come across it; Italian Fascism was denied a symbol of such strength. One of its strongest qualities became apparent only in the course of time: every child could draw it, and its expressive form encouraged people to draw it—even those who did not know what it meant. An uncanny power emanated from the mysterious sign; Hitler could point at it and calmly say: 'It is not knowledge that helps us. But faith.' Amid general disintegration he raised his banner: 'Everything around us is dying. We must make our movement a living force.'

1921? A banner means more to an army than a printed program. And more essential than a banner is the battle-cry: knives unsheathed—guns cocked! A great event was needed if the swelling movement was not to fall apart. 'Moral rebirth,' Hitler prophesied, 'can only be the consequence of a great event. It will come to us at the moment when the struggle breaks out between Swastika and Soviet Star.' The first blood means more than speeches, more than symbols, more even than marching: 'With fanatical fury we will make the people national again. . . . Our slogan must be: If you don't want to be a German, I'll bash your skull in. . . . People, learn to be silent, grit your teeth and think of revenge, and again revenge! Learn how to settle with the men who hurled you into the abyss! This is no time for reconciliation. The Jew and his stooges within our people remain our eternal enemies. We know this: if they take the helm, our heads will roll in the sand. But we also know that if we get the power in our hands, then God help you!'

Head against head; two enemies, but, fundamentally, only one method. Tomorrow we will do the very thing for which we attack the enemy today; we have studied *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, and now we apply them. The intellect and the culture of a people, the *Protocols* teach us, rest on the leaders, not on the barbaric mass. Hitler drew the consequence: 'If we are able to raise such leaders out of the mass of our people, then a nation will once more crystallize around them.' He could not have said it more clearly. 'Is the leader personality we need with us?' he asked. In 1923, he was at a loss for an answer. 'It is not our task to seek after personalities. Either a personality is sent from Heaven, or there is none.' He had an idea whom Heaven had in mind. In

speaking to the masses, however, he had to content himself saying that the dictator did not exist for the people, for the dictator: 'It is our task, when the dictator comes, to create a people that is ripe for him.'

The generation which had led Germany into the war was beginning to step aside. The famous generals were being pensioned, the captains and majors taking their places in the key posts, Hitler's generation upward; and as their spokesman he cried: 'The final conquer in the end is the fire of German youth. They uphold the state that they themselves have created. The claimants to power are arising in Germany, men who shed their blood for Germany and are convinced that this is in vain, through the fault of the men who ran the state.'

The new claimants: A youth creating for itself a new species of man—the army of the armed bohemian and murderers by conviction. Since 1919 it has been marching forth through Germany, splitting like quicksilver into fragments or gathering into a heavy mass, present as a social factor of decisive power; too big for general disintegration; too strong and influential to be broken by force. It was 'the beautiful old freebooter class of war times,' as later one of the leaders of this band, Gerhard Rossbach, declared in melancholy remembrance, friend of Röhm, resembling him in many ways, with his unnatural inclinations, less hard and reliable, but just and self-critical, gave a frank picture of this movement: '... organizing masses and losing them just as quickly and that way just for the sake of our daily battles with men about us and playing soldiers with them; brawling, roaring and smashing windows—destroying what needs to be destroyed. Ruthless and inexorable, an abscess on the sick body of the nation must be cut open until clear red blood flows. And the blood must be a good long time till the body is purified. . . .'

Hitler was practically a mollycoddle when he said he wanted to train his young freebooters 'for aesthetics and

ism and not for preaching or heroism with the mouth.' For what, then? For the urge that was within them, pressing to come out: for destruction. They were the model of the human type which had lost everything, possessions and ideals, which nothing could impress but ruthless violence. The vagrant from the Vienna lodging-house said: 'In the ranks of us National Socialists the disinherited of Right and Left must come together. All of them must learn that there is one place in Germany where faith in the future is far from lost. We need the uprooted as fighters to rebuild the coming Germany!' The disinherited of Right and Left, the uprooted. . . .

Perhaps Hitler had just been hearing his friend Röhm say that 'only the man without possessions has ideals.' Göring, the friend of princes, leading the unemployed: this was the spirit of the movement, these were the uprooted of Right and Left. Hitler was a realist and knew that the great good-for-nothings are sometimes the best fighters. He himself had been an outstanding soldier—a man without home, friends, family, or employment. Years later, his friend Hess half-consciously described the type of his leader: 'It is a known fact,' he said, 'that many men stood up best in the field who were everything but suited for normal peacetime bourgeois life. In critical situations, the front-line companies were glad to have such men at their disposal. . . .'

This type, so proficient at war, is now mustering its forces to dominate the peace. The armed bohemians, grown homeless through the downfall of war, conjure up the dead war in peacetime life and force it on the sighing peoples. Hess, consistently, says: 'In the struggle against Marxism we cannot choose our leaders for their company manners and respectability. . . . I know that our corps of leaders contains a sprinkling of those who, according to some, should be dismissed. But I also know that in the hard years of struggle, these leaders stood up. And more: that we largely owe our success to them.'

The success was owed to them—to those 'figures' who were worth so little in bourgeois life; who 'were tossed in all directions—just for their daily bread'; who as murderers let the clear red blood of the people flow, and as bohemians 'brawled and drank, roared

and smashed windows.' The bourgeois, even the Jew, began to take fright and talk of 'Bolshevism'; and boasted: 'In our movement the two extremes come to; communists from the Left and the officers and the st Right. These two have always been the most and it was the greatest crime that they used to of in street fights. The Communists were the ideal: through years of persecution they saw their mort officer; while the officers fought the Communists inevitably saw the mortal enemy of their fatherland tarian led astray by the Jew. Our party has already uniting these two utter extremes within the rank troops. They will form the core of the great German movement, in which all without distinction will when the day comes to say: The nation arises, the ing!'

At the Paris Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George that Germany in 1919 was between junkers and Bolsheviks. That it was not sensed something. The alliance was in the air; the of 1919 rejected it; Hitler seized on it in his own uprooted proletarians and the uprooted intellectual this gives rise to a new man: 'Neither of the two out the other. Both belong together, and from these must crystallize—the man of the coming German

Gerhard Rossbach assures us, almost with tenders and killers were 'a new troop of light-sees freedom. . . . Some day, dedicated to death, they on native soil for the life of the nation.' On native armed bohemians fight to subjugate their own people meant nothing else when he prophesied that the Soviet Star—the fight of German against German the nation.

This brings us to the great cleft that divides him his cause, in two. He summons the Aryans in all countries to the struggle against Soviet Star and even accuses Judaism of having driven the European

* D.T. Their ideals become their possessions

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deal, become their possessions

and smashed windows.' The bourgeois, even the Nationalist press, began to take fright and talk of 'Bolshevism'; and Hitler himself boasted: 'In our movement the two extremes come together: the Communists from the Left and the officers and the students from the Right. These two have always been the most active elements, and it was the greatest crime that they used to oppose each other in street fights. The Communists were the idealists of socialism; through years of persecution they saw their mortal enemy in the officer; while the officers fought the Communists because they inevitably saw the mortal enemy of their fatherland in the proletarian led astray by the Jew. Our party has already succeeded in uniting these two utter extremes within the ranks of our storm troops. They will form the core of the great German liberation movement, in which all without distinction will stand together when the day comes to say: The nation arises, the storm is breaking!'

At the Paris Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson said to Clemenceau and Lloyd George that Germany in 1919 was an alliance between junkers and Bolsheviks. That it was not. But Wilson had sensed something. The alliance was in the air; the German leaders of 1919 rejected it; Hitler seized on it in his own way. He led the uprooted proletarians and the uprooted intellectuals together. And this gives rise to a new man: 'Neither of the two could exist without the other. Both belong together, and from these two a new man must crystallize—the man of the coming German Reich.'

Gerhard Rossbach assures us, almost with tenderness, that his drinkers and killers were 'a new troop of light-seeking fighters for freedom. . . . Some day, dedicated to death, they will have to fight on native soil for the life of the nation.' On native soil—for the armed bohemians fight to subjugate their own people. Hitler had meant nothing else when he prophesied that the fight against the Soviet Star—the fight of German against German—would renew the nation.

This brings us to the great cleft that divides Hitler, and with him his cause, in two. He summons the Aryans and anti-Semites of all countries to the struggle against Soviet Star and Judaism. He even accuses Judaism of having driven the European nations into

1921?

DD: ADOLF HITLER

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The Child As Father to the Man

His words go like an arrow to their target, he touches each private wound on the raw, liberating the mass unconscious, expressing its innermost aspirations, telling it what it most wants to hear.²²¹

Oratorical ability is often important to a revolutionary leader, but it is never enough in itself. Stalin, an indifferent speaker, ousted Trotsky, the best orator produced by the Russian Revolution. A part of Hitler's success must also be attributed to his organizational ability and his capacity for ruthless political infighting.

He soon had need for all these skills, for his control of the Party did not go unchallenged. A crisis of leadership developed in 1921, a crucial year in the life and political fortunes of Adolf Hitler. Toward the end of July an anonymous pamphlet opposing Hitler was circulated among Party leaders and published in a special edition of the *Münchener Post*, 3 August 1921.²²² The pamphlet bore as its title the suggestive question, *Adolf Hitler—Verräter?* (Adolf Hitler—Traitor?). It spoke of Hitler's "lust for personal power"; it asked pointed questions about his personal finances and expensive tastes, particularly in clothes and women. Did he see himself it was asked, as the leader of a working-class party or as "Adolf I. King of Munich"? The pamphlet complained that Hitler treated his colleagues as lackeys and maligned them as "common dogs"; it gave instances of how he twisted facts to suit his own purpose "in a typically Jewish way." It resented Hitler's claim to "infallibility" as the "so-called spiritual leader" of the Party. Finally, it appealed to all decent members of the Party not to be misled and deceived by this "megalomaniac and demagogue" and urged that he be removed from office.

Hitler, who sometimes dawdled and delayed when confronted by a crisis, showed in this instance that he could meet a direct challenge with immediate and effective action. He called a meeting of all Party members for 29 July in the Hofbräuhaus, the same evening the original pamphlet had appeared. We have a full report of the meeting thanks to the Munich Police Department's *Politischer Nachrichtendienst* (Political Reporting Service).

About 1,200 members of the Party attended. Hitler saw to it that he was introduced with fulsome praise by a Party member whom everyone had assumed was his political enemy; he lavished compliments on Drexler, whom the pamphlet had hinted was disenchanted with him; he then launched into a stirring speech which had the whole crowd cheering. The meeting was a tremendous personal triumph. A formal resolution made him, in effect, the undisputed leader of the Party. Key figures of the movement rallied to his support and hailed him as their personal and national savior.²²³ As the closest student of this important event has concluded, "From this day on, the National Socialist German Workers' Party had become a one-man party with Hitler its dictatorial Führer."²²⁴

1921

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and interesting
of war-cases

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1921

1921

the concordant question: "Did the Third Reich represent continuity in the history of Germany, or did it depart from the beaten path? The simple answer is that it contained elements of both continuity and discontinuity, and that continuity predominated."* This is significant because Haffner was a conservative—but also someone deeply aware of what Armin Mohler and others had called "The Conservative Revolution" among important German thinkers and writers in the 1920s who thought that Germany must represent something new, breaking out from an antiquated liberalism and parliamentarianism, in the direction of a stronger, brighter, sun-laden future.†

However, it was *not* inevitable—as some Germanophobes during and after the war, including the American journalist William Shirer, wrote—that German history unavoidably and necessarily culminated in Hitler. That is, too, why the debate among German (and sometimes English) historians about a Special German Path in modern history ("Sonderweg"), meaning a departure from Western democratic development, going back to the failure of a German democratic revolution in 1848 and even earlier, may be exaggerated. Not only Germany but the majority of the present nations of Europe refused to follow or adopt the French, the British, the American, the Swiss, the Scandinavian, or other Western models in the 1920s and 1930s. Still, some of the statements of serious German historians during the "Sonderweg" discussion are worth

*HF/A1, p. 211.

†Haffner cites, in some detail, the poet Stefan George in 1921, who prophesied the coming of an age which "Brings forth the one who helps, the Man / He bursts the chains, restores on fields of rubble / His order; scourges those who've gone astray / Back to eternal justice, where the great / Is great again, and master once more master / Obedience reigns, and on the people's banner / Pins the true sign and through wild storm and terror / Of the red dawn he leads his faithful band / To the day's deed—the New Reich's planting." George was (as were some others) a prophet of a Third Reich; but he disliked Hitler, and left Germany in 1933 for Switzerland, where he died. One of his last close followers was the hero Count Stauffenberg, who attempted to kill Hitler in 1944. "The chapter of German intellectual history entitled 'George-Hitler-Stauffenberg' still remains to be written." (These quotes from the American edition of *The Meaning of Hitler*.)

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considering.* The historian T the unquestioning acceptance o the other hand, the sociologist K thesis of the German 'Sonderw German political consensus afte the best of scholarly intentions, : know that, willingly or unwilling forces that tend to oppose our 1 1945." The thoughtful histori gushed between a particular G sein)† and the "Sonderweg." ‡ limited to the era of [the Third ticular German mentality [Sonde with its opposition to the Frer after 1870 and 1918 must be e perspectives [and, I would add, r tics, out of a myth reality. The r was not a particular German c National Socialist dictatorship German ideology that in 1933- tarian reality."‡

From a very broad historical two world wars of the twentieth things, the last attempt of a state was the great European power i the seventeenth and eighteenth world power (and an important power) during the nineteenth ce it was Germany's turn, in both Wars. Yes, there was a connectic

**Deutscher Sonderweg: Mythos oder R* Vienna, 1982). See also a summary of 326-27.

†"Bewusstsein" may suggest "menta perhaps—in this instance—even "ideol- tality and ideology see pp. 208-209.

‡Sontheimer in *Deutscher Sonderweg*,

(3)

1921-22, 1924-25

1933-34

Statesman and Strategist

147

1934

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course, largely right, but while
German National Socialism

was still possible). Stalin was as secretive about his contacts with
Berlin as behooved a sly Caucasian chieftain. It is significant that
Hitler allowed hints to be dropped on occasion (as early as May) to
the British and the French about the possibility of a German agree-
ment with Russia.* Instructive, then, is his, often cited, conversation
with the Swiss Carl J. Burckhardt on 11 August 1939, a few days
before he approached Stalin directly. He told Burckhardt (who, he
knew, was a partisan of some kind of German-British accommoda-
tion): "Everything I undertake is directed against Russia; if the West
is too stupid and too blind to understand this, I shall be forced to
seek an understanding with the Russians, defeat the West, and after
its defeat turn with all of my forces against the Soviet Union. I need
the Ukraine, so that they cannot starve us out, as during the last
war." Many historians have described this statement as revelatory of
Hitler's entire subsequent war strategy; Hillgruber described it as
prophetic and farsighted [visionär].† In reality, it was Hitler's
attempt (he knew that Burckhardt was listened to in London) to
frighten the Western powers into abandoning Poland.

The attempt did not succeed. Nor did the news of the Hitler-
Stalin pact eleven days later; nor his last attempts to "drive a
wedge," as he himself put it, between the British and the Poles
through his last, fraudulent, "offers" to Poland. Since the Poles re-
fused to become German satellites, he would subdue them through
war. With Britain and France he did not want war, and hoped that
it might not come to that. But on 3 September 1939, Britain and
France, however reluctantly, declared war on the Third Reich. Here
was the first great and ultimately decisive failure of Hitler's states-
manship. Still, strategically it was not a decisive failure—at any rate,
not yet. He knew that the British and the French were reluctant
warriors. They might declare war, but beyond that, at least for the
time being, they would do little or nothing. About that in the short
run he was right.

*His ability to divide et impera—that is, not committing himself to one side or
another for a time—existed already in 1921-22 and 1924-25 in the face of antago-
nisms within the party (and perhaps also in 1933-34, between the army and the SA.)

†HST, pp. 28-29. Also F, p. 801, and HF/Al, p. 224.

But the
same
as
Munich
in 1921.

(1821) ?
THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

called "illiberalism" and "formed it into a habitual response" to all political and social problems. Glorification of the state was encouraged by the historic achievements, vividly memorialized in popular history, of such authoritarian political rulers as Frederick the Great and Bismarck. Political theory also helped in the sanctification.⁴³

The German theory of the state differed strikingly in two respects from that of other Western nations. A persistent characteristic of Western thought, particularly in England and America, has been an emphasis on moderation, a distrust of political extremes. From the great theorists of the Middle Ages through Halifax in the 17th century, Locke and Jefferson in the 18th, and the political practitioners of the 19th and 20th centuries—whatever their political party—English and American political leaders have accepted parliamentary government and publicly endorsed political moderation. In Germany, by contrast, influential political thought has run to extremes—from the exaltation and near deification of the state found in Hegel to the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels, who wanted to destroy all traditional forms of political organization.

Germans also held a dramatically different conception of the nature and purpose of the state. To such leading political theorists as John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Thomas Jefferson, the state was created by man to serve his needs. If a particular creation failed to live up to contractual expectations, citizens had the right to abolish that state and create another. Man, not the state, was the master. The idea is made clear in these familiar and beautiful words:

To secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among men . . . that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government . . . on such Principles . . . as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

Throughout the 19th century, German theorists rejected democratic ideas so commonplace and essential to the Western tradition. To them, the state was so sacred, so miraculous that it could not have been the work of mere man; it must have been created by the unfathomable forces of nature or by an inscrutable Providence. Thus Adam Müller, the political philosopher of the Romantics, proclaimed—in striking contrast to the thought of Locke and Jefferson—that "the State was not established for the benefit of the individual" but for its own mysterious purposes.⁴⁴

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL

Germany's most influential 19th-century political theorist was Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). He wrote and lectured early in the century, but his influence reached its climax during the Second Reich, when his philosophy of the state became virtually the

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The Past As Prologue: Hitler

official faith of all German key positions in every philosophy, aesthetics, history occupied chairs of philosophy at the universities of Prussia.⁴⁵

Hegel's writings are all but the initiate. About the state must be reverent human creation—it is a special formulation—"a synthesis which evolves state synthesizes individual it combines both moral and political. In fact, according to Hegel, the state, and only in the state is the true embodiment of the individual share in truth.

The state is not a reality, rather, it has its own moral purpose is very difficult to mystification:

The State is the real revealed will appear knows itself and acts as it knows it.

As Ralf Dahrendorf what is being said here? tell, for the state is beyond criticism. And from that reached by latter-day Hegel.

Hegel's emphasis on the political Romantics, meaning and no political into "the community of the

The flavor of Hegel are best conveyed in his own

The State is divine wants, knows it in its according to purpose

One should therefore earth [irdisch-göttlich] nature, it is immeasurable

Hegel's saying
+ the State
the glorification but
its more for

* Blood and soil and order, And the D.K. encompassed it since he was forever marching for solution and through sin condescended to the amalgam of foreign the German soul. (take it further)

1922

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1922 1925, April 13. 1926

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

1918, 1922

D

lessness was chronic with Hitler after World War I. Presumably his mustard gas poisoning brought it on in lieu of the usual depressive apathy. It is consonant with Forster's false diagnosis of psychopathic hysteria. More, Weiss's novelized Hitler is nervously agitated at Pasewalk, and Weiss was informed by Forster. So Hitler may have appropriated his mother's last symptoms in associating his poisoning with hers. That could account for his hallucinating.¹ But so could Forster's treatment. Forster's regular medicine for war hysterics was, by all accounts including his own, a calling down for shameless shirking. That medicine is indicated in Hitler's case by Forster's transparent reference to Hitler in a 1922 discussion of war hysteria as shameless shirking.² A calling down for self-pity instead is suggested by a passage in *Mein Kampf*: "And when in the very last days of the fearful struggle the creeping gas finally attacked me too and began eating into my eyes, and from fear of going blind forever I felt for a moment like despairing, the voice of conscience thundered at me: Miserable wretch, would you cry when thousands are a hundred times worse off than you!"³ That voice is audibly Forster's. Its having thundered like that would not have prevented Forster, when Hitler relapsed, from using hypnosis as his counterpart in Weiss's novel does on A.H.⁴ And the view expressed by Weiss's hero that hypnosis is the patient's achievement was Forster's. By means of hypnosis Forster can have drawn Hitler out of his relapse even without having understood Hitler's complaint any more than did Weiss. Hitler's identification of Forster's voice with his own conscience looks like an aftereffect of just such a treatment. So does the stance as Wil-lens-mensch—man of will—that Hitler struck after Pasewalk.⁵ And so does his perception of Germany's breakdown concurrent with his own as a dysfunction of the national will to be treated by both hortatory and hypnoid devices. His mission would have been recollected from a hypnotic trance with the very uncertainty he did show about how it was conveyed,⁶ on top of that deeper uncertainty about it discernible in his order to the Gestapo to destroy all records of his treatment at Pasewalk.⁷

The gas that hit Hitler involves a complication I evaded. It was

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1921, (122), '23

APPENDIXES

A. The Pasewalk Hallucination

Hitler's earliest recorded account of his Pasewalk hallucination may be this one of 1921 or 1922, reported by Karl von Wiegand in 1939:

In simple words he once related to me how [his] divine mandate came to him. It was just at the close of the war in November, 1918, as he lay in the Pasewalk hospital, blinded from a gas attack on the front. "And as I lay there, it came over me that I would liberate the German people and make Germany great." That was all. The message, inspiration or whatever you wish to call it did not say he "should" or "must"; it said he "would." That word, to him, contained in it the promise, the assurance that he would succeed in the mission.¹

A similar version was cited in a *Frankfurter Zeitung* editorial of January 1923:

About the background of the [Nazi] leader, the scenic painter from Austria Adolf Hitler, the rightist "Politischer Wochenbrief," mailed out confidentially by the Ring-Verlag, related recently that at the time of the revolution Hitler lay in a military hospital as a battle casualty stricken with a sort of blindness from which he was delivered by an inner rapture that set him the task of becoming his people's deliverer.²

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1922

E

Friday, 26.5.22. Irmgard jumped around naked before going to bed. I don't think this is proper for a three-year-old at a time when one should teach a child a sense of shame. Went to bed about 10. Slept well.

(a lie)

scene

Saturday, 27.5.1922. Up at 7:30. Hugo had come in during the night. He was very nice and was very happy that I was there. Lots of consulting room business. His practice is very good. Friedl is extremely able and industrious both in the pharmacy and at doing the housework. Hitched up the horse about 10:00 and went with Hugo on his rounds. Irmgard also went along. It was uphill and down hill through the woods to Birkland. The villages around here . . .

1922

conventionality and naiveté ensured that these activities would offer no grounds for moral strictures, his love of good food, idle chatter, and philosophic discussions overpowered his desire to personify the virtues of triumphant will power. E

As soon as he was settled in his new quarters, he set off on a round of social calls to old friends and relatives. Prompted partly by his parents and partly by his own gregariousness and desire to keep up useful contacts, he visited the Hagers, the Dicknethers, the Kastls and other families he had known over the years. Twice he called on Princess Arnulf, with whom he discussed the old days and the wretchedness of present conditions. Although sometimes troubled by the fact that his visits were not "idealistically" motivated (he hoped someday to turn these connections to his advantage), he thoroughly enjoyed the old-fashioned formality as well as the cookies and cakes. Anxious to maintain the proper demeanor on all occasions, he was apprehensive about his social savoir-faire, not because he did not know what to do, but because his clumsiness often got in the way. His diary records a series of incidents in which he lost his coat or the coat check or his notebook and then had to recover himself amid embarrassment and apologies.³

Incidents of this kind, however, did little to dampen his social enthusiasm or his sincere joy in renewing contacts with friends and acquaintances his own age. During his first months back in the city he encountered at every turn companions from school or from his military and paramilitary units, fraternity brothers, and people he had known in Fridolfing. Such meetings provided gratifying opportunities for long chats over coffee or reminiscences amid cigar smoke in a friend's *Bude* (study), but their potential usefulness in gaining favors or aiding his career was also never far from his thoughts. Every chance contact with persons who had significant positions or titles—even the presence of a prince at a large party he attended—appears both in his diary and in his letters home.⁴

Self-interest was a determining factor in Heinrich's participation in organized social activities. Among the many organizations to which he belonged were the *Alpen Verein*, various associations of agriculturists, the *Allgemeiner Studenten Ausschuss*, the officers' association of his old regiment, and—most important—his fraternity. He made a heroic effort to attend as many of the meetings and social

1922

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gatherings of these groups as possible and spent a substantial part of his time on the social circuit. His dancing skill was sufficient to eliminate any fear of embarrassment, and he seldom missed an opportunity to display his confidence on the dance floor. Especially during *Fasching* he went from one dance party to another, and his diary records the enjoyment he derived from returning day after day to Frau Wolff's in the early morning hours between 1:30 and 5:00 a.m.⁵

His favorite parties and celebrations were those sponsored by his fraternity and its closely allied groups. Perhaps because the *Bund* was no longer simply a well-regulated sanctuary but had become a place where he had to make his own mark, he threw himself completely into its activities. He regularly practiced dueling and was often present as an observer when his fraternity brothers had matches. After frustrating delays in arranging a bout for himself, he finally fought a duel in June 1922 and proudly endured the ministrations which would guarantee him the honored scars.⁶

The traditional *Kameradschaft* of the *Bund* had a deep appeal for him, and he took his responsibilities to his fraternity brothers very seriously. He visited sick Apolloneans and sought out members and alumni wherever he went. The parallel between the *Kameradschaft* of the *Bund* and the esprit de corps of a military unit pleased him. In the *Bund* he found an expression of the "genuine German" spirit.⁷ An additional appeal lay in the unlimited opportunities it offered for maneuvering and in-group politics. Its relations with other fraternities, membership in a larger federation, and intricate rituals and affairs of honor kept its members in a continuous uproar. Heinrich organized factions, gossiped with small cliques on every petty detail, and in general waded with gusto into the middle of the turmoil.⁸

Yet, in spite of his enthusiasm for the *Bund* and the vast amount of time that he devoted to it, he was not completely satisfied. He found, especially among the younger members, a lack of devotion to the old ways and to the ideal of fellowship. The very factionalism that excited his interest and participation also led him to doubt the continuation of the traditions which he cherished. In addition, even though Apollo was animated by a deep conservatism and had little sympathy with the new republican system, it was insufficiently committed to rightist opposition to satisfy him.⁹

humiliating recollection - HR

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In addition to being subject to these reservations and doubts he was troubled by the fact that he was not very popular with his fraternity brothers, some of whom quite openly expressed their lack of confidence in him. The fixity of his ideas and his continuous organizing and gossiping did nothing to break down the barriers to his social acceptance. His difficulty in getting a dueling match arose in part from coolness on the part of other Apollo members. When he tried to obtain the post of *Fuchsmajor* (the *Bund* officer who supervised new members), he was rebuffed. The reserve with which many of the members treated him did not dampen his enthusiasm for participation in *Bund* affairs but it did cause him many hours of self-evaluation in which he scolded himself for talking too much and being a busybody.¹⁰

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The resistance Heinrich encountered in the *Bund* was his most obvious but by no means his only experience of this kind. The whole panorama of his frantic social activity was shadowed by disappointments and unhappiness. Unwilling to go beyond established and safe routines in his relations with people, he constantly retreated behind a mask of conventionality and formality. The rigidity of his beliefs, which had been increased in Fridolfing, was now reinforced by a similar stiffening of the social conventions in which he shrouded himself. His ideal was to give an appearance of cordiality and closeness while remaining safely within the barriers of politeness and correct social form. Nearly everyone he met he categorized and fitted into some such conventional slot as "a good fellow," "an honest man," or a "patriot and a Catholic."¹¹ In moments of crisis he was quick to avail himself of a cliché that offered a solution to the problem or provided guidance for the future. In June 1922, for example, after recounting in his diary that he has made a mistake about the time and date of a meeting, he writes, "A warning—one must never misread announcements."¹²

The detailed descriptions of his social life which appear in his diaries depend on capsule stereotypes, such as "arrogant Prussian" or "genuine Northerner, quiet, calm, large, blond, blue-eyed."¹³ The girls he met were invariably characterized by such standard descriptive phrases as "virtuous," "a simple Gretchen," and—his favorite—"good and beautiful."¹⁴ The tone of his descriptions clearly indicates that, even though he wanted warm relations with people, his fears and self-doubts

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forced him to erect strong defensive walls.

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It was in his social relations with girls that he experienced the strongest attraction and at the same time the greatest fear and need to hold aloof. In contrast to his earlier, guarded comments, his diary for this period is replete with references to his feelings about sex and his eagerness to discuss sexual questions with other students. On the one hand, he saw himself as a person with a strong sex drive who "should marry young" because the sexual drive was so intense.¹⁵ On the other hand, he was restrained by a whole series of factors. The traditional prohibition of premarital sexual relations which his family stressed in combination with the church's prescriptive code had a strong hold on him. He was firm enough in his resolve even to admit to adults that he was a virgin and would try to remain so. On occasions when he imagined that a girl might be receptive he admonished himself, "I cannot have sexual relations."¹⁶

after
p109

His prudery went deeper than this prohibition, however, and he was easily shocked by what he considered loose behavior in others. Even a couple whose enlightened attitudes he admired invited his strictures when they permitted their infant daughter to run around the house naked, for he felt she needed to be taught "a sense of shame."¹⁷ The ignorance of sex which accompanied this rigid code also helped to enforce his abstinence, and he frequently gave voice to his fears about the great mystery.¹⁸

To preserve his chaste ideal and avoid the dangers inherent in his own drives and the temptations posed by female companionship, Heinrich assumed the role of the good, earnest fellow who is always polite but respects girls too much to seek any intimacies. At parties he danced with all the girls and prided himself on how well he conversed with them, but when the party was over he made certain that the relationship ended there. During the whole year he never had a date and, if he escorted a girl home from a party, it was in company with one of his fraternity brothers. Occasionally, as in the *Fasching* parties at the Loritz home it was difficult to maintain this distance. He was terrified by the dangers involved, and after one party he needed a long walk and reassuring conversation with Lu to recover. The stereotyped categories under which he catalogued the dozens of girls whom he met helped to keep the whole question on an abstract and less threatening plane.¹⁹

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The very abstractness of his defense, however, tended to isolate him from reality and increased the pressure exerted by his fantasies. He categorized not only the girls he met but even those he saw at a distance; a soloist at a concert was "temperamental and sweet," and another singer was "a fine, sympathetic girl, above all, spiritual."²⁰ As the year progressed, he became more concerned with the sexual habits of the girls he observed; he concluded, for instance, that a young woman he met on the train "was innocent," while a girl friend of one of his old army buddies "could be had."²¹ The appeal of uncontrolled passion interested him in the abstract, and in his reading and discussion the question of a natural sex life and nakedness (especially in the Orient) kept cropping up. The frequency with which he discussed sex and sexual problems with his close male friends suggests that he was having trouble with his defenses.²²

Homosexuality he found particularly disturbing. He contrived to associate it with the degeneration and lack of morality which he thought were rampant in postwar Germany. After a discussion of homosexuality with one of his fraternity brothers he borrowed Hans Blüher's *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (The role of the erotic in male society) in which the author argued that physical attraction between males was a natural outgrowth of the male companionship which animated organizations such as student fraternities and military units. This thesis was particularly threatening to Heinrich, and his comments on the book clearly reveal his confusion:

The man has certainly penetrated colossally deep into the male erotic, and has grasped it psychologically and philosophically [?]. Still he uses too much vague philosophy in order for it to convince me, even though much of it is wrapped up in learned language. That there must be male societies is clear. If one can call them erotic, I doubt. In any case the pure physical homosexuality is an error of degenerate individualism that is contrary to nature.²³

To some observers such comments may betoken latent homosexuality. But in view of his other sexual torments and of his ignorance about sex it seems likely that in his anxiety to find an abstract and academic explanation he had fallen into new confusion.

March 1922

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He wanted the unattainable: the excitement of sexual interest but without any risk. His reading, his long discussions, and even his self-appointed position as a ghostwriter of love letters for Frau Wolff's son, Alphonse, could not solve his problem.²⁴ In the process of trying to find a solution, however, his rigid formal pose put so much distance between himself and the opposite sex that there was soon little danger that his chastity would be threatened.

His struggle over sex was only one phase of the torment which he endured during this year. His tendency to be hard and rigid in his relations with other people became more pronounced, and he projected the image of an arrogant young man who knew what was good for everyone. The inevitable result was a long series of battles with friends and relatives which left hard feelings on all sides. Gebhard was a prime target for his onslaughts, even though much of the attack had to be carried out by letter or in diary notes. His jealousy and resentment of Gebhard's easygoing attitude were of long standing, and he seized the occasion of his brother's formal engagement to make nasty remarks and patronizing innuendoes about his character and prospects. At various times he berated both Gebhard and his mother for not being sufficiently self-controlled. The tone of his remarks became increasingly haughty.²⁵

In March 1922 his brother and his mother were anxious to obtain a room for Gebhard for the coming school year. Though his assistance had not been asked, Heinrich managed to involve himself in the business. On March 3 he wrote his mother a mocking and sarcastic letter in which he criticized their efforts and announced that he was taking a direct hand in the matter. In reply, Gebhard and Frau Himmler apparently expressed their shock and indignation. Heinrich then sent a long letter which reads in part:

Many thanks for your dear letter. I am neither angry, nor have I become agitated, I have merely noticed that you two [Gebhard and his mother] have fallen into a very strong, but unnecessary agitation. . . . I will now be completely open. I find it completely incomprehensible that a whole family could fall into that kind of tumult over such a ludicrous affair. . . . I find it a sin when one manufactures an issue out of that kind of thing. . . . Do not be angry that I write you, however I cannot do otherwise [*ich kann aber nicht anders*].²⁶

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The conscious or unconscious paraphrasing of Luther at Worms which ends this section of the letter is an example of his pretentiousness at its worst. E

His combination of cold formality and omniscience produced strained relations also with people of his own age. He made pronouncements on everyone he met and seems to have been as brusque and haughty in conversation as he was in his diary comments. Even Lu was not exempt from his strictures: after a long discussion on inflation, birth control, and other matters Heinrich criticized the "moral laxness" he had discovered in his friend.²⁷ Fraternity brothers also received a full complement of insulting remarks, and much of his unpopularity in the *Bund* arose from these incidents. The major force of his wrath, however, was reserved for Frau Loritz and Kaethe with whom he quarreled repeatedly.

Heinrich's aggressiveness in projecting his own standards on other people had now become an important feature of his makeup. Yet he was seriously troubled by the unhappiness and hurt feelings that resulted. His own anger usually passed quickly, and the faintest sign of sympathy or desire for reconciliation by the recipient of his abuse would bring forth expressions of devotion. His fights with Kaethe, in the midst of which he registers his belief that there is an "unbridgeable gulf" between them, are soon followed by scenes of family affection in which he expresses his fidelity to his "sister."²⁸

During the periods when his aggressiveness had alienated others from him, he was racked by self-doubt and remorse. In place of his earlier long periods of depression, he now gave way to fits of self-recrimination in which he scolded himself for a wide assortment of failings. The central charge in his self-indictment was the inability to stop talking—a vague cloak for his aggressiveness and intolerance. Literally dozens of his diary entries during the year included sections in which he berated himself for this failing. "I just can't keep my mouth shut," he notes on one occasion. At another time he asks sadly, "When will I stop talking too much?"²⁹ His inability to hold back mocking comments also bothered him. "I told an awful lot of jokes, talked and mocked a lot," he writes in recounting a family stroll in Ingolstadt, and then adds repentantly, "I just can't stop it."³⁰

His eagerness to judge other people also led to periods of remorse, especially if he had an opportunity to talk with someone he had criticized. After a conversation with Princess

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Arnulf he concluded that the old ruling class was not as insensitive to the problems of its subjects as he had thought and noted in his diary, "A lesson—one should not think ill of anyone unless he is sure of the facts."³¹ He had no sympathy for young people who knew everything and were free with their judgments on people and events. His conclusion on the lamentations of a fraternity alumnus who was unhappy with his son is typical: "The son . . . lets no one tell him anything, knows everything, makes judgments on everything. A genuine child of his time."³² There is no sign of realization that the traits which most bothered him in others were the very ones that caused him so much dissatisfaction with himself.

Heinrich tried to gain help by invoking his favorite doctrine of the effectiveness of will power in overcoming obstacles. In early November he reread parts of Ibsen's *Brand* in an attempt to recapture the determination he had built up in Fridolfing. He also sought inspiration in fictional characters who demonstrated the positive effects of will power, for example, the heroine of Jacob Christoph Heer's *Laubgewind* (Garland) who faced personal problems "which she alone had to fight through."³³ From further work in the correspondence course that purported to improve thought processes and memory he hoped to derive additional self-confidence. One day in mid-November, after a visit to the office of Herr Paehlmann, the man who ran the program, he noted enviously that Paehlmann "has a classic calmness and [sense of] security."³⁴

None of his efforts to ascend to heroic heights were very successful, and occasionally after a bout of self-chastisement he would behave as though he were very tired of being a young man, as though nothing would please him more than to be old and free from torment. On other occasions he would gain great satisfaction from being able to grasp the prerogative of childhood and pour out his troubles to his parents. After a conversation with his father in May 1922 he wrote in his diary, "To father . . . we had a good conversation and told each other everything."³⁵

For one major failing, however, he got no sympathy from his family—his tendency to fritter away in socializing and gossiping time that should have been devoted to study. His parents were seriously alarmed lest he had turned into a gadabout and believed that he was headed for academic trouble. They were also uneasy about some of his

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companions, especially Alphonse Wolff whom one of Heinrich's letters had imprudently described as a "girl chaser."³⁶ Perhaps to protect himself from further indiscretions of this nature, he wrote home much less frequently. But the lack of letters seems to have awakened new suspicions.

When he did write, he tried to convince the family that he was a diligent student. On January 20, 1922, he wrote his mother but forgot to send greetings for her birthday. Near the end of his diary entry for that day he notes, "Forgot Mom's birthday!" Early the following morning he set out to repair the damage. The result was a masterpiece of self-justification. "My dear little mother," he begins, "Please do not be angry with me that I didn't write to you! Hopefully, you weren't really hurt that nothing came from your Heini!" Then, after extending his best wishes for her birthday he continues, "However you must not think I forgot because of thoughtlessness or a big time at *Fasching*. Oh no, on the contrary, I haven't done anything on *Fasching*, only worked." Then, fearing that he may have awakened his mother's apprehensions about his health, he adds, "Still I'm careful to get seven hours of sleep every night so you can be calm on that score." In a final effort to prove his devotion both to his studies and to her he writes: "I gave the letter to Lindemeier about 8:50. However, you should not think that it [her birthday] first dawned on me this morning, for I remembered it last night while I was studying physics."³⁷

Despite the artistic merit of such explanations (he had in fact spent half the day gossiping with his fraternity brothers and watching duels) his parents still insisted that he get to work. He was studying little and was missing lectures, even though most of his courses were on the specialized agricultural subjects which should have fitted his interests. Just before his preparatory examinations in March and again before his final examinations in July he studied very hard. Both of these bursts were successful and he passed the examinations. Until the results were safely in, however, he was in serious doubt. In fact, before he took the preparatory examinations he was so worried that he persuaded one of the examiners to narrow the range of the questions he would ask. His father was not impressed by his periodic flurries of activity and the fact that he actually passed the tests. When Heinrich began to toy with the notion of staying in Munich

E for another year of schooling and mentioned his hope that, if he remained, he could play an important role in Apollo, his father told him bluntly that, if he was to continue his education, his participation in fraternity life would have to be cut to a minimum.³⁸

Professor Himmler's hard line on study was chiefly due to the ever-mounting inflation which was playing havoc with the family finances. The mark had lost half its value by the end of World War I and had continued to lose ground in subsequent years. After ranging between 40 and 90 marks to the dollar, it had tumbled to 270 by November 1921, the time Heinrich's school year began. During 1921-22 the pace of inflation quickened. By July 1922 the mark had fallen to 493 to the dollar, and in August it stood at 1,200.

The threat that had been implicit in the instability and periodic slippage during previous years now became a terrifying reality: Germany was in the midst of a runaway inflation and there was no end in sight. The year 1921-22 slashed the purchasing power of Professor Himmler's salary and virtually annihilated his savings. With no indication that the government would be able to stem the tide, he, like the rest of the professional middle class, was on the verge of despair.

In spring 1922 Professor Himmler was appointed *Rektor* of the *Wittelsbach Gymnasium* in Munich. He left the rest of the family in Ingolstadt and occupied temporary quarters until the family could join him in the fall. Between May and August 1922, while living alone in Munich, he frequently met Heinrich for dinner, and the young Himmler's diary accounts of these meetings dwell on his father's deep depression about the condition of Germany and the fate which awaited the family.³⁹

Professor Himmler repeatedly urged Heinrich to be careful with money and to cut down his expenses. In the correspondence between Heinrich and his mother, the same theme crops up over and over again: costs are going up, and the amount the family has budgeted for his expenses is insufficient. Despite his assurances that he was doing the best he could and hated to ask for money, his parents demanded that the screw be tightened further and pointed to the cost of his extracurricular activities as the logical place to begin. Thus on both academic and financial grounds Heinrich's social life and poor study habits were under parental attack.⁴⁰

June 1922

The most serious element in the whole issue was the question it posed about his future. At the start of the school term in November 1921 he had intended to complete his education as quickly as possible and find a job in farming either in Germany or abroad. On occasion the old dream of a military career still flitted through his mind, but in general he was far more settled in his decision to become a farm administrator than he had been before. As the weeks went by, however, his social life—despite its torments—and the discouraging results of his first soundings for a job inclined him to favor the idea of remaining in school for another year. In late May 1922 he sought admission to the Political Science Department of the University of Munich and requested that he be relieved of tuition costs for the year 1922-23. In early June he was notified that both requests had been granted.⁴¹ This did not settle things, however, for there remained the question of where the money would come from to support both Heinrich and his brother during another year of school. The problem of money and all its implications for his future cast a shadow over his life. In late June 1922, after meeting his father and once again having to beg for money, he noted gloomily, "Father would be so good if I didn't have to plague him [for money] any more and was self-supporting."⁴²

As in the past, external events combined with his personal problems to accelerate his movement toward the radical Right. At the beginning of the school year his political views had tended toward a comparatively restrained conservatism. His reading interest centered mainly on fiction, and he seems to have avoided radical political tracts, although a short gap in his book list at this time makes it impossible to speak with certainty. By early 1922, however, his reading, opinions, and activities had clearly taken a more radical turn.

During his last eight months at the *Technische Hochschule* twenty-five volumes appeared in his reading list. Fourteen of these were novels and adventure stories which he read on vacations. Of the eleven books which he read while actually in Munich one was a novel, one a book on sex, and nine were works on politics and military history. Four books and pamphlets in this last group were published by Lehmann's Pan-German Press, and two others were radically anti-Semitic.⁴³

The rapid radicalization of his political views shows up clearly in both his reading notes and his diary entries. He

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E resented the Allies' treatment of Germany, and, especially against France, his bitterness was very deep. Hermann Bauer's denunciation of the French in *Die Sizilianische Vesper* (The Sicilian vespers), published by Lehmann, brought forth the comment, "... it shows us that the French have always been the same people that they are today."⁴⁴ The alleged threat of Bolshevism also troubled him, and in January he had long discussions on this subject with one of his elderly aunts. His communications with friends and acquaintances betray the sorrow, felt by many conservative Germans, over the loss of German-speaking territories, particularly the transfer of the South Tyrol from Austria to Italy.⁴⁵

But it was his attitude toward internal developments and especially the need to identify a scapegoat at home that showed the clearest change. Freemasons tended to slip into the background, and for the first time his comments focused directly on Jews. In January 1922 he finally read *Judas Schuldbuch*, the volume he had discussed with Ludwig Zahler two years earlier. Much of his comment is illegible, but his concluding words are clear enough: "What one suspects, but continually forgets... A splendid collection of sources."⁴⁶ On February 11, 1922, he read Houston Stewart Chamberlain's pamphlet *Rasse und Nation* (Race and nation) with great relish because "It is true and one has the impression that it is objective, not just hate filled anti-Semitism. Because of this it has more effect. These terrible Jews."⁴⁷ In early August he finished *Erinnerungen des Kronprinz Wilhelm* (Memoirs of the Crown Prince William). He thought the prince was "A good person, with a good heart and sound, clear vision" who had been maligned by "propaganda." However, he could not condone the fact that the prince did not produce the book himself but let "the Jews do it."⁴⁸

His diary entries during the same period abound with references to conversations in which "the Jewish question" played a prominent part. His description of the topics discussed indicates that the real issue was the alleged role of Jews in the contemporary troubles. On January 12 he talked over "Politics, anti-Semitism, and the situation of Germans in Austria" with some friends of his father. A month later, in a discussion with Lu the topics were "The Jewish question, capitalism, Stinnes [Hugo Stinnes, a prominent industrialist], capital, and the making of money." In early March he explored "Land reform, degeneration, homosexuality, and

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the Jewish question" with a fraternity brother. On June 15 he and his father conversed with some people in a beer hall about "the past, the war, revolution, the Jews, harassment of officers, the Red period, liberation."⁴⁹ E

Heinrich was developing an eye for detecting Jews among the people with whom he came in contact. About a lawyer he met while running an errand for his father in January 1922 he notes, "he cannot deny his Jewishness . . . this thing lies in the blood of these people."⁵⁰ At a meeting of agriculturists in Nuremberg he is quick to note "the Jewish features"⁵¹ of one of the participants. On one occasion, while visiting a cabaret with Alphonse Wolff, he made anti-Semitic remarks to a young dancer whom Alphonse knew and then discovered she was Jewish. His diary account of this incident records his embarrassment at the turn of events and includes a long laudatory comment on the girl, who "deserved respect."⁵² This apparent exception to his anti-Semitic development should not carry much weight, however, for he often softened his harsh judgements when a girl showed an inclination to be nice to him. Moreover on this occasion he was intrigued by the supposed open sexuality of "Oriental women." and this may have combined with his embarrassment to give her the benefit of the doubt. The sweet, sensual Jewish girl was often portrayed with sympathy in anti-Semitic literature, even though she was accused of being the unwitting tool of malevolent Judaism.⁵³ I

When he suspected that an individual who was involved in democratic or leftist political activities also had "Jewish blood," Heinrich had no mercy. One of his old friends from the *Wilhelms Gymnasium* was active in a democratic organization at Munich University (Democratic Students Opposed to the Black-White-Red Terror), and for this he was denounced by Heinrich as "Jewboy" and a "Jewish louse."⁵⁴ The happy times they had had together in school counted for nothing when compared with an alleged Jewish origin and democratic politics.

Heinrich's occasional references to blood and race in connection with Jews indicate that he was slipping into a full racist syndrome. Here and there in his diary and book comments there are vague references to the importance of race. He praises Hermann Burte, the author of *Wiltfeber, der ewige Deutsche* (Wiltfeber, the eternal German), for being a "racial German."⁵⁵ After a long conversation during a stroll

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with Lu in June he gave classic expression to his acceptance of the racist creed "How thick-headed [dumm] we genuine Aryans are," runs the entry in his diary, "and thank God we are so thick-headed."⁵⁶

His reading coupled with his continuous discussions on radical political themes influenced the way he regarded himself and the world. On the front page of the diary which he began in June 1922 he copied the first few lines from Emanuel Geibel's *Fahnenreue* (True to the flag):

Ob sie dich durchboren,
Trutze drum und ficht,
Gib dich selbst verloren,
Doch das Banner nicht.*⁵⁷

Although they pierce you,
Fight, resist, stand by,
You yourself may perish
But keep the banner high.

At first glance the poem seems merely to reflect his old belief in the force of will power; he had in fact copied part of it while in Fridolfing the year before. But the version he used in June 1922 was transcribed from the last page of *Judas Schuldbuch* and included all the minor alterations which Wilhelm Meister had made in the original text.⁵⁸ This incident suggests that he was now tending to seek inspiration, not in the traditional "serious" thinkers and writers, but rather in radical political propaganda. Another sign of this trend had been his choice in February 1922 of material for reading aloud to the boarders assembled for dinner at Frau Loritz's home. On previous occasions when he had indulged his love of public recitation he had read old-fashioned poetry. This time the text was *Karthagos Untergang* (Ruin of Carthage) which offered clear parallels with Germany's plight at that time. He noted with satisfaction that its "nationalistic tone received great applause."⁵⁹

Expressions of nationalism found a welcome among all the people with whom he associated, but his increasing sympathy for action against "the enemies" at home sometimes encountered resistance. Heinrich was pleased by the assassination of Walter Rathenau on June 24 and described

*Although they may pierce you,
Fight, resist, stand by,
You yourself may perish
But keep the banner high.

† A German Jewish industrialist, largely responsible for Germany's World War I economic planning, who played a prominent role in the early Weimar Republic.

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the murdered man as a "scoundrel."⁶⁰ When he voiced sentiments of this kind at Frau Wolff's dinner table, he was horrified to discover that most of those present disagreed and commented sadly in his diary, "O blind people."⁶¹ A week later he had an "unpleasant conversation"⁶² of a similar kind at Frau Wolff's home. In between these two incidents he noted in his diary that "it is not good to speak with Kaethe [Loritz] about the rightist parties."⁶³ During this same period he found the *Bund Apollo* lacking in nationalistic fervor (see p. 126).

He was not, however, entirely alone in his radical opinions. The Kastl family, whom the Himmlers had known for years, held views close to his, and during June and July Heinrich had a number of political discussions in their home. Herr Kastl persuaded him to circulate petitions demanding that Germany adopt the old, imperial red-white-black banner in place of the hated black-red-gold flag of the republic. Heinrich took his petition sheet with him and solicited signatures wherever he went. He was particularly successful in early July at a meeting of the *Schützengesellschaft Freiweg*. In view of the fact that this occasion provided a meeting point for ex-soldiers and former free-corps members this is not surprising.⁶⁴

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Membership in the *Freiweg* was Heinrich's nearest approach to serious implementation of his radical beliefs. But it is not altogether clear what was going on inside that organization. Two entries in his diary refer to target practice, on one occasion with a machine gun, but give no details. Since by this time the other paramilitary groups to which he had belonged had been dissolved, it is probable that some of their members used *Freiweg* for military organization and training, and that it was there that Heinrich got his target practice.⁶⁵ It is clear that he had sources of information about the secret military and ultrarightist organizations in Munich. He discussed these secret societies with his father in June, and his diary comment on the capture of Rathenau's assassins ("Organization 'C' [Consul].* Awful if everything should become known.") suggests that he had some idea of what was going on.⁶⁶ That his source of information may have been the *Freiweg* is suggested by the fact that on July 5

*A secret rightist organization formed in Bavaria in 1921 which "executed" political opponents (Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*, pp. 212-27).

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E seemed to give him what he wanted but failed to eliminate the money obstacle. The family's savings had been liquidated by the inflation, and Heinrich's own small reserve, which appears to have consisted of the residue of Princess Arnulf's gift in 1917 and perhaps an inheritance from his grandmother, had likewise disappeared. Some idea of the inflation's impact on the family's position and Heinrich's opportunities may be gained from the fact that Princess Arnulf's gift of 1,000 marks which had seemed so generous in 1917 was in August 1922 worth a mere two dollars. *500 M. 2.00*

In whatever direction he looked, the road seemed blocked. His only chance appeared to lie in finding a summer job sufficiently highly paid to enable him to go to school for another year. But in an economy reeling under inflation there was little hope of this. Then, on August 16, he received a windfall. Once again when he was faced with a personal crisis the old system of contacts and influence paid off. A letter reached him from one of his former teachers at the Munich *Gymnasium*, Professor Huolezeck, passing on to him the offer of a job with a nitrogen fertilizer company in Schleissheim.⁷⁴

The offer originated with Professor Huolezeck's brother who was an official of the company. The job was that of technical assistant, carried a monthly wage of 4,000 marks, and was available immediately.⁷⁵ The salary lost more than half its purchasing power in the month of August alone, slipping from the equivalent of \$8.00 a month to \$3.80, but the job was still the best opportunity open to Heinrich, and he quickly accepted it. He could hope for an adjustment in salary if the inflation continued, and the job would yield at least some earnings to help him weather the storm. Once conditions settled down, he could look for other possibilities; in the meantime he would be gaining additional experience in agricultural work. Moreover Schleissheim was only a few miles north of Munich, and he would be able to keep in close touch with his family, now settled in Munich, and with his various political and social contacts.

The final arrangements for his move to Schleissheim were worked out within a few days, and on September 1 he reported for work at the old army remount depot where the company's headquarters were located. At the time of his departure, he can have had little idea that this would prove to be perhaps the most important decision he had yet made. In

1922

August 1922 all he appeared to be gaining was a temporary respite; but in fact the road that led to Schleissheim would in the next year lead on to a period of military service, membership in the Nazi party, and an irrevocable commitment to radical politics.

E

1922 August 22 - 500M to dollar
 " Nov 15 8,000M to "
 1923 Jan 15 18,000M to "
 " " 30 50,000 " "

From Jan 23 to Oct 23
 the Mark went up to trillion
 to the dollar
 and was repudiated in Oct 23

Dec 1922

Astrology 179 W

July 1923. In it she wrote a "man of action" born on 20 April 1889 (Hitler's birthday), with the sun in the 29th degree of Aries at the time of his birth, "can expose himself to personal danger by excessively uncautious action and could very likely trigger off an uncontrollable crisis." She went on to say that his constellations show he is to be taken very seriously indeed. "He is destined to play a Führer-role in future battles. It seems the man I have in mind, with this Aryan influence, is destined to *sacrifice himself for the German nation*, also to face up to all circumstances with audacity and courage, even when it is a matter of *life and death*, and to give an impulse, which will burst forth quite suddenly, to a German Freedom Movement. But I will not anticipate destiny. Time will show."²⁰

Some writers have picked up on the "führer-role" phrase as though Ebertin had coined it, thereby reinforcing the strength of the prediction. However, by 1920-21 Hitler was being referred to within the Nazi party as *führer* (leader). Its use became gradually more frequent from the end of 1921 and appears to have made its debut in the party newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* on 7 November of that year.²¹ In December 1922 the newspaper "seemed in fact . . . to make the explicit claim Hitler was *the* führer for whom Germany was waiting."²²

Outside of the small group of fanatical Bavarian Nazis, Hitler's image and reputation at this time, so far as the wider German public took any notice of him at all, was little more than that of a vulgar demagogue capable of drumming up passionate opposition to the government among the Munich mob, but little else.²³ On the other hand, Ebertin was a nationally known and respected figure, so the fact that she had bothered with a person who was neither significant nor respected gave her writing all the more impact.

However, in that Ebertin believed Hitler was under the influence of Aries, the basis for the prediction was flawed. Ebertin had the birth day correct, but not the time and it made all the difference. The minute and hour of birth which is normally noted on European birth certificates had not been included in the letter

—to have taken from Mommsen, was: 'The Jew is the ferment of decomposition in peoples.'

In 1922 Hitler said: 'The Jew has never founded any civilization, though he has destroyed hundreds. He possesses nothing of his own creation to which he can point. Everything he has stolen. . . . In the last resort it is the Aryan alone who can form States and set them on their path to future greatness.' From this early speech through the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the pogrom of November 1938 to the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto and the death camps of Mauthausen and Auschwitz, Hitler's purpose was plain and unwavering. He meant to carry out the extermination of the Jewish race in Europe, using the word 'extermination' not in a metaphorical but in a precise and literal sense as the deliberate policy of the German State—and he very largely succeeded. On a conservative estimate, between four and four and a half million Jews perished in Europe under Hitler's rule—apart from the number driven from their homes who succeeded in finding refuge abroad.

Stripped of their romantic trimmings, all Hitler's ideas can be reduced to a simple claim for power which recognizes only one relationship, that of domination, and only one argument, that of force.

Hitler was not original in this view. Every single one of his ideas—from the exaltation of the heroic leader, the racial myth, anti-Semitism, the community of the *Volk*, and the attack on the intellect, to the idea of a ruling élite, the subordination of the individual and the doctrine that might is right—is to be found in anti-rational and racist writers in most European countries during the hundred years which separate the Romantic movement from the foundation of the Third Reich. By 1914 they had become the commonplaces of radical, anti-Semitic and pan-German journalism in every city in Central Eu-

The Dictator

rope, including Vienna picked them up.

Hitler's originality lay in a terrifyingly literal way in which he translated them into reality by the means by which he translated speeches and table talk again by the lack of magnificent moral greatness. His communications display a cocksure, eradicable vulgarity. Yet in the insignificance of his character, compatible with brilliant, to associate such gifts with which Napoleon possessed the character of a Cromwell astonished and offended by underestimate Hitler as a as an ignorant demagogue, mistake that so many Germans made in the 1930s.

It was not a mistake which he made closely with him made. When man, however much they disagreed of this or that decision, the ascendancy which he was who came into frequent contact with who arrived at his headquarters on the hopelessness of the situation make any protest when they the Führer, but returned shamed and half convinced that he was

The final test of this ascendancy in the stages of this history when success destroyed, the German and the greater part of the figure, whom his people no longer still able to prolong the war

May 11, 1922

give Mama and my sisters
need for you to do that: I'll
friends!

dumb? . . . This ignorance
but at the same time like an
can hardly stay in the same

uch you mean to me. I love
o me. There is no other like
in everything. You do every-
me with so many little things
w, for the first time I realize
you. It is difficult for me to
our dear beloved heart! If I
embraces, darling! I would
e other without stopping for
s much as you say? Is that

ust feel my love everywhere,
in my thoughts I kiss every-
gly old floor in the kitchen,
I love you so much. I think
n everything.

that her disapproving sister Fanny
was scornful. "Look how he's
r one meal. "In Germany it's a
did and to do the things she did.
osition in German eyes, and as a

with," their mother retorted. "Not

ed to support her, but their curly-
leepless, and worried. "Nils could
reached her sister Carin. "Oh,
know."

ring to live with her in Stockholm
less of her parents' protests, they
easy at this irregular union, which
liaison with Von Epenstein in his
r to divorce Nils but she refused,
ith his father, torn between the two
sit his mama and "Uncle Göring."

Nils pleaded with her to return. Once he invited her to bring Hermann to lunch; young Thomas listened round-eyed as Göring dominated the table with tales of the "Red Baron" and aerial combat. The little boy noticed that his mother never took his eyes off the handsome aviator.

Unable to take the wagging tongues in Stockholm any longer, Hermann and his mistress left for Germany. They began a romantic existence in a little hunting lodge at Hochkreuth, near Bayrischzell, some miles from Munich. He registered at the university to study economic history, she earned money with painting and handicrafts. (There exists in the village to this day a painted cupboard door signed with her initials.) He found it was not easy for a retired army captain in his thirtieth year to embark on higher education; they were penniless, and when she fell ill he had to pawn her fur coat to pay the doctor's bill (Nils heroically cabled her the money to redeem the coat—and buy a ticket back to Stockholm.) Her mother tried to lure her home by offering the family's summer house near Drottningholm; in her reply, inviting her mama to Munich instead, Carin added the eloquent assurance: "Mama would not have to see Göring—even at a distance."

"Bavaria," she wrote in this letter, of May 11, 1922, "is a lovely countryside, so rich, so warm and so intellectual and strong—so unlike the rest of Germany. I am very happy here and feel very much at home. When I feel homesick for Sweden, it is really only a longing for Mama, Nils, the little boy, and those I love. But just that painful, insane longing means that I am nearly always melancholy. Oh, my own dear Mama, if only one didn't have such powerful love within one."

Nov 1922

demonstration—"You've got to have bayonets to back up any threats!" he exclaimed. "Down with Versailles!" he shouted.

Goddammit, thought Göring, that's the stuff, he enlisted in Hitler's new party the next day.

Hitler told him he needed people just like him—famous, highly decorated—in the party. For Göring, Hitler also filled a need. Meeting Hitler, he had at last found a replacement for his dead father, his godfather, and the kaiser.

The attraction between them was mutual. Impressed by the fiery speech that Captain Göring delivered at the Café Neumann—about how officers put honor first in any conflict of interests—Hitler recalled twenty years afterward, "He'd been to those evenings of mine several times, and I found I liked him. I made him commander of my SA."

At that time the Sturmabteilung, or storm detachment, was, as Hitler was the first to admit, just a "motley rabble." These two thousand unemployed roughnecks had the job of stewarding Hitler's meetings and disrupting his rivals—but he had military ambitions for the SA that went far beyond this.

The SA was only one of several semi-legal private armies that had sprung up in the aftermath of Versailles. The Bavarian authorities not only tolerated this but colluded with them to a degree that becomes clear only from the three thousand closely typed pages of the Hitler trial that followed the unsuccessful Nazi coup of November 1923. This bloody fiasco had its origins in January 1923. Since Germany was unable to pay reparations, France and Belgium sent in their armies to occupy the rich Ruhr industrial region. Regular army officers in Berlin and Munich—men like the scar-faced army captain Ernst Röhm—itched to take action against the French and saw in the private political armies a reservoir of semi-trained military personnel. Fifteen days after the invasion of the Ruhr, Lieutenant General Otto von Lossow, the new army commander in Bavaria, granted Hitler his first interview, because Hitler's SA "army" was by now one of the largest.

Göring took Carin along to the SA's first big rally two days later, on January 28, 1923.

He had moved with her into a villa in Reginwald Strasse at Obermenzing, just outside the boundary of Munich, in November 1922, soon after Hitler gave him command of the SA. Carin had at once set about furnishing this, the first home they could call their own.

Nils, whose munificence surpasses comprehension, had sent her the money to furnish this villa. One room was lit by a tinted pink window—the rose-hued sunlight played across a bowl of red roses to where her white harmonium stood amid the pink and white fur rugs beneath her mother's portrait. Her bedroom had pink curtains and a bed canopied in blue brocade and veiled in white lace. There was nothing of this femininity in Hermann's quarters—his room was heavy with carved oak furniture and lit by a window painted

TROOP
NDER

planets pass, so close that each fractionally deflected by the other's

came late in 1922. The orbit briefly with that of Adolf Hitler, October or November of that year, when had been called to protest the day. Göring, who was himself trying to hear, heard shouts for a Herr Hitler when that this Hitler headed a small rally. Hitler, standing a few yards away, thought about this callow, slightly built, animated Göring, because he visited the Café Neumann two days

Treaty and the Extradition of the was much impressed by what Hitler was likely to lose much sleep over other speakers at the Königsplatz

troop, but the appearance of him in uniform

1922

close-packed and little differentiated; (4) the corolla, greater and delicate and glowing with colour; (5) the stamens, shaped almost like a thread and containing an extremely fine juice; (6) the leaves of the fruit, again extensive and enfolding the seeds. This abstraction, which never actually appears, but exists only as the plan, the scheme or idea at the basis of all formations (though Goethe would not admit this himself at first and only learnt to see it under Schiller's influence), is the Goethean "prime plant." A similar standpoint is to be found in his treatise on the intermaxillary bone (1784), in which he followed the various forms in which this bone, which he had discovered, appeared throughout the whole series of the vertebrates. In the next years, as a result of careful osteological observations, he came to the conclusion that the human skull consists of metamorphosed vertebræ: thus these vertebræ play the same part in anatomical investigations as the leaf does in his botanical, and as a pendant to the "*Urpflanze*" he sees floating before him an ideal model (which he calls an archetype) of mammal skeleton. In all his physical studies he started with the conviction that everywhere he must search for the prime phenomenon, the "*Urphänomen*," to which all the manifold varieties of appearances may be traced.

Manifestly, we are in the "*siècle philosophique*." Everywhere men searched for the idea of things, but for the idea that appears. There is a very definite relationship, as well as difference, between Goethe's "*Urpflanze*" and the primitive man postulated by the French Revolution for its political and social metamorphoses. Both are abstractions, but they are not abstractions opposed to reality, like the ideals which, though inaccessible, point the way, or the hypotheses which, purely artificial, yet help us on the path. They are abstractions which ask to be dug out of actuality as its true life-core, and therefore they are regarded as concretely existent. At the same time there is a sharp difference. Goethe conceived the idea of the "*Urpflanze*" in order to make the familiar reality which he observes ever and again, more intelligible, clearer, more uniform, more imaginable, and thus in a sense more real; but the Revolution constructs the phantom of primitive man blindly, arbitrarily, unreal, in order to twist, to distort, to cripple reality, and thus to make it more intractable, incomprehensible, chaotic, and unreal. The "*Urpflanze*" is won from life, the

~~Plt.~~

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where
the phenomenon
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A. L.
pondering
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From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

as "permit sexual substance become contaminated with

being poisoned by a Jew— medical treatment—and the racial poisoning is man- ings. Only a few examples

into the nation. . . . A driven into the outermost y by a mysterious power.

of this poison is removed

te the bloodstream of our

osition among people and

with the Motherland, Hitler ate an unconscious desire of "seizing power" in Ger- country, saying that he had at the *Wolfschanze* on the r the hundredth time the a nation in order "to con-

ultimate that he could not ad." 37

a man who wishes to be a furious torrent, a devastating ing except a man.
—Jean-Paul Sartre

misunderstand when they t too far with the Jewish o his system, and not one l to it. It was the justifi- Theodor Heuss observed, economics was to Marx. s of history." For Marx, racial conflict. Marx con- proletariat; Hitler called

the Jew the enemy of the *Volk*. To Marx the final goal was a Communist society; for Hitler the goal was a racially pure community.³⁸

In Hitler's mind, anti-Semitism was joined indissolubly with national- ism and socialism to form the mystical trinity of his ideology. As he put it in an early speech:

Socialism can only be carried out in association with nationalism and anti-Semitism. The three concepts are inseparably bound to- gether.³⁹

Hitler was an opportunist and a cynic about many things. But not about anti-Semitism. The depth and intensity of his hatred was revealed in a conversation of 1922. In talking about Jews, Hitler was suddenly "seized by a sort of paroxysm" and promised that when he came to power he would see to it that every Jew in Germany would be killed. The method of the murders shows Hitler's continuing personal concern about filth, stench, putrefaction, and strangulation:

As soon as I have the power, I shall have gallows after gallows erected, for example in Munich on the Marienplatz . . . Then the Jews will be hanged one after another, and they will stay hanging until they stink. They will stay hanging as long as hygienically possible. As soon as they are untied, then the next group will follow and that will continue until the last Jew in Munich is exterminated. Exactly the same procedure will be followed in other cities until Germany is cleansed of the last Jew! ⁴⁰

Anti-Semitism was an ideological conviction and an obsession. But it was even more than that. It was, as Hitler said, "a personal thing." He wanted personally to be involved in punishing the Jewish people: "I regret that I am Chancellor of the Reich. I would like to be a young SA or SS man and be able to meet the Jews with doubled-up fists or bludgeon." ⁴¹ As we have seen, the single word "Jew" was enough to trigger violent emotional reactions.

Hitler tried to externalize his hatred and fear of Jews, but he never managed to do so. Remarkably revealing phrases indicate that he felt Jewishness to be an evil within himself, a poison to be purged, a demon to be exorcised. Thus, in a speech of 17 April 1920, he said that it was imperative to get rid of the poison "within us" (*Wir müssen das Gift . . . in uns ausmerzen*). In a conversation during the 1930s he despaired of ever doing so. The Jew, he said, is "an invisible demon" who can never be eradicated because, Hitler concluded bitterly, "the Jew is always within us [*Der Jude sitzt immer in uns*]." ⁴²

German historians have recognized the importance of Hitler's personal anti-Semitism but have been unable to explain it. Certainly there were "practical" and "rational" reasons for Hitler's anti-Semitism: as a political opportunist he saw, quite rightly, that it was smart politics

career that have puzzled historians: for years he refused to pose for pictures and he insisted on using a false name.

Normally, aspiring young politicians do not go to extraordinary lengths to conceal their identity or hide themselves from the public. But for several years after he had made his "momentous" decision in 1919 to enter politics, Hitler refused to have his picture taken. He did so, we are suggesting, because he was too unsure of his own image to have it "set" by photography. As late as 1922 a picture of Hitler was so rare that an American photographic agency offered a professional German photographer \$100 for a picture of him. (The going rate at that time for a photograph of President Ebert was \$5.) The American agency's surprise over the discrepancy was no doubt increased when it learned that the asking price in Germany for a good snapshot of Hitler was \$30,000. Posed pictures were simply unavailable.⁶¹ Also during these years Hitler preferred not to use his real name. He asked people to call him "Herr Wolf"; he repeatedly referred to himself as the "nameless fighter" of the Western Front. It was only after he gained control over the Party that the nameless and faceless period was over. He had established his identity at last as the Messiah and Leader of the Germans. He then became the most photographed political leader in the world—but he never got over the need of creating other images and playing at play-acting.

Hitler As an Actor

While he sometimes smiled sardonically at his own theatrics, there was an intensity about them that was little touched by humor. He never wanted people to find out who he really was. When he felt that they might be getting close, he would change his characterization and appear as somebody else, lying to his associates in order to conceal his own private thoughts. He worked at his acting and sometimes rehearsed the part he would play in meeting a stranger he wanted to impress or control:

Hitler: What does he expect?

Hess: Authority, of course. You can speak at length. Your will is unshakable. You give laws to the age.

Hitler: Then I'll speak with a firm voice.

Hitler would try a few sentences. Hess would listen carefully and comment, "No, not like that. Quiet. No passion, commanding. It is Destiny that is speaking. . . ." Hitler would try again with a firmer voice. After six or seven minutes he would stop, already somewhat moved by his own acting. "Good, now I think we have it," he would say.⁶²

Hitler's thundering temper tantrums were famous—and, upon occasion, carefully staged. For he knew the shattering effect his outbursts could have on certain types of people, particularly upon the quiet and

introspective.⁶³ Whether he could be appropriate.

Hitler himself in as "the greatest act involving Hjalmer H Schacht had come in threatened to resign. on and pleaded with Schacht was deeply bidding. But the mc Hitler turned to his always sabotaging eve

On another occasion in intimidation Hitler staged another foreign affairs recalled I realize that Hitler's had the door closed on laughed and said to station. His Cabinet will

Late in the war, commented, "I have : 'hypnotize' Quisling to

Throughout his c with intensity and con as a very different p impressed almost all of

To the sophisticated balanced man, filled found him "charming, sense." The British his view thoroughly "conv elegant and precise A almost elegant appears tail "masterful." ⁶⁷

The cynical Herm confided first to a colle: time I face him my h Hitler had turned again out of the Party, Göring

* There was one notable Generalissimo Franco of Spain and said that rather pulled—and that, as we have Spaniard, Hitler was "an actor on a stage and one of Franco: *The Man and His*

1921-22

D

ing, to remove the Jewish cancer and to poison out the Jewish poison would mean—in his unconscious frame of reference—to repeat rather than rectify his traumatic experience of 1907. An inner compulsion to repeat this experience was one earthly source of the unearthly command he received.

This command later served him as well to meet a corresponding need for Germany to relieve the traumatic sequence of 1914-1918 in disguise. But his first political message was attuned more to a prior German need for unconscious denial in that it blamed the defeat on non-Germans mistaken for Germans. This blame came from him, and took him into politics. He did not feel it out of his mass audiences, though he did suit it to them continually. And he stuck with it even after he had drawn from his mass public, in 1921-1922, a new policy that met the national need to relieve. In brief, he went after Jewry on his own account conformably with his mission. This conformation was as when he had indulged, and overindulged, himself at the breast in serving his mother's attempt to absorb her traumatic loss of her three children before him.² His nursing mother's mute injunction to help her over her loss and then through it again was the original of his mission. The specific terms of the mission—to undo and reverse Germany's defeat—did not cover her traumatic business as they did his.³ But the Providence that conferred that mission was, transparently, his nursing mother: the version he authorized even had him receiving the mission in a nurse's arms.⁴ And the mission left the way open for a second mode of fulfillment, this one suited to his experience of his nursing mother rather than his dying mother.

That mode was his war policy, conveyed by his message for Germany to win more feeding ground for more progeny. He sensed and, with that policy, served Germany's traumatic purposes by way of plying them to his own, just as he had made his own use of his nursing mother's use of him for her traumatic reliving. His dominant motivation toward Germany was the traumatized son's, not the suckling sweetheart's: his Jewish policy came first. But his nursing complex underlay his instrumentality to Germany, which lay with his war policy, and he could apply

great
joy
great
pain
→ the
secret to
the German
heart.

* The anguish and guilt in him of his mother's ~~and~~ end, and the extraordinary joy he felt in being unsatisfied were the

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1921, 1922

Hitler called for was for him unconsciously the lost eastern conquest of 1917-1918.³⁵ But now a second, closer look is needed.

In an address to the Party on 31 May 1921 Hitler ruled out birth control, emigration, and industrialization to cope with Germany's human increase and praised the short-lived Brest-Litovsk settlement for having provided the additional land and soil that Germany needed. By then he had long since internationalized the Jewish peril and identified Jewry with Bolshevism.³⁶ Yet on 12 April 1922, after an hour's raging against the Judeo-Bolshevik world peril, he declared: "There are only two possibilities in Germany! . . . Either victory of the Aryan side, or its destruction and victory of the Jews."³⁷ He developed this same theme in a memorandum of 22 October 1922 on building up the Party: "What is involved here is not winning a majority or even so-called political power. What is involved is a life-and-death struggle between two world views that cannot coexist. Their clash will leave only victors and victims. This conception has become second nature to Marxism (witness Russia). A victory of the Marxist idea means the total extermination of its opponents. This basic sense of the struggle has not yet been grasped on the so-called bourgeois side, where the intractable resolve that such awareness would bring with it is consequently lacking. So the brutal power colossus on the one side is faced by, in part, most deplorable inadequacy on the other side, where the consciousness of a fight to the death is altogether lacking."³⁸ Such a "life-and-death struggle between two world views" was the logical grounding for the scheme Hitler hatched of destroying Soviet Russia with England's help. Conversely, logic pushed for carrying that "fight to the death" from German to Russian soil. If the Jews were a deadly international danger with their power center in Russia, that danger could not be met within Germany's borders alone. By destroying Jewish power inside Germany alone, Germans would only incite Jewry to revenge. "To grasp the evil by the roots and eradicate it to the core"³⁹ meant moving on Moscow.

At Hitler's maiden mention of his eastern scheme, as reported by Cuno's confidant in late December 1922, the anti-Bolshevik

*
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to
the
civil
war.

* O.O. ⁵⁹ Destroy both world-view.

1922

1922

Harden - 1 page

the rest is Haufsteengel (meaning
in
English)

in the
Two

1922

Heidean

tsar or the Austrian emperor controlled the police in Germany and Italy, and pursued fleeing democrats from country to country. Foreign monarchs were ruling as princelings over larger or smaller parts of divided Germany: the king of Denmark was duke of Holstein and of the German-speaking parts of Slesvig; an English prince was king of Hanover and, in the best Georgian tradition, broke the sworn constitution of his country; the emperor of Austria was looked upon as a tyrant by his German subjects as well as by his Hungarian, Czech, Polish, and Italian.

An international police despotism ruled over Europe, and the resistance was international. French, Italian, and German revolutionaries greeted one another as brothers. Seldom has the decisive rôle of the intellectual been more clearly discernible. For the national revolution of the nineteenth century was his work. Formal education spread, universities were founded. Young men, predominantly of the poorer classes, studied and were dissatisfied. A stream of democratic students, revolutionary journalists, parliamentarians and bomb-throwers, demagogues and Carbonari, runs through the nineteenth century. The French Revolution had proclaimed the rights of man, and the echo resounded through the big and little nations of central, eastern, and southern Europe. This echo was the rights of nations, for the first right of man is the right to his own nationality. To these nations freedom meant the right to be governed by men of their own language, and translated into central European, democracy meant the right of national self-determination. Two nations marched at the head of this democratic national revolution: Italy and — more important — Germany.

With mingled foreboding and delight, Heinrich Heine, one of Germany's sharpest minds, saw the united German nation storming its way through the future. He saw it trained by German philosophy for world revolution, freed from the restraints of Christianity. 'If some day the taming talisman, the cross, should crumble, the savagery of the old warriors will again burst forth, the insensate berserk rage, about which the Nordic poets sing and say so much. That talisman is rotting, and some day it will lamentably crumble. The old stone gods will rise from the ancient ruins and rub the millennial dust from their eyes. Thor with his giant hammer will

crush the Gothic cathedrals,"
→ in Dietrich Eckhart

reading & A.H.
who has experience
sorrow for Heine

1922

a scene.

D.T. paper in a scene after Heine. (unlabeled)

INTERLUDE

spring aloft and shatter the Gothic cat that stamping and clashing, take care, Frenchmen.'

At that time France actually did take Nationalist Movement. If Germany was surrender the left bank of the Rhine to 1840, French politicians advanced this demand on every possible occasion. In German protest. Even Heine, son of the Rhine, demand with the proud and magnificent the Rhine to you Frenchmen, for the Rhine is French.

In 1848, the Nationalist Movement of France flared into revolution. The best brains in the Paul's Church in Frankfurt on the Main, to and give it a democratic constitution; a republic. The princes were helpless, for a by bloody uprisings in Berlin, Vienna, and ministers were driven from the country; victorious.

But who were the people? New classes proletariat appeared in the large countries. This during the last decades by the new industries, textile mills, the great iron smelteries, machine amid frightful conditions, bordering on starvation. The workers saw little in democracy and wanted to eat. The propertied classes, which democratically minded, took fright and sought military reaction; the alliance between proletariat strangled the revolution and silently drained democracy.

Thus, in 1852, a military and political action to seize power in France, make himself emperor Napoleon III, and create the state which was for the conspiracy of the Wise Men of Zion economy was on its way to creating — in the new 'stage' — the world proletariat. Two

HITLER

THE MISSING YEARS



By Ernst Hanfstaengl

Introduction by John Toland

Afterword by Egon Hanfstaengl

First pub, Eng 1957

1st Amer ed, 1994



Arcade Publishing • New York

1922

INTRODUCTION

ERNST HANFSTAENGL was a man with two countries. His mother came from a well-known New England family, the Sedgwicks, and two of his ancestors were Civil War generals, one of whom helped carry Lincoln's coffin. In Germany two generations of Hanfstaengls had served as privy counsellors to the dukes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and were connoisseurs and patrons of the arts. The family owned an art-publishing house in Munich well known for its excellent reproductions.

Hanfstaengl had been brought up in an atmosphere of art and music and was himself an accomplished pianist. I have spent many hours in his Munich home listening to him play the piano with verve, his six-foot-four frame hunched over the piano, making him look like an impish bear. His nickname was Putzi (little fellow).

Adolf Hitler too had been enthralled by Putzi's music, and made him one of his closest associates in 1922. After hearing Hitler speak at a beer hall, Hanfstaengl had been fascinated by his control of the audience. "People," he wrote, "were sitting breathlessly, who had long since forgotten to reach for their beer mugs and instead were drinking in the speaker's every word." Nearby a young woman was staring at Hitler: "As though in some devotional ecstasy, she had ceased to be herself and was completely under the spell of Hitler's despotic faith in Germany's future greatness."

On the spur of the moment Putzi introduced himself. "About ninety-five percent of what you said I can set my name to, and five percent - we will have to talk about that." What he particularly objected to was Hitler's blatant anti-Semitism.

Like so many others in Germany, Hanfstaengl imagined he could control Hitler. He loaned the Führer a thousand dollars, interest free, which enabled Hitler to purchase two American rotary presses and turn his weekly Nazi newspaper into a daily. Putzi also became his foreign Press secretary.

Hitler soon became a fixture in the Hanfstaengl apartment. He fell in love with Helene Hanfstaengl and played games with her two-year-old son, Egon. He also became fascinated with Hanfstaengl's music. "Hitler dragged me around from house to house as his resident musician, and had me sit down at the piano to perform." On one occasion

5 see p 23

note D. T. As impressive to someone like young
Hitler as European aristocrats to
an American debutante. See p 23

1922 1924
Putzi began playing Harvard's football marches and explained how cheerleaders and marching bands would stir up the crowd to almost hysterical mass shouting. When Hitler's interest quickened, he demonstrated on the piano how the buoyant American beat could be injected into German marches, and Hitler started parading up and down like a drum major. "This is what I need for the movement!" he exclaimed. Hanfstaengl wrote several marches in this style for the S.A. band, but his most significant contribution was the transference of Harvard's "Fight! Fight! Fight!" to "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!"

Hitler became even closer to the Hanfstaengls after he fled from the disastrous Beer Hall Putsch and sought refuge in their country home. Here he was captured and sent to prison; and one of the first places he visited after his release was the Hanfstaengls' new home across the Isar River. It was here the Führer came on Christmas Eve to regain his composure. First he asked Putzi to play the *Liebestod* and then he romped with Egon, marching up and down like a soldier, showing the child how to carry his little sabre and imitating the sound of an artillery barrage. Later, when alone with Helene, he put his head in her lap and said, "If only I had someone to take care of me!" But he could never marry, he told her, because his life was dedicated to his country. "I thought he was acting like a little boy – not a lover – and perhaps he was," recalled Helene. "It would have been awful if someone had come in. He was taking a chance, he really was. That was the end of it and I passed it off as if it had simply not happened."

Hanfstaengl remained as Hitler's Press secretary for years. Like many of those who had helped put Hitler in power, he thought he could stem Hitler's excesses. But by 1936 Martin Bormann's influence over the Führer had gained dominance, and Putzi was reduced to a minor role. For some time the Führer had been annoyed because Hanfstaengl called him "Herr Hitler" instead of "Mein Führer" and talked to him like an equal.

Hanfstaengl knew he was in danger and told Egon, now fifteen, "Things are not well. We all believed in the movement, didn't we? I am still trying to believe in it." But he had found corruption everywhere, and war was coming with England and America. "The country is in a foul state internally. I ascribe that mainly to the blackguards who are sitting firmly entrenched behind official desks in Berlin and elsewhere. But Hitler refuses to hear me." And it looked as though the Führer himself had become corrupt.

Hanfstaengl warned his son that his enemies were almost sure to

get around to liquidating him so February 11, 1937 – Putzi's birthday – Spain and protect the interests of the country. Soon after takeoff the plane between Barcelona and Madrid parachuted into the Red lines. That pilot said nothing more, but soon. With a meaningful look he told land at a small airfield.

Once on the ground, Putzi followed instructions. Instead he phoned his orders had been suddenly on his fiftieth birthday with his family that the Führer had ordered him to take a night train to Munich and a train in Zurich.

The revelations in this reprint enrich the reader's understanding of the poleon. Some historians have debated, but, with all his quirks, he was the Führer and then lived to write

D.T. * For the above, Putzi is a source of material
use.

respectability to his Nazi Party and when he could no longer stand my public criticism of the excesses of his new Germany he hounded me out of the country with the Gestapo on my heels.

There have been scores of books about Hitler and his era. The public records of his régime were produced at the Nuremberg trial or have appeared since in official American and British publications. I cannot hope and would not even try to compete with this massive documentation of his public career. What seems to me to be still missing is an account of the man, particularly of the development of his character during precisely those years that I knew him so well. When I met him in the early 'twenties he was a minor provincial political agitator, a frustrated ex-serviceman, awkward in a blue serge suit. He looked like a suburban hairdresser on his day off. His chief claim to notice was his golden voice and transcendent powers as an orator on the platform of one of his Party meetings. Even then, he was so little regarded that the sparse reports in the press did not even spell his name aright.

By the time of the Roehm Putsch in 1934, not long before I broke with him, he had become a murderer, the power-hungry daemonic monster the world knew and rued. Doubtless the facets of his character which permitted this development were always present. A man's temperament does not change. But the final product was the result of a combination of circumstances, environment, too many bad and ignorant advisers and, above all, personal, intimate frustrations of the most abysmal sort. The story I have to tell, from close association and observation, is of a man who was impotent, in the medical sense of the term. The abounding nervous energy which found no normal release sought compensation first in the subjection of his entourage, then of his country, then of Europe and would have imposed itself on the world if he had not been stopped. In the sexual no-man's-land in which he lived, he only once nearly found the woman, and never even the man, who might have brought him relief.

It took me many years to plumb the depths of his personal problem. The normal human being reacts only slowly to the abnormal, and even then tries to convince himself that a return to normality is possible. Hitler was all of a piece. His political conceptions were

* P. T. Putzi For such reasons, Putzi felt he would always be, in by some part at least, superior

to the man he followed was getting ready to revolt, and the man himself would know it.

warped and foolhardy. Again the norm, example and evidence will orthodox thinking. These were my twin Hitler's vicinity because I was cornered must bring him to the top. In that, he got there his faults were magnified experience of power which finally thereafter was only the natural course before, and that is the story I propose

* *

One vicarious connexion with my schooldays. My form master at gymnasium before the turn of the Heinrich Himmler's father. The grain in some village on Lake Constance, world and had been at one time tutor. As a result he became a terrible stern member of his class and bearing down on us, although many of us came from families. The son was much younger only as a pallid, moon-faced brat when delivering extra work at his father's. He went to the same school in the from other old boys that he had a pass as a sneak, always running to his father about his fellows. But by that time I was

I am in fact half American. My mother, Heine. My maternal grandmother, an England family and was a cousin of the one who fell at Spotsylvania Court House in the Civil War. My grandfather stands at West Point. My grandfather, William Heine, who was or was not of the Potomac. Trained as an architect in Dresden after the Liberal revolution. He studied Opéra in Paris and then emigrated

well-known illustrator and accompanied Admiral Perry as official artist on the expedition to Japan. In the funeral cortège of Abraham Lincoln, he was one of the generals who carried the coffin.

My mother, who died in 1945 at the age of eighty-six, could still remember the scene clearly, and had equally vivid recollections of seeing Wagner and Liszt at her father's family home back in Dresden, where she first met Edgar Hanfstaengl, my father. He was one of the most spectacularly handsome men of his age and had been, I fear, the direct cause of the broken engagement between King Ludwig II of Bavaria and his beautiful cousin Sophie Charlotte, Duchess of Bavaria, who later became Duchess of Alençon by her marriage to a grandson of Louis-Philippe.

I do not want to insist unduly on these personal details, but my family background played a determining part in my relations with Hitler. The Hanfstaengls were substantial folk. For three generations they were privy councillors to the Dukes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and well known as connoisseurs and patrons of the arts. The family enterprise my grandfather founded was, and remains to this day, one of the pioneers in the art reproduction field. My Hanfstaengl grandfather's photographs of three German Kaisers, Moltke and Roon, Ibsen, Liszt, Wagner and Clara Schumann set the standards of their time. My father kept open house at the villa he built in the Liebigstrasse, at that time on the outskirts of Munich. Few names in the artistic world failed to grace the guest book over the years, Lilli Lehmann and Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Busch, Sarasate, Richard Strauss, Felix Weingartner and Wilhelm Backhaus. My parents were friends of Fritjof Nansen and Mark Twain. The atmosphere was almost ostentatiously international. My mother had decorated part of the house in shades of green because it was the favourite colour of Queen Victoria, whose signed portrait, dedicated to my father on some occasion, looked at us from its heavy silver frame. Conversation was heavily interlarded with French expressions. Guests sat on the *chaise-longue* behind the *paravent*, with closed *rouleaux* and the ladies suffered from *migraine*. The *teint* was treated with *parfum* and friends had a *rendez-vous* for a *tête-à-tête* in the *foyer* of the opera. My family was Bismarckian monarchist, needless to say with a personal aversion to Wilhelm II.

* Regular Hitler in the early 20's
w family history. Dr. T. Hauer
will be told it.

Dr. T. Hauer at all!

At the same time, there was great social progress. The Liberal tradition had our own bathroom, at a time the newly renovated Four Seasons. The great argument of capitalism was hot and the great prophet of a new era and worker was Friedrich Naumann. I can remember when I was no older than a reader of his weekly magazine *Die Zukunft* on a Christian Social political trait. As I was to learn from the sort of National-Socialism Hitler had.

That was the atmosphere into which these days is at least three worlds. My infant nickname of 'Putzi' was an annoyance ever since. At the age of time when serums and child surgery were only saved by an old retainer, I was tiringly from a spoon, crooning Bavarian country speech 'Putzi' I am now seventy and still six-foot-

I had three governesses, of whom I had roses and cream English beauty had been found for my father by the wife of the great Victorian painter through a list of applicants for marriage. Even so the most lasting influence was Major Streith. He was a splendid Kissinger. He had grown his imperial Royal Guard and my father employed a friend, General von Euler, and of sons in danger of getting spoiled by adults. He came in every Sunday and had us marching up and down Great's *Lange Kerls*. I believe I was included in these manoeuvres.

Streith used to put on an act of

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At the same time, there was great enthusiasm for social and technical progress. The Liberal tradition of 1848 was strong. We even had our own bathroom, at a time when the Prince Regent went to the newly renovated Four Seasons Hotel once a week for his scrub. The great argument of capitalism versus socialism already waxed hot and the great prophet of a new relationship between employer and worker was Friedrich Naumann with his national-social ideas. I can remember when I was no older than thirteen becoming a regular reader of his weekly magazine *Die Hilfe* and his advocacy of a social monarchy on a Christian Socialist basis remained my strongest political trait. As I was to learn from bitter experience, it was not the sort of National-Socialism Hitler had in mind.

That was the atmosphere into which I was born in (1887), which these days is at least three worlds away. It also saw the inception of my infant nickname of 'Putzi' which I have had to suffer in impotent annoyance ever since. At the age of two I caught diphtheria, at a time when serums and child surgery were little trusted. My life was only saved by an old retainer, a peasant woman who fed me untiringly from a spoon, crooning: 'Putzi, eat this now Putzi.' In Bavarian country speech 'Putzi' means little fellow, and although I am now seventy and still six-foot-four the name has stuck.

I had three governesses, of whom my favourite was Bella Farmer, a roses and cream English beauty who came from Hartlepool and had been found for my father during one of his visits to England by the wife of the great Victorian painter Alma-Tadema. She had gone through a list of applicants for my mother and picked out the prettiest one. Even so the most lasting influence of my boyhood was Sergeant-Major Streit. He was a splendid man, the son of a forester in Kissingen. He had grown his impressive moustachios in the Bavarian Royal Guard and my father employed him on the recommendation of a friend, General von Euler, to put a bit of stuffing into a quartet of sons in danger of getting spoilt by too many artistically-minded adults. He came in every Sunday afternoon to teach us military drill and had us marching up and down the lawn like Frederick the Great's *Lange Kerls*. I believe my unfortunate sister, Erna, was even included in these manoeuvres.

Streit used to put on an act of bawling us out like a lot of clumsy

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Early days - 9 years in Berlin

1922

and politics, and the ex-President came out with the phrase which has stuck with me ever since: "Hanfstaengl, your business is to pick out the best pictures, but remember that in politics the choice is that of the lesser evil."

The Hanfstaengl representation was a delightful combination of business and pleasure. The famous names who visited me were legion: Pierpont Morgan, Toscanini, Henry Ford, Caruso, Santos Dumont, Charlie Chaplin, Paderewski, and the daughter of President Wilson. When war broke out, I cannot say that I was surprised. Years before, an old Harvard friend of mine from New Orleans named Freddie Moore, who had lived much of his life in Constantinople, had told me: "Mind you, Hanfy, the next war will not start on the Franco-German frontier but in the Balkans", and now, with the shots at Sarajevo, his prophecy had come true.

There was little doubt where American sympathies would fall in the long run, but I tried to keep the German flag flying as best I could. I used to get the bands from the German ships blockaded in New York harbour to come and play for our colony in the Hanfstaengl establishment. When a hostile crowd gathered as they were playing the *Wacht am Rhein*, I switched them quickly to the *Blue Danube*. But in a population which came to regard dachshund dogs as fifth columnists this was only short-term evasive action. I had my shop-windows stove in once and thereafter found discretion the better part of valour. When America finally joined the Allied side I was fortunate in having Senator Elihu Root, who had been Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of State, as my lawyer. In exchange for my promise to indulge in no anti-American activities, I was not interned. "I would blow you all up if I could, but one measly little bridge is not enough to change the fortunes of war," I told him. And so they let me be, although my freedom of movement was eventually restricted to Central Park. This did not prevent the Custodian of Enemy Property from taking over the assets of the Hanfstaengl firm in the final months of the war. They were worth half a million dollars and were sold at auction for about \$8,000. However, immediately after the Armistice, I was permitted to set up a little business of my own which I called The Academy Art Shop, just opposite Carnegie Hall, and this kept me going for the next three years.

News from Germany was sparsely seized power in Munich, but at the meaning it has today, and I rather some form of popular resistance was by no means displeased. I was of the dissolution of our diplomacy was married. My wife's name was the only daughter of a German emigrated from Bremen. The thought I really felt it was time to return to sell out to my partner Friedrich Denks, the son of a Jew. July 1921 on the s.s. *America* for Germany for ten years, and was then issued by the Swiss Consul in London German interests. It was not to Hitler's life.

I found a Germany riven by city workers, followers of the Czar, the new republic, the Junkers, yearned for the old monarchy. Munich could not compensate for and the peeling façade of the great station to meet us, reduced to brother, Edgar, and the first diff. Seasons Hotel was to find milk there was none to be had, except coffee to qualify for the minute each pot. Fortunately, my mother bought a small farm near Uffingen the Alps, so that unlike most Germans. Even so, Mother was shamefully took advantage of the rocketing prices on the black market and pocketed

Almost the first political ever murder of Matthias Erzberger, by a couple of young Right Wing

1922

we went out and took a tram to the Kindlkeller beer-hall, where it was taking place. I could get little out of Rosenberg beyond the fact that he was a Balt and totally ignorant of the world outside Central Europe.

The Kindlkeller, which was a big L-shaped hall, was crammed full with a very mixed audience. There seemed to be a lot of people of the concierge or small shopkeeper class, a sprinkling of the former officer and minor civil servant type, a tremendous number of young people, and the rest artisans, with a high proportion of the spectators in Bavarian national costume. Rosenberg and I pushed our way through to the press table, which was on the right side of the platform.

I looked round the hall and could see no one in the audience or on the platform I knew. "Where is Hitler?" I asked a middle-aged journalist next to me. "See those three over there? The short man is Max Amann, the one with the spectacles is Anton Drexler, and the other is Hitler." In his heavy boots, dark suit and leather waistcoat, semi-stiff white collar and odd little moustache, he really did not look very impressive—like a waiter in a railway-station restaurant. However, when Drexler introduced him to a roar of applause, Hitler straightened up and walked past the press table with a swift, controlled step, the unmistakable soldier in mufti.

The atmosphere in the hall was electric. Apparently this was his first public appearance after serving a short prison-sentence for breaking up a meeting addressed by a Bavarian separatist named Ballerstedt, so he had to be reasonably careful what he said in case the police should arrest him again as a disturber of the peace. Perhaps this is what gave such a brilliant quality to his speech, which for innuendo and irony I have never heard matched, even by him. No one who judges his capacity as a speaker from the performances of his later years can have any true insight into his gifts. As time went on he became drunk with his own oratory before vast crowds and his voice lost its former character through the intervention of microphone and loud-speaker. In his early years he had a command of voice, phrase and effect which has never been equalled, and on this evening he was at his best.

I cannot have been more than eight feet away and watched him

1922

1922

local, personal note, acting as a further impetus to the enthusiasm of the malt-minded Munichers. It was hard to decide whether Hitler drank to give the audience a chance to applaud, or whether they applauded to give him a chance to drink.

"That was Ulrich Graf who handed up the beer," my neighbour said. "He's Hitler's bodyguard and follows him wherever he goes. There is a price on Hitler's head in some of the other States, you know." I looked at Graf and saw that after taking the mug back, his right hand returned to the bulging pocket of his coat. From the firm way in which he kept his hand there, his eyes fixed on the front rows, I knew he was holding a revolver. *new*

The audience responded with a final outburst of frenzied cheering, hand-clapping, and a cannonade of table-pounding. It sounded like the demoniacal rattle of thousands of hailstones rebounding on the surface of a gigantic drum. It had been a masterly performance. I had really been impressed beyond measure by Hitler. In spite of his provincial manner, he had seemed to have a much wider horizon than the normal German politician one met. With his incredible gifts as an orator he was clearly going to go far, and from what I had seen of his entourage there seemed no one likely to bring home to him the picture of the outside world he manifestly lacked, and in this I felt I might be able to help. He seemed to have no conception of the part America had played in winning the war and viewed European problems from a narrow, continental standpoint. Here, at least, I felt I could put him right.

That was for the future. He was standing on the platform recovering from his bravura exhibition. I walked over to introduce myself. Naïve and yet forceful, obliging and yet uncompromising, he stood, face and hair soaked in perspiration, his semi-stiff collar, fastened with a square imitation-gold safety-pin, melted to nothing. While talking he dabbed his face with what had once been a handkerchief, glancing worriedly at the many open exits through which came the draughts of a cold November night.

"Herr Hitler, my name is Hanfstaengl," I said. "Captain Truman-Smith asked me to give you his best wishes." "Ah, yes, the big American," he answered. "He begged me to come here and listen to you, and I can only say I have been most impressed," I went

on. "I agree with 95 per cent much like to talk to you about the

"Why, yes, of course," Hitler to quarrel about the odd five per impression, modest and friendly I went home. That night I could mind still raced with the impression conservative politicians and establish any contact with the or Hitler, was clearly succeeding in gramme to exactly those people other hand, I had not liked the I had seen. Rosenberg and the distinctly dubious types. Then an my mind and provided consolation do not prove anything again

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on. "I agree with 95 per cent of what you said and would very much like to talk to you about the rest some time."

"Why, yes, of course," Hitler said. "I am sure we shall not have to quarrel about the odd five per cent." He made a very pleasant impression, modest and friendly. So we shook hands again and I went home. That night I could not go to sleep for a long time. My mind still raced with the impressions of the evening. Where all our conservative politicians and speakers were failing abysmally to establish any contact with the ordinary people, this self-made man, Hitler, was clearly succeeding in presenting a non-Communist programme to exactly those people whose support we needed. On the other hand, I had not liked the look of those immediate supporters I had seen. Rosenberg and the people round him seemed to me distinctly dubious types. Then an aphorism of Nietzsche floated into my mind and provided consolation: "The first followers of a movement do not prove anything against it."

*D.T. Yes, nothing, except what
you can expect for the end
when it all goes wrong.*

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1922

from one of the boxes. As far as I remember, the first wife of Olaf Gulbransson, the famous artist and *Simplicissimus* cartoonist, and Frau von Kaulbach, the widow of the well-known painter, were in the party. Afterwards we went up and I introduced the ladies to Hitler. He was delighted with my wife, who was blonde and beautiful and American. He accepted very readily when she said how pleased we would be if he would come to coffee or dinner at the flat. Soon he was visiting us frequently, pleasant and unassuming in his little blue serge suit. He was respectful, even diffident and very careful to adhere to the forms of address still *de rigueur* in Germany between people of lower rank when speaking to those of better education, title, or academic attainment. The only striking things about him were an extraordinary luminous quality in his blue eyes and his sensitive hands, plus, of course, very definite gifts of expression in conversation.

He had a winning way with him, the sort of spontaneity that attracts children, and Egon became devoted to him. I remember just before one visit the child had knocked his knee against the leg of a hideous pseudo-Renaissance chair which formed part of the furniture. It was carved in the form of a lion, with its tongue sticking out, rather like one of the gargoyles on Notre-Dame. It was a sharp crack and Egon began to bawl. Hitler was announced and came into the room just as I was trying to pacify the boy by slapping the lion and saying, "There, we'll teach him to bite you," or something to that effect. Hitler came right over and slapped the lion on the other leg just to keep it in order as well. And, of course, Egon beamed. It became a regular play between them. Every time Hitler came he would slap the lion and say to the boy, "Now, has he been behaving himself?"

Stories are sometimes told that we were the people who taught Hitler table-manners. That is not so. He was not as uncouth as that. But he did have some curious tastes. He had the most incredible sweet tooth of any man I have ever met and could never be given enough of his favourite Austrian cakes heaped with whipped cream. At one meal I thought I would treat him to a bottle of Prince Metternich's best Gewürtztraminer. I was called out of the room to the telephone and as I came back caught him putting a heaping

* D.T. we are obliged to live with the fact that our clients are so

often addicted to sweets, but then working for us can feel and not paid for considerable stretches of time. In those periods fear of our client's becomes our policeman.

1922

spoonful of castor-sugar in the glass. I pretended I had not seen and he drank the concoction with evident relish.

He was a voracious reader and positively stormed the historical library I was building up. He could not read enough about Frederick the Great and the French Revolution, historical parallels out of which he was trying to distil a policy for Germany's difficulties. For years the great Frederick was his hero and he never tired of quoting examples of the king's success in building up Prussia in the face of overwhelming odds. This did not seem to me a particularly pernicious obsession, as Frederick had always been a man who knew where to stop. The trouble was that when Hitler came to power he transferred his historical allegiance to Napoleon, who did not know where to stop, a fault which eventually involved Hitler in equal disaster.

His other politico-military master was Clausewitz, whom he could quote by the yard, and this was another source of his undoing. Neither he nor any of his entourage—and it must be remembered that substantially the same fellow-conspirators of the 1920's took over the leadership of Germany in the 1930's—acquired any conception of the strength of the salt-water powers. They thought on purely continental lines. To them international power politics were based on the limitations inherent in land warfare, and in my decade of struggle to influence the workings of Hitler's mind I never really succeeded in bringing home the importance of America as an integral factor in European politics.

My first attempt to wean him away from his dangerous harping on the need for a *revanche* against France as a means of restoring Germany's position in the world, came during one of his very early visits. We were sitting together after lunch when he asked quite modestly, "Well, Herr Hanfstaengl, and how do you see the world situation and its effect on Germany?" And then he let me talk for seven or eight minutes, listening with great attention and never attempting to interrupt. It was, I fear, an attitude he was gradually to lose over the course of his rise to power.

"Well, now," I said, "you have just fought in the war. We very nearly won in 1917 when Russia collapsed. Why, then, did we finally lose it?" "Because the Americans came in," he said. "If you

recognize that, we are agreed and I went on. "I was over there during this is an absolutely new factor in stand in 1917? The French were 1 had enough, and then what happened two and a half million soldiers out a month to hold the front. If there be won by the side which America have developed this tremendous inc them at your peril. The only proper friendship with the United States. peace in Europe and build up again

He seemed to take all this in and be right," but the idea was so new other cronies had the same infatuation whenever I thought I had driven it always produce an argument to counter the days of Clausewitz, Moltke, and Hitler revealed to me that his intellect was superficial. He wanted to hear all fascinated by details of technical and logical conclusions from the informant for whom he had time was Henry Ford industrial wonder-worker but rather a possible source of funds. Hitler was the Ku Klux Klan, then at the height. He seemed to think it was a political with which it might be possible to be able to put its relative importance in

I soon found that he was deeply interested was far more the Party theoretician whom Truman-Smith had introduced anti-Bolshevist, anti-religious trouble have a very high opinion of his abilities. Until Goebbels appeared on the scene Rosenberg was the principal antagonist. Hitler see reason. At a very early stage

talk, I warned Hitler of the dangers of Rosenberg's racial and religious diatribes. I am a Protestant myself, but I knew the deeply ingrained Catholic sense of Bavaria and told Hitler he would make no headway as long as he continued to offend it. He always professed to see the strength of my arguments, but there was never any way of telling whether he was going to act on them or not.

I was so convinced that the extraordinary force of Hitler's oratory must make him a political power to be reckoned with, that I considered it even more necessary to bring him into contact with people of some position and standing. I introduced him to William Bayard Hale, who had been a classmate of President Wilson at Princeton and for years the chief European correspondent of the Hearst newspapers. He had more or less retired and had chosen to live the rest of his life in Munich. He was a very wise and intelligent observer of affairs and I often brought him together with Hitler in the Hotel Bayrischer Hof, where he was living. There was also a German-American artist of considerable talents, Wilhelm Funk, who had a lavishly equipped studio furnished with exquisite Renaissance furniture and tapestries and something of a *salon* which included people like Prince Henckel-Donnersmarck and a number of national-minded wealthier business men. But when they made veiled suggestions about a political alliance, Hitler shied away. "I know these people," he told me, "their own meetings are empty and they want me to come along and fill the hall for them and then split the proceeds. We National-Socialists have our own programme and they can join up with us if they like, but I will not come in as a subordinate ally."

I also brought him together with the family of Fritz-August von Kaulbach, who had been a member of a very distinguished family of artists in Bavaria, hoping that their civilized minds and manners might have some influence on Hitler through their common interest in the arts. At some period Hitler had also come to know the Bruckmanns, who were big publishers in Munich, and included Houston Stewart Chamberlain among their authors. Our two families knew each other well, and Elsa Bruckmann, a former Princess Cantacuzène, who was a considerably older woman, made something of a protégé of Hitler. Significantly he was impressed by her family title

listen as if you are the world's
best listener and always seem to agree

this impresses Stauffenberg

and they shared a passion for Wagner when I found that she had also extended I made a point of never going to her entertained Nietzsche, Rainer Mari never understand their being taken in

This civilized society was quite new had a touch of naïveté. He had also brought family, who made their famous pianos frequently. They invited him to dine in private suite and he reported on it to have had been *en grande toilette* and he jacket. "I felt quite embarrassed in." "The servants were all in livery and waited before the meal. And you should you can even regulate the heat of the dominating woman who developed a long time she was convinced that she her daughter Lotte to him and tried requirements of society. Apparently convinced him of the necessity of acquiring shirts and patent leather shoes. I warned him that no leader of a working-class circumstances of the time in Germany things. So he hardly ever appeared in patent leather shoes which for a time

By this time I had decided that I the National Socialist Party. As a result hands were to some extent bound and gave should be kept as much in the background after I had started going to Hitler Amann, who at that time was the big weekly newspaper, the *Völkische Beobachter* the Thierschstrasse. The first person I was a flashy figure I had noticed at the great show of trying to persuade me ing the Party and starting a campaign families. He whipped out a gold pen

1902

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and they shared a passion for Wagner and Bayreuth. However,
when I found that she had also extended her patronage to Rosenberg
I made a point of never going to her *salon*. For a family which had
entertained Nietzsche, Rainer Maria Rilke and Spengler I could
never understand their being taken in by such a charlatan.

This civilized society was quite new to Hitler and his reactions
had a touch of *naïveté*. He had also been introduced to the Bechstein
family, who made their famous pianos in Berlin, but visited Munich
frequently. They invited him to dinner at their *de luxe* hotel in a
private suite and he reported on it to me wide-eyed. Frau Bechstein
had been *en grande toilette* and her husband had worn a dinner
jacket. "I felt quite embarrassed in my blue suit," Hitler told me.
"The servants were all in livery and we drank nothing but cham-
pagne before the meal. And you should have seen the bathroom,
you can even regulate the heat of the water." Frau Bechstein was a
dominating woman who developed a motherly interest in Hitler. For
a long time she was convinced that she was going to be able to marry
her daughter Lotte to him and tried first to adapt his clothes to the
requirements of society. Apparently during that evening she con-
vinced him of the necessity of acquiring a dinner jacket and starched
shirts and patent leather shoes. I was appalled at this and warned
him that no leader of a working-class movement could dare in the
circumstances of the time in Germany to be seen around in such
things. So he hardly ever appeared in it, but did take a fancy to the
patent leather shoes which for a time he wore on every occasion.

By this time I had decided that I would in a quiet way support
the National Socialist Party. As a member of the family firm my
hands were to some extent bound and I felt that any assistance I
gave should be kept as much in the background as possible. Not long
after I had started going to Hitler's meetings I called on Max
Amann, who at that time was the business manager of the Party's
weekly newspaper, the *Völkische Beobachter*, in his shabby offices in
the Thierschstrasse. The first person I saw there, to my discomfiture,
was a flashy figure I had noticed at the first meeting, who put on a
great show of trying to persuade me of the necessity of openly join-
ing the Party and starting a campaign among the leading Munich
families. He whipped out a gold pencil and, pushing a membership

44 *+++ quasi-articles with their outside inner life that could never put two successful moves together*
 application form before me, began to force matters. He urged me to subscribe a dollar a month, a small fortune in Germany at the inflated rate of exchange, out of the proceeds of the art shop I had liquidated in New York. I felt I was being forced into a position which he planned to exploit and managed to stall him off until Amann came out from his inner office.

He was a rough fellow who had been Hitler's sergeant-major during the war, but he saw my point immediately and further endeared himself to me by voicing the gravest suspicions about the fellow who had accosted me when I entered. The affairs of the Party seemed surrounded by this air of conspiracy and intrigue. Hitler himself lived a shadowy existence and it was very difficult to keep track of his movements. He had the Bohemian habits of a man who had grown up with no real roots. He was hopelessly unpunctual and incapable of keeping to any sort of schedule. He walked around leading a fierce Alsatian named 'Wolf' and always carried a whip with a loaded handle. Ulrich Graf, his bodyguard, followed him everywhere. He would drop in after breakfast at Amann's office and then usually call in at the *Beobachter* office round the corner in the Schellingstrasse, and talk away with anyone who was fortunate enough to find him there.

He never stopped talking all day, committed nothing to paper, issued no directives and was the despair of his staff. He would make appointments and never be there, or would be discovered somewhere looking at second-hand motor-cars. Cars were an obsession with him. He had great plans, by no means so ill-conceived, for motorizing the embryo S.A., which kept order at his meetings and marched in demonstrations. He felt this would give them a head start on the police, who still went round on foot. But first he needed a car for himself to get round to meetings more quickly. He picked up one vehicle which looked like a dismantled horse-cab without a top, but soon exchanged this for a Selve car, with funds he had drummed up in a mysterious way from someone. It was a rattling monster and each end looked as if it was going different ways, but he seemed to think it conferred additional dignity on him and from that time on I do not think I ever saw him take a tram or bus again.

Once or twice a week he used to call in on a little stationer named

** D.T. At this point, I was more than discouraged. I had had more*

than a hundred ~~other~~ clients after him over the years, all Bohemian, all lang-shots color did not come through. It would have been easier to transmute an efficient cold-blooded business mind in excellent standing, rather than this ~~quasi~~ ~~sub~~

1922

TRISTAN IN THE 1

Quirin Diestl, who had a shop now was a great admirer of his and always coffee and cakes. Diestl himself was a red moustache, cut *à la* Hitler. He knew all the latest local gossip always ready to start a brawl with Hitler's intimates were nearly as him I started attending the *Mc Café Neumaier*, an old-fashioned Petersplatz and the *Viktualien* with built-in benches and panelling people or so. Here he was in the many of them middle-aged married frugal supper, part of which they speak *en famille* and try out the ideas.

Gradually I got to know quite Drexler, the original founder of but by this time he was only its pushed more or less to one side trade union background and although the original idea of appealing to gramme, he disapproved strongly which was slowly becoming a wanted it built up as a work fashion. Another old hand was dealer, a big, burly fellow who enjoyed knocking Communists means the brute he later became had him to the flat for coffee. He bottomless pit of Hitler's mind people like myself fought to avoid was a secured position of prominent member was Dietrich liking. He was a man of education Peer Gynt remains the standard and looked like an old walrus, a

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Quirin Diestl, who had a shop near the Regina Hotel. Frau Diestl
 was a great admirer of his and always served particularly good black
 coffee and cakes. Diestl himself was a little rowdy with red hair and
 a red moustache, cut à la Hitler. He looked rather like a chipmunk.
 He knew all the latest local gossip and slanderous stories and was
 always ready to start a brawl with hecklers at the Party meetings.

Hitler's intimates were nearly all modest people. As I got to know
 him I started attending the Monday evening *Stammtisch* at the
 Café Neumaier, an old-fashioned coffee-house on the corner of the
 Petersplatz and the Viktualien Markt. The long, irregular room,
 with built-in benches and panelled walls, had space for a hundred
 people or so. Here he was in the habit of meeting his oldest adherents,
 many of them middle-aged married couples, who came to have their
 frugal supper, part of which they brought with them. Hitler would
 speak *en famille* and try out the technique and effect of his newest
 ideas.

Gradually I got to know quite a number of the inner circle. Anton
Drexler, the original founder of the Party, was there most evenings,
 but by this time he was only its honorary president and had been
 pushed more or less to one side. A blacksmith by trade, he had a
 trade union background and although it was he who had thought up
 the original idea of appealing to the workers with a patriotic pro-
 gramme, he disapproved strongly of the street fighting and violence
 which was slowly becoming a factor in the Party's activities and
 wanted it built up as a working-class movement in an orderly
 fashion. Another old hand was Christian Weber; he was a horse-
dealer, a big, burly fellow who also went round with a whip and
 enjoyed knocking Communists about. At that time he was by no
 means the brute he later became and was terribly flattered when I
 had him to the flat for coffee. He had an oddly intuitive sense of the
bottomless pit of Hitler's mind and foresaw many of the things
people like myself fought to avoid. All he really wanted out of life
 was a secured position of some small dignity. The third most
 prominent member was Dietrich Eckart, to whom I took a distinct
 liking. He was a man of education, a poet, whose German version of
Peer Gynt remains the standard translation. He was very Bavarian
 and looked like an old walrus, and his handsome income from book

* at coffee a scene - for Adolf there
 is no end of the road. You will see.

1922

royalties helped fill the Party coffers. He it was who had first taken Hitler under his wing in the Party, although he was already beginning to regret it.

Other regulars included Hermann Esser, the ex-Communist and *enfant terrible* of the Party, its best speaker after Hitler; Gottfried Feder, an unsuccessful engineer, who had become a financial crank and was advocating the liquidation of Germany's war debts by national bankruptcy; he was also a man of some education and his family had acted as advisers to the Otto of Bavaria who had become the first king of Greece. Then there was a slightly mysterious man named Lieutenant Klintzsch, who was one of the stormtrooper leaders and had been and probably still was a member of the Organization Consul, which had been associated with Captain Ehrhardt in the abortive Kapp Putsch in Berlin in 1920 and had a hand in the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau. The minor characters included Haugg, Hitler's driver for a short period and Emil Maurice, the former clock-maker who succeeded him and, of course, Amann and Ulrich Graf. Other faithful but not particularly effective supporters included a couple named Lauböck—the man was quite a high railway official at the East Station; Oskar Koerner, a merchant, and a fur merchant named Wutz whose wife had been trained as a soprano.

None of these people knew me and at first felt it incumbent on them to be somewhat distant. Was this tall man with his slight German-American accent really a Hanfstaengl of Munich or was he an impostor like so many others who sought Hitler's company? But when some of my former comrades in the *Wilhelmsgymnasium*, the University and the Foot Guards greeted me, confidence grew. This slow process rather pleased me. It proved their caution as well as a certain dignity. The first person to evince any real cordiality was Ulrich Graf, whose exquisite sturdy head had all the quality of a Hans Memling portrait. He was a minor employee in the city council and an honest, decent fellow.

I also gained the confidence of old Singer, who was the Party treasurer and turned up at the coffee-house sometimes. He used to organize the collections at the meetings and stuff the takings in a small tin trunk, which he then used to hump home under his arm.

I went back with him once and almost valueless, bank-notes or carefully counting and sorting his wife had long since retired to most Munich houses during the winter was warmed by a small stove. The other rooms in my bones today the Party grow.

After these coffee-house sessions in a black coat and black slouch, absolute desperado, and with all well armed, walk back to the tiny flat at number 41. I took to me grew, Hitler allowed me

He lived there like a downy the use of a quite large entrance named Reichert. It was all modern there for years, although it became identified himself with the workroom itself was tiny. I doubt if too wide for its corner and the narrow window. The floor was with a couple of threadbare rugs there was a makeshift bookshelf the only other piece of furniture standing and the flat intact, on the outside wall, incongruously enclosed there is still a weather-beaten chair

Hitler used to walk around in a collar to his shirt and wearing illustrations and drawings hanging an indicative mixture. I made to have. The upper shelves were visitors. They included a history Stegemann, and Ludendorff's histories by Einhardt and Treibpaedia, a work dating from the

1922

I went back with him once and watched him empty the pile of dirty, almost valueless, bank-notes on to his dining-room table and start carefully counting and sorting them. There was no supervision and his wife had long since retired to the warmth of the bedroom. As in most Munich houses during this desperate winter, only one room was warmed by a small stove. I can still feel the damp chill of the other rooms in my bones today. Out of such modest beginnings did the Party grow.

After these coffee-house sessions Hitler would put on his long black coat and black slouch hat, which made him look like an absolute desperado, and with Weber, Amann, Klintzsch and Graf, all well armed, walk back to the Thierschstrasse, where he had a tiny flat at number 41. I took to joining the group and as confidence in me grew, Hitler allowed me to call at his flat during the day.

He lived there like a down-at-heels clerk. He had one room and the use of a quite large entrance-hall as a sub-tenant of a woman named Reichert. It was all modest in the extreme and he remained there for years, although it became part of an act to show how he identified himself with the workers and have-nots of this world. The room itself was tiny. I doubt if it was nine feet wide. The bed was too wide for its corner and the head of it projected over the single narrow window. The floor was covered with cheap, worn linoleum with a couple of threadbare rugs, and on the wall opposite the bed there was a makeshift bookshelf, apart from a chair and rough table the only other piece of furniture in the room. The building is still standing and the flat intact, more or less as I remember it. On the outside wall, incongruously enough, in a little alcove in the stucco, there is still a weather-beaten china Madonna.

Hitler used to walk around in carpet slippers, frequently with no collar to his shirt and wearing braces. There were quite a lot of illustrations and drawings hanging on the wall, and the books were an indicative mixture. I made a list of them at the time which I still have. The upper shelves were those he liked to refer to in front of visitors. They included a history of the Great War by Hermann Stegemann, and Ludendorff's book on the same subject; German histories by Einhardt and Treitschke; Spamer's illustrated encyclopaedia, a work dating from the nineteenth century; Clausewitz'

1922

Vom Kriege and the history of Frederick the Great by Kugler, a biography of Wagner by Houston Stewart Chamberlain and a potted world history by Maximilian Yorck von Wartenburg. The respectable volumes also included a tome called Geographical Character Pictures by Grube, a collection of heroic myths by Schwab and the war memoirs of Sven Hedin.

These were the books which formed Hitler's opinions and knowledge for the years to come. But perhaps more interesting was the bottom shelf, where in an abrupt descent from Mars to Venus, editions of a semi-pornographic nature lay discreetly shrouded in Edgar Wallace thrillers. Three of these well-thumbed volumes consisted of the curious studies of Eduard Fuchs—the History of Erotic Art and an Illustrated History of Morals.

Frau Reichert found him an ideal tenant. "He is such a nice man," she used to say, "but he has the most extraordinary moods. Sometimes weeks go by when he seems to be sulking and does not say a word to us. He looks through us as if we were not there. He always pays his rent punctually in advance, but he is a real Bohemian type." She said this sort of thing to other people and malicious opponents later suggested that Hitler came from Bohemia and that the Braunau where he was born was in fact the one near Sadowa. In later years, when this came to Hindenburg's ears, it was the reason for the old Field Marshal coining his contemptuous phrase about 'this Bohemian corporal'. He even talked about it to Hitler who said 'but no, I was born at Braunau on the Inn' and the old man thought he had been tricked by Hitler's detractors and became more friendly to him as a result.

No one could get Hitler to talk about his early years. I used to try to lead him on by saying how much I had enjoyed Vienna and drinking wine in the Grinzing hills and so on, but he would shut up like a clam. One morning when I came in rather unexpectedly, a big lump of a boy stood at the open kitchen door. He turned out to be Hitler's nephew, the son of his half-sister who had married a man named Raubal and still lived in Vienna. He was an ill-favoured lad and Hitler was somewhat displeased that I had seen him.

The Thierschstrasse flat was also where I first played the piano for Hitler. There was no room for a piano in my own place in the

Gentzstrasse, but in his hall I standing up against the wall, having a certain amount of were very few times when he man in the police headquarters come along and tell him what issued in connexion with his coming up that might affect him time that the Party was getting authorities, although this is violent campaign they carried at the beginning of 1923.

Be that as it may, Hitler himself witness in the frequent political before these sessions. He knew something to calm him. I was a terribly out of tune; but I played listening in a chair, nodding and started the prelude to the M Hitler's meat. He knew the tune whistle every note of it in a completely in tune. He started to move his arms as if he was conducting excellent feel for the spirit of a conductor. This music affected him crashed through the finale he was gone, and raring to get to grips with

I am a very fair pianist and a somewhat vehement turn of mind people would consider over-elastic Lisztian *florituri* and a fine roar Hitler liked. Probably one of the reasons for him for so many years, even when policies, was this particular gift the music he liked in exactly the effect with the little upright piano produce the ringing tones of a Steinway

~~It was crucial that he not expose his suitor so early.~~

1922

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Gentzstrasse, but in his hall there was a rickety little upright model standing up against the wall. This was at a time when Hitler was having a certain amount of trouble with the police, in fact there were very few times when he was not. There was a special branch man in the police headquarters who was a secret Nazi and used to come along and tell him whether there were any warrants being issued in connexion with his political activities or what cases were coming up that might affect him. There was also a suggestion at the time that the Party was getting funds from the French occupation authorities, although this is impossible to believe in view of the violent campaign they carried on after the occupation of the Ruhr at the beginning of 1923.

Be that as it may, Hitler had to appear from time to time as a witness in the frequent political trials and he was always strung up before these sessions. He knew I was a pianist and asked me to play something to calm him. I was a bit out of practice and the piano was terribly out of tune; but I played a Bach fugue, to which he sat listening in a chair, nodding his head in vague disinterest. Then I started the prelude to the *Meistersinger*. This was it. This was Hitler's meat. He knew the thing absolutely by heart and could whistle every note of it in a curious penetrating vibrato, but completely in tune. He started to march up and down the hall, waving his arms as if he was conducting an orchestra. He really had an excellent feel for the spirit of music, certainly as good as many a conductor. This music affected him physically and by the time I had crashed through the finale he was in splendid spirits, all his worries gone, and raring to get to grips with the public prosecutor.

I am a very fair pianist and I had good teachers, but being of a somewhat vehement turn of mind, I play with what a number of people would consider over-elaborate emphasis, with plenty of Lisztian *floriture* and a fine romantic swing. This was just what Hitler liked. Probably one of the main reasons why he kept me near him for so many years, even when we began to differ radically over policies, was this particular gift I apparently possessed of playing the music he liked in exactly the orchestral style he preferred. The effect with the little upright piano and the linoleum floor was to produce the ringing tones of a Steinway in Carnegie Hall.

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Exp.

1922

After that we had innumerable sessions together. He had no time for Bach and not much more for Mozart. There were not enough climaxes in the music for his turbulent nature. He would listen to Schumann and Chopin and liked certain pieces of Richard Strauss. Over the course of time I taught him to appreciate the Italian operas, but in the end it always had to be Wagner, Meistersinger, Tristan and Isolde and Lohengrin. I must have played them hundreds of times and he never grew tired of them. He had a genuine knowledge and appreciation of Wagner's music, and this he had picked up somewhere, probably in his Vienna days, long before I knew him. The seed may even have been sown in Linz, where at the beginning of the century there was a pupil of Liszt named Göllerich, who was the local orchestral conductor and a Wagner enthusiast, but wherever it was, it had become part of Hitler's being. I came to see that there was a direct parallel between the construction of the *Meistersinger* prelude and that of his speeches. The whole interweaving of *leitmotifs*, of embellishments, of counter-point and musical contrasts and argument, were exactly mirrored in the pattern of his speeches, which were symphonic in construction and ended in a great climax, like the blare of Wagner's trombones.

I was almost the only person who crossed the lines of his groups of acquaintances. Normally he kept them all in watertight compartments and never told them where he had been or where he was going or took any of them with him. Sometimes he asked me to accompany him to the Lauböcks for tea and had me sit down at their piano. I think it rather tickled his fancy to be able to produce someone with this accomplishment. Lauböck was a very loyal follower and as nationalist fervour in Bavaria increased kept a quantity of arms and ammunition hidden in his railway yards for the Nazis. He was always perfectly polite to me, but belonged to a sober group in the Party which resented the manner in which Hitler had taken to a person so different from themselves and considered it positively dangerous to the cause to have him frequenting the houses of my friends. Gottfried Feder even brought out a pamphlet which accused Hitler of preferring 'the company of beautiful women' to his obligations as the head of a working-class Party. This was a direct reference to my sister Erna, and particularly to my wife, for whom Hitler had

developed one of his theoretical large and tragic in this story.

It was on another occasion his photographer friend, the marches I had picked up at business about cheer leaders deliberate whipping up of the thousands of spectators at Harvard, rah, rah, rah!' in a sort of thing. I played him some of my own *Falarah*, to show how tunes, and gave them all the American brass-band music enthusiasm. "That is it, Harvard movement, marvellous," and a drum majorette. After the same thing. I even wrote a course of the years, including shirt columns as they marched the day he took over power. *Heil!* but that is the origin of of the blame.

One thing that became born of a vital factor in Hitler's education. I have said that he developed expressed itself in flowers and his eyes. She was probably the family he had ever met, but the attraction was physical. It self-dramatization, part of his insufficiency which may have been from a syphilitic infection during

At this early period the detail only sense that something was a volcanic store of nervous energy his almost medium-like performance of his women friends and acquaintances

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developed one of his theoretical passions, a tendency which will loom large and tragic in this story.

It was on another occasion, at the house of Heinrich Hoffmann, his photographer friend, that I started playing some of the football marches I had picked up at Harvard. I explained to Hitler all the business about cheer leaders and marches, counter-marches and deliberate whipping up of hysterical enthusiasm. I told him about the thousands of spectators being made to roar 'Harvard, Harvard, Harvard, rah, rah, rah!' in unison and of the hypnotic effect of this sort of thing. I played him some of the Sousa marches and then my own *Falarah*, to show how it could be done by adapting German tunes, and gave them all that buoyant beat so characteristic of American brass-band music. I had Hitler fairly shouting with enthusiasm. "That is it, Hanfstaengl, that is what we need for the movement, marvellous," and he pranced up and down the room like a drum majorette. After that he had the S.A. band practising the same thing. I even wrote a dozen marches or so myself over the course of the years, including the one that was played by the brown-shirt columns as they marched through the Brandenburger Tor on the day he took over power. Rah, rah, rah! became *Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil!* but that is the origin of it and I suppose I must take my share of the blame.

One thing that became borne in on me very early was the absence of a vital factor in Hitler's existence. He had no normal sex life. I have said that he developed an infatuation for my wife, which expressed itself in flowers and hand-kissings and an adoring look in his eyes. She was probably the first good-looking woman of good family he had ever met, but somehow one never felt with him that the attraction was physical. It was part of his extraordinary gift for self-dramatization, part of hidden complexes and a constitutional insufficiency which may have been congenital and may have resulted from a syphilitic infection during his youth in Vienna.

At this early period the details were unknown to me and one could only sense that something was wrong. Here was this man with a volcanic store of nervous energy, with no apparent outlet except his almost medium-like performances on a speaker's platform. Most of his women friends and acquaintances were the mother-type, Frau

Bruckmann and Frau Bechstein. There was another woman in her sixties I met, named Carola Hoffmann, who was a retired school-teacher and had a little house in the Munich suburb of Solln, which he and his cronies used to use as a sort of sub-headquarters, where the good lady mothered Hitler and fed him with cakes.

We used to think at one time that Jenny Haugg, his driver's sister, was his girl friend. She had a nice figure and big eyes and looked like a shopgirl, which indeed she was. She was a niece, or at least a relation, of Oskar Koerner and was an employee in his toy shop near the Viktualien Markt. Frau Anna Drexler, to whom I used to talk about it, said that Jenny and Adolf met at the house of a little jeweller named Joseph Fuess in the Corneliusstrasse, but that the girl had a youthful crush on Hitler which he in no way reciprocated. She even used to carry around a little pistol in an armpit holster as his voluntary extra bodyguard. When he had dinner with us in the Gentzstrasse he would go out on the balcony as the evening drew on and watch for his car to arrive. Jenny would often be sitting in the back seat waiting for him. They would drive off together, but I knew he was only going to a café to stay up talking half the night. A bit of petting may have gone on, but that, it became clear to me over the course of time, was all Hitler was capable of. My wife summed him up very quickly: "Putzi," she said, "I tell you he is a neuter."

One evening as we were walking home from the Café Neumaier, Hitler signalled to the others that he wanted to go ahead with me alone. I had been feeding him with ideas and items of news culled from the foreign press and had been agreeably surprised to find them cropping up in his speeches. The man was open to influence and I felt encouraged to continue exerting all I could. "Herr Hanfstaengl," he said, "you must not feel disappointed if I limit myself in these evening talks to comparatively simple subjects. Political agitation must be primitive. That is the trouble with all the other parties. They have become too professorial, too academic. The ordinary man in the street cannot follow and, sooner or later, falls a victim to the slap-bang methods of Communist propaganda."

I agreed wholeheartedly and told him that one of the things which had most impressed me with the conviction of his eventual success

was his ability to speak in his words. I told him, and in comparison, given the totally different that he reminded me of. They had a vigour and courage, a way of men, with a style of action that had endeared him to the plain you and your Party stand for violence," I went on. "It was things were said about Roosevelt the country with him." I told political life of telling catch-phrases buttressed by snappy headlines with a phonetic, alliterative in

"You are absolutely right to hammer my ideas into the newspapers ignore me utterly. I am a speaker with our miserable funds a week? We'll get nowhere with the great plans they had funds.

It must have been that even substantial help. About this time due to me for surrendering in New York to my partner. I sent an absolute fortune with Apparently there were two A their purchase could be financed come out as a daily in a full sum my dollars would make up to seem, and one morning I was in greenbacks, on the unders free loan. He and Hitler were Hanfstaengl, we shall never forget as they, as I felt that with its to a daily, my influence might broaden its outlook. I got

D.T. and for good cause. I did not know how to help him unleash himself—then were such thunderheads and honor-heads underneath.

1922

ARS

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was his ability to speak in homely terms, with a real punch behind his words. I told him, and it was not all that far-fetched a comparison, given the totally different conditions in the two countries, that he reminded me of Theodore Roosevelt. The former President had a vigour and courage, a vitality and familiarity with all manner of men, with a style of action and utterance which, being so direct, had endeared him to the plain folks. "People in Munich say that all you and your Party stand for is tumult and shouting, brutality and violence," I went on. "It may console you to know that all those things were said about Roosevelt, but he did not listen and carried the country with him." I told him of the effective use in American political life of telling catch-phrases and explained how this was buttressed by snappy headlines in the newspapers, putting ideas over with a phonetic, alliterative impact. *Seeu content **

P.T.

"You are absolutely right," Hitler replied. "But how can I hammer my ideas into the German people without a Press. The newspapers ignore me utterly. How can I follow up my successes as a speaker with our miserable four-page *Völkische Beobachter* once a week? We'll get nowhere until it appears as a daily." He told me of the great plans they had for this if only they could find the funds.

It must have been that evening that I decided to render more substantial help. About this time I received one of the instalments due to me for surrendering my share in the Academy Art Shop in New York to my partner. It was about \$1,500, but that represented an absolute fortune when converted into depreciated marks. Apparently there were two American rotary presses for sale, and if their purchase could be financed it meant that the *Beobachter* could come out as a daily in a full size format. I learnt that a thousand of my dollars would make up the required sum, incredible as it may seem, and one morning I went down and handed it over to Amann in greenbacks, on the understanding that it should be an interest-free loan. He and Hitler were beside themselves. "Such generosity. Hanfstaengl, we shall never forget this. Wonderful." I was as pleased as they, as I felt that with its transformation from a shrill pamphlet to a daily, my influence might serve to increase its appeal and broaden its outlook. I got a *Simplicissimus* cartoonist named

* alliteration - it was as if he had
come across the notion for the
first time, but now he

would use it.

no exclusive interest in the NSDAP
 element in paramilitary politics.
 engineering its paramilitary connections
 o leading figures on the paramilitary
 as crucial. His position in control of
 (the successor to the Freikorps unit,
 gave him responsibility for providing
 ie semi-secrecy involved in concealing
 ontrol – not difficult since there was
 ctions – also gave Röhm a great deal
 e of mainly small arms in 1920–21.
 wehr, and the official confiscation of
 nizations entrusted him with their
 h an arsenal, deciding when and if
 e 'machine-gun king' (*Maschinen-*
 was thus in a pivotal position with
 tary organizations. And, through the
 . and the Munich political police, he
 the politics of the nationalist Right.¹⁷
 ho arranged the agreement reached
 1921 which brought former members
 campaigners in paramilitary activity,
 tion in Upper Silesia, into the party's
 he leadership of the Ehrhardt veteran
 having a hand in 1922 in the murder
 ign Minister, of Jewish background
 policy' towards the Versailles Treaty,
 ,¹⁸ who was given the task of building
 rhardt with the funding to do this.
 'a matter of sport (especially boxing),
 arpshooter practice. The members –
 921, all under the age of twenty-four
 le class – combined this paramilitary
 ook the 'friend-foe' mentality of the
 y a civil war at home, preparing for
 ny, evoking the spirit of aggressive
 the leader.¹⁹ From the beginning, the
 a (initially linked to Ehrhardt) and
 dership contained the seeds of the

tension that was to accompany the SA down to 1934.²⁰ The interest of
 Röhm and Ehrhardt lay on the paramilitary side.²¹ Hitler tried to integrate
 the SA fully into the party, though organizationally it retained considerable
 independence before 1924.²² The build-up of the SA was steady, not spectacular,
 before the second half of 1922. It was after that date, in conditions of
 rapidly mounting crisis in Bavaria and in the Reich, that the SA's numbers
 swelled, making it a force to be reckoned with on the nationalist Right.²³

II

Hitler, meanwhile, now undisputed leader of his party, carried on his
 ceaseless agitation much as before, able to exploit the continued tension
 between Bavaria and the Reich. The murder of Reich Finance Minister
 Matthias Erzberger on 26 August 1921 – an indication of the near-
 anarchism that still prevailed in Germany – and Kahr's refusal to accept the
 validity for Bavaria of the state of emergency declared by Reich President
 Friedrich Ebert, kept things on the boil.²⁴ Material discontent played its
 own part. Prices were already rising sharply as the currency depreciated.
 Foodstuffs were almost eight times more expensive in 1921 as they had been
 at the end of the war. By the next year they would be over 130 times dearer.
 And that was before the currency lost all its value in the hyperinflation of
 1923.²⁵

Hitler's provocation of his political enemies and of the authorities to gain
 publicity was stepped up. In mid-September he led the planned violent
 disruption by his followers of a meeting in the Löwenbräukeller, to be
 addressed by one of his arch-enemies at the time, the separatist leader of
 the Bayernbund, Otto Ballerstedt. Hitler's arrival in the packed hall was
 the signal for his supporters, many of them young thugs from the 'Sport
 Section' who had taken up seats around the platform early in the evening,
 to storm the podium, screaming 'Hitler' continually in chorus, and prevent
 Ballerstedt from speaking. Someone had the idea of switching off the lights
 to prevent a brawl. But this only made the disturbance worse. When the
 lights went on again, Ballerstedt and another member of his party were
 physically attacked and injured before the police could arrive.²⁶ Even then,
 it seems, the police had to ask Hitler's help in calling his men to order. He
 was by this time happy enough to do so. The aim had been met. 'Ballerstedt
 won't speak any more today,' he declared.²⁷

The matter did not, however, end there. Ballerstedt pressed charges against

1922

Hitler, who was sentenced in January 1922 to three months' imprisonment for breach of the peace – two months suspended against future good behaviour (though conveniently forgotten about when the good behaviour did not materialize). Even his powerful friends could not prevent him serving the other month of his sentence. Between 24 June and 27 July 1922 he took up residence in Stadelheim prison in Munich.²⁸

Apart from this short interlude, Hitler did not let up with his agitation. Brushes with the police were commonplace. The police noted some thirty bans on publications, placards, and other Nazi publicity in 1921.²⁹ Even while awaiting trial in the Ballerstedt case, Hitler was warned by the police – in connection with Nazi disruption of an SPD meeting on 16 October and subsequent disturbances – that he could expect his expulsion from Bavaria if things carried on in the same way.³⁰ It was not to be the last time that expulsion was posed as a vain threat. Hitler simply commented that he could not be held responsible for the disturbances and promised to do what he could to prevent any in future.³¹ Within little over a week, on 4 November 1921, he was the centre of further riotous scenes, this time at a meeting he himself was addressing in the Hofbräuhaus. As a full-scale brawl broke out, Hitler continued speaking amid a hail of beer mugs that his opponents – socialists, but perhaps also including some veteran beerhall brawlers, spoiling for a fight – had been quietly storing beneath their tables as ammunition. He later idealized the scene in *Mein Kampf* as the 'baptism of fire' of his SA men, greatly outnumbered but triumphant over their socialist enemies.³² For Hitler, these violent clashes with his opponents were the lifeblood of his movement. They were above all good for publicity.

Hitler was still dissatisfied with the coverage – even of a negative kind – he received in the press.³³ Nevertheless, the actions of the NSDAP and its leader ensured that they remained in the public eye. Nor could the party any longer be ignored in the Bavarian Landtag. Following Kahr's resignation as Minister President in September 1921 – the consequence of his intransigence in the conflict with the Reich – the unpopularity and weaker stance towards Berlin of his successor, Hugo Graf Lerchenfeld-Koefering, an arch-conservative, from a non-party Catholic, aristocratic, and diplomatic background, provided an easy target for undiminished Nazi agitation throughout the first half of 1922.³⁴ This was no time for young Germans to spend studying philosophy and sitting behind a desk full of books, proclaimed Dietrich Eckart: it was a question now of 'into the stormtroops who must rescue Germany'. Open attacks on opponents became the order of the day. Rubber truncheons and knuckle-dusters were the main weapons, but pistols

and even, on occasion, home-made the campaign of violence.³⁵ Hitler directed at both the Reich and Bavaria was booed, whistled at, insulted, when he visited Munich in summer. President von Lerchenfeld – a man totally out of touch with reality and for genuine, born leaders.³⁷ While dire consequences if the Bavarian g Hitler made propaganda capital out of his war record, when he had for others had done no more than stay

On 16 August 1922, Hitler spoke to associations at a huge protest rally of Bayerns (United Patriotic Association) Munich. The rally, held under the direction at 'the approaching Jewish Republic',³⁹ was the first time that paramilitary formation under its own 800 or so men about this time – were, men of Pittinger's Bund Bayern formations of Bund Oberland and against Lerchenfeld in favour of them. There were rumours that this would rally against Lerchenfeld, planned for involving Pittinger and Röhm, which ban on the rally and the prevention associations from other parts of Bavaria thousand National Socialists assembled around 5,000 made their way to a Munich beerhalls where Hitler occurred running high. There were rumours. But nothing materialized. A thousand violence threatened. The police acted more against the Nazis than appeal to told his men that it was the duty of every agitator in order to bring the mass of the government.⁴¹ But at the request of them. They obeyed, quietly dispersing.⁴² Hitler

D.F. Yes, not only
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personal

22 to three months' imprisonment suspended against future good behaviour when the good behaviour bonds could not prevent him serving 124 June and 27 July 1922 he took nich.²⁸

He did not let up with his agitation. The police noted some thirty Nazi publicity in 1921.²⁹ Even Hitler was warned by the police of an SPD meeting on 16 October could expect his expulsion from bay.³⁰ It was not to be the last time at. Hitler simply commented that disturbances and promised to do

³¹ Within little over a week, on 4 other riotous scenes, this time at a Hofbräuhaus. As a full-scale brawl amid a hail of beer mugs that his including some veteran beerhall quietly storing beneath their tables in *Mein Kampf* as the 'baptism' of Hitler but triumphant over their not clashes with his opponents were above all good for publicity.

average – even of a negative kind – the actions of the NSDAP and its public eye. Nor could the party drag. Following Kahr's resignation – the consequence of his intransigent unpopularity and weaker stance of Lerchenfeld-Koefering, an arch-aristocratic, and diplomatic back-slit Nazi agitation throughout me for young Germans to spend a desk full of books, proclaimed of 'into the stormtroops who must nents became the order of the day. were the main weapons, but pistols

and even, on occasion, home-made bombs and grenades were also used in the campaign of violence.³⁵ Hitler kept up unabated his torrent of abuse directed at both the Reich and Bavarian governments. Reich President Ebert was booed, whistled at, insulted, and spat upon by Nazi demonstrators when he visited Munich in summer 1922.³⁶ Hitler poured scorn on Minister President von Lerchenfeld – a man with the brain of a sheep, he ranted, totally out of touch with reality and the will of the people, who clamoured for genuine, born leaders.³⁷ While his leading supporters hinted darkly at dire consequences if the Bavarian government expelled him from Germany Hitler made propaganda capital out of the threat of expulsion by pointing to his war record, when he had fought as a German for his country while others had done no more than stay at home and preach politics.³⁸

On 16 August 1922, Hitler spoke alongside other leaders of the nationalist associations at a huge protest rally of the Vereinigte Vaterländische Verbände Bayerns (United Patriotic Associations of Bavaria) on the Königsplatz in Munich. The rally, held under the slogan 'For Germany – Against Berlin', directed at 'the approaching Jewish Bolshevism under the protection of the Republic',³⁹ was the first time that the SA had appeared in public as a paramilitary formation under its own banners. Its numbers – no more than 800 or so men about this time – were, however, dwarfed by the 30,000 armed men of Pittinger's Bund Bayern und Reich, and by the large, well-armed formations of Bund Oberland and the Reichsflagge.⁴⁰ Talk of a putsch against Lerchenfeld in favour of the restoration of Kahr was in the air. There were rumours that this would take place at a further mass protest rally against Lerchenfeld, planned for 25 August. Indeed there *was* a plot, involving Pittinger and Rohm, which became known to the police, but a ban on the rally and the prevention of the armed bands of the nationalist associations from other parts of Bavaria travelling to Munich left only a few thousand National Socialists assembled on the Karolinenplatz. Eventually, around 5,000 made their way to a meeting in the Kindlkeller, one of the big Munich beerhalls where Hitler occasionally held speeches. Feelings were running high. There were rumours that a putsch was about to happen. But nothing materialized. A thousand Communists assembled outside, and violence threatened. The police acted against the Communists, but did no more against the Nazis than appeal to Hitler to calm things down. Hitler told his men that it was the duty of every single one of them 'to become an agitator in order to bring the mass of the people on to the street' against the government.⁴¹ But at the request of the police he called them to order. They obeyed, quietly dispersing.⁴² Hitler was said to be furious at the way

D.T. Yes, ~~no~~ limit to the darkness of the threat. Large (riot) and personal (murder).

the day had fizzled out into such an anticlimax. Next time he would act alone if necessary, he stated.⁴³ The danger of a Hitler Putsch was not lost on the authorities. The Württemberg ambassador in Munich reported to Stuttgart, following discussions in the Bavarian foreign ministry on 31 August: 'The National Socialists especially were gaining enormous support and were capable of anything. . . The leader Hitler must be quite a fascinating personality. So it's not impossible that they will try a putsch here before long, using the mounting inflation as an excuse.'⁴⁴

Hitler's most notable propaganda success in 1922 was his party's participation in the so-called 'German Day' (*Deutscher Tag*) in Coburg on 14-15 October. Coburg, on the Thuringian border in the north of Upper Franconia and part of Bavaria for only two years, was virgin territory for the Nazis. Hitler had been invited to take part in the German Day with a small delegation by the organizational committee of the Schutz- und Trutzbund. He saw it as an opportunity not to be missed. He scraped together what funds the NSDAP had to hire a special train - in itself a novel propaganda stunt - to take 800 stormtroopers to Coburg. In Hitler's compartment were the hard-core of his entourage - Amann, Esser, Eckart, Christian Weber, Graf and Rosenberg. On arrival on the Saturday afternoon, the Nazis were greeted at the station with shouts of 'Heil' by a sizeable gathering of nationalists and with a torrent of abuse from 200-300 socialist workers and trade unionists who had assembled at the same spot. The SA men were instructed by Hitler to ignore explicit police orders, banning a formation march with unfurled banners and musical accompaniment, and marched with hoisted swastika flags through the town. Workers lining the streets insulted them and spat at them. Nazis in turn leapt out of the ranks beating their tormentors with sticks and rubber truncheons. A furious battle with the socialists ensued. After ten minutes of mayhem, in which they had police support, the stormtroopers triumphantly claimed the streets of Coburg as theirs. The local authorities blamed the workers of Coburg for provoking the violence, but, with some contradiction, acknowledged that the other nationalists would have caused no problems and 'that the German Day would have passed by completely peacefully if the Hitler people (*Hitlerleute*) had not come to Coburg'.⁴⁵ For Hitler, the propaganda victory was what counted. The German Day in Coburg went down in the party's annals. The NSDAP had made its mark in northern Bavaria.

It was Hitler's second major success in Franconia within a few days. On 8 October, Julius Streicher, head of the sizeable Nuremberg branch of the *Deutsche Volksgemeinschaft*, had written to Hitler offering to take his

sizeable following, together with into the NSDAP.⁴⁶ In the wake place on 20 October. Streicher, in 1885 in the Augsburg area, 1 father had been, and, like Hitle Cross, First Class, was utterly po: after the war he had been one of the tische Partei (German-Socialist I as we noted in the previous chapter paper *Der Stürmer*, established obscene caricatures of evil-look and ritual-murder allegations, we comments, and view that 'the Jew picture - for a while be banned eventually tried at Nuremberg, a of vital importance for the development of the northern regions of Bavaria. Hitler.⁴⁸ The arch-rival DSP was Nazi Party practically doubled its about the beginning of 1921 and 6 some 20,000 strong.⁴⁹ More than Protestant, fervently nationalist, a the NSDAP with a stronghold of city of Munich in the Catholic south Nuremberg - later designated the little wonder that Hitler was keen publicly in *Mein Kampf*.⁵⁰

Even so, it was striking that, power was still limited. He showed his authority on the internecine strife of the NSDAP over the coming year nor even Hitler's personal intervention power-struggle erupting in the early his rival in Nuremberg, Walther I naval officer, good publicist and *sp* *Deutscher Volkswille* (German W pretensions to running the branch Streicher proved victorious. This was not keen to alienate, for a time

* P. 1. a complete and calculated move which was made after much deliberation and anxiety; no far a hero or a field-mane?

max. Next time he would act – of a Hitler Putsch was not lost assador in Munich reported to ivarian foreign ministry on 31 were gaining enormous support Hitler must be quite a fascinating y will try a putsch here before cuse.”⁴⁴

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sizeable following, together with his newspaper the *Deutscher Volkswill*, into the NSDAP.⁴⁶ In the wake of the Coburg triumph, the transfer took place on 20 October. Streicher, a short, squat, shaven-headed bully, born in 1885 in the Augsburg area, for a time a primary schoolteacher as his father had been, and, like Hitler, a war veteran decorated with the Iron Cross, First Class, was utterly possessed by demonic images of Jews. Shortly after the war he had been one of the founding members of the Deutschsozialistische Partei (German-Socialist Party), as antisemitic as the NSDAP and, as we noted in the previous chapter, with a similar programme. His newspaper *Der Stürmer*, established in 1923 and becoming notorious for its obscene caricatures of evil-looking Jews seducing pure German maidens and ritual-murder allegations, would – despite Hitler's personal approving comments, and view that 'the Jew' was far worse than Streicher's 'idealized' picture – for a while be banned even in the Third Reich.⁴⁷ Streicher was eventually tried at Nuremberg, and hanged. Now, back in 1922, in a step of vital importance for the development of the NSDAP in Franconia, in the northern regions of Bavaria, he subordinated himself personally to Hitler.⁴⁸ The arch-rival DSP was now fatally weakened in Franconia. The Nazi Party practically doubled its membership. From around 2,000 members about the beginning of 1921 and 6,000 a year later, the party was overnight some 20,000 strong.⁴⁹ More than that: the Franconian countryside – piously Protestant, fervently nationalist, and stridently antisemitic – was to provide the NSDAP with a stronghold far greater than was offered by its home city of Munich in the Catholic south of Bavaria, and a symbolic capital in Nuremberg – later designated the 'city of the Reich Party Rallies'. It was little wonder that Hitler was keen to express his gratitude to Streicher publicly in *Mein Kampf*.⁵⁰

Even so, it was striking that, away from his Munich citadel, Hitler's power was still limited. He showed himself quite incapable of exercising his authority on the internecine strife that dominated the Nuremberg branch of the NSDAP over the coming year. Neither arbitrary decree from Munich nor even Hitler's personal intervention could impose a solution on the bitter power-struggle erupting in the early months of 1923 between Streicher and his rival in Nuremberg, Walther Kellerbauer, nine years older, a former naval officer, good publicist and speaker, editor of a party newspaper, the *Deutscher Volkswill* (German Will of the People), and with his own pretensions to running the branch. After months of bitter wrangling, Streicher proved victorious. This was despite Kellerbauer, someone Hitler was not keen to alienate, for a time being able to call upon the party leader's

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28 Oct 1922

support.⁵¹ Hitler was the undisputed propaganda champion of the party. But away from his Munich base, his writ still did not always run.

This was in itself ample reason for the interest which his Munich following began to show in building up the leadership cult around Hitler. A significant boost to the aura of a man of destiny attaching itself to Hitler came from outside Germany. On 28 October 1922, Mussolini's Blackshirts had marched on Rome and seized power. At least that was the myth that was propagated. In reality, around 20,000 badly-armed, ill-equipped and hungry Fascists, approaching Rome from four directions, had halted around twenty miles from the city, some of them leaving for home in streaming rain. There was, in fact, no 'March on Rome', which the Italian army could in any case easily have crushed if necessary. On 29 October, King Victor Emmanuel III simply invited Mussolini to form a government. When the Fascist Leader arrived in Rome the following day he was wearing a black shirt, black trousers, and a bowler hat.⁵²

Mussolini's so-called 'March on Rome' on 28 October 1922 - fictitious though it was in the Fascist legend of a heroic 'seizure of power' - nevertheless deeply stirred the Nazi Party. It suggested the model of a dynamic and heroic nationalist leader marching to the salvation of his strife-torn country. The Duce provided an image to be copied. Less than a week after the *coup d'état* in Italy, on 3 November 1922, Hermann Esser proclaimed to a packed Festsaal in the Hofbräuhaus: 'Germany's Mussolini is called Adolf Hitler.'⁵³ It marked the symbolic moment when Hitler's followers invented the Führer cult.

III

Notions of 'heroic' leadership had been part of the political culture of the nationalist Right in the years before the First World War. The Bismarck cult, exaggerated hopes invested in the Kaiser and then dashed, grandiose images of Imperial grandeur and military glory contrasting starkly with counter-images of weak and puny party-politicians squabbling in the Reichstag, helped, as we have seen, to advance the idea of national salvation. A rebirth of the nation was promised through the subordination to a 'great leader' who would invoke the values of a 'heroic' (and mythical) past. The nationalist associations, most prominently the Pan-German League, popularized and disseminated such notions. The Protestant 'educated' middle classes were affected more than most by them. Germanic myths and

* The key was legend, the key was myth. Any little help to create or protect a myth is invaluable. "You are a good"

romantic imagery in the bourgeois cultivation among the young occupied a central position in Germany.

However, war and revolution leadership. The subsequent ideal trenches, and the 'great deeds' and for national survival - undermine provided a mass of new potential Right to the idea of a coming 'great' Ernst Röhm, whose background v thousands in his idolization of the For the neo-conservative Right, the nance of the detested Social Democratic parliamentary government, and (weakness meant an evocation of 'statesman'. Literary figures were 'heroic' leadership. The author Er future' as a 'modern man of profound outstanding intelligence', perhaps 'above parties and divisions', who the right path and overcome all of linked his vision of a coming League notions of 'renewal' arising from the threat from Asia.⁵⁵ Within the Protestant looked to the coming Leader to the revival. The fall of the monarchy a secularization of society, and the Protestantism all contributed to leadership which could reinvoke the various leadership images came publicist Wilhelm Stapel, a former member of the Hamburg group of neo-conservative Moeller van den Bruck, who depicted the same time ruler, warrior, and belief in salvation, wrapped up in

Whatever the particular emphasis juxtaposed the negative view of a true leader as a man of destiny, by conventional rules and laws, by

→ "I'm already here, I must become it, I am here"

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romantic imagery in the bourgeois youth movement provided a base for their cultivation among the younger generation. Even so, such ideas hardly occupied a central position in German political culture before 1914.

However, war and revolution gave new substance to images of 'heroic' leadership. The subsequent idealization of the 'community of fate' in the trenches, and the 'great deeds' and heroism of 'true' leadership in the struggle for national survival - undermined, according to the legend, from within - provided a mass of new potential adherents on the counter-revolutionary Right to the idea of a coming 'great leader'. Images of leadership varied. Ernst Röhm, whose background we have briefly glimpsed, stands proxy for thousands in his idolization of the leadership of the military 'man of action'. For the neo-conservative Right, the shock of the Revolution and the dominance of the detested Social Democrats, contempt for the 'party system' and parliamentary government, and Germany's international humiliation and weakness meant an evocation of Bismarck in the yearning for a great 'statesman'. Literary figures were among the most expressive advocates of 'heroic' leadership. The author Ernst Jünger saw 'the great politician of the future' as a 'modern man of power' in the 'machine era' - 'a man of outstanding intelligence', perhaps emerging from a party, but standing 'above parties and divisions', whose natural instinct and will would select the right path and overcome all obstacles.⁵⁴ The Bonn writer Ernst Bertram linked his vision of a coming Leader, in a poem composed in 1922, with notions of 'renewal' arising from the banks of the Rhine and staving off the threat from Asia.⁵⁵ Within the Protestant Church, there were those who looked to the coming Leader to bring about spiritual renewal and moral revival. The fall of the monarchy and collapse of 'God-given' authority, the secularization of society, and the perceived 'crisis of faith' in German Protestantism all contributed to a readiness to look to a new form of leadership which could reinvoke 'true' Christian values. The shadings of the various leadership images came together in the tract of the nationalist publicist Wilhelm Stapel, a former liberal turned *volkisch* enthusiast, member of the Hamburg group of neo-conservatives associated with the ideas of Moeller van den Bruck, who depicted the 'true statesman' as 'at one and the same time ruler, warrior, and priest'.⁵⁶ It amounted to a secularized belief in salvation, wrapped up in pseudo-religious language. *And loves this.*

Whatever the particular emphasis, the conservative and *volkisch* Right juxtaposed the negative view of a 'leaderless democracy' with a concept of a true leader as a man of destiny, born not elected to leadership, not bound by conventional rules and laws, 'hard, straightforward, and ruthless', but

he already, "I told him, "But you must become a genius at deception, it is to say, be able to lie

and fanatically requires the courage of a genius.

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embodying the will of God in his actions. 'God give us leaders and help us to true following,' ran one text.⁵⁷ Devotion, loyalty, obedience, and duty were the corresponding values demanded of the followers.

The spread of fascist and militaristic ideas in post-war Europe meant that 'heroic leadership' images were 'in the air' and by no means confined to Germany. The emergence of the Duce cult in Italy provides an obvious parallel. But the German images naturally had their own flavour, drawing on the particular elements of the political culture of the nationalist Right. And the crisis-ridden nature of the Weimar state, detested by so many powerful groups in society and unable to win the popularity and support of the masses, guaranteed that such ideas, which in a more stable environment might have been regarded with derision and confined to the lunatic fringe of politics, were never short of a hearing. Ideas put into circulation by neo-conservative publicists, writers, and intellectuals were, in more vulgarized form, taken up in paramilitary formations and in the varied groupings of the bourgeois youth movement. The model of Mussolini's triumph in Italy now offered the opening for such ideas to be incorporated into the vision of national revival preached by the National Socialists.

The Führer cult was not yet the pivot of the party's ideology and organization. But the beginnings of a conscious public profiling of Hitler's leadership qualities by his entourage, with strong hints in his own speeches, dates back to the period following Mussolini's 'March on Rome'.⁵⁸ Hitler was beginning to attract fawning excesses of adulation - even stretching to grotesque comparisons with Napoleon - from admirers on the nationalist Right. The ground for the later rapid spread of the Führer cult was already well fertilized.⁵⁹

There had been no trace of a leadership cult in the first years of the Nazi Party. The word 'leader' ('Führer') had no special meaning attached to it. Every political party or organization had a leader - or more than one. The NSDAP was no different. Drexler was referred to as the party's 'Führer', as was Hitler; or sometimes both in practically the same breath.⁶⁰ Once Hitler had taken over the party leadership in July 1921, the term 'our leader' ('*unser Führer*') became gradually more common.⁶¹ But its meaning was still interchangeable with the purely functional 'chairman of the NSDAP'. There was nothing 'heroic' about it. Nor had Hitler endeavoured to build up a personality cult around himself. But Mussolini's triumph evidently made a deep impression on him. It gave him a role-model. Referring to Mussolini, less than a month after the 'March on Rome', Hitler reportedly stated: 'So will it be with us. We only have to have the courage to act.

Without struggle, no victory! also reflected how his supporters portrayed him, in fact came to see himself in that light. The new way he was being portrayed in December 1922 that the *Völkisch* to claim that Hitler was a spirit whom Germany was waiting. I were said 'to have found socialism'.⁶² By Hitler's thirty-fourth head of the SA, Hermann Göring the time of his military training this time), wildly egocentric, the glamour of the World War I links to the aristocracy to the leader of the German freedom takable.⁶³ Political opponents: on Hitler himself is plain. Eck Hitler near Berchtesgaden in the 1923, that Hitler had 'megalomania and Neroism', after he had all Berlin with Christ throwing signs can be read into the letter to his party leader on 10 August 'anarchy in the allocation of placing himself above the people we have no understanding for concluded'.⁶⁷

During 1923 there are indications perception was changing. He had been in earlier years with leadership. Leader of Germany. At no time he unambiguously claim those in his speeches hint that the edited the 'Leader' might be starting

In November 1922, Hitler's According to the police report however, he went on to speak and could, if found wanting,

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

career that have puzzled historians: for years he refused to pose for pictures and he insisted on using a false name.

Normally, aspiring young politicians do not go to extraordinary lengths to conceal their identity or hide themselves from the public. But for several years after he had made his "momentous" decision in 1919 to enter politics, Hitler refused to have his picture taken. He did so, we are suggesting, because he was too unsure of his own image to have it "set" by photography. As late as 1922 a picture of Hitler was so rare that an American photographic agency offered a professional German photographer \$100 for a picture of him. (The going rate at that time for a photograph of President Ebert was \$5.) The American agency's surprise over the discrepancy was no doubt increased when it learned that the asking price in Germany for a good snapshot of Hitler was \$30,000. Posed pictures were simply unavailable.⁶¹ Also during these years Hitler preferred not to use his real name. He asked people to call him "Herr Wolf"; he repeatedly referred to himself as the "nameless fighter" of the Western Front. It was only after he gained control over the Party that the nameless and faceless period was over. He had established his identity at last as the Messiah and Leader of the Germans. He then became the most photographed political leader in the world—but he never got over the need of creating other images and playing at play-acting.

Hitler As an Actor

While he sometimes smiled sardonically at his own theatrics, there was an intensity about them that was little touched by humor. He never wanted people to find out who he really was. When he felt that they might be getting close, he would change his characterization and appear as somebody else, lying to his associates in order to conceal his own private thoughts. He worked at his acting and sometimes rehearsed the part he would play in meeting a stranger he wanted to impress or control:

Hitler: What does he expect?

Hess: Authority, of course. You can speak at length. Your will is unshakable. You give laws to the age.

Hitler: Then I'll speak with a firm voice.

Hitler would try a few sentences. Hess would listen carefully and comment, "No, not like that. Quiet. No passion, commanding. It is Destiny that is speaking. . . ." Hitler would try again with a firmer voice. After six or seven minutes he would stop, already somewhat moved by his own acting. "Good, now I think we have it," he would say.⁶²

Hitler's thundering temper tantrums were famous—and, upon occasion, carefully staged. For he knew the shattering effect his outbursts could have on certain types of people, particularly upon the quiet and

From Private Neurosis

introspective.⁶³ Whether he could be appropriate.

Hitler himself as "the greatest actor" involving Hjalmer H. Schacht had come in threatened to resign. on and pleaded with Schacht was deeply bidding. But the mc Hitler turned to his always sabotaging ev

On another occasion in intimidation Hitler staged another foreign affairs recaller. I realize that Hitler's had the door closed on laughed and said to sation. His Cabinet wii

Later in the war, commented, "I have : 'hypnotize' Quisling to

Throughout his c with intensity and con as a very different p impressed almost all of

To the sophisticated balanced man, filled found him "charming sense." The British his view thoroughly "conv elegant and precise A elegant and precise appears tail "masterful." ⁶⁷

The cynical Herm confided first to a colle: time I face him my h Hitler had turned again out of the Party, Görir

⁶³ There was one notable Generalissimo Franco of Spain and said that rather pulled—and that, as we have Spaniard, Hitler was "an actor on a stage and one co Franco: *The Man and His*

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

es "permit sexual substance become contaminated with

being poisoned by a Jew— medical treatment—and the racial poisoning is man- ings. Only a few examples

s into the nation. . . . A driven into the outermost y by a mysterious power.

of this poison is removed

ite the bloodstream of our

position among people and

with the Motherland, Hitler ate an unconscious desire of "seizing power" in Ger- country, saying that he had at the *Wolfsschanze* on the r the hundredth time the a nation in order "to con-

estimate that he could not ad." 37

a man who wishes to be a furious torrent, a devastating thing except a man. —Jean-Paul Sartre

misunderstand when they : too far with the Jewish to his system, and not one to it. It was the justifi- Theodor Heuss observed, economics was to Marx. s of history." For Marx, racial conflict. Marx con- proletariat; Hitler called

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

the Jew the enemy of the *Volks*. To Marx the final goal was a Communist society; for Hitler the goal was a racially pure community.³⁸

In Hitler's mind, anti-Semitism was joined indissolubly with nationalism and socialism to form the mystical trinity of his ideology. As he put it in an early speech:

Socialism can only be carried out in association with nationalism and anti-Semitism. The three concepts are inseparably bound together.³⁹

Hitler was an opportunist and a cynic about many things. But not about anti-Semitism. The depth and intensity of his hatred was revealed in a conversation of 1922. In talking about Jews, Hitler was suddenly "seized by a sort of paroxysm" and promised that when he came to power he would see to it that every Jew in Germany would be killed. The method of the murders shows Hitler's continuing personal concern about filth, stench, putrefaction, and strangulation:

As soon as I have the power, I shall have gallows after gallows erected, for example in Munich on the Marienplatz . . . Then the Jews will be hanged one after another, and they will stay hanging until they stink. They will stay hanging as long as hygienically possible. As soon as they are untied, then the next group will follow and that will continue until the last Jew in Munich is exterminated. Exactly the same procedure will be followed in other cities until Germany is cleansed of the last Jew! ⁴⁰

Anti-Semitism was an ideological conviction and an obsession. But it was even more than that. It was, as Hitler said, "a personal thing." He wanted personally to be involved in punishing the Jewish people: "I regret that I am Chancellor of the Reich. I would like to be a young SA or SS man and be able to meet the Jews with doubled-up fists or bludgeon."⁴¹ As we have seen, the single word "Jew" was enough to trigger violent emotional reactions.

Hitler tried to externalize his hatred and fear of Jews, but he never managed to do so. Remarkably revealing phrases indicate that he felt Jewishness to be an evil within himself, a poison to be purged, a demon to be exorcised. Thus, in a speech of 17 April 1920, he said that it was imperative to get rid of the poison "within us" (*Wir müssen das Gift . . . in uns ausmerzen*). In a conversation during the 1930s he despaired of ever doing so. The Jew, he said, is "an invisible demon" who can never be eradicated because, Hitler concluded bitterly, "the Jew is always within us [*Der Jude sitzt immer in uns*]."⁴²

German historians have recognized the importance of Hitler's personal anti-Semitism but have been unable to explain it. Certainly there were "practical" and "rational" reasons for Hitler's anti-Semitism: as a political opportunist he saw, quite rightly, that it was smart politics

1922
and the captain soon developed a liking for one another. A year later (1922) Göring was leader of the new party army. Hitler might have had better trained and more experienced officers than this aviator. But with a sure instinct, he preferred this wild, unrestrained fellow, because he was more compatible with Hitler and the whole movement. Moreover, he was a bridge to good society, and politically that was of the greatest importance. Perhaps it was not entirely without bearing that Göring occasionally, in private and *sub rosa*, lent his leader money; this pecuniary aid began with millions, then rose to billions and finally trillions, for the inflation was raging through Germany.

With it raged murder, the most hideous and, for a time, the most effective weapon of the counter-revolution. The very moment the Citizens' Defense and its offspring had to go underground, they became the army of the murderers again, more so than ever. Matthias Erzberger, former Reich Minister of Finance, fell while taking a walk in the Schwarzwald on August 26, 1921, and the killers escaped through the dark woods. On November 11, 1918, Erzberger had signed the armistice in Marshal Foch's railway coach, because the military leaders lacked the courage to seal their defeat with their own signatures. As a man and as a political figure, he was not beyond reproach; but he had at least one deed of historic importance to his credit: he had given Germany a unified financial administration after the war, had made the 'federal states' financially dependent on the Reich and so helped to break down their semi-sovereignty. By this financial and political unification of the German Empire, point 24 of Hitler's program (strong central power) had to a large extent been taken care of thirteen years before Hitler came to power. It was for this — and because he was too able, too successful, briefly, too dangerous — that Erzberger was killed by Hitler's own men. The first leader of Hitler's private army, Johann Ulrich Klintsch, most probably an accomplice, was in prison for a while; but in the end the killing of Erzberger was another of those deeds of the secret murderers' army that was never avenged.

'The man who leads the German people leads it with his head, and his head is a pledge,' said Hitler at a public meeting in October. Promptly more revolvers went off, this time against a leader of the

Munich Social Democrats by the name of Aue; night saved the intended victim, but, as usual, his. The Social Democrats were up in arms and decided to the National Socialists once and for all. Each they marched several hundred strong to the Hall. Hitler was scheduled to speak. Hitler ordered his sport division to throw the visitors out by force. He ventured an interruption, shouting the word 'National Socialists under the leadership of Rudolf He A brawl ensued. The National Socialists were in and would probably have got the worst of it, if the police had not, as always, come to their assistance. On, the National Socialist private army was known as *teilung* (Storm Division), or S.A.

It was the time when Hitler had just had a unification he had proved to be the successful prophet of it justified by events. His forecast that Germany was in the basin of Upper Silesia, despite her success in the true, October 20, 1921. The Allies, basing themselves on Nations' report, gave the larger part of the sum to Germany, but that part, with about four fifths of industry and most of the coal mines, was given by decision, by the way, made against the will of the

From now on for twelve years the National Socialist was to be the negative barometer of Germany's : it was bound to grow with the decline of the country's rise. This was the picture of Hitler's success: the crowds; the crowds attracted money. Financial when the enterprise began to look promising.

Success and money finally won for Hitler control over the National Socialist Party. He had grown the founders; they — Anton Drexler among them — limit him and press him to the wall. But it turned out too late. He had the newspaper behind him, the growing S.A. At a certain distance, he had

¹ The word *Freiheit* (liberty) was used by the Germans as a greeting and cheer. (Trs.)

possible hidden by his escort. When he entered a meeting hall, he darted down the aisle of yelling supporters often with his coat collar turned high; and on the speaker's platform in the hard light of the gas lamps he was a lank figure, gesticulating in his shabby black business suit, hardly recognizable from below. Disfigured for about a year by a pointed beard, his face then in no way suggested the mask that was later to become famous. Photographs of him were not to be seen anywhere.

Once when Heinrich Hoffmann, the photographer, snapped Hitler as he was entering his car, two strong men rushed at the surprised photographer and seized his camera. Hitler approached, polite and embarrassed, and requested Herr Hoffmann not to publish the picture—Herr Hoffmann did not publish it.

1922
X Hitler was afraid of being recognized, convinced that a murderer lurked at every corner. Anyone who recognized the inconspicuous figure in the yellow trench coat and stared for so much as a moment would receive a glance, burning with hatred, suspicion, and rage. Hitler was afraid of his fame.

X How many victims had he delivered to the muzzles of the firing squads! He knew more about all the murders in the woods and in speeding automobiles at night than any state's attorney ever dared to find out. He wanted lamp-posts full of corpses, and promised to send heads rolling from the scaffold. Through Rudolf Hess, his friend and admirer, he had his own supporters spied upon, their weak and dark points marked down on index cards. At the head of a few hundred followers, he had fallen upon little provincial towns and chased political enemies or unfortunate Jews through the streets. But in between these adventures, he went his ways unknown; a little man, casting a giant shadow on the sky.

The minister had sent for this man. Hitler knew he was going to see his enemy; the minister was Doctor Franz Schweyer, who six months before had wanted to deport him to Austria. Nevertheless he went; it isn't every day that a minister asks you to call, and he knew that the invitation was a sign of respect and fear; fear of the man whom virtually no one knew and who aroused the curiosity of millions. The minister for his part knew that the captains and majors in the Reichswehr were constantly playing with plans for a

A. T.

*I will protect you
I did, even if the
attempts*

putsch; he knew that these volatile and spent their evenings in the back rooms of the Munich Cathedral, reckoning how it needed to arrest a government, to occupy a telegraph office, to block six bri guns in the most important corner wind city. This was the world in which the you lived, and everyone knew it. And the unk coat, with the unexpressive mustached face was mysteriously involved in all these force, a confidence of victory, incomprehension to emanate from him.

All this was known to the minister. H responsible general, Franz von Epp, favor also knew that the really active force was and he suspected that Captain Röhm and the hung together like twins. What kind of support did not support but was forever there Schweyer, the calm, gray-bearded minister, to Berlin. Others had written; the Social the Reich had complained. Reluctantly the a former mayor, had called his generals to Berlin generals had conducted a hasty and in Munich. They had separated Röhm from had subjected him to the immediate supervi mandant of Bavaria. And to the latter pos man, disinclined to adventures: General Ot cal man, diplomatic and sly, believing in r profession. Röhm and Epp accused one at tween the two a coolness arose which laste exerted a decisive influence on National Soc of the counter-revolution, was accused of n armament sales. Apparently nothing could subsequently claimed to have been rehabilit later, in autumn, 1923, he resigned from the followed him.

The new commandant of the Reichswehr.

be gagged. He ventured to hint that it might be better if Hitler were not always accompanied by the blond creature who did not fit into the modest social circumstances of the National Socialist province. This was too much for Hitler. Were they going to forbid him his private life? Was Munder drawing an innocent young girl into the debate? Attacking a defenseless woman? If this *gauleiter* was such a petty bourgeois, he was useless; with fine morals and family feeling you do not build up a National Socialist movement. The quarrel went on for years; finally Munder was dismissed (1928).

1922
The beauty of life, independence, money! That was the deepest reason why Hitler sat on his magic mountain, left the party more or less to its vicissitudes, and piled up the pages of a thick manuscript. In 1922, he had sat down to write a work to be entitled *A Reckoning*. What he meant was a reckoning with his own friends, the lukewarm and the three-quarters warm, the apparent allies and bitter rivals. Dietrich Eckart had already written a book about him. It was called *Bolshevism from Moses to Lenin*; Hitler, introduced as a speaker, explains how Judah tried to conquer the world; first with the help of the Ten Commandments; then (this was only hinted rather shamefacedly) by Christianity; finally through Marxism and Bolshevism; for Hitler and Eckart had no doubt that Lenin was a Jew. Then Gottfried Feder, the 'breaker of interest-slavery,' had written a book about the party aims and arrogated to himself the right to proclaim and interpret the basic doctrine of National Socialism as the highest intellectual arbiter; he had not even bothered himself about the sacred party program of the twenty-five points, but based his book on a draft program which he himself had written in the old days. He had declared the diabolical omnipotence of banking capital, Judah's world domination through loan interest, to be the key to world history. Alfred Rosenberg, embittered over so much dry economics, had thereupon himself written a book about the aims of the party, holding strictly to the twenty-five points; following his teacher Chamberlain, he laid far more emphasis on race in world history, the inequality of human types, the superiority of the Germanic. But in one thing the rivals had been tacitly agreed: there must be an intellectual authority

which would definitely fix the party's air orator and strategist, was not this intellect

Thus he, too, had to write something for his book, *A Reckoning*. The underlying arose unconsciously and characteristically: youth. He saw it as a hard struggle for salvation. In his account he became a symbolically oppressed German masses; the German fragmentation, a victim of the race by inferior peoples, particularly the Jew borne Germany's suffering — as he saw runs through the book, not always easy to vilification and barren, long-winded meditation for God and discovers himself. This is exactly Soloviev's Antichrist; he too, like Hitler third year, a book in which he claimed to

For the book tried to give an answer to ing of life, and that is its significance; than the particular political remarks, which been taken too seriously. The actual content is that young Hitler thanked God on his part that he declared success to be the highest wrong; that he regarded the pitiless extension the premise of all culture; that he demanded individual in the nation; and that finally thinning mist, is sucked up by the radiant shining over all things.

He wrote a good part of the work in dictating it at first to his friend, Emil Maurice Hess did more than take dictation. He man of flawless manners. His admiration person and, like an expert secretary, he tried as easy as possible for the author; when clogged or his store of knowledge was helpful suggestions. Having enjoyed a Hess had a mature contempt for bloated it right and proper that his leader — who

hint that it might be better if Hitler led by the blond creature who did not circumstances of the National Socialist ch for Hitler. Were they going to for- as Munder drawing an innocent young acking a defenseless woman? If this urgeois, he was useless; with fine morals not build up a National Socialist move- on for years; finally Munder was dis-

endence, money! That was the deepest is magic mountain, left the party more id piled up the pages of a thick manu- down to write a work to be entitled neant was a reckoning with his own the three-quarters warm, the apparent rich Eckart had already written a book *olshevism from Moses to Lenin*; Hitler, plains how Judah tried to conquer the of the Ten Commandments; then (this shamefacedly) by Christianity; finally sheivism; for Hitler and Eckart had no 2. Then Gottfried Feder, the 'breaker of a book about the party aims and arro- to proclaim and interpret the basic doc- as the highest intellectual arbiter; he iself about the sacred party program of ased his book on a draft program which the old days. He had declared the dia- king capital, Judah's world domination the key to world history. Alfred Rosen- uch dry economics, had thereupon him- he aims of the party, holding strictly to owing his teacher Chamberlain, he laid n world history, the inequality of human : Germanic. But in one thing the rivals here must be an intellectual authority

which would definitely fix the party's aims; and Hitler, the great orator and strategist, was not this intellectual authority.

Thus he, too, had to write something and that was how he began his book, *A Reckoning*. The underlying thought of the first chapter arose unconsciously and characteristically: Hitler described his own youth. He saw it as a hard struggle for self-assertion and self-education. In his account he became a symbol of the socially and politically oppressed German masses; he himself was a victim of German fragmentation, a victim of the racial conquest of Germany by inferior peoples, particularly the Jews. In his person he had borne Germany's suffering—as he saw it. A metaphysical line runs through the book, not always easy to find amid all the vulgar vilification and barren, long-winded meditations; here a man seeks for God and discovers himself. This is exactly what had happened to Soloviev's Antichrist; he too, like Hitler, had written in his thirty-third year, a book in which he claimed to be the Savior.

For the book tried to give an answer to the question of the mean- ing of life, and that is its significance; this is far more important than the particular political remarks, which for the most part have been taken too seriously. The actual content of the confused book is that young Hitler thanked God on his knees for the World War; that he declared success to be the highest criterion of right and wrong; that he regarded the pitiless extermination of the weak as the premise of all culture; that he demanded the immersion of the individual in the nation; and that finally the nation, in turn, like a thinning mist, is sucked up by the radiance of the individual genius shining over all things.

He wrote a good part of the work in the fortress of Landsberg, dictating it at first to his friend, Emil Maurice, later to Rudolf Hess. Hess did more than take dictation. He was then twenty-seven, a man of flawless manners. His admiration for Hitler filled his whole person and, like an expert secretary, he tried to make everything as easy as possible for the author; when Hitler's flow of thoughts clogged or his store of knowledge was wanting, Hess was rich in helpful suggestions. Having enjoyed a fair academic education, Hess had a mature contempt for bloated school learning; he found it right and proper that his leader—who far surpassed him in sheer

1922

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

suicide of his beloved niece, Geli, he found meat repulsive. He confided to others, however, that all his life he had been plagued by excessive perspiration and had discovered as a young man that when he ate no meat there was a great improvement; he did not sweat so much, and there were fewer stains on his underwear. He was also convinced that eating vegetables improved the odors of his flatulence—a condition which bothered him a great deal.

Hitler also believed that a vegetable diet would prolong his life and increase his stamina. Elephants, he observed, lived longer than lions; horses outran dogs, who get tired, pant, and drool. Then, too, Wagner had been a vegetarian, and Hitler announced: "I don't touch meat largely because of what Wagner says on the subject."⁶⁸

Only rarely did he drink wine or beer, and never stronger spirits. As he testified at his trial in 1924, "I am almost a complete teetotaler and only take a swallow of water or beer because of the dryness of my throat." After he became prominent, he had a special dark beer of less than 2 percent alcohol content especially brewed for him in the Holzkirchen Brewery of rural Bavaria.⁶⁹

Wolves

Among his other obsessions, Hitler was fascinated with wolves. As a boy he was well pleased with his first name, noting that it came from the old German "Athalwolf"—a compound of Athal ("noble") and Wolfa ("wolf"). And "noble wolf" he sought to remain. At the start of his political career he chose "Herr Wolf" as his pseudonym. His favorite dogs were Alsatians—in German *Wolfshunde*. One of Blondi's pups, born towards the end of the war, he called "Wolf" and would allow no one else to touch or feed it. He named his headquarters in France *Wolfsschlucht* (Wolf's Gulch). In the Ukraine his headquarters were *Werwolf* (Man Wolf), and in East Prussia *Wolfsschanze* (Wolf's Lair)—as he explained to a servant, "I am the Wolf and this is my den." He called his SS "My pack of wolves." Later he would recall with exaltation how in the early days of the movement his Storm Troopers pounced upon the opposition "like wolves" and were soon "covered with blood."

In an article in his party newspaper written in 1922, Hitler used an unusual metaphor to describe how the crowds began to react to him: they began to realize, he said, "that now a wolf has been born, destined to burst in upon the herd of seducers and deceivers of the people." He had his sister Paula change her name to Frau Wolf. The special agent he chose to supervise purchases for his Linz Library and Museum was a Dr. Wolfhardt (literally, "hard wolf"). He approved of naming the Volkswagen factory "Wolfsburg."

When he telephoned Winifred Wagner, he would say, "Conductor Wolf calling!" The secretary he kept longer than any other (more than

The Image and the Man

20 years) was Johanna Wolf. She all other secretaries formally as called her "Wölfin" (She-Wolf). O Walt Disney movie. Often and : Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?—wanted to eat people up and blow t

Why this infatuation with wolf feelings of inadequacy and depen himself as the lone wolf—tough remorseless, and strong? Were t his life, he was so attracted to wo in later chapters.

HITLER AS RELIGIOUS LE

Since Hitler saw himself as a M Germany from the incarnate evil t prising that he likened himself to 1920s, as he lashed about him wi said that "in driving out the Jew temple." At another time he said, own people. . . ."

At a Christmas celebration i compare his own historical impo Christ had changed the dating of victory over the Jews would marl history of the world. "What Chr "would complete." And in a spee the Lord's Prayer in promising th come on earth, and that his would He added that if he did not fulfill me."⁷¹

He liked to remind his follo came in 1919, when he undertoc during the preceding autumn, as l he had received a supernatural v Germany. And through the years l importance of the year 1919. In t of the Wehrmacht on 23 Novem with the same idea:

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athal wolf

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those who sympathized with the aims of his Party, but their amount and importance have been exaggerated. Not until considerably later did he succeed in touching the big political funds of the German industrialists in the Ruhr and the Rhineland. In fact, the Nazi Party was launched on very slender resources.

Nazism was a phenomenon which thrived only in conditions of disorder and insecurity. While these had been endemic in Germany ever since the defeat of 1918, two new factors made their appearance in 1923 which brought the most highly industrialized country of continental Europe to the verge of economic and political disintegration: the occupation of the Ruhr and the collapse of the mark.

By the autumn of 1922 the German Government professed itself unable to continue paying reparations and requested a moratorium. The French Government of Poincaré used the technical excuse of a German default in deliveries of timber to move French troops into the industrial district of the Ruhr on 11 January 1923. To cut off 80 per cent of Germany's steel and pig-iron production and more than 80 per cent of her coal from the rest of Germany, as the French proceeded to do, was to bring the economic life of the whole country to a standstill.

The result of the French occupation was to unite the German people as they had never been united since the early days of the war. The German Government called for a campaign of passive resistance, which, before long, became a state of undeclared war. The weapons on one side were strikes, sabotage, and guerrilla warfare, and on the other arrests, deportations, and economic blockade.

The occupation of the Ruhr gave the final touch to the deterioration of the mark. The savings of the middle classes and working classes were wiped out at a single blow with a ruthlessness which no revolu-

The Years of Struggle, 191
tion could ever equal. Even dropped it was impossible to his family—and work, in all found.

The violence of Hitler's abrupt, Jew-ridden system which to happen, the bitterness of sailable settlement and on the which had accepted it, found and despair of large classes

Hitler saw the opportunity was more difficult to see how and turn the situation to his. Socialists could overthrow if Hitler succeeded in uniting anti-republican groups in Bavaria. He succeeded in securing the patronage of the patrolling forces—the most obvious being the Bavarian Government and the District Commissioner. He devoted a march on Berlin. He devoted out 1923 to achieving these two

In the early months of 1923 French occupation of the Ruhr behind the Government. In the he wrote: 'So long as a nation the assassins within its borders can be possible. While writers are directed against France, the of the German people lurks within the nation. . . . Down with the with all their nonsense about a

With the tide of national sentiment against the French, and in support of the call for resistance, this was to take. To make people listen to the call, five thousand of the S. Munich for a demonstration at 1923. The authorities promptly

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The violence of Hitler's denunciations of the cor-
rupt, Jew-ridden system which had allowed all this
to happen, the bitterness of his attacks on the Ver-
sailles settlement and on the Republican Government
which had accepted it, found an echo in the misery
and despair of large classes of the German nation.

Hitler saw the opportunity clearly enough, but it
was more difficult to see how to take advantage of it
and turn the situation to his own profit. The Na-
tional Socialists could overthrow the Republic only
if Hitler succeeded in uniting all the nationalist and
anti-republican groups in Bavaria, and if he suc-
ceeded in securing the patronage of more powerful
forces—the most obvious being the Bavarian Govern-
ment and the District Command of the Army—for
a march on Berlin. He devoted his energies through-
out 1923 to achieving these two objectives.

In the early months of 1923 he was afraid lest the
French occupation of the Ruhr might unite Germany
behind the Government. In the *Völkischer Beobachter*
he wrote: 'So long as a nation does not do away with
the assassins within its borders, no external successes
can be possible. While written and spoken protests
are directed against France, the real deadly enemy
of the German people lurks within the walls of the
nation. . . . Down with the November criminals,
with all their nonsense about a United Front.'

With the tide of national feeling running high
against the French, and in support of the Govern-
ment's call for resistance, this was an unpopular line
to take. To make people listen to him, Hitler sum-
moned five thousand of the S.A. Stormtroopers to
Munich for a demonstration at the end of January
1923. The authorities promptly banned it. Hitler be-

early
1923

uld march, even if the police
an Government retorted by
n on twelve meetings which
fter the demonstration. Fi-
al Otto von Lossow, com-
hr in Bavaria, had satisfied
could be relied on to fire on
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ne ban was lifted and Hitler

first Party Day, 25 January
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up to a high pitch of military efficiency, and Röhm
flung himself into the task of expanding and training
the S.A. with such effect that by the autumn of
1923 it numbered fifteen thousand men.

For Hitler, on the other hand, the S.A. was not just
a disguised Army reserve; these were to be *political*
troops used for political purposes. With shrewder in-
sight than Röhm and his friends, Hitler saw that to
rebuild Germany's national and military power, it
was necessary to begin by capturing political power
in the State, and the S.A. were to be used for that
purpose.

Early 1923

In Hitler's speeches of early 1923, his hatred was
still directed, not against the French, but against
the Republic, which he depicted as a corrupt racket
run by the Jews at the expense of the national in-
terests. No accusation against the Jews was too wild
for him, but his most bitter scorn was reserved for
the 'respectable' parties of the Right who hesitated
to act. But Hitler's speeches were not even reported
in the Press.

The French occupation of the Ruhr still continued,
but by fall, 1923, the initial mood of national unity
on the German side had gone. Encouraged by the
growing disorder, and the increasingly strained rela-
tions between Munich and Berlin, Hitler renewed his
agitation in August. The fact that Gustav Strese-
mann, the new Chancellor, was known to be anxious
to end the exhausting campaign of passive resistance
in the Ruhr and Rhineland enabled Hitler to change
front. He now adopted the more popular line of
attacking the Berlin Government for the betrayal of
the national resistance to the French, as well as for
allowing the inflation to continue.

On 2 September, the anniversary of the German
defeat of France at Sedan in 1870, a huge demonstra-
tion celebrated German Day at Nuremberg amidst
scenes of great enthusiasm. All the Patriotic Associa-

ing the parade Hitler stood at
ff, and afterwards flayed the
acteristically violent speech.
ce was important. His reputa-
ilitary figure of the war and an
of the Republic made him the
g extremists, while he still en-
stige in the Army. There was
to preside over a union of the
us patriotic leagues, and Hitler
ed close relations with the old
ast. Ludendorff was invincibly
less in matters of politics. He
as on the worst possible terms
Rupprecht, the Bavarian Pre-
y attacked the Church in the
Germany. But at least he was
n of Bavarian separatism, and
was an asset from Hitler's
fully managed, he could bring
's support without entrenching
y.

at Nuremberg had immediate
. The same day a new German
(sicher Kampfbund) was set up
ed over the old signatures of
(nd Oberland), Captain Heiss
dolf Hitler. The object of this
en the Nazis and the Patriotic
is declared to be the overthrow
blic and of the *Diktat* of Ver-

a head on 26 September when
the decision of the Reich Gov-
campaign of passive resistance
ionally and to lift the ban on
to France and Belgium. This
wise decision, intended as the

9/12/23

preliminary to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. But it was also the signal the Nationalists had been waiting for to stir up a renewed agitation against the Government. 'The Republic, by God,' Hitler had declared on 12 September, 'is worthy of its fathers. . . . Subserviency towards the enemy, surrender of the human dignity of the German, pacifist cowardice, tolerance of every indignity, readiness to agree to everything until nothing remains.'

On 25 September the leaders of the Kampfbund—Hitler, Göring, Röhm, Kriebel, Heiss, and Weber—had already met. Hitler put his point of view and asked for the political leadership of the alliance. So strong was the impression he made that both Heiss and Weber agreed, while Röhm, convinced that they were on the edge of big events, next day resigned his commission and finally threw in his lot with Hitler.

Hitler's first step was to put his own fifteen thousand S.A. men in a state of readiness and announce fourteen immediate mass meetings in Munich alone. Whether he intended to try a *coup d'état* is not clear, but Knilling, the Bavarian Minister-President, was thoroughly alarmed. On 26 September the Bavarian Cabinet proclaimed a state of emergency and appointed Gustav von Kahr, one of the best-known Bavarian Right-wing politicians with strong monarchist and particularist leanings, as State Commissioner with dictatorial powers. Kahr promptly banned Hitler's fourteen meetings and refused to give way when Hitler, beside himself with rage, screamed that he would answer him with bloody revolution.

In the confused events that followed 26 September and led up to the unsuccessful putsch of 8-9 November, the position of two of the three parties is tolerably clear. Hitler consistently demanded a move on Berlin to be backed by the political and military authorities in Bavaria, but aiming at the substitution of a new régime for the whole of Germany. The twists and hesitations in Hitler's conduct arose from

ld not carry such a plan
g Kahr and Lossow, the
ria, to join him.
in Berlin had to face the
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eak with one voice, and on
Friedrich Ebert conferred

emergency powers upon the Minister of Defence, Otto
Gessler. This meant that the Army assumed the ex-
ecutive functions of the government and undertook
the responsibility of safeguarding both the security
of the Reich and the inviolability of the Republican
Constitution. An attempt by Hitler—or anyone else
—to carry out a march on Berlin would be met by
force, with the Army on the side of the Government.

But there was a third party to be taken into ac-
count, the civil and military authority in Bavaria
represented by Kahr and Lossow. The existence of
this third factor, and the uncertainty of the policy
Kahr and Lossow would adopt, gave Hitler a chance
of success. Although the Bavarian Government had
appointed Kahr to keep Hitler in check, relations be-
tween Munich and Berlin were strained. It was the
action of the Bavarian Government in conferring
dictatorial powers on Kahr which had led the Reich
Government to declare a state of emergency itself,
and Kahr's intentions were suspect in Berlin.

Kahr's aims are still far from clear. He was at-
tracted by the idea of overthrowing the Republican
régime and installing a conservative government
which would give Bavaria back her old monarchy.
At other times he played with the possibility of
breaking away from the Reich altogether and estab-
lishing an independent South German State. If Kahr
could only be persuaded to help overthrow the Re-
publican régime in Berlin, Hitler had every hope of
double-crossing his Bavarian allies once he was in
power. It was equally possible for Kahr to use Hitler
and the forces of the Kampfbund. An uneasy alliance
developed between Kahr and the Nazis, each trying
to exploit the other's support. Once again the critical
decision lay with the Army, this time with the local
commander in Bavaria, General von Lossow. Like
Kahr, however, Lossow never quite succeeded in mak-
ing up his mind until events decided for him.

In October 1923, the quarrel between Munich and

1923

barracks have been occupied, troops and police are marching on the city under the swastika banner.' No one could be certain how far Hitler was only bluffing. There were six hundred S.A. men outside, and a machine gun in the vestibule. Leaving Göring to keep order in the hall, Hitler pushed Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser into a side room. Meanwhile Scheubner-Richter, Ludendorff's liaison man with Hitler, was driving through the night to fetch General Ludendorff, whom Hitler wanted as the figurehead of his revolution.

Hitler, who was wildly excited, began the interview with Kahr and his companions in melodramatic style: 'No one leaves this room alive without my permission.' He announced that he had formed a new government with Ludendorff (who actually knew nothing of what was happening). Waving his gun, Hitler shouted: 'I have four shots in my pistol. Three for my collaborators if they abandon me. The last is for myself.' Setting the revolver to his head, he declared: 'If I am not victorious by tomorrow afternoon, I shall be a dead man.'

The three men were less impressed than they should have been. They found it difficult to take Hitler's raving at all seriously, despite the gun and the armed guards at the windows. Hitler was making little progress. Now, leaving the room without a word, he dashed into the hall and announced that the three men had agreed to join him in forming a new German government.

His speech was another piece of bluff, but it worked. The announcement that agreement had been reached completely changed the mood of the crowd in the hall, which shouted its approval: the sound of cheering impressed the three men who were still held under guard in the side room.

As Hitler returned to them, Ludendorff appeared. He was thoroughly angry at Hitler for springing this surprise on him, and furious that Hitler had made himself the dictator of Germany, leaving Ludendorff

with the command of an army. But he kept himself under national event, he said, and others to collaborate. Hitler turn back; our action is pages of world history.'

In apparent unity they a While the audience cheered a brief speech, swore loyalty.

Barely had this touching been completed than Hitler quarrel which had started with Bund Oberland tried to occupy racks. By a bad error of judgment without taking proper precautions began to pour out of the exit self on the grounds that he issued issue orders, and left under Kahr and Seisser. It was till Lossow or Kahr that night.

By morning Hitler's seveners of the S.A. and Kampfb three thousand men, for cons to come in from the country. While his own bodyguard of Social Democratic *Münchener* machines, the Reichskriegsfla ership, seized the War Ministry wire and machine guns.

Hitler came to Röhm before council of war with Ludendorff. As time passed, however, the the absence of any news from were at a loss what to do next the 19th Infantry Regiment's answer; nor did the messengers was allowed to pass without key position, apart from Röhm

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Army headquarters. Finally, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, Pöhner and Major Hühnlein were dispatched to occupy the police headquarters, but were promptly arrested instead, together with Frick.

As General von Lossow returned from the Bürgerbräukeller, Seeckt telegraphed from Berlin that if the Army in Bavaria did not suppress the putsch, he would do it himself. There was considerable sympathy with Hitler and Röhm among the junior officers from the rank of major downwards, but the senior officers were indignant at the insolence of this ex-corporal, and in the end discipline held. Orders were sent out to bring in reinforcements from outlying garrisons. Kahr issued a proclamation denouncing the promises extorted in the Bürgerbräukeller and dissolving the Nazi Party and the Kampfbund. From Crown Prince Rupprecht came a brief but pointed recommendation to crush the putsch at all costs, using force if necessary. Rupprecht had no use for a movement which had Ludendorff as one of its leaders.

By the morning of 9 November it was clear that the attempt had miscarried. At dawn Hitler returned with Ludendorff to the Bürgerbräu, leaving Röhm to hold out in the War Ministry. Ludendorff, convinced that the Army would never fire on the legendary figure of the First World War, had persuaded Hitler that they must take the offensive and try to restore the position by marching on Lossow's headquarters. Once he stood face to face with the officers and men of the Army, Ludendorff was convinced that they would obey him and not Lossow. Meanwhile troops of the Regular Army had surrounded Röhm and his men in the centre of the city, but both sides were reluctant to open fire.

Shortly after eleven o'clock on the morning of 9 November, a column of two or three thousand men left the Bürgerbräukeller and headed for the centre

of the city. At the head of a swastika flag and the banner In the first row marched Hitler, Scheubner-Richter, and Ulrich Weber, Feder, and Kriebel or men carried arms, and Hitler his hand. Crowds thronged to an atmosphere of excitement. Streicher, who had been hanged at Marienplatz, climbed down to second rank. Rosenberg and the sole representative of the Nazis, who had arrived that morning on urgent summons, trudged on to rest. The column swung down the strasse, singing as it went. In the Ministry, where Röhm was at half past twelve.

The police, armed with carbines, formed a cordon across the end of the column debouching on to the street. Stormtroopers completely outnumbered the narrowness of the street, bringing their superior numbers to bear. The first has never been settled. Ullrich and shouted to the police officers, 'Hitler and Hitler are coming,' 'Surrender!' At this moment a hail of bullets swept the street. One man alone kept his head.]

The Great Crisis (1918-1919)
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of the city. At the head of the column fluttered the swastika flag and the banner of the Bund Oberland. In the first row marched Hitler, between Ludendorff, Scheubner-Richter, and Ulrich Graf on one side, Dr Weber, Feder, and Kriebel on the other. Most of the men carried arms, and Hitler himself had a pistol in his hand. Crowds thronged the streets and there was an atmosphere of excitement and expectation. Julius Streicher, who had been haranguing the crowd in the Marienplatz, climbed down to take his place in the second rank. Rosenberg and Albrecht von Graefe, the sole representative of the North German Nationalists, who had arrived that morning at Ludendorff's urgent summons, trudged unhappily along with the rest. The column swung down the narrow Residenzstrasse, singing as it went. Beyond lay the old War Ministry, where Röhm was besieged. The time was half past twelve.

The police, armed with carbines, were drawn up in a cordon across the end of the street to prevent the column debouching on to the broad Odeonsplatz. The Stormtroopers completely outnumbered the police, but the narrowness of the street prevented them from bringing their superior numbers to bear. Who fired first has never been settled. Ulrich Graf ran forward and shouted to the police officer: 'Don't fire, Ludendorff and Hitler are coming,' while Hitler cried out: 'Surrender!' At this moment a shot rang out and a hail of bullets swept the street. The first man to fall was Scheubner-Richter, with whom Hitler had been marching arm-in-arm. Hitler fell, either pulled down or seeking cover. The shooting lasted only a minute, but sixteen Nazis and three police already lay dead or dying. Göring, badly wounded, was carried into a house. Weber, the leader of the Bund Oberland, stood against the wall weeping hysterically. All was confusion, neither side being at all sure what to do next. One man alone kept his head. Erect and unperturbed,

11/9/23

General Ludendorff, with his adjutant, Major Streck, by his side, marched steadily on, pushed through the line of police and reached the Odeonsplatz beyond.

The situation might still have been saved, but not a single man followed him. Hitler at the critical moment lost his nerve. He scrambled to his feet, stumbled back towards the end of the procession, and allowed himself to be pushed into a yellow motor-car which was waiting on the Max Josef Platz. He was undoubtedly in great pain from a dislocated shoulder, and probably believed himself to have been wounded. But there was no denying that under fire the Nazi leaders broke and fled. All but two of the killed and wounded were in the following ranks, exposed to the fire by the action of their leaders in taking cover.

Two hours later Röhm was persuaded to capitulate and was taken into custody. Göring, badly wounded, was smuggled across the Austrian frontier by his wife. On 11 November Hitler was arrested at Uffing, where he was being nursed by Hanfstängl's wife.

In many ways the attempt of 8-9 November was a remarkable achievement for a man like Hitler who had started from nothing only a few years before. In less than a couple of hours on the night of 8 November he had transformed the political situation in Bavaria and made a revolution by sheer bluff. It evidenced political talent of an unusual kind.

But the mistakes had been gross. Worst of all, from Hitler's point of view, was the contrast between his own behaviour under fire and that of Ludendorff, who, in the sight of all, had marched steadily forward and brushed aside the police carbines with contemptuous ease.

The truth is, however, that Hitler's plans had miscarried long before the column set out for the Odeonsplatz. He had never intended to use force; from the beginning his conception had been that of a revolution in agreement with the political and military

authorities. 'We never revolted against the Army; we believed we should succeed by our own preparations had been by arms. The *coup* was not planned and Lossow into action it was only hesitation, back. Again and again when the moment came the Army nor the police on the Odeonsplatz reached the premises upon which they were constructed. From the beginning Lossow and Kahr had known that the attempt was a desperate chance that a show of force would bring the Army back to his side. But it was to be a demonstration, or was prepared with the Army.

Never was Hitler's position shown more than in the war. The trial was held for a conspiracy in which the prosecution—Kahr, Lossow, and Frick—were almost as deeply involved as the story was one which in Bavaria were only too public. Hitler exploited

The trial began before the war, in 1924. During the war it was front-page news and many foreign correspondents were in Munich. For the first time Hitler's frontiers of Bavaria.

From the first day of the political initiative and the necessities for the prosecution the simple device of as

1923?

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

3 November 1940, he pro-
 as had for many decades.
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 the slogan of a weak and
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of the reasons the Führer
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vailing tone of Hitler's concentration camps. But brutality was also a
 virtue to be cultivated in the training of Hitler's elite SS, as shown in
 the following characteristic excerpts from the memoirs of a member of
 the Waffen SS:

There was a special method of humiliating a man. If anyone, while
 filling cartridges into a charger, let a cartridge fall to the ground,
 he had to pick it up with his teeth. I made up my mind that I
 would not do that. They can do what they like with me, I said, but
 I will not pick up a cartridge with my teeth; I shall use my hand.
 Naturally I took care not to let the situation arise and determined
 to do everything I could not to let a cartridge fall to the ground. One
 day of course it happened. On these occasions no one gives an
 order; the N.C.O. simply turns down his thumb and the man con-
 cerned knows what he has to do. In my case of course he turned
 down his thumb—and I bent down and picked the cartridge up with
 my hand. He rushed at me like a wild animal, stuck his face close
 up to mine so that there was hardly an inch between his nose and
 mine and bellowed whatever came into his head. Of course I could
 not understand a word because he was bellowing so loud that he
 was choking. Eventually I gathered that he was yelling: "Have
 you forgotten what to do?" When he had finished bellowing he
 handed me over to the deputy section commander. . . .

[The recruit was forced to do physical exercise to the point of
 exhaustion; he was then ordered to do 50 deep knee-bends while
 holding his rifle out at arm's length.]

After twenty knee-bends I stopped counting. I just couldn't go on.
 I did one more knee-bend and then I lowered my rifle and stood up.
 I can't say that I thought this out; I just knew that I was all in.
 I heard him bellowing all over again but that left me cold because
 suddenly I could control myself no longer. I felt I had to weep
 although I knew that it was neither manly nor soldierly. I couldn't
 answer his questions because I was so shaken with sobbing that I
 couldn't speak. I was not in a rage and I was not in pain. I had just
 had enough. When he saw that he bellowed: "Look at this!" and
 then: "Mollycoddle! Mother's little darling! Cry baby! Who's ever
 heard of an SS man blubbering! All our dead will turn in their
 graves! Is this what we're trying to take to war—etc. etc." Then
 "assembly" was blown and the training period ended. He ordered
 me to clean out all the first floor latrines for a week and then
 report to him so that he could inspect them. And straightaway he
 ordered: "Chuck this cartridge away." I did so, and then without
 even waiting or looking to see whether he had turned his thumb
 down I picked it up with my teeth. . . . 81

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

who at the same time sought to protect him. King Kong is thus a very effective expression of his sadomasochism.³⁰⁶

Hitler's childlike game of having his valet tie his tie for him and tighten it while he counted to ten is, psychologically, a rather complex phenomenon. It speaks of many things. One of them is revealed in the research of psychoanalysts who have discovered that playing games involving ropes around the neck—or, presumably, neckties—is a form of eroticism and masturbation. As noted earlier, the game is also a way of acting out, and thus rendering more innocuous, fears of death by strangulation or suffocation. Often in these games patients reveal incestuous desires and Oedipal guilt, which are "assuaged through the masochistic brush with death." But for present purposes let us emphasize that one of Hitler's favorite games was a kind of substitute suicide, the ultimate masochistic resolution.³⁰⁷

1926
Hitler's generalized sadomasochistic impulses were carried over directly to his conduct with women. The whip that he habitually carried for many years is, of course, a traditional symbol of sadomasochism. Hitler's whips were associated with mother substitute figures; his three favorite ones were all given to him by motherly women. We also know that he used whips violently in scenes involving women who were about as young as Klara had been when she married Alois. Heinrich Hoffmann's daughter, for example, remembered clearly that when she was a 15-year-old girl in pigtails and flannel nightgown, Hitler, who was visiting their home, asked for a good-night kiss. When she refused, he beat his hand viciously with his whip.³⁰⁸ In 1926, apparently in order to impress Mimi Reiter, a 16-year-old girl, he whipped his dog so savagely that she was shocked by his brutality.

1923
Another curious episode took place in June 1923 in Berchtesgaden where he was staying at the Pension Moritz. Frau Büchner, the wife of the proprietor, was a striking, six-foot-tall, blond Brünnehilde who towered over Hitler and inflamed him sexually. He tried repeatedly to attract her attention by striding up and down in front of her as he swung his whip and beat it against his thigh. The more she ignored him, the more agitated he became. Almost beside himself, he spoke loudly about an experience he had had in Berlin which showed, he said, the decadence and moral depravity of the Jews. As he lashed about him with his whip, he cried, "I nearly imagined myself to be Jesus Christ when He came to His Father's temple and found it taken over by the moneychangers. I can well imagine how He felt when He seized a whip and scourged them out." This story was told by Dietrich Eckart, the close friend and admirer of Hitler.³⁰⁹

Thus, while Hitler used his whip in lashing out at others, he also—according to this testimony and that of his private pilot—whipped himself, beating his boots or thighs in moments of excitement. Even after he stopped carrying it, he told his valet that he considered the whip to be his personal symbol.³¹⁰

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The Child As Father to the Mar

There is other evidence to talk about physical. The German film star invited to spend the night scribed in great detail the victims. Then, after they were condemned himself as unwhis own head, and just gross scene became intolerable to kick him. This excited him excited.³¹¹

Hitler's sadomasochistic with a coprophilic perv united. By having young degraded both himself and victims, "who became the persecutor who attacks

Hitler's fixation on the and urine (see p. 148f) c pleasure can be stimulated retention or expulsion of himself enemas; it seems similar to those patients shown, find it pleasurable another person defecate or reaction he got from women seems to have been his eupropriately shocked, for ex was made from Parisian tion with feces and filth, I punctilious personal cleanliness.

He enjoyed talking al interested in deviate sexualported that his friend chat customs."³¹²

He employed the san that he used against feel Jewishness: denial, projec projection can be given l phrase, he accused Jewish in the face of humanity."

graphs depicting gross tybering. He said that the m they must be of Jewish ex

In a table conversati of lashing out against sex

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PATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

ical program as soon as one at-

d by the same writer: "Two motifs
s of the *Oberländer*: the sacredness
Führerschicht, which must be ac-
force which will achieve the goal
gheit] of all." ¹⁵²

Corps leader set forth his political
for the delicacy of the language
lection of the Freebooter mind ad-
:

for all these damned revolutionary
g their heads in their own shit. ¹⁵³

nt contributions to the coming of
helped mightily to undermine and
in democracy. Positively, they con-
to positions of power in the Third
arty leadership came from veterans
the battles of the war and postwar
well-developed leadership principle,
d youth programs, and the concept

y in the realm of the spirit. Their
their exaltation of power and bru-
ler's Reich.

was written in 1919 by a man who
Walther Mehring, who became one
ts, wrote the verse in bitter para-
which foretold atrocities to come:

l go . . .
a ho, ho, ho . . .
d throw out the Jews
son gas . . .
der in the mass. ¹⁵⁵

HMENT

also helped clear Hitler's path to
rt the democratic alternative or by

cause it saw in him a useful tool
e more responsible military leaders
e value they had seen in Hitler and

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and History

suggested that the Nazi idea of militarism was not really very different
from the army's:

The Army . . . considered [Hitler] to be the right man to work up
into a fury, passions . . . against Versailles. Actually, he trumpeted
nothing different from their own call for power. . . ¹⁵⁶

There was, of course, no doubt whatever in the mind of the High
Command that it could order the former private first class to do its
bidding.

At lower echelons of the Army, Hitler was supported with even
greater enthusiasm. As noted, almost one-half of the leadership of the
Nazi Party had been veterans of war or postwar fighting. A noncom-
missioned officer spoke for thousands of his comrades in giving his
reasons for following Hitler:

We . . . did not join the Storm Troopers for many rational con-
siderations, or after much contemplation. It was our feelings that
led us to Hitler. What . . . our hearts compelled us to think was
this: Hitler, you're our man. You talk like [a man] who's been
at the Front, who's been through the same mess we have . . .
like us, an unknown soldier. . . ¹⁵⁷

The Navy, if anything, was more adamant than the Army in its
opposition to the Republic. One incident reflects its attitude. Immedi-
ately after the Ehrhardt Free Corps Brigade—with swastikas painted
on their helmets—had marched into Berlin during the Kapp Putsch of
1920 to overthrow the republican government, the Navy incorporated
whole units of the brigade. ¹⁵⁸

The civil service, which had proved so sedulous in supporting
Prussian kings and German emperors, showed no such loyalty to the
Republic. In every department of government, officials continued to fos-
ter nationalist, antidemocratic ideas. Continuity in both attitude and
personnel from Second to Third Reich was striking. In the Foreign
Office, for example, of the 15 most important German missions abroad
in 1929, only one (London) was in the hands of a Weimar appointee
—all the others had once sworn allegiance to the emperor. Hitler saw
no need for changing the personnel in carrying out his aggressive poli-
cies. In 1939, of nine divisional chiefs of the diplomatic corps who
endorsed Hitler's war, only one had been a Nazi appointee. ¹⁵⁹ Nor was
there any basic change in the judicial system. The Republic retained
all the laws of the empire as well as its judges. As a leading authority
on German law during the period has noted, "Between the new [repub-
lic] and the old Reich the judicial relationship is not one of succession,
but one of identity." ¹⁶⁰

Documents of the Weimar period show clearly that while some

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

Physical
description

1923?

second-class Viennese cafe. Barely five feet, nine inches tall, he weighed, during his better days, about 150 pounds. But he had a tendency to put on flabby weight, and his posture deteriorated through the years. His shoulders were narrow, his chest somewhat sunken with skin white, shiny, and hairless. Deficiencies of his torso gave rise to unfounded rumors that he wore special padding in his uniform. His legs were unusually short, his knees slightly knocked and quite chubby, his feet very large. He did not appear to his best advantage in the baggy riding britches and huge jackboots he often wore. His walk was rather mincing; he tended to drag his left foot. He wore a Charlie Chaplin mustache.

He was fascinated by his hands, which were finely structured with long, graceful fingers. He also took special interest in the hands of others. In his library there was a well-thumbed book containing pictures and drawings of hands belonging to famous people throughout history. He liked particularly to show his guests how closely his own hands resembled those of Frederick the Great, one of his heroes. He was convinced that he could judge people's character and loyalty on the basis of their hands. On meeting someone for the first time, he would not only stare carefully into the stranger's eyes but also closely examine his hands. Men would gain favor or disfavor on the basis of the shape and nature of these extremities. Those of Professor Ludwig Troost, his architect of modest talent, were very strongly formed. Hitler admired them greatly.

When his Eagle's Nest in the Kehlstein was being built, a piece of rock shaped like a hand was found. Hitler was intrigued with it. He called it the "Hand of Wotan" and had it mounted in a special case, almost as if it were a holy relic.⁵

Hitler's hair was very dark brown, almost black. He parted it on the right side, his famous forelock falling over the left temple. His nose was large and coarse. His bushy mustache was cut just wide enough to help conceal the offending feature. His teeth were brownish-yellow and covered with fillings and bridges. He shielded his mouth with his hand when he laughed.

The most impressive feature of his otherwise coarse and rather undistinguished face was his eyes. They were extraordinarily light blue in color with a faint touch of greenish-gray. Almost everyone who met him mentioned his strangely compelling eyes. This includes Robert Coulondre, the French ambassador, and the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann who, when first introduced to Hitler, stared into his famous eyes and later told friends, "It was the greatest moment of my life!" Martha Dodd, daughter of the American ambassador, was not disappointed in the famous eyes, finding them "startling and unforgettable. . . ."⁶

Hitler himself often observed that his eyes were very like those of his mother. Her eyes, in turn, reminded him of the Medusa—whose glance, it will be recalled, turned men to stone or impotence. Hitler was

The Image and the Man

absolutely enthralled with Franz von Stuck's striking Medusa of terrifying eye. On seeing it for the first time, he exclaimed, "Those eyes, Hanfstaengl! Those eyes of my mother!"

He knew the power of his own slightly protruded, whose lashless eyelids added to their curiously hypnotic practiced piercing glances in front of a mirror and used to meet strangers. At dinner or at the tea table he would down a guest. His architect, Albert Speer, appeared the game too: "Once when we were seated at the round house, Hitler began staring at me. Instead of dropping it as a challenge. Who knows what primitive instincts such staring duels? I had had others and always won but this time I had to muster almost inhuman strength forever, not to yield to the ever mounting urge to Hitler suddenly closed his eyes, and turned to the waiter."

His eyes had always been impressive. A boyhood that in Adolf's countenance

the eyes were so outstanding that one didn't not Never in my life have I seen any other person's —how shall I put it—was so completely dominating. They were the light eyes of his mother but her's penetrating gaze was even more marked in the more force and expressiveness. It was uncanny could change their expression, especially when ing. . . . In fact, Adolf spoke with his eyes, and were silent one knew what he wanted to say. With to our house and I introduced him to my mother the evening, "What eyes your friend has!" And I distinctly that there was more fear than admiration. If I am asked where one could perceive, in his exceptional qualities, I can only answer, "In the eyes."

Women in particular continued to be impressed by his eyes. Nietzsche's sister, typically, was fascinated them: "They . . . searched me through and through." quality remained to the end. A young military adjutant Führer just before Hitler killed himself in 1945 was of the appearance of "a sick, almost senile old man." But still effective: "Only in his eyes was there an indescribable brightness . . . and the glance he gave me was strange." Hitler's library shows that he was very much study of heads. Many of his books were devoted to the of phrenology and craniology. His own head, undersold held particular fascination for him. An American reports that Hitler summoned a group of medical scientists

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THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Prussian Academy also gave its support. One member of the academy called Hitler the long-awaited "charismatic leader"; another described him as "a Doric German" and "Frederician personality." Gerhart Hauptmann, Germany's leading playwright, displayed a swastika flag on his house; Gottfried Benn, Germany's finest living poet, urged his fellow intellectuals, in February 1933, to applaud this "victory of the national idea . . . this new version of the birth of man." He found in Hitler's totalitarian state "the complete identity of *Macht* and *Geist* . . . of freedom and necessity."¹⁰⁰

The intellectuals had never given republican leaders similar praise or support.

CONSEQUENCES OF INFLATION AND DEPRESSION

Two economic crises helped precipitate the fall of the Republic and the rise of Hitler: the inflation of 1923 and the Great Depression of 1930-1933.

Although the value of German money had declined steadily since the end of the War, the French invasion of the Ruhr in January 1923 resulted in such a catastrophic plunge that by late summer the once stable mark quite literally was worth less than the paper it was printed upon. Statistics can never convey human despair, but they can give some indication of the economic distress suffered by the German people. In 1973, Americans came to think of inflation as a threefold increase in prices—ground beef that once cost 50¢ a pound rising to \$1.50. In Germany in 1923 it rose to the equivalent of \$10,000. A pound of potatoes that had cost 12 pfennig in 1918 cost 2 million marks by the summer of 1923. People quite literally could not afford food, clothes, medical care, or decent burial for their dead. A student who set out for the university with a check to cover room and board for the opening term might find, on arrival, that all his money would not buy one secondhand textbook.¹⁰⁰

Those who relied upon fixed incomes, modest investments, and savings accounts experienced not only economic disaster but a deep crisis in values. For with the "death of money" there also died confidence in personal philosophies of life. Consider the experience, let us say, of Hans Schmidt, proud owner of a corner grocery store. His two sons and daughter have been scarred by early memories of childhood hunger in the terrible "turnip winter" of 1916-1917, and the blockade of 1918-1919; they have also been shaken by defeat, revolution, and the *Versailles-Diktat*. But through the turmoil of their lives they find stability and assurance in their father's authority. They trust his values and are reassured by his promises. He has told them that their future is secure. For as a result of his hard work, moderation, discipline, and thrift, he can pass on the business to Klaus. The 60,000 marks he has saved in the bank will mean that Fritz can attend the university and may perhaps become a *Herr Doktor*; Hilda is assured of owning her own beauty shop. Then, one day in the fall of 1923, Herr Schmidt

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receives a note from the savings of 60,000 marks; a postage stamp is enclosed to sign, symbol, and guarantee Schmidt's preachments about thrift and thrift are so much demand solutions—imposed youth in the 1920s: "Radi shall see, they joined Hitler."

Like other Germans, Hitler was responsible; more specifically, for the economic disaster. A more tangible blame were to be placed on the German friend who recalled persuasive propaganda. The business was caused by "spe-

"Who speculates? The clear distinction between the Germans, who first reflection in our first propaganda. It hammers combination of word Jews.' . . . When inflation for Fascism was compared for the Nazis." 10

Not quite. Germans were increased their feelings of further radicalization of the press of 1930-1933. The tance to Hitler's success. W demagoguery, however clever power. But desperate times of Germans, Hitler's propaganda leadership was far more apparent those people who cc Hitler after convincing them "excesses" of his propaganda would solve their economic c

The Depression in Germany young people. Partly because in the war, there was a high at any time before or since viewpoint," a student of this sion hit Germany at the war.

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receives a note from the local savings bank regretting that his life savings of 60,000 marks is no longer worth carrying on the books. A postage stamp is enclosed to cover the amount of the deposit. Money, the sign, symbol, and guarantee of security, has lost its value. All Herr Schmidt's preachments about moderation, sobriety, hard work, obedience, and thrift are so much *Quatsch*, and his children know it. They demand solutions—immediate solutions. Thus the slogan of German youth in the 1920s: "Radicalism is trumps." By the thousands, as we shall see, they joined Hitler's youth cohort.

Like other Germans, the Schmidt family demanded an explanation for the economic disaster that had engulfed them. The Republic was responsible; more specifically, "the speculators." But those were abstractions. A more tangible villain was needed and found: the Jews were to blame. Pearl Buck reports a conversation with a cultivated German friend who recalled her family's first experience with Hitler's persuasive propaganda. The inflation that had wiped out her father's business was caused by "speculators." But, it was asked,

"Who speculates? The Jews. . . . Mother suddenly made such a clear distinction between the Jews, who knew how to do business, and the Germans, who were not so clever at it. Well, this was the first reflection in our family of this anti-Semitic National Socialist propaganda. It hammered into the heads of millions of people, a combination of words: 'Money—Exchange—Inflation—and the Jews.' . . . When inflation was over, the psychological preparation for Fascism was complete, the minds of the people were prepared for the Nazis."¹¹

Not quite. Germans were to undergo an even greater shock, which increased their feelings of hopelessness and despair and produced a further radicalization of the once stable middle class—the Great Depression of 1930–1933. The Depression was of absolutely basic importance to Hitler's success. Without it, it is unlikely that any amount of demagoguery, however clever or compelling, would have brought him to power. But desperate times demanded desperate measures. To millions of Germans, Hitler's program of National Socialism and authoritarian leadership was far more appealing than either democracy or Marxism. Even those people who could not stomach anti-Semitism supported Hitler after convincing themselves that they need not take some of the "excesses" of his propaganda seriously. The important thing was that he would solve their economic distress.

The Depression in Germany had a particularly telling effect on young people. Partly because their generation had not been slaughtered in the war, there was a higher percentage of young adults in 1930 than at any time before or since in German history. "From a demographic viewpoint," a student of this period has observed, "the economic depression hit Germany at the worst possible time: employment was shrinking

*D.T. Take the old Imperial colors!

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

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Army. In the midst of war and bombardments of the Western Front he had written his first book, *Der preussische Stil* (The Prussian Style). The original dust jacket bore a picture of Frederick the Great and the imperial (later Nazi) colors of black, white, and red. The book was dedicated "to the spirit of Hegel and Clausewitz." Its central theme was contained in the first chapter: "*Preussen ist ohne Mythos*" (Prussia Is Without Myth). Incomparably great as Prussia was, it still lacked something: it was much too practical, cold, rational. Germany needed a flaming Romantic urge, a soul-stirring dynamic. In short, Germany needed a *myth*, "a life-renewing force." One is reminded of Kohn's observation that Nazism resulted from the marriage of Prussianism and Romanticism.

After the armistice, which Moeller saw as a temporary truce in a holy crusade against the West, he was one of the cofounders of the *Juni Klub*, named after the month when the "Treaty of Shame" was signed. He dedicated his life and talents to the destruction of democracy and the establishment of a New Order. To this end, in 1923 he published his most important work which he entitled *Das dritte Reich* (The Third Reich). This book played a far greater role in German party politics in the Republic than any other single volume, not excluding *Mein Kampf*, and was widely read long before Hitler's. Moeller was admired by many different sorts of people. Niekisch, the National Bolshevik, said that Moeller's type of socialism "was a mood which gripped us"; Otto Strasser's splinter group of Nazis called Moeller "a great teacher" whose book was "the basic book of the Black Front"; and Goebbels, in his unpublished diary, noted in 1925 that he was deeply stirred by Moeller's writing.¹⁸⁰

A brief review of the chapters of this book, published in 1923, will convey something of its spirit. Chapter 1, on revolution, indicts the Republic for treason and promises that Germany will arise triumphant from defeat and humiliation. Chapter 2 shows how much Moeller was attracted to socialism. But he cannot accept Marxism because of its materialism and internationalism. He calls for a socialism more in tune with the German tradition, an authoritarian national socialism must form the basis for the Third Reich. Chapters 3 and 4 are a sustained attack on liberal democracy which he calls, variously, "mental disease," "the seducer," and "the betrayer of youth." His hatred of the Republic is palpable:

We can only speak with scorn of these intellectuals who lured the German Volk to its fate and who now stand with their stupid faces aghast at the result to which their ideology led them! . . . These intellectual blockheads have still not learned anything; they still mouth the eternal validity of their principles: world democracy, The League of Nations, international arbitration, the end of war, Peace on Earth. They will neither see nor hear nor con-

The Past As Prologue: Hitler and Hi

fess that through their guilt foreign domination. . .

The concluding chapter, "The T
"Remember," he pleads in 1923,
tery, indeterminate . . . charged
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In 1925, when Germany's
political stability and it looked as
Moeller committed suicide. His
frequent magazine *Die Tat* (The
advent of a final crisis and the
bring about the kind of national
ler's myth.¹⁸¹

Oswald Spengler had been a
publication in 1918 of the first
entitled *Der Untergang des Ab*
The Decline of the West. The
throughout the world, but was r
bid fascination in Germany, w
book" within a year of its publicat

The atmosphere of gatherin
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announced the doom of Western
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for Germany. Though Western cu
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The last page of the book sou
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Ever in History it is life and
of the will-to-power—and no
money that signifies. World
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truth and justice to power and

In the summer of 1919, Spe
work which was to become eve
German youth. Indeed, one histo
has called this pamphlet, *Preuss*
and Socialism), "one of the Hol

*D.T. A Disgrace

ual work of the past, and in smaller part discoveries. The decisive factor is only to heritage handed down by the great minds of a, expedient way, and to draw the result from them. For of what avail is all possess the courage to make use of it? By itical consequences from a huge sum of ideas and insights, we have overcome an ally sterile, and given to our national life inced, decisive impetus.'

as learned neither from the living nor the f bare, a rambling barbarian soul, without d with no intellectual possessions, obli- of nature who would be quite capable of divarius violin, and boasting that he had rganized a spiritual heritage. armament. But he had a wisdom all his rror stories about the Wise Men of Zion, ght protest: 'Adolf, you can't tell people uld smilingly reply: 'You can tell people ic was suddenly seized with the terrible whole world to doubt: perhaps he is r's deepest wisdom consists in his convic- world sense of the modern intellectual, , that all problems are capable of solution, : most important—the big things are the reasoned out, it can only be demonstrated. conflicts, every attempt at proof or de- timate beliefs beyond the realm of the conceptions regarding the world and afford to speak publicly of his basic con- a deep contempt of human nature and comforting self-confidence which he then ie masses. When he calls upon them to reed and heroic nature by staking their eans essentially: for you rabble are worthy is attitude would come out in the end if

he were to pursue his conclusions, statements, exhortations, and commands, step by step, back to their sources and grounds. Actually he has never concealed his contempt of mankind, though always giving those present to understand that he was not referring to them. But he cannot very well reveal and name the chief source of his contempt for humanity: his own person. The true source of his belief in human vileness is self-observation. He is so ashamed of his humanity because, as an historical phenomenon, beguiled by his own star, he expects superhuman things of himself. In the contemplation of human affairs, all logic ultimately leads back to the human individual; a logical analysis of National Socialist politics would have to end with an analysis of Hitler's person; hence Hitler's unconscious resistance to logic and factual truth.

It is not unusual that a man should wish to cut a figure different from his real person; all public activity consists in compressing one's own personality into certain qualities and effects, omitting and repressing other aspects of one's nature; to a smaller extent, this phenomenon occurs even in private relations between man and man, and this line of falsehood in human relations partly accounts for the pessimistic conception of man as a sinner and miscreant. Hitler's special trait is his concentration on greatness. This is the source of his power. When suddenly this man, who has been awkwardly standing around, now and then muttering a remark that by no means dominates the conversation, is seized with determination and begins to speak, filling the room with his voice, suppressing interruptions or contradictions by his domineering manner, spreading cold shivers among those present by the savagery of his declarations, lifting every subject of conversation into the light of history, and interpreting it so that even trifles have their origin in greatness; then the listener is filled with awe and feels that a new phenomenon has entered the room. This thundering demon was not there before; this is not the same timid man with the contracted shoulders. He is capable of this transformation in a personal interview and facing an audience of half a million. The magic power of this image of greatness emanating from human nullity greatly appealed to the German people after the World War, when this people, oppressed by their own nullity, longed for

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1924

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greatness; but a far deeper and more decisive explanation of Hitler's effect is the soul state of modern man, who, in his pettiness, loneliness, and lack of faith, longs for community, conviction, and greatness. Here he sees greatness emerging from a creature who as a man is smaller than you or I—that is what made Hitler an experience for millions.

This sharp division of his personality—colorless on the one hand, dazzling on the other—does not mean, however, that two men dwell in one. Hitler is no split personality; the two sides of his nature belong entirely together and condition one another, like the two weights of a centrifugal top. This contrast between greatness and nonentity, as it presents itself in Hitler, is the product of education and growth through a life almost unique in the whole of history; anyone who tries to judge Hitler solely on the basis of mad or inadequate utterances and actions of former times forgets that power in itself is instructive and that only the dullest of minds fail to learn from the possession of responsibility and influence. With the years the two poles of his personality became purer and more pronounced. His nature was sensitive, quick to react; now it would rush to one side, now to the other, thus creating an impression of great instability and adaptability. Perhaps the medical man, including the present author, will speak readily of hysteria; for the sake of clarity it should be stated that the fixation of this hysteria is on the contradiction between greatness and nonentity. Max von Gruber, the specialist, observing him in the course of a passionate action lasting several hours, found the facial expression of the man 'madly agitated,' and, at the end, the characteristic 'expression of gratified self-esteem.' Another specialist, though not of the first rank, who observed him systematically over a considerable period, categorically denied any pathological tendency. This was Doctor Brinsteiner, a prison physician who saw him in Landsberg in 1924; he was 'firmly convinced that Hitler was always master of himself and his will and not pathologically affected in his mental activity.' Brinsteiner did observe a 'passing pathological depression which appeared in Hitler for a short time after the *putsch*,' but drew from it 'no inference of a pathological tendency in Hitler.' Brinsteiner, as

can be seen from his report, was filled with emotion but as a physician he is doubtless right. Mentally a disease; Brinsteiner attempted to analyze it back and forth by his own emotions and his opinion, and came closest to the truth: 'This man acting, partly aroused by suggestion and but always stand up against subsequent unprejudiced not for that reason necessarily pathological.'

Yet whatever the mental state, the emotional nature darting restlessly back and forth between frenzy cannot be overlooked. No normal man domination; and a normal man would hardly private life. Capable of great physical and mental almost pathologically disinclined to regular work not work, and greatness is not achieved by one or the other; perhaps it is basically his disinclination for regular him sleepless. He is nocturnal in his habits; forces his staff to confer with him at night, and he prefers to make his decisions. One night in Berlin dead tired after two days of work and a 'At two in the morning,' the propaganda chief was sitting fresh as a daisy in the midst of his work, he made me lecture him for almost two hours a lecture of the Reich super-highway'; strange work was interrupted by two hours of chatting—for a lecture by Goebbels, who was certainly no specialist, concerning anything more. 'Every night till six or seven you could see the light shining from his windows dictating his great speeches . . .' again a report time referring to a visit in Berchtesgaden.

Later, when Goebbels administered the German forced actresses to sign contracts agreeing to keep occasionally at night; under perfectly respectable be sure, at the big all-night parties which he often also did real pandering if it could procure or reinforce favor; and all the while he informed the world that the Führer lived—shunning drink, tobacco, meat, p

more decisive explanation of Hitler, modern man, who, in his pettiness, longs for community, conviction, and something emerging from a creature who is I—that is what made Hitler an

personality—colorless on the one hand, does not mean, however, that two distinct personalities; the two sides of his character and condition one another, like the top and bottom. This contrast between greatness and itself in Hitler, is the product of a life almost unique in the whole of history. Judge Hitler solely on the basis of his words and actions of former times forgets that and that only the duller of minds are capable of responsibility and influence. His personality became purer and more sensitive, quick to react; now it is the other, thus creating an impression of instability. Perhaps the medical man is in this; at all events, the layman, will speak readily of hysteria; for the fact is that the fixation of this hysteria of greatness and nonentity. Max von Scheler, in the course of a passionate and the facial expression of the man himself, the characteristic 'expression of the specialist, though not of the first class, but over a considerable period, of logical tendency. This was Doctor Goebbels who saw him in Landsberg in 1924; Hitler was always master of himself and unaffected in his mental activity.' The pathological depression which appeared after the *putsch*, but drew from its intensity in Hitler.' Brinsteiner, as

can be seen from his report, was filled with enthusiasm by Hitler; but as a physician he is doubtless right. Mental unreliability is not a disease; Brinsteiner attempted to analyze this mentality, driven back and forth by his own emotions and the reaction of public opinion, and came closest to the truth: 'This way of thinking and acting, partly aroused by suggestion and auto-suggestion, cannot always stand up against subsequent unprejudiced criticism, but it is not for that reason necessarily pathological.'

Yet whatever the mental state, the emotional abnormality of this nature darting restlessly back and forth between somnolence and frenzy cannot be overlooked. No normal man strives for world domination; and a normal man would hardly lead Adolf Hitler's private life. Capable of great physical and mental exertions, he is almost pathologically disinclined to regular work; a magician does not work, and greatness is not achieved by ordered activity. Perhaps it is basically his disinclination for regular activity that makes him sleepless. He is nocturnal in his habits; when possible, he forces his staff to confer with him at night, and it is at night that he prefers to make his decisions. One night Goebbels arrived in Berlin dead tired after two days of work and a journey by plane. 'At two in the morning,' the propaganda chief writes, 'he was still sitting fresh as a daisy in the midst of his work, alone at his home; he made me lecture him for almost two hours about the construction of the Reich super-highway'; strange work which was suddenly interrupted by two hours of chatting—for a lecture on this subject by Goebbels, who was certainly no specialist, cannot be regarded as anything more. 'Every night till six or seven in the morning, you could see the light shining from his windows. Der Führer was dictating his great speeches . . . ' again a report by Goebbels, this time referring to a visit in Berchtesgaden.

Later, when Goebbels administered the German film industry, he forced actresses to sign contracts agreeing to keep Hitler company occasionally at night; under perfectly respectable circumstances, to be sure, at the big all-night parties which he often gave. Goebbels also did real pandering if it could procure or reinforce Der Führer's favor; and all the while he informed the world how frugally Der Führer lived—shunning drink, tobacco, meat, pomp, and festivity.

1930

ities, renouncing the joys of family life. It is true that Hitler does not smoke or drink, but he does consume immense quantities of sweets; as though he had remained a child in matters of taste and pleasure. He indulges in every pleasure that might appeal to a child; he goes out driving when the mood takes him; abandons all duties and spends half the day at the movies whenever he happens to feel like it; he can never get his fill of light music and operettas — nor of Wagner's sweet poison, for that matter. According to Goebbels, he has attended *The Meistersingers* more than a hundred times. It was probably Wagner's sermon which finally induced him to give up meat-eating, which did not greatly appeal to his taste to begin with. One of the greatest childhood pleasures, staying up late at night, became in time an ingrained habit; even as a young man, even as a soldier, he had difficulty finding sleep, which is one of the strongest elements of human routine and hence in violent opposition to Hitler's undisciplined character. He lies awake whole nights, pondering problems, turning them over and over hundreds of times; from this sleepless pondering, often after weeks of silence and aloofness, arise those so-called lightning decisions which surprise those blessed with better sleep. And then he speaks of his inspiration or intuition! The only element of truth in this is that he usually follows the dictates of his mood, seldom forcing himself to act against the voice of his inclination. This is not lack of energy; he can endure the most astounding physical and emotional exertions with the insensibility of a Simeon Stylites. But even when — as occurs from time to time — he works restlessly, it is with the restlessness of a playing child.

And so, though he is the real source of energy in his cause and his enterprise, his incalculability is a serious obstacle to regular business. Things must be done and the responsibility for getting them done lies on the shoulders of such men as Goebbels; for Hitler only does the things that he happens to feel like doing. He does them with the greatest expenditure of force, but often he cannot find the extra ounce of strength to do what is uncomfortable, to decide what is doubtful, to make a difficult decision; for at the bottom of his heart he trusts that a difficulty will be canceled out by a second difficulty. When a member of his staff presses him for some

unpleasant decision, he often escapes by em about art and race, until an adjutant comes the car is waiting. He can then abandon his experience of being driven, which presents a certain pleasure. These pleasure trips are 'tours of inspection,' among crowds shouting with enthusiasm, yellow flowers, children who let themselves be caressed, which he can never get enough of; on greatness.

And then he may escape into total obscurity the illusion of being dead. For many years he disappearing on Christmas Eve, leaving even and nieces to their own resources. It is said that this most solemn night of the German year Munich Reichswehr Barracks, for a few hours Christmas mood of his soldier days; this cannot disappearances have been confirmed by several

He is a restless and indefatigable consumer they are served up in the proper way, complete desired answers. Goebbels, who had learned to had to let himself be questioned well into the details things. With questions Hitler replaced reading instead of books; he knew what he wanted and obedient men the desired answers, which could not be obtained from silent, stubborn books. By his quest not only to learn, but to influence and mold the world. A young diplomat from the German London, or Washington happens to be in Berlin one of Hitler's banquets; Der Führer draws him into a strange conversation: 'From the Arc de Triomphe says Hitler, 'twelve streets run in all directions are there gardens in front of the houses, in which answer is by no means perfect. Next Hitler which streets there are shops, in which purely residential. Some are definitely residential streets for rich ones? What sort of people frequent the shops? The answers are all unsatisfactory, and the dis

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

either a new German national government or his death, he announced to cheering crowds that his purpose would be fulfilled "only when the black-white-red swastika banner floats over the Berliner Schloss."¹²⁷

But he had made no effort to get the support of the two military leaders whose help for such an undertaking was absolutely essential: the commander of the national army, General von Seeckt, and the prestigious leader of patriotic causes, General Ludendorff. In the week preceding his attempted revolution, Hitler's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, gratuitously insulted von Seeckt, calling him a tool of a "Masonic conspiracy," and libeled his Jewish wife. General Ludendorff later insisted that prior to the actual night of the coup he had not been consulted about Hitler's plans.

Nor had he won the confidence and support of local authorities who would be indispensable to the success of his revolution: General Otto von Lossow, the army commander for Bavaria; Colonel Hans Ritter von Seisser, the commander of the Bavarian State Police; Gustav von Kahr, the "strongman" of Bavaria. Indeed, both Lossow and Seisser had given Hitler unmistakable warning on 7 November that they would crush any attempt at a *Putsch*. The next night, Hitler did nothing to win the favor of this powerful triumvirate by embarrassing them publicly and holding them hostage at pistol point.¹²⁸

If he had decided to rely solely on his own Brown Shirts rather than the regular army or police forces, he had done little to prepare them. Up to the very day of the event, many district leaders of the SA knew nothing about plans for a revolution. The arms hastily collected were in "terrible shape." There were a few artillery pieces, but almost no ammunition; 80 percent of the machine-guns were completely useless.¹²⁹

Preparations for a national revolution were grossly inadequate in Munich; outside the city they were nonexistent. In the north, for example, SA Commander Peter Heydebreck, a former Free Corps leader who was itching to march on Berlin, tried to get an audience with Hitler in Munich and was rebuffed. He wrote, "I was not the only man of the North who received similar cool treatment," and went on to complain that the SA in Berlin were given no information about the impending national revolution.¹³⁰

On the actual night of the *Putsch*, after arresting Lossow, Seisser, and Kahr and making an impassioned speech, Hitler sank into despondency and seemed incapable of taking any effective action. He sat and brooded, he paced ineffectively up and down, he talked excitedly about minutiae, he left the beer hall intermittently on impromptu missions of no importance. He was heard to mutter morosely, "If it comes out all right, well and good; if not, we'll hang ourselves."¹³¹

The author of a massive monograph on the event has reached a conclusion that is not supported by his own extensive evidence: "He [Hitler] ran everything himself." On the contrary, nobody ran anything

From Private Neurosis to Pu

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From Private Neurosis to Public Policy

Now 1923

that night. The first ten or 12 hours of any coup d'etat are of crucial importance to its success. During these hours, when it was imperative for Hitler to act quickly and decisively, "no orders at all came from the Putschist high command. . . ." ¹³²

No effort was made to do the obvious—seize such key buildings as the telephone exchange, transport facilities, telegraph stations, and police headquarters. Above all, Hitler did not even try to capture Kahr's headquarters, the official center of political power in Munich. Even after the government had abandoned it, Hitler inexplicably gave no orders to take it over. During the first 12 vitally important hours, the Führer had managed to occupy one beer hall.*

Astonishingly, he refused to concern himself with those areas in which he was an acknowledged expert. This specialist in propaganda, this master demagogue who had promised to lead a revolution did not even visit the propaganda headquarters that had been set up by two assistants. He chose not to deliver one of the great orations he had promised for the next day, relegating speech-making to the unpredictable Julius Streicher, fanatic Jew-baiter of Nuremberg—scarcely the man to be the spokesman for a national revolution. He actually scribbled on a piece of paper, "Streicher is responsible for the entire organization." ¹³³

As Hitler's influence waned and forces of the counterrevolution gathered in strength, it is indeed "interesting," as the leading authority on the event has written, that Hitler "did not even make any serious attempt to gather more troops" to reinforce his badly depleted ranks. There were many SA units in Southern Bavaria that would have come quickly to Hitler's help. He did not send for them. ¹³⁴

During the course of the night, he left the beer hall and permitted his hostages to escape, thus allowing them to rally the forces that would overthrow him on the morrow. "One can only wonder why, in an adventure of such high stakes," one historian has written, "Hitler could have committed such an elementary error of judgment." Others have called Hitler's conduct "inexplicable" and "unfathomable." ¹³⁵

The famous march the next morning was not Hitler's idea. He was apparently not even consulted. The order seems to have come from General Ludendorff, who was furiously impatient with Hitler's uncertain behavior. "No one knew where the march was going, and no one had known from the start." ¹³⁶

We would suggest that one explanation for his irrational and self-defeating behavior was that as a borderline personality with a deeply divided ego, he was torn by inner conflict and contrary impulses. One part of him wanted to succeed; another wanted him to fail. Since he could not cope with the conflict, he sank into a depression, then ran

* Röhm, it is true, had taken the district army headquarters across the city, but had somehow failed to seize its telephone switchboard. He surrendered the building next morning upon orders from General Ludendorff.

* Some original thinking &
called for him (D.T. could
paralyze him — heroes not really.)

away and hid. As we have seen, when confronted by total disaster, he summoned all his verbal skills to convert his trial into a triumph; after his release from prison, he worked effectively to reconstitute his Party.

Hitler's Preparations for War

Hitler's prewar diplomacy may be seen as a triumph of opportunism and cunning. It can also be seen as a series of invitations to disaster.

Three different interpretations may be considered. First, in the unlikely event that A. J. P. Taylor is correct in insisting that all Hitler really wanted was peace in his time and a negotiated revision of Versailles, then the methods he employed to attain those ends were "singularly inappropriate."¹³⁷ Second, if we are to suppose that Hitler wanted only a limited, localized war with Poland to gain Danzig and the Corridor, his belligerent speeches against Western powers, his atrocities against minority groups, and his broken promises to both British and French statesmen show him proceeding in ways that were unlikely to isolate Poland and most likely to prod his victim's strong allies to come to her defense. Finally, if he really plotted the great European war of conquest that he had promised in *Mein Kampf*, in his second book of 1928, and in dozens of public and private speeches, his preparations for fighting such a war were conspicuously inadequate. The scholarly Franz von Halder, chief of the Army General Staff in 1939, said in an interview that "unbelievable as it may sound, he [Hitler] did not even have a general plan for the war."¹³⁸

Hitler also failed to give the orders to supply his army. Halder recorded in his diary that there were monthly shortages of 600,000 tons of steel, and that munitions in general were in such short supply that no large-scale combat was possible. "Supply was sufficient for only one-third of the available divisions for fourteen days. Current production was just enough to keep the same one-third active."¹³⁹

It may be argued that Hitler was not concerned with building up massive reserves of arms, raw materials, and foodstuffs, or with converting to a full war economy, because he had not planned that kind of war. He had put his trust in piecemeal *Blitzkrieg* victories and in looting materials from countries as he conquered them. There is merit to this argument, except for the fact that even after it became obvious he could no longer carry on that kind of war, he still refused to take effective action on the economic front. Economic mobilization was not really ordered until the autumn of 1944—that is, well after his "Fortress Europe" had been entered from the West and Russia was moving in from the East. Only then, when it was much too late, did Hitler move haltingly in the direction of full economic mobilization. And even then he could never bring himself to give the orders for conversion to a complete war economy.

While the British and American war industries were working around the clock on three-shift schedules, German industry, with only

minor exceptions, workment was never achieved. munitions, but he was n German armament prod still lagged behind the a were still being producec hours and vitally needed and art objects into hidin

We suggest that his orders: to destroy and defeat.

Hitler's Military "Mist

Almost any historia turned out, can look ba errors which led to defea brilliant military comm: ders were so many, so c "mistakes" were the res destruction. If so—as the —Adolf Hitler would no to arrange his own down:

Hitler's performanc forces in World War II n that he sometimes showe as when he concluded t Western Front while he rectly that the Red Army 1942 and not at Smole British military historia: has been more clever in is the supreme art of str. ity for innovation in the

All this is true. Hitl effectiveness, and his n Countries, and France : there were repeated hin the very midst of success

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After his smashing b gan flirting with failure. lay ahead of his armore moved from command C who had led the victorio to take advantage of th pause could have been fa

great propagandist is the command-magic suggestion subjects an empty Antony, who in a single speech of a thousand enemies. It is in this momentary view the greatest propagandist, and this is Adolf Hitler's own authority of success, he has put over a theory that he dominates the minds bringing the same simple statement into at he never listened to himself very far to illuminate his own success. He puts statement into the minds of millions with the masses and titillated theory assertions. It is this art of the greatest and most successful propagandist not dominate the minds of millions, like a piece of wood floating on the currents of public opinion. This is

propaganda is not to influence, but to be in constant communication with, and senses the inner vibration. In contradictory assertions before his audience, the shapeless substance of public opinion, metals and varying weights. When in the depths of the substance, the masses know in what terms he must finally

directing the mass mind, propaganda is not a machine to make the masses. It is not a machine to make wind. The mass, however, is a phenomenon—this leveled conglomerate of heroes and cowards, proud and humble. This mass, with its anonymous injected moods and unconscious desires, the driving force of prevailing conditions; the necessities and resistances of the ob-

jective world; it expresses the silent command of Fate in a mysterious murmur. It is the art of the great propagandist to detect this murmur and translate it into intelligible utterance and convincing action. If he can do this, his utterances and actions may be full of contradictions—because the contradictions lie in the things themselves; they may be deceptive and misleading. The lies of propaganda reveal the deeper truth of the whole world's cynicism and dishonesty. By his lies the great propagandist involuntarily shows himself to be an honest, self-revealing prophet of the Devil.

Hitler's profound, rapacious, avid eye for the weakness of this intellectual age, awaiting only the man who can master it, is revealed in the natural affinity between a depersonalized soul and a depersonalized world. The more passionately Hitler harps on the value of personality, the more clearly he reveals his nostalgia for something that is lacking. Yes, he knows this mass world, he knows how to guide it by 'compliance.' He is like the crafty dope addict who manages to get his poison despite all efforts of his physicians and guards to prevent him. Hitler's mind directs a personality without center, a restlessly pulsating force without constancy and firmness, oscillating like the needle of a magnet, trembling and dancing, but always finding the—momentary—north.

Hitler never wearied of studying his own experiences and the world about him to discover the secrets and conditions of this world! He did not have a plan and act accordingly; he acted, and out of his actions a plan arose. At first he sincerely believed that *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion* were the instructions for establishing Jewish world domination. Later, when the time came for him to formulate his own aims, he was forced to recognize that they were laid down in this supposed Jewish book.

With a detachment of Reichswehr soldiers he founded his party, because this party had to be based on power. Accustomed to military discipline, his men shouted 'Heil!' as their leader entered the meeting hall; after certain phrases, the speaker learned to make a barely perceptible pause and give a silent sign of which he himself was barely conscious, and the troop, with quick understanding, again broke out in a 'Heil!' Then, one day, they, for the first time, clubbed off the platform a hostile speaker, who had innocently be-

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ackers utter obedience toward 'capital' power; at other times he was proud, especially worth the candle.

Hitler continues, 'work in the business. So many people kept milling around in organized activity was out of the question. By other's way. Slowly there began to be since then often observed in similar grew nervous. Finally, the summer of age in the business management of the

ent. This was when Hitler won the his business administration he placed a limited personal confidence, who was re- who, by his extreme brutality and un- so detested in the whole party that only n in his post. But he was an effective man was Hitler's former war comrade, geant in the same regiment: 'On my ren- nn took over the position of party busi- : at once that further work in this office. And so, for a second time, we went out entered an old abandoned inn in Cornelius- atz. . . . A part of the old taproom was into an office for party comrade Amann room, a very primitive wicket was con- ship was housed in the kitchen. . . .' At had large, double-doored, steel cabinets. is suddenly endangered. A new govern- police too; and these new Pharaohs did ch of Joseph. Up to this time Hitler and eat up their enemies without interference tate began to open its eyes. For breaking one of his gangs and chasing the speaker club, a court sentenced Hitler to three wo of the months were suspended: that serve them if in the future he refrained

from all acts of violence. For months he pleaded with the govern- ment to stretch a point and suspend the third month too. But the new government had no such intention; it even considered a pun- ishment which would have been far greater than three months' im- prisonment. Technically Hitler was a foreigner; his conviction for a felony gave the government the right to deport him. For ten years this threat of deportation hung over Hitler's head, and it is doubtful whether he ever feared anything more in all his life. Count Lerchenfeld, the new Bavarian premier, a distinguished gray-haired gentleman, whose manners were far too good for an age of murderers, intimated in parliament that such inciters to passion and disunity did not necessarily have to be tolerated in the country (April, 1922).

Hitler replied in an open letter to the count:

. . . I admit that by the letter of our present Jewish law, I really am a 'foreigner.' I might argue, Your Lordship, that my birthplace is only two hundred and fifty yards from the Bavarian border, that it was Bavarian territory a hundred years ago, and, as I hope, will be returned to the German Reich in less time than that. . . . Blood is thicker than water, Your Lordship, and by blood I am not only proud to be a German, but even prouder that fortune permitted me to stake my blood for my Germanism. At that time, it would have been child's play for me, Your Lordship, to win citizenship. I neglected to do so, because I ventured to retain my unshakable hope in a greater Germany, and also my conviction that a day would come when a German's right to work with his people would not be judged by papers and certificates, Your Lordship, but exclusively by his blood and by his worth. . . .

If Hitler attacks a count in writing, he will never fail to call him 'Your Lordship' in every third line. But in this letter he was fight- ing more than some accidental count. He was fighting the whole new course of affairs that began late in 1921, with the induction of the Wirth-Rathenau government. This government had adopted a new attitude toward the peace treaty: the only way was to try to live with it. Wirth and Rathenau wanted to stop protesting against the treaty and to fulfill it, believing that the very attempt to carry out its provisions would demonstrate their impossibility.

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movement was *The Protocol of the Wise*

ception of Russia, did the state destroy Germany. And it was not the workers and Democrats, who in 1918 had proclaimed 'Social Democrats', who reviled the Social Democrats 'as class,' and for years kept disturbing the attempts at revolt. The workers had no property. Plans to this effect stood in Germany elsewhere. For the proletariat is a common economy, and what he wishes is not to own, but to exploit it himself.

Philipp Scheidemann, the Social Democrat, the republic in Berlin, saying, 'The German is all along the line'; but a week later, the working-class, who had been victorious in a pact with the leaders of the German economy of our economic life.' And both 'that the reconstruction of our national economy of all economic and intellectual collaboration of all.' It could not have to save capitalism from the crushing vise of the workers as well as the capitalists. Demonstrations were swarming through the streets through the Tiergarten, the great park. A voice is said to have cried out: 'Comrades, discipline! Don't walk on the grass!' A cry of revolt!

German capitalism after the war, Hugo Preuss, more private property than all the German industrialist with super-capitalist dreams of property, sought after super-capitalist forms. He sought the property he amassed, and such the concept of property in 1920 and 1923, Stinnes was the most powerful. In so far as we may speak of power in those days. By bold combination of widely ramified in-

terests (mines, electricity, navigation, hotels, newspapers, book publishing) he exerted an influence on the whole country, financed parties and politicians, and in all his activities was guided by the feeling that Fate had called him to rebuild Germany. The first step in this reconstruction was a process of destruction. At the outset the masses misinterpreted it as nothing more than a scandalous rise in prices; only later, under the name of inflation, the process was correctly comprehended as the downfall of money.

While Walter Rathenau was still foreign minister, a group of American bankers visited Germany to study the causes of the German inflation. In some quarters it had been maintained that Germany hoped the devaluation of her currency would cause her political debts to evaporate. It is doubtful whether anyone ever cherished so naive a hope, and surely it was never realized. In reality the inflation was largely caused by the efforts of German industry to regain its position in the world market. Rathenau and Stinnes sat down with the Americans, and Stinnes, according to his own report, gave them the following harsh explanation for the German inflation:

'I informed the gentlemen that after the lost war Germany had been obliged to develop regular working habits in the four million men who, in the army, had lost the habit of regular work; for this, I told them, raw materials and employment were necessary. In order to obtain raw materials and a market for our products, in order to preserve the life of the nation, we had been obliged to sacrifice parts of our capital; there was no other way. For if the masses had remained without employment, Bolshevism would assuredly have seized Germany. . . . I further informed the gentlemen that the weapon of inflation would have to be used further, without regard to the resultant extraordinary losses of capital, because this was the only possibility of providing the population with the ordered regular activity which was necessary to secure the life of the nation.'

The specter of Bolshevism overpowered the holiness of property. That money was obsolete could be no more dismally proved than by this suicide for fear of death. As a defense against Bolshevism, the destroyer of private wealth, private wealth was destroyed. Ger-

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ake people believe even the simplest contradictions and lies! said concerning our source for these from the old issues of the *Völkischer* own newspaper, edited by Alfred Rosenberg and Eckart decided to publish and entrusted Adolf Viktor von newspaper's staff, with the editorial task. vents from his life, and Körber wrote a duction. At the end of 1923, he published one hundred and fifty pages, and entitled *Adolf Hitler, sein Leben* (Hitler, His Life and Speeches). Subsequent editions of the book appeared; and it is some of the speeches changed in the course of

liter text, these speeches stand before us as they were delivered. In these very words the platform; in these very words the reporter took them down and brought them very night, charged with all the power, and the factual and grammatical mistakes is what makes them such reliable testimony, the speaker re-reads his own words; conscious, as often when relaxed. Could I Rosenberg or Körber be alarmed: the old It can't stay like this. We'll have to

ty word about America. The paper carried: '... Those phrases about reconciliation. In't been a swindler, he would not have been. In our country we had one of these Herr Scheidemann'—first premier of the—we feel the results of their pacifist activity both prophets have vanished from their parliamentary custom, the peoples have

to pay the bill.' In the 1923 edition the whole passage is reduced to one brief sentence: 'If Wilson hadn't been a swindler, he would not have become president of a democracy.' In the edition of 1933, the entire quotation is omitted.

Sometimes Hitler could not make up his mind whether to heap the blame for everything on France or on the Jews. So he said in one of his speeches (newspaper version): 'Between Germany and France there is a rift that cannot be leveled by pacifist telegrams or cowardly submission. The attitude of France toward the Reich is the same today as it was four hundred, three hundred, two hundred, one hundred and fifty years ago. . . . No chance to mend this rift. . . .'

But in the same speech he said (book version): 'Between Germany and France there was a fundamental rift that could not be leveled by pacifist telegrams or cowardly submission. Before the war both countries could live beside each other in arms only. True, for Germany the war of 1870 closed a century-old hostility. But in France flaming hatred against Germany was cultivated with all methods of newspaper propaganda, in textbooks, on the stage, in the movies. . . . Who croaked the ugliest calumnies? . . . All the Jewish newspapers of France. To bring about bad feeling and exploit it was, as everybody can see, the aim of World Jewry.'

Thus the prophet falsifies his own words. With the deepest conviction he contradicts his deepest convictions. It is as though the various heads of a many-headed beast were biting one another.

The truth is irremediably buried beneath these deceptions and contradictions. How, then, can the speaker expect to put through a single incisive, suitable lie, when from speech to speech, from sentence to sentence, he changes even the lies? Whom does he expect to persuade that he himself believes a single one of these mutually contradictory lies? And to what purpose does he try to spread an opinion among the people, when on the very next day he is going to sacrifice that opinion?

Such questions are asked by those who do not understand propaganda, who regard propaganda as the art of instilling an opinion in the masses. Actually it is the art of receiving an opinion from the masses.

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form sections, the Free Corps of Ehrhardt, Ross-
er 'defense leagues.' The Socialist leaders could
realize that they were arming and nourishing
he republic. But they thought it their patriotic
: country's borders. Also they believed that the
command in Berlin, by paying and arming the
ght 'tie them to the crib' and thus render them

gs in the same light, and he was embittered. s acting behind Lössow's back — calmly carried ew so well: he amassed more and more weapons and raised their numbers, toward autumn, 1923, ousand. He thought that he was furnishing his derful implement of civil war. But Hitler recog- anglement in the new army was destroying his putting him back where he was before: a mere wehr — yet of a Reichswehr that was cooled and ned.

ter scenes, for Röhm did not understand this. The National Socialist storm troops had had their own machine guns, and even a few cannon. In form, the complements of murder had always belonged to the Reichswehr, unable to store them in its own arms. The Allied control commission, had been glad to use weapons to the political leagues for safe-keeping. In fact, the leagues had been created more or less for this purpose. Little by little, they had come to regard the arms as their property. And now came the great blow. After the battle of the Ruhr, the Reich had half-broken off relations with France. In January, 1923, a control commission, charged with the task of investigating and suppressing murder by National Socialists in Munich, had been set up. The commissions ceased to function. The Reichswehr had no more need to hide its arms. And so the leagues were to return the precious guaranty of their power, the arms they wanted to overthrow the republic. They had said that the arms would be returned any time they wanted them - but these were mere promises.

This agreement had been made by Röhm. To his mind, the goal of all his desires was virtually achieved. His side had a large army for civil war; they had the power; all they needed was the will. But just this was the weak point. The will had to be aroused in the generals. And here Hitler, unlike Röhm, sensed an almost insuperable difficulty: these generals would never want civil war. Hitler was in a desperate position, requiring of them a political decision they had no intention of making, since they no longer thought it necessary. They already had their army.

In these straits, Hitler decided to employ the magnetic force of his voice on Lossow. Perhaps the general could be bewitched. Hitler called on him week after week, and in April, 1923, nearly every day. He besought him to raise the banner of civil war, to summon the entire Reichswehr to revolution, to overthrow the government in Berlin. Lossow later admitted that Hitler's eloquence made a great impression on him — though only for a time. But one thing Lossow could never deny: ' . . . that in our conferences of spring, 1923, Hitler never wanted anything for himself. He wanted no position, no government post; all he wanted was to make propaganda and prepare the terrain for him who was to come.

Who was to come? Directly questioned, Hitler would have replied, perhaps with some embarrassment: Ludendorff, the great Quartermaster General of the World War. He did not yet dare to say: myself. He modestly declared that he was only a drummer who would awaken Germany. In those days Hitler always hid behind this myth of modesty when the influential leaders of the German counter-revolution began to suspect that they were nurturing their own gravedigger.

Meanwhile, in the Ruhr, little troops of men crept at night through the industrial territory. They laid dynamite on railroad trestles, bridges, and junctions. French military trains were blown up. In the canals ships sank, and for days the westward stream of coal was interrupted. The secret army had again found a task. These dynamite squads were led at night by guides who knew the country. The dynamiters were the cream of armed bohemia. The guides, however, were often even more dubious characters, who for

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he commander of the Bavarian police med a triumvirate with practically un- The three may have been uncertain for want to reach an understanding with or overthrow it. But they were pretty : to discipline Hitler and render him n entirely, but to reduce him to the level the illusory, halfway methods which oderate rulers who thought they could s and use them as tools. 'We always th childish pride, 'to bring Herr Hitler m of facts, for we had recognized the e movement. We saw this core in the iting the workers to a national point of

ve happened: the Communist pretext uminists shrank from an open uprising; a by the man who at that time already igest influence on the international Com- ary general of the Russian Communist lin. By a technical mistake there was an 'ourg (October 26); for three days the utely from roofs and windows and for e leadership died in vain. Then Berlin Northern German Reichswehr marched ia (October 29), deposed the Socialist theless quite legal, governments by force 'Bolshevist menace.' With it disappeared ida weapon; and it is an irony of history re in this blow.

and purposes, the end of the march on of dictators in Bavaria soon found out. November, went to Berlin, talked with back and reported that Seeckt wouldn't backers lost interest in the counter-revo- ackers, anyway, never had been behind ke Kahr. Even a meeting between the

representative of Hugo Stinnes, Minoux, and Ludendorff ended with a clash: 'you are much too economic for me,' shouted Ludendorff. Hitler's march on Berlin became a march into empty space.

Two separate worlds were at that time fighting each other: a rising world of order, still with tender membranes and limbs, easily hurt, growing and solidifying amid infinite perils—and a world of disintegration and tumult, struggling with wild outbursts against its own ruin. Hitler fought for the perpetuation of the chaos, as five years before he had fought to perpetuate the war; in both struggles he was defending his spiritual home. In a world of normalcy a Nothing, in chaos a Titan—his extraordinary powers did not develop in supporting the tottering edifice; they flowered when it came to giving it one last shove. Swimming amid wreckage, climbing over ruins; that is his gift; and seldom has a man possessed it to a greater degree. With his inner kinship to all disintegration and decay he senses the currents that lead to the abyss and in them he knows how to steer his course. But in them alone. With uncanny acuteness he guesses the hidden weakness of the adversary; but in the presence of tranquil strength his perception and understanding are dulled. All his gifts of oratory, persuasion, planning, suddenly left him once a venture proved really impossible. Unless there was something to be smashed, overturned, subjugated, this strange personality assumed the dull gray tone which continued to amaze observers even after he had achieved the summits of power. A hypersensitive nature, he reacted almost hypnotically to circumstances. This is why he responded to them so effectively. In times of calm, he was sleepy; in tormented times, he lost all restraint; like a flag, he snaps in the storm.

The Nothing put in an appearance as the chaos lifted. Those conspirators enjoying positions of power or other influence withdrew from politics or decided to collaborate with the changed order. And now Adolf Hitler stepped forward to show the world his empty face with the piercing eyes of fiery revolt.

Suddenly his picture appeared on every wall. Heinrich Hoffmann, the photographer, received an order for thousands of picture postcards showing his face. A motion picture was made. In it, Hitler appeared with General Ludendorff as equal beside equal, but

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the Wise Men of Zion make a revolution. The revolution must be 'imperceptible,' say the *Protocols*; 'under an outward appearance of legality, the last traces of legal, constitutional life must gradually be destroyed.' At the end of September, Scheubner-Richter had provided Hitler with a lengthy plan for revolution. 'The national revolution,' he wrote, 'must not precede the seizure of political power; the seizure of the state's police power constitutes the premise for the national revolution'; one must, therefore, strive 'to lay hands on the state police power in a way that is at least outwardly legal.'

This was the type of revolution that the captains and majors had been working on for five years—revolution 'by permission of the Herr Präsident,' it was called in a secret document (one of a number that has come down to us).

In the first days of November, a great celebration, in memory of the war dead, was to be held not far from the Feldherrn Halle. According to plan, the heads of the state would stand in a short, narrow side-street, waiting for the Reichswehr troops to parade past. Kahr, Lossow, Seisser, the real rulers of Bavaria, would be there, and with them nearly all the important ministers. Also present would be Crown Prince Rupprecht, who, except for the revolution of 1918, would have been the king of Bavaria. In the war, Rupprecht had served as a field marshal and led great armies. Among the upper classes of Bavaria, whom Hitler needed, he enjoyed an almost mystical respect. Kahr, the dictator, was himself a convinced monarchist and viewed it as his life's aim some day to proclaim Rupprecht king—for these old civil servants could conceive of revolution only as a restoration of the monarchy. Hitler, it is true, despised the German princes for their cowardly flight in 1918. A few weeks previous he had informed Rupprecht through an intermediary that unless the prince did his bidding he would 'sweep him aside.' But now that the occasion offered, the king seemed to him just the right tool and very welcome.

Scheubner-Richter's and Rosenberg's plan was this: When all the notables were assembled in their little alley, but before the parading troops arrived, a few hundred storm troopers would suddenly descend in trucks, close off the street, covering the approaches with

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machine guns. Hitler would then approach P. Herr von Kahr and politely inform them that tion was on. The overthrow of the monarch avenged, the dethroned prince recover his ri; proclaim the German revolution and anythin suitable. Hitler was delighted with the idea. celebration, Rosenberg reconnoitered the sid and was horrified to find a large and well-arme revolution had to be called off.

But the plan was retained and carried ou modified form. On the morning of November : to Ernst Pöhner, the former police commissio protected him so well. Hitler told Pöhner he his *putsch* that night: 'I have great confidence have an important post in mind for you—wil away by the conspirator's lighthearted darir and at once rendered a vital service. On the n Kahr was to address a mass meeting, and th decisive opportunity to put the 'revolution wi the president' through. It appears that Hitlei make a kind of Bavarian separatist pronunciai fear gave him a pretext to do what he did. Al of Bavaria—though without the prince—wer a small space. This time it was in the Bürgerb many great halls in the city, where, in accor custom, thousands of thirsty souls gathered at drink beer out of big stone mugs. Most po held in these halls; Hitler had spoken dozens gerbräu.

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machine guns. Hitler would then approach Prince Rupprecht and Herr von Kahr and politely inform them that the German revolution was on. The overthrow of the monarchy in 1918 would be avenged, the dethroned prince recover his rights; he could then proclaim the German revolution and anything else that seemed suitable. Hitler was delighted with the idea. On the day of the celebration, Rosenberg reconnoitered the side-street in question, and was horrified to find a large and well-armed police guard. The revolution had to be called off.

But the plan was retained and carried out four days later in modified form. On the morning of November 8, Hitler made a visit to Ernst Pöhner, the former police commissioner, who had always protected him so well. Hitler told Pöhner he was going to make his *putsch* that night: 'I have great confidence in you,' he said. 'I have an important post in mind for you — will you help?' Carried away by the conspirator's lighthearted daring, Pöhner assented, and at once rendered a vital service. On the night of November 8, Kahr was to address a mass meeting, and this seemed to be the decisive opportunity to put the 'revolution with the permission of the president' through. It appears that Hitler feared Kahr might make a kind of Bavarian separatist pronunciamento — at least, this fear gave him a pretext to do what he did. All the political leaders of Bavaria — though without the prince — were again assembled in a small space. This time it was in the Bürgerbräu Keller, one of the many great halls in the city, where, in accordance with Bavarian custom, thousands of thirsty souls gathered at rough-hewn tables to drink beer out of big stone mugs. Most political meetings were held in these halls; Hitler had spoken dozens of times in the Bürgerbräu.

Kahr was to make a political speech — on a matter of little importance. Lossow, Seisser, and most of the ministers were present; and about three thousand people, who might well have been considered the leaders of the government, the army, society, and industry. The chief of the Munich police was also there, having delegated his post to a junior official, with whom we are already acquainted: Wilhelm Frick — the man who could not find the murderers. Frick was still blindly devoted and fanatically obedient

does not break out more. A Klein
is as secure as our house was
so long as he keeps his eye.

When accused of saying that I am a Jew when I am not a Jew, I say: I am a Jew when I am not a Jew, and I am not a Jew when I am not a Jew.

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188 DER FUHRER See Notebook A

Meanwhile, in the adjoining room — a cold, dismal place, full of beer fumes — Hitler spoke to his three prisoners in confused, jumbled snatches. He told them that he had formed a new government with Ludendorff. This was again untrue. Ludendorff knew nothing about it. The three, he continued, had but one choice: to join him. He was the government; in a hoarse voice he stammered: 'Reich government — Hitler; National Army — Ludendorff; Police — Seisser.' Herr von Kahr could be Bavarian 'Provincial Administrator,' a post without power. Pöhner was to be premier with dictatorial powers.

No answer. All three were darkly silent. At the doors and windows stood armed bohemia, pistols at belts, rifles over their shoulders, daggers at their sides — wild men with burning eyes, the ravenous beast, sensing that the cage door is about to open. Hitler raised his pistol and cried out that he knew it was hard for the gentlemen to decide, but that anyone who did not want to collaborate in the post to which Hitler appointed him 'has no right to existence.' They had but one choice: to fight by his side and conquer, or to die. Lossow and Seisser later testified that he staggered round the room half-drunk, though he had certainly taken no alcohol. He brandished his gun in their faces: 'I have four shots in my pistol! Three for my collaborators if they abandon me. The last bullet for myself!' He set the pistol to his temple and said solemnly: 'If I am not victorious by tomorrow afternoon, I shall be a dead man.'

Meanwhile, the three had recovered their nerves. Kahr, with forced indifference, told Hitler to go ahead and shoot him: 'Dying or not dying makes no difference to me. . . .' Hitler, barely listening, roared at Graf: 'Get me a stein!' He wanted beer.

Seisser spoke. He reproached Hitler for breaking his word of honor. Hitler suddenly grew plaintive: 'Yes, I did. Forgive me, but I had to for the sake of the fatherland.' Lossow was still silent. Kahr began to say a few words under his breath to the general. Hitler flew into a rage and interrupted: no talking without his permission. Again hostile silence.

The *putsch* was threatening to collapse. Hitler had an inspiration. He ran from the room, dashed into the hall, faced the silent,

* I was not pleased. He was such a coward, which is for me — he was so ~~extreme~~ internal

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and speech THE BEER HALL PUT

sullen gathering and announced that he had government with the three men in the next be Reichswehr minister, Seisser police minister be political leader, while Ludendorff would 'morrow,' he repeated, 'will find a German in Germany, or will find us dead!'

Is the meeting agreed? — Hitler asked. When he heard that Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser were all hearts grew light. With this lie, as a changed the mood of the meeting 'like a glow' Hitler returned to the adjoining room, and cheering through the open door. He was as and this made a great impression on him.

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he had much dreaming before he took action

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sullen gathering and announced that he had just formed a national government with the three men in the next room. Losow would be Reichswehr minister, Seisser police minister; he himself would be political leader, while Ludendorff would lead the army. 'Tomorrow,' he repeated, 'will find a German national government in Germany, or will find us dead!'

Is the meeting agreed? — Hitler asked. When the three thousand heard that Kahr, Losow, and Seisser were in accord with Hitler, all hearts grew light. With this lie, as a witness put it, Hitler changed the mood of the meeting 'like a glove.' Everyone cheered. Hitler returned to the adjoining room, and Kahr could hear the cheering through the open door. He was as vain as he was timid, and this made a great impression on him.

At this moment, General Ludendorff, punctually delivered by Scheubner-Richter, entered the room. He began at once to speak. He said he was just as surprised as the three gentlemen, but that this was a great national event, and he could only advise the three to collaborate. He now solemnly offered them his hand to shake. This cost Ludendorff almost as much self-control as the three. He felt that Hitler had taken him by surprise and humiliated him and that night he spoke barely five words to him. This didn't trouble Hitler at all. When Ludendorff had concluded, he cried out joyfully, almost mockingly: 'We can no longer turn back; our action is already inscribed on the pages of world history.'

Suddenly Pöhner appeared and began to argue with Kahr. The little dictator was still resisting: he was a monarchist after all and could act only in the name of his king. Pöhner, a big man, nearly a head taller than Kahr, spoke down to him. 'I, too, am a monarchist,' he declared, 'and that is exactly why I am taking part.' Meanwhile, Ludendorff stood in the middle of the room with outstretched hand; sheer respect demanded that Losow take the hand of his general. If this was comedy, it was well played. Hitler meanwhile approached Kahr, suddenly changing his attitude. He folded his hands and assumed an unexpectedly humble tone: all he wanted was to repair the injustice suffered by the monarchy. 'If your excellency permits, I will drive out to see his majesty at once and inform him that the German people have arisen and made good

he had made a dream before he took action and his dream came close to choking him

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his own wife
exceptional
Yet he survives. And not entirely through my agency. He is devoted to me, I say it, he is becoming a tyrant.

the injustice that was done his majesty's late-lamented father.' In all circumstances and with all persons, he found the right words. Now Kahr, too, found his word: he was prepared to co-operate 'as the king's deputy.' He had almost forgotten that he was putting on a comedy.

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The accord seemed complete. They all returned to the hall. Kahr spoke; Ludendorff spoke; Lossow spoke; Seisser spoke—the first two with emotion, the others with painful restraint. Hitler and Ludendorff celebrated the greatness of the moment: here in this hall, a German national government had been formed. Hitler repeated that he himself had undertaken the political direction of this government, thus fulfilling 'the oath I swore five years ago as a blind cripple in a military hospital.' As the historian, Karl Alexander von Müller, subsequently related, Hitler was as pleased as a child, 'beaming with joy, overjoyed at his success; he had a child-like, frank expression of happiness that I shall never forget.' Beside Müller sat Max von Gruber, professor of racial hygiene at Munich University, impassioned nationalist and scientist, uncontested authority in racial questions. As a witness, he made the following statement to the state's attorney: 'For the first time I saw Hitler at close quarters. Face and head: bad race, mongrel. Low, receding forehead, ugly nose, broad cheekbones, small eyes, dark hair; facial expression, not of a man commanding with full self-control, but betraying insane excitement. Finally, an expression of blissful egotism.'

The men on the platform all shook hands and swore loyalty to one another. The audience stood on tables and chairs and shouted, overpowered by enthusiasm. Hitler, who had threatened to shoot Kahr but a few minutes before, clasped his hand and said: 'Excellency, I shall stand faithfully behind you like a dog!'—perhaps he meant a watch-dog. Lossow and Seisser, to whom Hitler had broken his word of honor, received new oaths and new words of honor. And to the applauding, cheering throng, Hitler cried out that now there would be a march on Berlin, the 'great sinful Babel,' and there we shall establish a new Reich, a Reich 'of power and glory, Amen!'

Suddenly, amid the merry tumult, a stout, gray-bearded man

stepped up to Hitler—Minister Schweyer: me with so much as a glance. I stepped up the chest with my finger, and said in an let me tell you something, Mr. Hitler. Do laration you made to me in my office a year will? Do you remember?"—whereupon H embarrassment and gave me no answer.'

While the others were swearing oaths of each other's eyes, Lossow, with features cast with his act. Beaming with happiness, H hand and spoke in a warm voice of Germ Rudolf Hess stood at the exit with a few of and arrested a number of ministers who tri unnoticed. Hitler himself, despite all his app let his three victims, Kahr, Lossow, and Sei He was determined to prevent them from le then news arrived of a brawl between Reichs troops at one of the barracks. Lossow coul this, but Hitler didn't trust him. He himsel leaving the beer hall in command of Ludend

The crowd began to break up. The agi seeped slowly through the narrow door. M happy, a few dubious and worried; all were 1 that they had experienced a bit of history beh Lossow nonchalantly informed Ludendorff tha office, as there were important orders to be giv Seisser, he vanished in the departing crowd. "go?" Scheubner-Richter whispered to Ludenc to doub the word of a German officer,' Ludenc In the vestibule one of Kahr's officials approach all this meant? The little dictator replied: 'Herr despondent. You yourself saw that I was forc sent. That kind of thing simply isn't done.'

Meanwhile, Berlin had learned of the putsci met at midnight under chairmanship of Pre men in Berlin understood the problem of the ho in Munich. The President asked General von

please, General, whom does the Reichswehr obey? Does it obey the laws and the government, or the mutineers?' Seeckt looked coldly through his monocle and answered: 'The Reichswehr obeys me, Herr Reichs Präsident!' This answer hit the nail on the head and meant that the Reichswehr obeys its own interests. The Munich *putsch* threatened to tear the little army asunder, and therefore had to be crushed. Seeckt's position soon became clear to the others at the meeting; the President transferred to him a sort of dictatorial power, and Seeckt wired to Munich that he would put down the *putsch* if Munich didn't do so by itself.

Munich did it. A few of Lossow's close associates, among them General von Leeb, who later became a field marshal, had no sooner received the first reports from the Bürgerbräu than they placed the troops in readiness. The man who might have prevented this — Franz von Epp — was no longer there. Kahr may have lost his head for a moment, but the generals soon set him right. One of them received the returning Lossow with the sharp question: 'All that was bluff, excellency, was it not?' By 'all that' he meant the oath to the new Germany and the handshake. No misplaced sentimentality, if you please! A civilian, a former corporal, had dragged the general and commandant out of the hall at pistol-point in the presence of three thousand people; according to the code of honor prevailing in the German Army, Lossow was under obligation to strike him down. The general called Lossow a coward, a 'sorry figure.' 'I'd shoot down these dogs with a smile,' said one of his subordinates, referring to the National Socialist storm troopers.

Hitler prided himself on his understanding of the military soul, particularly the mood among the officers from major down. Yet it seems never to have entered his head that his pistol was a bitter affront to the Army's honor.

In high good humor, he returned to the Bürgerbräu. The waitresses were removing the beer mugs from the tables. On the floor, between the table and chair legs, the storm troopers lay sleeping amid their rifles and knapsacks. In one of the smaller rooms, Hitler expected to find General von Lossow in a council of war with Ludendorff; to plan on carrying the revolution to Berlin. But no Lossow was there, nor was there any sign of Kahr or Seisser.

Stunned at the blow, Hitler sank into a chair. The Quartermaster General and said nothing. He had gone amiss, though he did not yet fully a

During the night of November 8, some 100 storm troopers gathered in Munich. They had made some cannon. But for many hours Hitler realized he would really have to fight. In that night the Röhm hurried with a small band to Lossow's home. He himself had formerly worked, drew barbed wire, set up machine guns in the window for battle. Rudolf Hess sent gangs to the homes of the opponents, rounded them up and herded them to the Biernitz building, set up machine guns in the window for battle. He himself had formerly worked, drew barbed wire, set up machine guns in the window for battle. He himself had formerly worked, drew barbed wire, set up machine guns in the window for battle. For weeks Göring had spoken of a number of hostages.

The night was spent in deliberation, hope, feelings were held in the Bürgerbräu and in Lossow's home. Hitler, Scheubner-Richter, Rosenberg examined their situation for hours. For a long time to hope that Lossow or Seisser would suddenly change everything aright. They felt that a crisis, a struggle was in progress among their adversaries. They felt for a favorable turn and — partly out of pride — to realize the gravity of their situation. Who would stand against them?

'If we get through,' said Hitler darkly, 'we must have to hang ourselves.' Röhm was embittered and showed it. He had appeared with a full kit, as though going into the trenches for weeks on the ground, his head on his knapsack, blithering, defiant and indifferent, he took no part in the discussion. One suggested that perhaps the Allies, at least, would send in their soldiers; particularly the French, feared because of its proximity. 'There you see: what a worthless government we have in Berlin! They have such a hold on the three million Germans that they would rise up at the press of a button and Czech mobilization impossible.'

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Stunned at the blow, Hitler sank into a chair, stared at the great Quartermaster General and said nothing. He felt that his game had gone amiss, though he did not yet fully admit it to himself.

During the night of November 8, some three thousand storm troopers gathered in Munich. They had machine guns and even some cannon. But for many hours Hitler refused to believe that he would really have to fight. In that night two men were active. Röhm hurried with a small band to Lossow's headquarters where he himself had formerly worked, drew barbed wire around the building, set up machine guns in the windows, and prepared for battle. Rudolf Hess sent gangs to the homes of political opponents, rounded them up and herded them to the Bürgerbräu, aiming to intimidate Kahr and Lossow with the threat of murdering the hostages. For weeks Göring had spoken of nothing but the murder of hostages.

The night was spent in deliberation, hope, fear, hesitation. Meetings were held in the Bürgerbräu and in Lossow's offices occupied by Röhm. Hitler, Scheubner-Richter, Rosenberg, and Ludendorff examined their situation for hours. For a long time they continued to hope that Lossow or Seisser would suddenly reappear and put everything aright. They felt that a crisis, a struggle for a decision, was in progress among their adversaries. They continued to hope for a favorable turn and — partly out of pride and vanity — failed to realize the gravity of their situation. Who would dare to raise a hand against them?

'If we get through,' said Hitler darkly, 'very well; if not, we'll have to hang ourselves.' Röhm was embittered at so much inactivity and showed it. He had appeared with a fully packed soldier's kit, as though going into the trenches for weeks; he lay half asleep on the ground, his head on his knapsack, blinking at the light. Defiant and indifferent, he took no part in the deliberations. Someone suggested that perhaps the Allies, at news of the *putsch*, would send in their soldiers; particularly the Czech army was feared because of its proximity. 'There you see again,' said Hitler, 'what a worthless government we have in Berlin. They ought to have such a hold on the three million Germans in Czechoslovakia that they would rise up at the press of a button and make the whole Czech mobilization impossible.'

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ter, his new premier, that he wasn't march through all the streets, ring : 'Hang out your banners!' The city : 'then we'd see some enthusiasm constant flow of plans with which the p. Every minute he had some new rt, for bolstering up the ruined ven- decided to break him so that he would ler and Ludendorff still believed that he opposing forces, make them open : rifles.

ded a well-armed little troop, numer- reichswehr and Seisser's police; outside : double, perhaps triple, the number. f retreating to the open country and way, rallying the peasants to his ban- nerals, at the same time tearing the : om them. But Ludendorff rejected new that it was not feasible. Only too ed and Disinherited who revolted to n the Reichswehr. Later he said in our men, who had to eat after all,

nd suddenly had a new plan—mad, : desperation. He wanted to avoid fight- : which was slipping through his fin- y a compromise peace—perhaps even Ludendorff's personal prestige had : ted at a messenger from the general : at him. Hitler cold-bloodedly de- ster General who had proved useless. : background: the pretender, Prince : r days Ludendorff's bitter personal : shaved figures in the Bürgerbräu was : armed bohemian, a good friend of : d to the prince. In the dawn of No- : him and ordered him to Berchtes-

gaden, where the prince resided in a large castle. His instructions were to ask the prince to intercede with Kahr and Lossow and obtain a pardon for Hitler and Ludendorff. This would let them out of the affair without bloodshed or criminal proceedings. Hitler still hoped to win by humbling himself. An unpunished *putsch* is a victorious *putsch*. When Hitler gave Neunzert his message, Ludendorff stood by—did not speak a word.

Neunzert went—but how can petty circumstances sometimes change history! He found no car; was forced to go by train and did not reach Berchtesgaden until noon. Meanwhile, Ludendorff took the decision into his own hands. He saw his hour. There was only one way out. This band of three thousand idealists and dubious adventurers, of armed bohemians and plunderers, of believing and avid youth, must face the carbines of the Reichswehr, and the miracle must happen: the carbines must drop. Ludendorff was confident that they would if he marched in the lead. Hitler had thought so, too; but now his courage left him. While Ludendorff prepared his big act, the encounter between armed bohemia and Reichswehr, Hitler lent ear to timorous advisers who made it clear to him that the encounter would be more than an act. He hesitantly approached Ludendorff: 'They will fire on us.' The Quartermaster General replied only: 'We will march!'

Meanwhile, measures had been taken to help the miracle along. Hess packed Minister Schweyer and a second minister into the car, guarded by two sinister-looking individuals with rifles; he himself sat down beside the driver. The car sped southward, toward the mountains, where Hess appears to have had a hide-out; in any case, the two were being held as hostages for the safety of the rebel army and its leader. At a clearing in the woods Hess halted, the little company left the car and marched away from the road—things looked very much like a new forest murder. But this time it was only an act, like everything else connected with the *putsch*; after the two were sufficiently terrified, the journey was resumed. In Munich, Hitler was waiting anxiously for the saving message from the prince, and at length it came—when it was too late. Three thousand men were awaiting the order to march; the carbines that were to decide the day were already loaded. Meanwhile, in the Novem-

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ber mist, Rudolf Hess was racing through the mountains with his two victims; more and more in sorrowful doubt whether this was the right thing to do.

The mass of hostages had been corralled in the Bürgerbräu. Göring made them join the marching columns, which in the course of the morning gathered in front of the building. He commanded one of his lieutenants, a certain Knoblauch, to keep a sharp eye on the prisoners during the march, as their life was a pledge for the safety of the whole venture. Knoblauch promised the prisoners that if anything happened to the column, he would have their skulls bashed in with rifle butts. Meanwhile, Göring and Ulrich Graf left the Bürgerbräu and went a few hundred yards toward the center of the city from which the rebels were separated by the Isar River. The bridge was closed by heavily armed police. Göring, magnificent in his black cap and black leather coat, beribboned and bemedaled, stepped up to the commanding officer, put his hand to his cap and said: 'Herr Kamerad, we are marching, and I want to tell you this: the first dead man in our ranks means the immediate death of all the hostages.' Ulrich Graf has given us a faithful picture of the whole scene. How terrible, the officer moaned, that they should begin shooting at one another. Only a little while before he and his comrades had fought shoulder to shoulder with Göring's men, and he couldn't see why they had suddenly become enemies. That, Göring replied coldly, was something he could ask von Lossow and Seisser. After much sighing on both sides the conversation ended with the following proposal from the police officer: 'Very well, Herr Kamerad, if I receive orders to move against you, I will inform you in time for you and your people to take the necessary defensive measures . . . or to withdraw if you wish to.'

At eleven o'clock the storm columns started toward the bridge. The hostages, awaiting death, stood in their ranks. Hitler passed and his eyes fell on the unfortunates. He gave orders to leave them behind — 'I wanted no martyrs,' he said later. The *putsch* was three quarters lost and a massacre of these defenseless men might have cost the leaders their heads. Hitler's courage and spirit of initiative sank from hour to hour. He let himself be driven, and Ludendorff did the driving.

It was a gray November morning. The Isar quarter in which the Bürgerbräu is situated faced the city and the government buildings. At the bridge a police squad under its benevolent command, which for days had been possessed by blood lust, stepped forward hand to hand, and repeated: 'The first dead man means the death of a hostage.' He thought it was his turn to be in the column. At this moment the marching policemen, tore their carbines out of their hands and struck them in the face. This was no fratricide, it was the beginning.

In the inner city, somewhat to the north of the headquarters of von Lossow, which Röhm had fixed as his headquarters, Reichswehr troops had surrounded the city with cannon in place. Neither of the two parties were the closest comrades and friends on both sides had gone beyond all politics. It would have been officers to shoot into a band of unknown to fire on comrades — this was hard.

And now advanced toward them, through the leading three thousand more or less dubious ordinary soldier who, to the Reichswehr, still seemed of all military fame and greatness: the Quartermaster of the World War. Ludendorff led his troop through the city toward Lossow's headquarters near the Isar, apparently with the intention of liberating the city. He was convinced that the besieging officers would resist the sight of his aquiline face. When he came to fraternize with their adversaries, when he disobeyed Lossow, they would do so.

The column made its way into a narrow, going out on the broad Odeonsplatz near the Isar. The first row marched Ludendorff; to his right, a former major by the name of Streck, side by side marched Hitler, holding the pistol with which he intended to shoot himself in the event of failure. He hid behind the arm of Scheubner-Richter — an a

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olf Hess was racing through the mountains with his more and more in sorrowful doubt whether this was to do.

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It was a gray November morning. The Isar River separates the quarter in which the Bürgerbräu is situated from the center of the city and the government buildings. At the bridge stood the armed police squad under its benevolent commander. Göring, who for days had been possessed by blood lust, stepped forward, put his hand to his cap, and repeated: 'The first dead man in our ranks means the death of a hostage.' He thought the hostages were still in the column. At this moment the marching mass fell on the policemen, tore their carbines out of their hands, spat on them, and struck them in the face. This was no fraternization, no hopeful beginning. 11/9/23

In the inner city, somewhat to the north of the Feldherrn Halle, lay Lossow's headquarters, which Röhm had fortified with machine guns. Reichswehr troops had surrounded the building and set cannon in place. Neither of the two parties dared to fire. There were the closest comrades and friends on both sides. This drama had gone beyond all politics. It would have been easier for the officers to shoot into a band of unknown storm troopers. But to fire on comrades — this was hard.

And now advanced toward them, through the streets of Munich, leading three thousand more or less dubious figures, that extraordinary soldier who, to the Reichswehr, still seemed the embodiment of all military fame and greatness: the Quartermaster General of the World War. Ludendorff led his troop through the center of the city toward Lossow's headquarters near the Feldherrn Halle, apparently with the intention of liberating the besieged Röhm. He was convinced that the besieging officers and soldiers would not resist the sight of his aquiline face. When he commanded them to fraternize with their adversaries, when he commanded them to disobey Lossow, they would do so.

The column made its way into a narrow, gully-like street, opening out on the broad Odeonsplatz near the Feldherrn Halle. In the first row marched Ludendorff; to his right his personal adjutant, a former major by the name of Streck. On Ludendorff's left side marched Hitler, holding the pistol with which he had sworn to shoot himself in the event of failure. He had slung his left arm through the arm of Scheubner-Richter — an astonishing gesture of

ssness. Directly ahead of Hitler marched Göring; Alfred Rosenberg was in the second, a sick man, was missing. A little to the right, a bald man with hysterically convulsed features, Dr. Julius Streicher from Nuremberg. The parade was led by an automobile carrying several machine guns and a thousand men with shouldered rifles, some of whom were all singing.

s drawn across the street where it opens into
aps a hundred men — again police and not
hree thousand. If the police wanted to stop
l to do it in this narrow pass; once they
re, the revolutionaries could have brought
rity to bear.

clear who fired first. It would seem that if the policemen and tried to snatch his car-crying: 'Surrender! Surrender!' This man ephs of his soul. At the same moment a ried in terror: 'Don't shoot, His Excellency Who can measure the effect of the fraction nutering the useless word, 'Excellency'? A : man—probably Ulrich Graf—collapsed, as fired. Göring fell, shot in the thigh. ived a fatal wound and fell. So tight was n that Hitler's arm was dislocated. Hitler s not clear whether he was pulled down by nctively seeking cover. In any case, it is ed to cow the enemy, he had to remain on

standing. He even advanced. With Streck rifle barrels of the police to the open square. twenty-five men had followed him, the day
erently.

the three thousand returned the fire. They
into action. Rosenberg lay on the ground
hind him lay a National Socialist whom he
g over him. The other side shot back; the

ambassador of the Wise Men of Zion covered the unknown warrior. As Rosenberg later related, he found the man's bravery quite superfluous, and yelled at him to stop shooting in the Devil's name. The other took no heed and went on firing. Rosenberg finally crawled to one side; the firing stopped; he stood up and crept backward. Pressed against a house-wall stood Doctor Friedrich Weber, leader of the 'Oberland' Defense League allied with Hitler, weeping hysterically. Göring was carried into a near-by bank by two young storm troopers. The Jewish owner gave him first aid; this made so deep an impression on the two young National Socialists — brothers — that they soon left the party.

The whole exchange of fire had lasted less than a minute. Both sides were horrified and quickly stopped shooting. The narrow bit of street was covered with fallen bodies. Fourteen of Hitler's followers lay dead on the pavement.

Followers . . . it is noteworthy that the leaders in the first row lost only one dead: Scheubner-Richter. The other dead were unknown rank-and-filers; one or two held respected posts in civil life, but were simple privates in the party. The leaders appear to have saved themselves by quickly throwing themselves on the ground, so that the fire passed over them into the onrushing mass, killing thirteen. Three of the police fell.

As soon as the shooting stopped, in the first seconds of stunned silence on both sides, a man rose in the front row, the first of them all to rise, the quickest, perhaps the most terrified, obeying only his instinct of self-conservation. Doctor Walter Schulz, the National Socialist physician, who had marched in the foremost ranks, later told the examining magistrate: 'I saw that Hitler was the first to stand up. Apparently wounded in the arm, he moved back. I hurried after Hitler at once and caught one of our cars which were driving at the end of the column. Hitler was taken to this car.'

Another witness, the National Socialist Doctor Karl Gebhard, mentions the rapidity with which Hitler entered the car and drove away; both stories indicate that Hitler was the first to flee.

A bystander about a hundred yards from the head of the column, not knowing that Hitler and Ludendorff were marching in the lead and certainly not suspecting that there would be shooting in

a few moments, saw the following picture: The storm troopers marched in gray or yellow wind-jackets and Norwegian ski caps (from which the S.A. cap was to develop). They carried their rifles over their shoulders and sang, apparently with no thought of fighting; as on parade. Suddenly the sound of firing was heard. It was an unexpected shock, not on the program. Two, perhaps three, volleys were heard, and for a few seconds the heavy rat-tat-tat of a machine gun. The whole thing did not last much more than half a minute. Time enough for the observer to run into a house door. At the same time the long column began to halt, to break up, and to run back in leaderless flight.

Ahead of all the rest the Leader fled. The day before Hitler had taken a long chance, he had risked his head and he knew it; he had done it in high spirits and with good courage. Today he had gone into a venture, lost before it was begun. Unable to avoid it, he had staked his life on an action which he knew to be useless. Now, leaving his men stretched out on the paving stones, he stood up and ran away.

11/9/23 Thus did armed bohemia behave when things became serious and their lives were at stake. Walter Flex, their poet and model, once had said that a man must be capable 'of shooting at the enemy through his own body.' On November 9, 1923, there was none of this. One man who really wanted to fight was commanded by Rosenberg to stop. A few weeks before, Communist workers in Hamburg had kept on shooting; in 1919, the bloody struggles of the proletarians in Berlin had lasted for days; the same was true in Munich in April and May of 1919, in March, 1920, in the Ruhr, later in central Germany. In February, 1934, it took the Austrian Fascists with their cannon days to break the resistance of the workers—not to mention the fight which the Spanish Republicans put up for more than two years against the Fascist generals. These struggles were serious and both sides realized that their heads were at stake. But in Munich it was a different type that faced the fire. We know the professions of the men who fell. Among the sixteen there was a locksmith, a hatter, a headwaiter, and Ludendorff's servant; the others were retired officers, or 'merchants' and 'bank clerks'—in reality, retired officers, temporarily in civilian occupa-

tions: armed bohemia. When this type makes its nature and plan a sham, an armed noise whispered betrayal; the seemingly military conclusion concluded in advance; a painless indulgent hoax on the audience. This time the act had its actors fled at once.

Two hours later, Röhm capitulated behind him gave in to the persuasion of Epp, who came as an angel of peace; apparently a friend, perhaps a traitor, a faint heart and a gravedigger of the common men, two had fallen.

Meanwhile, a car with the two hostages was on the mountain roads. Shortly after noon, the news in Munich reached the countryside. The lone soldier while pausing for rest. Schweyer suddenly guards had vanished. He gathered new energy the driver, who suddenly showed himself astounded toward the ministers, to drive them back to Munich. Rudolf Hess slipped across the border into Austria on trail.

A few days later, Hitler was under arrest. A German chaos came to an end, and in a pacified to normalcy, a band of aimless rebels remained behind. Six days after the shooting at the Feldherrn Platz mark was stabilized; from then on, it stopped steadily remained one of the firmest currencies in London a committee of international financiers to help sustain the German economy. Under the American financier, Owen D. Young, and the English Josiah Stamp, a plan was worked out which the Dawes Plan after the chairman of the committee received an international loan of eight hundred million secured by the German state railways. At the same governments set an approximate limit to the German payments, which had been purposely left vague were to begin with half a billion marks per annum five years, to two and a half billions. An American

Gilbert, of J. P. Morgan and Company, was to supervise the management of German public finances and make sure the foreign capital was not misused. It was an oppressive and humiliating condition, but, in the beginning at least, understandable from the viewpoint of the creditor; for the next few years, Germany flourished under this system.

A period of prosperity, of relaxed nerves and settled living conditions began. This was the great recovery which Hitler had tried in vain to prevent with his last minute *putsch*. But the accomplices of the armed bohemians, the protectors and employers of the murderers' army, still sat in their high state positions, in the ministries and courts. It was these accomplices who were to mete out justice to Hitler.

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The judges could scarcely look their victims in the eyes, the jailers did not know whether to guard or wait on their prisoners. To be sure, there were numerous conscientious officials in all departments; and among the accomplices many were enraged against Hitler for exposing them. Epp declared in no uncertain terms that Hitler had broken his word. Yet the leaders of the state were well aware that they were Hitler's accomplices and should have been on trial with him, and their bad conscience certainly weakened the prosecution. The young people who had run so fast from the fire recovered their courage in the presence of the embarrassed police inspectors and state's attorneys. They were seized with righteous indignation. They had marched out for a parade, and instead they had been forced to fight; the state which had already surrendered to them suddenly slipped away. The armed bohemians thought they were Germany; power over society was their prerogative, by virtue of their natural superiority and talents—and then they were fired upon. They were haled into court for proclaiming the violent overthrow of the government, arresting the ministers and leading officials, seizing and threatening to kill men who were totally innocent, plundering private lodgings and stealing bank-notes from state printing offices. They scoffed and cursed at their judges, for daring to annoy them over such matters. Hitler in prison heard how his men had recovered their old daring and insolence; this, as he later related, considerably restored his courage.

At first 'I wanted to hear nothing more of threatened to end his life by voluntary starva founder of the party, visited him, and Hitler—let himself be dissuaded.

At the end of February, 1924, he faced a spec dorff, Röhm, Frick, and others. The trial gav licity and was a scandal in every respect. Hitler could declare that he had not wantec state, for he had thought the state was with hin risen to be minister of justice, used his powerf the judges incline the scales even more than t have.

In the presence of these complaisant judges, his courage, and his speeches before the court impressive. He strove to prove his innocence had done only what Kahr, Lossow, and Sei wanted. He attempted—and to this he att portance—to explain himself to the world: 'I would rather be hanged in a Bolshevik German the rule of French swords.' Lossow appeared : lated how Hitler for months had pressed him military dictatorship. 'Once we take over, the ; had said, 'the program will come of itself.' Wh the court asked Hitler: 'And how did you conc that?'—the greatest propagandist of our day this: the first thing must be an inconceivable w That is, a political action which would have h the other problems of the moment. . . . We v approached the German nation with a great pleb on to indicate that he did have at least a foreign of Germany, he would have played England ag land, he said, had the single desire to 'Balkaniz to create a balance of power on the Continent world position from being threatened. She is not of Germany. . . . France, however, is German As England requires the Balkanization of Euro the Balkanization of Germany.' Whatever gov

the Ruhr; the eight hundred million gold marks flowed into Germany; more hundreds of millions and ultimately billions came from England and America in the years that followed. For Germany, internally pacified, rebuilding her economy, passed now as a place where money could be invested profitably and safely. To be sure, the inflation had cost the masses a fortune which they never recovered; later it became evident that this destruction of money and hence of bourgeois self-esteem was no unique, transitory stroke of misfortune, but heralded a long wave of destruction and annihilation. But for the present, smooth, friendly conditions seemed to be returning, and hearts were filled with an illusory hope that the terrible catastrophe of 1923 would not be repeated, and should, therefore, in God's name be forgotten.

National Socialism was forgotten along with it. Impotent and embittered in his prison, Hitler laid down the leadership, broke with Ludendorff in a harsh and disrespectful manner, drew forth old sheets of manuscript on which he had begun to write in 1922, and dictated to various fellow prisoners, lastly to Rudolf Hess, the continuation of a work of monumental conception to which he later gave the title *Mein Kampf*.

Thirteen years later, Hitler spoke hard words of self-condemnation about his *putsch* of 1923. In 1922, he had given Minister Schweyer his word of honor, never to make a *putsch*. One year later, he might have had the excuse that the circumstances had been stronger than he. But in 1936, he admitted without shame: "Today I can frankly own that in the years from 1920 to 1923 I thought of nothing else but a *putsch*." Then he added: "I can calmly say this: that was the rashest decision of my life. When I think back on it today, I grow dizzy. . . . If today you saw one of our squads from the year 1923 marching by, you would ask: What workhouse have they escaped from? . . . But Fate meant well with us. It did not permit an action to succeed, which if it had succeeded, would in the end have inevitably crashed as a result of the movement's inner immaturity in those days, and its deficient organizational and intellectual foundation."

What Hitler wanted to say was that thirteen years ago he actually did not know the direction in which he was going. He hardly understood the reasons that were leading him there.

Chapter X

INTERLUD

ONE MAY MORNING IN 1849, AT DR of the kingdom of Saxony, a man climbed and went over to the troops of the king. The cenaries, had been vainly attempting to stori by its citizenry. Unable to subdue his own Saxony had asked for 'foreign aid,' that is, of Prussia. The foreigners were on their way. climbed over the barricades. He went over were enemies, but none the less Saxons, and which read 'Are you with us against the forei

That afternoon, the same man stood on th steeple of the Church of the Cross, watched th up in the distance, and dropped slips of pape ments to the defenders. Enemy sharpshooters tion tower; revolutionary sharpshooters, lyin; works, returned the fire. When the firing gre rade wanted to draw him away. He said v worry, I am immortal!

He was a man of thirty-five, a conductor at had composed operas of his own. His contem aware of it—but in these operas human lo pressed in new, enchanted tones; and more th spattered round the tower, the century was i swelling, darkly beautiful melody, the immoi "To thee, O goddess of love, let my song reso

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of that strange millennial belief in the coming future which had seized almost the whole of four years of butchery. A national parliamentary constitution, called 'the freest constitution' which it assuredly was on paper. There was the peace that would 'make the world safe for the highest goal of the European nations, the annihilation of the Jewish race.'

German democracy seeped away: not immediately in institutions, but in the hearts of men. The German people had a better world from democracy, better at least than the world that was to come. The development was rather for the worse. The first starving Germany went on, war conditions were a peace which did not really end the war. The only left important questions unsettled. Of this there were three things that can be said with certainty: it buried not only Germany—with a war guilt, whose guilt has been confirmed by historical research; it subverted the world, but materially almost intact) to a but economically senseless and unfulfillable, in which granting the right of self-determination to the world led it to Germany. But the chief sin of this peace was democracy. The democratic framers of this treaty had no idea that democracy, national in its beginnings, was of world scope. They might have learned from the Wise Men of Zion, from Wagner and from the Antichrist, that the time had come to as a whole because, as Chamberlain had put it, 'the planet had become small and round.' They tried to create the beginnings of a world democracy, nations the feeling that they were masters and their destiny; that they could mold their own being mere victims of their politicians. Instead they divided the world, Europe and Asia at least, into entirely democratic national sectors, actually infected with national hatred and violence. With the current of their time, the men of Versailles could have

attempted to build up a world democracy. They could have tried to create a world parliament elected by the nations, or rather by the people in the nations—for a moment, in 1919, there was some talk of this in Paris. Instead, they called a conference of diplomats, to which they gave the absurd, because inwardly untrue, name 'League of Nations.'

The consequence was an increasing doubt of democracy. World organization was inevitable and urgently needed, and there was a growing readiness to accept it at the hands of anyone who was ready to undertake it even by violence. Democracy did not act in its hour; and so the Antichrist acted. When the dream of peace had vanished, a skeptical Germany began slipping toward the same abyss of despair as in 1849.

And so, disillusionment and despair gave birth to the moral chaos, in which an army of murderers could seize authority. At this time Chamberlain, who had fallen sick and silent after the war, privately uttered the hope that from the bands of volunteers on the Russian frontier a young, unknown leader might arise, who would clean out democracy.

An unknown young leader from the frontier! When he actually came, he came from the Austrian, not the Russian, frontier; and by meeting him Chamberlain definitely became a key figure of world history. In October, 1923, Hitler went to Bayreuth where Chamberlain lived as son-in-law of the late 'master of all masters.' Hitler first delivered a public speech and was then received at Wahnfried, home of the Wagner family. There he met the aged 'mistress of Bayreuth,' Cosima Wagner; Siegfried Wagner, the weak son and heir, composer, director, laborious preserver of the great musical tradition; Winifred, his English-born wife; and finally a paralyzed old man in a wheel-chair, with spent eyes in the face of a child: Chamberlain. Hitler felt that he was among kindred spirits; he was happy and at ease. He put on a big show and spoke at length. Chamberlain was carried away. The next day, the half-dying man, by a supreme effort of the will, dictated a letter to Hitler, telling him that this meeting was his strongest experience since 1914, when his illness had overtaken him; since then he had never slept so well as that night, and he found it miraculous that Hitler, the awakener

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of souls, should have possessed the power to bestow on him so soothing a sleep. 'My faith in the Germans has never wavered for a moment, but my hope, I must own, had sunk to a low ebb. At one stroke you have transformed the state of my soul.' One more who had succumbed to the thundering, hypnotic voice!

Hitler had come to Wahnfried in the company of two men. One was a little-known anti-Semitic poet and journalist of Czech origin, a fulsome admirer of Wagner; his name was Josef Czerny, and, in order to have a German pseudonym, he called himself Josef Stolzinger, after the Wagnerian figure. The other was Alfred Rosenberg, the Russo-German and prophet of the Wise Men of Zion. It appears that it was he who had acquainted Hitler with Chamberlain's ideas, and since Hitler was too impatient for steady reading, had underlined the most important and useful sentences in the thick tomes. Rosenberg regarded himself as Chamberlain's disciple and successor, and as executant of his spiritual legacy. After Chamberlain's death in 1926, the Russo-German wrote a biography of the Anglo-German, published an anthology of his writings, and himself wrote a book the very title of which was intended to indicate that it was a continuation of Chamberlain's chief work: *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*.

Among the guests at Wahnfried, Hitler met Count Richard du Moulin-Eckart of French émigré stock, the biographer of Cosima Wagner; he met Count Manfred Gräfin, an Italian, who married one of Wagner's daughters; he met the wife of Chamberlain's publisher, Elsa Bruckmann, née Rumanian Princess Cantacuzene. This Rumanian princess soon became one of Hitler's most ardent supporters—like an American woman from the same circle, the widow of the publisher Hanfstaengl.

Chamberlain had developed the doctrine of the elective affinity of Aryans, extending beyond nations. The phrases and the gestures are stubbornly German; but in reality an international type, dimly foreseen by Heine and Nietzsche, was in process of formation. To the Austrian Hitler, Chamberlain wrote: 'I always wonder whether the lack of political instinct, for which the Germans are so often reproached, is not a symptom of a far profounder gift for state-building. The organizational talent of the Germans is in any

case unexcelled, and their scientific capacities such that I have built my hope. . . .'

Now perhaps we can better understand these seemingly simple words. To this end we have vision through the history of the European national mind. In the world of today we see this history as in a concave mirror. We see Adolf Hitler, the chronistic German answer to Napoleon. We advance by the Richard Wagner he so venerates Napoleon, a man of violence, a beast of prey. And regarding himself as business manager of the world, can do no wrong, because to Napoleonic greatness is permissible. We see him as Thor, the thunder-hammer and smashing the talisman of our culture; see him rise up out of the teeming, nameless mass, writing a book of 'power philosophy'; see by the Vienna Academy of Art, growing to life. We see him, with subtle science, building a new world as the world has never known, and, at an early date, plans according to which the entire globe will be ruled. We see him as the Antichrist with the banal: round him the uprooted intellectuals among the many foreign peoples; a type of men of great length in order that the machine may 'work': and also to obey, to trample and to be trampled if they must, to die.

We see Adolf Hitler surrounded by half-English, half-Frenchmen, half-Italians, half-Czechs and all of them also half-Germans; and we hear his wolf-cry, expecting the howling wolves from everywhere: him: 'Aryans and anti-Semites of all nations, unite!

ed the power to bestow on him so the Germans has never wavered for its own, had sunk to a low ebb. At the state of my soul.' One more underling, hypnotic voice!

ed in the company of two men. One poet and journalist of Czech origin, his name was Josef Czerny, and, in donym, he called himself Josef Stolare. The other was Alfred Rosenberg, prophet of the Wise Men of Zion. He acquainted Hitler with Chamberlain's too impatient for steady reading important and useful sentences in the ed himself as Chamberlain's disciple ant of his spiritual legacy. After the Russo-German wrote a biography and an anthology of his writings, and title of which was intended to indicate of Chamberlain's chief work: *The*

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1923

case unexcelled, and their scientific capacities unequalled; it is on this that I have built my hope. . . .'

Now perhaps we can better understand the deep meaning of seemingly simple words. To this end we have taken a long excursion through the history of the European nations and the German mind. In the world of today we see this history reflected, intensified as in a concave mirror. We see Adolf Hitler as the belated anachronistic German answer to Napoleon. We see him cursed in advance by the Richard Wagner he so venerates, as an imitator of Napoleon, a man of violence, a beast of prey. We see in him a man regarding himself as business manager of the world spirit, which can do no wrong, because to Napoleonic greatness every wrong is permissible. We see him as Thor, the thunder-god, raising his giant hammer and smashing the talisman of our culture, the cross. We see him rise up out of the teeming, nameless 'intelligent herd mass,' writing a book of 'power philosophy'; see the student rejected by the Vienna Academy of Art, growing to be an 'artist tyrant.' We see him, with subtle science, building a human machine such as the world has never known, and, at an early date, drawing up plans according to which the entire globe will become his machine. We see him as the Antichrist with the banal mustache, gathering round him the uprooted intellectuals among his own people and among many foreign peoples; a type of men willing to go to any length in order that the machine may 'work': willing to command and also to obey, to trample and to be trampled, to kill and even, if they must, to die.

We see Adolf Hitler surrounded by half-Englishmen, half-Americans, half-Frenchmen, half-Italians, half-Czechs, half-Rumanians, and all of them also half-Germans; and we hear him utter his wolf-cry, expecting the howling wolves from everywhere to answer him: 'Aryans and anti-Semites of all nations, unite!'

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Beer Hall Putsch

Hitler's first attempt to seize power in Germany, the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923, casts special light on his personality. He showed a combination of decision and irresolution, effectiveness and ineptitude, and—as we shall see in a later connection—a curious impulse to flirt with disaster.

Nov 1923
The historical background for the famous event can be quickly sketched. After Munich was "liberated" from the Communists in the Spring of 1919, Free Corps fighters by the hundreds flocked to the city where sympathetic officials gave them haven.* Two political leaders sought the support of these militant, unruly veterans and racist activists: the "strongman" of Bavaria, Gustav von Kahr, and Adolf Hitler. Kahr was a ponderous, stubborn, uninspiring bureaucrat who had just been made state commissioner general [*Generalstaatskommissar*]—a post whose powers were well beyond his ability. Both men were uncomfortable with their restless supporters who demanded action and the immediate overthrow of the hated Weimar Republic.

Hitler in particular was uncertain and hesitant. He did not quite know what to do with a political situation which seemed so propitious for political upheaval. By the late summer of 1923, Germans were stunned and shaken by the recent French invasion of the Ruhr; runaway inflation was wiping out people's life savings; unemployment grew unchecked; thousands went hungry. In addition to economic distress, there seemed to be political crises everywhere. Radical socialists seized the governments of Saxony and Thuringia. A Red uprising in Hamburg was put down only after vicious street fighting. In the Rhineland, separatists proclaimed an independent Rhenish Republic. Everywhere, it seemed, "things were falling apart." And nowhere was there more happiness than in Hitler's headquarters.

Destiny seemed to be calling him. But he was not quite sure. He got no clear message. For weeks he had talked loudly and often about overthrowing the government of "Jewish traitors" and "November Criminals." But he was disconcerted when militant veterans began to take him literally. They wanted action, and he was disappointing them. They began to mutter about the leader "who makes revolution with his mouth." In a secret session of Hitler's subsequent trial, Wilhelm Brückner, then the leader of the Munich Brownshirts and later Hitler's personal adjutant, testified, "I also personally told Hitler that the day was

* The tone and political bias of the city is shown in an incident recalled by Ernst Röhm, a right-wing militant and early supporter of Hitler who was later gunned down on his Führer's orders. "One day an alarmed statesman went up to the Police President (Ernst Pöhner) and whispered in his ear, 'Herr President, political murder organizations actually exist in this country!' Pöhner replied, 'Yes, I know—but not enough of them!' [*So, so, aber zu wenig!*]" Röhm, *Die Geschichte eines Hochveräters*, 7th ed. (Munich, 1934), 131.

The Child As Father to the

near when I could no longer the men would drift away

Nor could Hitler be recently made to the Bavarian had called him to his he and his men were about his chair, beat his breast of honor, never as long 'My word of honor, I w first formal political pron

Kahr was equally to a revolution, but he ne gram of conservative res veterans gravitate to Hi vited the leading nation: which was to be held on intended, but Hitler was dramatic announcement- telsbach monarchy. At initiative pass to Kahr. A that the time had come

On the evening of 8 servatives of Bavaria as respectable Bürgerbräuk was reading falteringly a reached a passage asse voice droned on, the as motion near the center (morning coat had jumpe —fired two shots into tl that the national revoluti

Hitler did not look l cut a very imposing figur secretary of state for that night, recalled that most difficult of all gam coat, and let alone a mar legs and his long torso. ridiculous costume I thou

After firing his shot: point commanded the th sow, and Seisser * to go

* Kahr, as noted, was t sow was commander of the l telligent man with wry wit l commander of the Bavarian independent mind and proven

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

near when I could no longer restrain the men. If nothing happened now, the men would drift away from him." ²²⁵

Nor could Hitler be comforted by the memory of a promise he had recently made to the Bavarian minister of the interior. When the minister had called him to his office and expressed concern over rumors that he and his men were about to try to seize power, Hitler "jumped up from his chair, beat his breast, and cried: 'Herr Minister, I give you my word of honor, never as long as I live will I make a *Putzsch*!' He repeated: 'My word of honor, I will never make a *Putzsch*!' " ²²⁶ It was Hitler's first formal political promise.

Kahr was equally torn and embarrassed. He certainly did not want a revolution, but he needed to carry Freebooter support for his program of conservative restoration. He could not afford to let the angry veterans gravitate to Hitler. In the beginning of November, Kahr invited the leading nationalists of Bavaria and the Reich to a meeting which was to be held on 8 November 1923. It is not clear what Kahr intended, but Hitler was afraid that his rival was about to make a dramatic announcement—perhaps proclaim the restoration of the Wittelsbach monarchy. At any rate, the Nazi leader could not let the initiative pass to Kahr. After sleepless nights of indecision, he decided that the time had come to act "decisively" and with "ice-cold finality."

On the evening of 8 November 1923, Kahr addressed leading conservatives of Bavaria as they sat around the tables of the eminently respectable Bürgerbräukeller drinking beer. The pompous bureaucrat was reading falteringly and badly from a prepared manuscript. He had reached a passage asserting his opposition to Communism. As his voice droned on, the assembled dignitaries were startled by a commotion near the center of the hall. A ludicrous figure in an ill-fitting morning coat had jumped to a chair or table—the matter is in dispute—fired two shots into the ceiling, and with blazing eyes announced that the national revolution was taking place.

Hitler did not look like a revolutionary leader. Indeed, he did not cut a very imposing figure at all. Admiral von Hintze, the last Imperial secretary of state for foreign affairs, who was present at the beer hall that night, recalled that Hitler was "dressed in a morning coat, the most difficult of all garments to wear, let alone a badly cut morning coat, and let alone a man with as bad a figure as Hitler with his short legs and his long torso. When I saw him jump on the table in that ridiculous costume I thought, 'The poor little waiter!'" ²²⁷

After firing his shots, Hitler rushed to the platform and at pistol point commanded the three most powerful men in Bavaria, Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser * to go with him to a side room. There he briskly

* Kahr, as noted, was the state commissioner general. General Otto von Lossow was commander of the Bavarian Reichswehr Division. He was an affable, intelligent man with wry wit but little resolution. Colonel Hans Ritter von Seisser, commander of the Bavarian State Police, was a resolute and humorless person of independent mind and proven courage.

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

ordered a glass of beer for himself—at a cost of 500,000 inflated marks. (When he flung the glass away later in the evening, his devoted followers carefully picked up the shards and preserved them as relics.) He then turned to his hostages and either cajoled or threatened them into supporting him in the formation of a national government. He returned with them to the hall and announced that General Ludendorff, the hero and military dictator of the war years, would lead a new National Army; Hitler would take over the political leadership. Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser, along with other Bavarian rightists, would have positions of responsibility in his new administration. When each of the hostages spoke to the crowd and apparently supported him, Hitler was delighted. He reminded the historian Karl-Alexander von Müller of a little child "beaming with joy, overjoyed at his success; he had a childlike, frank expression of happiness I shall never forget." ²²⁸

Hitler then launched into an oration which electrified the crowd of 3,000 people. He ended dramatically with the promise that "tomorrow will find either a nationalist government in Germany or us dead." Actually, on the morrow he would seek a third alternative. But for the moment his speech was effective, and a sullen and uncertain crowd was turned, as a listener described it, "inside out, like a glove." ²²⁹

After this smashingly successful speech, Hitler sank into lethargy and into the strange, self-defeating behavior we shall examine more closely in the concluding chapter. He allowed the whole situation to disintegrate until it reached its disastrous climax. It was Ludendorff, not Hitler, who took the initiative in ordering a march on the center of the city for the next morning. The Führer was shamed into action. As his uncertain followers approached the Bavarian Provincial Police drawn up in front of the Odeonsplatz to stop them, Hitler suddenly hooked his arm in that of the person marching next to him. It was, as Heiden observed, "an astonishing gesture of uncertainty and helplessness." ²³⁰ After the usual "unknown shot," the police opened fire.

Once again, as so many times during the war, Hitler miraculously escaped death in the fusillade that killed about 20 people in his immediate vicinity. He either fell to the ground or was pulled down by the dying body of the man he had linked arms with. The place where he lay was very close to the stone Bavarian lions guarding the Feldherrenhalle—almost exactly the spot on which he had stood on that August day in 1914 to hail the coming of the war.

Hitler's immediate reaction was to run away—as he tended to do whenever a situation became intolerable. As a boy in Leonding, he had run away when the woods where he was playing cowboys and Indians were set on fire. At the age of 19, when relatives suggested that he take up some meaningful work after his mother's death, he ran away to Vienna. When his friend Kubizek successfully earned his diploma, Adolf Hitler hid from him; when he was threatened with arrest for desertion from the Austrian Army in 1913, he ran away to Munich. And at the end, in 1945, he sought escape in death.

212

*the more he commanded
strength for an hour, the more I had to*

The Child As Father to the A

Now, on 9 November—heroically carry "a sm. the resistance." ²³¹ At the yellow—or was it red?—to hide in the attic of Ern: about 35 miles south of considerable physical and berg, Dr. Brinsteiner, statu

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Hitler's final plea w harbinger of orations to judge was later asked wl replied that he found it patriotic oratory. Instead

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D: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

11/9/23

10,000 inflated marks. ning, his devoted fol- lowed them as relics.) d or threatened them onal government. He at General Ludendorff, s, would lead a new ical leadership. Kahr, rightists, would have ation. When each of supported him, Hitler Alexander von Müller t his success; he had hall never forget." 228 electrified the crowd promise that "tomor- Germany or us dead."

Alternative. But for the and uncertain crowd out, like a glove." 229 tler sank into lethargy e shall examine more the whole situation to ax. It was Ludendorff, march on the center of shamed into action. As rian Provincial Police them, Hitler suddenly next to him. It was, uncertainty and help- the police opened fire. ar, Hitler miraculously t 20 people in his im- was pulled down by the The place where he lay arding the Feldherren- d stood on that August

ay—as he tended to do oy in Leonding, he had ug cowboys and Indians tives suggested that he r's death, he ran away lly earned his diploma, atened with arrest for e ran away to Munich. th.

Now, on 9 November 1923, he did not—as the Nazis later claimed—heroically carry "a small boy out of the hail of fire," or try to rally the resistance.²³¹ At the first opportunity, he jumped into a little yellow—or was it red?—Fiat belonging to an SA doctor and ran away to hide in the attic of Ernst Hanfstaengl's country home on Lake Staffel, about 35 miles south of Munich. He must have been experiencing considerable physical and mental pain, for the prison doctor at Landsberg, Dr. Brinsteiner, stated in a report on 8 January 1924:

During the Putsch of 8 November, Hitler suffered a dislocation of the left shoulder with a fracture of the upper arm socket. And subsequently from very painful traumatic neurosis [*eine traumatische Neurose*]. Hitler continues to be under continual medical treatment and will probably continue to suffer partial stiffening and painful effects in the left shoulder. It is not expected, however, that he will lose motor functions.²³²

When he arrived in the Hanfstaengl home the night of 9 November he was, according to Mrs. Hanfstaengl, completely despondent and "almost incoherent." He wanted to be left alone, and spent the next day hiding in the attic under two English blankets, one of which Hanfstaengl treasured for decades as a kind of relic. He kept threatening suicide until Mrs. Hanfstaengl disarmed him and threw his pistol into a barrel of flour she was hoarding. On 11 November he surrendered to the Bavarian police while screaming threats of revenge.²³³

After the fiasco of Hitler's first attempt to seize power, observers generally agreed that his movement had collapsed. But as the American military attaché in Munich, Captain Truman Smith, reported, "Only a miracle could save him, but the miracle happened."²³⁴ The miracle was the way Hitler extricated himself by making brilliant use of his trial for high treason in late February and March 1924. He was given every assistance by the court. The prosecuting attorney, a man by the name of Stenglein, sounded very much like the defense attorney as he called Hitler an admirable person, a brave soldier, and a selfless patriot who had broken the law only because he had been driven to do so by the enthusiasm of so many supporters: "We cannot reproach him with selfishness. His actions were not prompted by personal ambition but enthusiasm for the cause. . . . We cannot deny him our respect." The judge nodded sympathetic agreement. Hitler was in command throughout. As the transcript of the trial shows, he kept interrupting and haranguing government witnesses so loudly that the judge on several occasions plaintively asked if he could not perhaps lower his voice.²³⁵

Hitler's final plea was a masterpiece of invective, serving as a harbinger of orations to come. He spoke for four hours. When the judge was later asked why the defendant was given such liberty, he replied that he found it impossible to interrupt the swell of Hitler's patriotic oratory. Instead of accepting the role of defendant charged

commanded
of a lead to

how these hours catering to his
depression. These emotional harangues
were so severe that he might as well
have been addressing

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Child As Father to the Man

1929. The main room was with worn linoleum and a table, a makeshift bookcase. The room was small, but back and forth in carpet time in the neighborhood of the Austrian border. First archesgaden itself in a hotel, the second volume of *Mein* he later recalled, "I lived second volume of my book. *Mein*, where there were always. There was one of them es-

high in the mountains with a few years later he bought the called it his *Berghof* (Mountain) owned by his motherly benefactor the piano manufacturer, and there were rare porcelain, books (and Wagner), and a manuscript he also changed his residence to a nine-room apartment at 16 *Bogenhausen* part of town, a death. Here he was near two of was just down the street as was 1901 especially for Richard its gardens.

cause his finances had improved, sons. As Ernst Hanfstaengl re- was the first Munich family of 1. He brought Hitler into the influence and money. They in- Kaulbach, the Bavarian artist, publishers who had among their Elsa Bruckmann, the former der woman, made something of a Seidlitz and yet another older erself "Hitler's Mommy" (Hitlers Hitler "my little wolf," also de- ne wanted her daughter Lotte to

ers is shown graphically in the a loan in the summer of 1923. owed 60,000 Swiss francs from

the coffee magnate Richard Frank of the Korn-Frank Company in Berlin. The note reads:

1923

As security for the loan, Herr Adolf Hitler transfers to Herr Richard Frank valuables to the banking house of Heinrich Eckert in Munich . . . the following . . . articles of value: 1 emerald pendant with platinum and diamonds and platinum chain . . . one platinum ruby ring with diamonds . . . one sapphire ring in platinum with diamonds . . . one solitaire diamond ring . . . one 14-carat gold ring . . . one seventeenth century Venetian lace, hand made, 6½ meters long, 11½ centimeters wide . . . one red silk Spanish piano shawl with gold stitching (size 4 x 4 meters) . . .²⁴⁸

Hitler's income tax statements filed with the Munich Finance Office for the years 1925-1935 fail to do justice to his style of life.²⁴⁹ They do, however, reveal something about the personality of the man filing the return. It is clear, for example, that the political leader who paraded his patriotism did not make the personal sacrifices he demanded of his countrymen and was not averse to cheating the government of tax revenue. In May 1925, for example, he reported no income whatever for 1924 and the first quarter of 1925. Yet in February 1925 he was somehow able to buy a custom-built, supercharged Mercedes.

Hitler tended to lump tax collectors, judges, clergymen, and prostitutes together as the dregs of society. But with regard to his own taxes, he had little to complain about. Officials never investigated his actual income and with surprising equanimity accepted all his declarations as valid. Later, the delicate question of the Führer's back taxes from sales of *Mein Kampf* was solved by declaring him exempt from taxation.

Hitler's income from *Mein Kampf* served as a negative barometer of the Weimar Republic. Sales went down as prospects for democracy improved; they went up with the economic and political crisis of 1930. After Hitler came to power, when it was advisable for everyone to own the book—if not to read it—the author's income skyrocketed. He was quite accurate in announcing in 1943 that his book was right next to the Bible in total sales, having finally overtaken Grimm's Fairy Stories.

Hitler's valets, secretaries, and other associates have given a clear picture of the daily pattern of his life after he became chancellor, which did not differ significantly from patterns established during the previous decade. Normally he began getting up between 11 o'clock and noon. His valet (Karl Wilhelm Krause, 1934-1939; Heinz Linge, 1939-1945) watched for the first signal: an arm clad in a nightgown would be seen reaching out to the chair outside his bedroom door for morning newspapers and important telegrams and messages. The arm would quickly withdraw as its owner returned to bed to read his papers. Hitler would bathe and shave himself, always using two blades for each

1933

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

shave. One hour after the first signal, if Hitler did not feel like playing his dressing game, his valet would knock on the door and say, "Guten Morgen, mein Führer. Es ist Zeit!"

Breakfast consisted of milk, rusks, peppermint or camomile tea, sometimes an apple and cheese. (After 1944 he added chocolates to his breakfast menu.) Lunch, at two or three or four o'clock, if eaten at home, consisted of vegetable soup. Very often he would take his lunches either at the Cafe Heck at the Hofgarten or at the Osteria Bavaria. When he ate out, lunches could last for three or four hours. What was left of the afternoon was spent in dictating speeches or making decisions or going on picnics. Suppers would usually begin at about ten o'clock and last until very late. They were followed almost invariably by movies and more talk, so that the day ended anytime from three o'clock to six o'clock in the morning. (After Stalingrad he often took one or two glasses of beer before going to bed in order to induce sleep.)

His press adjutant of many years recalled that Hitler spent dozens of hours a week in automobile travel: "He constantly sought pretexts for moving from place to place. Up to 1939 he was everywhere and nowhere at home. . . . He covered hundreds of thousands of kilometers by automobile and kept his adjutants busy planning his private journeys." 200

Hitler was fond of designing office desks, but he seldom used them. At the Party headquarters, an associate recalled, "the desk was empty and the room had the atmosphere of one that had never been used. I had the same impression in all of Hitler's offices—in his apartment, in the Braunhaus, and in the Chancellery. Never have I seen him working at his desk. Desks were for him only decorations. Never did he keep office hours. 'If you want to meet Hitler you must go about three o'clock to the Cafe Heck, Hess called to me.'" 251 Oswald Spengler, who was at first attracted to Hitler as one of his men of destiny but was soon disabused, told a German psychiatrist just before he died: "If Hitler is not defeated by anything else he will be defeated by this: He cannot really work." 252

As early as 1923 a close associate had become disturbed by Hitler's luxurious life-style and slovenly work habits. He wrote a warning letter telling him that many of the old Party comrades felt he was deserting the working class for the champagne and caviar set to which "Mister Hantsraengl had introduced him. The writer, Gottfried Feder, continued, "I certainly don't begrudge you the leisure time you spend away from your demanding work in the company of artists and the circle of beautiful women. But there is an urgent necessity of filling the gap between you as leader of those who wish to be your followers and a movement for German freedom." The writer went on to complain, "We never see you personally," and repeated his charge about "the anarchy of the allocation of your time." 253

But Hitler could not or would not break the habit patterns of his

222 D.T. O.S. simply didn't understand that a psychopath has no need to work, if he lived in a psychopathic age.

The Child As Father to the Mo

youth. There was a brief cl he had his office in the V Field Marshal-President von ful eye of Hindenburg, Hitl he must toe the mark. Hi while Hindenburg was alive meetings in the morning. I reverted to the life-style h Vater."

Albert Speer was appa hour and day after day of picnics and pleasure trips with trivia about theater captions of history; one or tions of the most striking Hitler once or twice a week chattered about art until th logging the empty hours, Sp often ask myself, did he rea

HITLER'S LOVE AFFA

During all these years, Hitl influenced by his love for th in all his bedrooms. All his who played the role of Klara as young in relation to Hitle band. In each case Hitler s woman because there was se of his mother. And in each masochism which, to his m to each other.

Mimi Reiter

The memory of his vic faded slowly over the years. terest in a woman until 192 staying in the lovely Alpine vi a pretty blond girl who clerke floor of his hotel. She was 16. who preferred Austrian di Mizerl. 255

GOD: ADOLF HITLER

The Image and the Man

that "blood is the cement of civilization." His theory greatly simplified the historical problem of explaining the rise and fall of cultural life on earth: Everything depended upon one factor alone: the purity or impurity of blood.

He used the word often in describing his rise to power. He promised that his opponents would "drown in a bloodbath"; he spoke of the sacred "Blood Flag" of 9 November 1923; he established a special "Blood Order" for those who had marched on that day. He also introduced the idea of *Blutkitt* (blood cement) in training his elite guard, the SS. He seems to have come across the idea in reading a book about Genghis Khan while a prisoner in Landsberg in 1924—though he may have heard that it was also practiced in Egypt and in Renaissance murder societies. (Similar techniques have been employed by the Mau Mau and the Manson cultists.) The idea, briefly, is this: in order to enforce absolute loyalty and obedience, organizers of terror societies force a prospective member, as part of his initiation rite, to commit an act which directly and flagrantly violates his most important personal taboos. Such an atrocity, by cutting the initiate off from society and from his previous value system, ties him irrevocably to the new organization because it is the only group which sponsors and approves the outrage he has perpetrated. In psychological terms, the traumatic act he has been obliged to commit reinforces his newly acquired superego, his value system, his new conscience.

In Hitler's Germany, medical doctors of the SS were required to perform, or to watch, "medical experiments" such as skin grafts and abdominal surgery on the unanesthetized bodies of Jewish or Polish "patients." Other initiates of the SS were forced to kill Jewish babies before the eyes of their mothers. Hitler's theory was that after members of his SS had participated in such activity, they would feel drawn together by the bonds of a common experience. The technique seems to have worked rather well.*

* The process of acquiescing to atrocity through participation in it is well illustrated in the experience of Professor Doctor Hans Hermann Kramer, who had a distinguished medical career and was chairman of the medical faculty at the University of Münster before joining the SS. One of his first assignments as an SS doctor at Auschwitz was to observe what was euphemistically called a *Sonderaktion* (a "Special Action"), a method of mass execution. Prisoners, especially mothers and their babies, were customarily thrown alive into pits measuring 20 by 40 meters on piles of wood soaked in gasoline. The piles were then ignited. When Dr. Kramer experienced his first *Sonderaktion* he found the experience shattering: "Awful. . . . Dante's Inferno. . . . I cannot stand it." But his diary indicates that after repeated performances he was able to take them in stride and indeed could discuss them with equanimity. "September 6, 1942: Today, Sunday, excellent lunch: tomato soup, half a hen with potatoes and red cabbage . . . sweets and marvelous vanilla ice. . . . In the evening at 8 o'clock outside for a *Sonderaktion*. . . . September 23, 1942: Sixth and seventh *Sonderaktion*. . . . In the evening at 20:00 hours . . . a real banquet. We had pike . . . good coffee, excellent beer and rolls" (Elie A. Cohen, *Human Behavior in the Concentration Camp* (New York, 1953), 236 and *passim*.)

among all men; hence they are by right, Lords of the world." Emperor William II was immensely impressed. He hailed Chamberlain as his "companion in battle" and wrote to him, "It was God who sent your book to the German people and you personally to me."¹⁵¹

Germany's defeat in 1918 at the hands of England and its allies was a terrible blow to the expatriate. But in meeting Hitler the old man found new hope, for he recognized him as the long-awaited Führer who would establish a new racial Reich. The meeting took place in October 1923 when Hitler made the first of many pilgrimages to the shrine at Wahnfried. There he was received by Wagner's widow, Cosima Wagner, mistress of Bayreuth. Hitler delighted everyone. He told Frau Wagner that her husband was the greatest influence on his life, that "it all began" in Linz after the young Hitler listened to one of Wagner's operas. He flattered Wagner's son Siegfried; he absolutely captivated the grandchildren. And then a paralyzed man "with spent eyes in the face of a child" was wheeled in. It was Wagner's son-in-law, H. S. Chamberlain. Hitler generously thanked him for all his contributions and played to the hilt the role of flashing-eyed man of destiny and racial deliverer. The next day the invalid dictated a letter to Hitler. Like so many others, he had been taken with Hitler's eyes: "... that you bestowed peace upon me is largely attributable to your eyes and the gestures of your hands. It is as if your eyes were equipped with hands, for they grip a man and hold him fast..." The letter ended, "My faith in the Germans has never wavered for a moment, but my hope, I must own, was sunk to a low ebb. At one stroke you have transformed the state of my soul."¹⁵²

ANTON DREXLER

Munich as well as Vienna was important to the development of Hitler's political thinking. But his experience there during the years 1919-1923 served mainly to strengthen the political ideas which, in essence, he had already formulated. Hitler himself showed in an indirect way that his political education in Munich was effective precisely because it was not an entirely new experience for him; rather, it reinforced ideas which had come to him in Vienna before the war—ideas, he said, so important to him personally and so basic to his political thinking that they had formed a "granite foundation" and required no major changes for the rest of his life.¹⁵³

In describing his initiation into politics at Munich in 1919, Hitler stressed the importance of a little pamphlet entitled "My Political Awakening." Typically he did not identify the author of the pamphlet—with rare exceptions he did not like to admit that he had predecessors in developing his "Copernican Theory" of racism. In fact, the author was a sickly fanatic named Anton Drexler. His shabby racist tract seemed to Hitler a providential omen. Once more the "Goddess of Fate" had intervened and thrust his destiny upon him. He read the little booklet with mounting excitement and the eerie feeling that he was

relying vividly some prior I had gone through pers involuntarily I saw thus m my eyes."¹⁵⁴ Twelve year devouring the pamphlets is period that he underwent made him a fanatic anti-Se

Drexler was an adju influential of the many ra during the immediate post erary and scholarly circle, In addition to holding disc tablished secret arms dep distributed scurrilous anti- tion of 1918, the society and included many of Hi reported, "was often a guest

In addition to pledgin spective members were o prove that their Aryan bk generations," indicate in a parts of their body (like La: excessively hairy), and sub as proof that their feet were

As early as October 1, cussion groups such as th a new Germany. So, in co Harrer, he established the " as the nucleus for a large German Workers' Party. Tl ings of the Workers' Circle On 11 December 1918 th the Jew"; on 16 January 1 "Could We Have Won the Lost"; and on 5 February, War?" The message was c the war and traitorously enemy; they must be remov

The actual German mighty Nazi movement—v January 1919 in the Fürst the discussion groups and racist groups to which all ti bership fluctuated between Its program was to meet w

* One of the reasons Hit- would have been unable to prov

THE PSYCHOPATHIC GOD: ADOLF HITLER

synagogue burning he recommended, but they found that in splitting the Christian church Luther increased the power of the Jews. Hitler and Eckart also expressed disappointment with Luther's draconian "solution to the Jewish Problem" (see Chapter 4), which they found much too moderate. The pamphlet calls for "rooting out" the Jews.¹⁰¹

Protocols of the Elders of Zion

Through treachery and cunning we will conquer the earth.

—*Protocols of the Elders of Zion*

I found these Protocols enormously instructive.
—Adolf Hitler

The Hitler-Eckart pamphlet demonstrates that inspiration, even for the most sordid literary creations, may come from many sources. One can detect traces of Lanz, Wagner, and H. S. Chamberlain, but especially evident is the influence of a famous forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This classic example of the conspiracy theory of history insists that in a conclave of 1897 the "Elders of Zion" hatched a diabolical plot to undermine society, overthrow governments, plunge mankind into war, and seize power throughout the world. One passage from the *Bolschewismus* pamphlet illustrates its dependence on the anonymous forgery:

Every, yes, every social injustice of importance which exists in the world today goes back to the subterranean influence of the Jews. . . . One can only understand the Jews when one realizes their final purpose: to master the world and then destroy it. . . . While they pretend to raise mankind up, actually they contrive to drive mankind to despair, insanity and destruction. If they are not stopped they will destroy us.¹⁰²

1923
Long after the *Protocols* were dismissed as a clumsy and vicious fraud, Hitler continued to believe in their validity. In a public speech of 1923 he told his audience that the German inflation of that year was all a part of the Jewish plot. "According to the *Protocols of Zion*," he said, "the peoples are to be reduced to submission by hunger." And in his memoirs he argued that the best proof that the *Protocols* were genuine lay in the fact that the "Jewish" *Frankfurter Zeitung* branded them a forgery.¹⁰³

Hitler's personal indebtedness to the document remained heavy. After first reading it, he later recalled, "I saw at once that we must copy it—in our own way of course. . . . We must beat the Jew with his own weapon. I saw that the moment I read the book." And he added, "down to the veriest detail, I found these Protocols enormously instructive." Specifically, he noted how much he had profited from their advice about

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transformation? The answer lies in the image Hitler was establishing for himself in the early 1920s, and particularly following the failed putsch and his trial. This demanded the self-portrait painted in *Mein Kampf*, of the nobody who struggled from the first against adversity, and, rejected by the academic 'establishment', taught himself through painstaking study, coming – above all through his own bitter experiences – to unique insights about society and politics that enabled him without assistance to formulate at the age of around twenty a rounded 'world-view'. This unchanged 'world-view', he was saying in 1924, provided him with the claim to leadership of the national movement, and indeed with the claim to be Germany's coming 'great leader'.³¹¹ Perhaps by then Hitler had even convinced himself that all the pieces of the ideological jigsaw had indeed fallen into place during his Vienna years. In any case, by the early 1920s no one was in a position to gainsay the story. An admission that he had become an ideological antisemite only at the end of the war, as he lay blinded from mustard gas in a hospital in Pasewalk and heard of Germany's defeat and the revolution, would certainly have sounded less heroic, and would also have smacked of hysteria.

However, it is difficult to believe that Hitler of all people, given the intensity of his hatred for the Jews between 1919 and the end of his life, had remained unaffected by the poisonous antisemitic atmosphere of the Vienna he knew – one of the most virulently anti-Jewish cities in Europe. It was a city where, at the turn of the century, radical antisemites advocated punishing sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews as sodomy, and placing Jews under surveillance around Easter to prevent ritual child-murder.³¹² Schönerer, the racial antisemite, had notably helped to stir up the hatred. Lueger, as we noted, was able to exploit the widespread and vicious antisemitism to build up his Christian Social Party and consolidate his hold on power in Vienna. Hitler greatly admired them but been unaffected by such an essential stock-in-trade of their message as their antisemitism. Certainly, he learnt from Lueger the gains to be made from popularizing hatred against the Jews.³¹³ The explicitly antisemitic newspaper Hitler read, and singled out for praise, the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, selling around 55,000 copies a day at the time, described Jews as agents of decomposition and corruption, and repeatedly linked them with sexual scandal, perversion, and prostitution.³¹⁴ Leaving aside the probably contrived incident of the caftan-Jew, Hitler's description of his gradual exposure through the antisemitic gutter press to deep anti-Jewish prejudice and its impact upon him while in Vienna has an authentic ring about it.³¹⁵

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Without struggle, no victory!⁶² However, the reshaping of his self-image also reflected how his supporters were beginning to see their leader. His followers portrayed him, in fact, as Germany's 'heroic' leader before he came to see himself in that light. Not that he did anything to discourage the new way he was being portrayed from autumn 1922 onwards. It was in December 1922 that the *Völkischer Beobachter* for the first time appeared to claim that Hitler was a special kind of leader – indeed *the* Leader for whom Germany was waiting. Followers of Hitler leaving a parade in Munich were said 'to have found something which millions are yearning for, a leader'.⁶³ By Hitler's thirty-fourth birthday, on 20 April 1923, when the new head of the SA, Hermann Göring – thirty years old, Bavarian born but from the time of his military training in Berlin a self-styled Prussian, handsome (at this time), wildly egocentric, well connected and power-hungry, bringing the glamour of the World-War-decorated flying ace as well as important links to the aristocracy to the Nazi Movement – labelled him the 'beloved leader of the German freedom-movement', the personality cult was unmistakable.⁶⁴ Political opponents scorned it.⁶⁵ That it was not without its mark on Hitler himself is plain. Eckart told Hanfstaengl, while on holiday with Hitler near Berchtesgaden in the Bavarian Alps bordering on Austria in May 1923, that Hitler had 'megomania halfway between a Messiah complex and Neroism', after he had allegedly compared the way he would deal with Berlin with Christ throwing money-changers out of the temple.⁶⁶ Similar signs can be read into the letter no less a figure than Gottfried Feder addressed to his party leader on 10 August 1923, strongly criticizing his lifestyle, his 'anarchy in the allocation of time', and not least the way Hitler was now placing himself above the party. 'We gladly yield first place to you. But we have no understanding for tyrannical tendencies,' Feder witheringly concluded.⁶⁷

During 1923 there are indications in Hitler's speeches that his self-perception was changing. He was now much more preoccupied than he had been in earlier years with leadership, and the qualities needed in the coming Leader of Germany. At no time before his imprisonment in Landsberg did he unambiguously claim those qualities for himself. But a number of passages in his speeches hint that the edges of what distinguished the 'drummer' from the 'Leader' might be starting to blur.

In November 1922, Hitler spoke of obedience to the leader as the first duty. According to the police report of his speech in Munich's Bürgerbraukeller, however, he went on to speak in the plural of 'leaders' who were elected and could, if found wanting, be rejected.⁶⁸ A few days later, he emphasized

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4 May 1923

that only the leader was answerable to the masses, that commissions and committees were a hindrance to a movement.⁶⁹ Such comments were no different from views expressed by Hitler at the time that he took over the party leadership. But before 1923 he had rarely spoken of a dictatorship in Germany, and then in somewhat veiled terms which did not necessarily imply the rule of a single individual.⁷⁰ By 1923, in the wake of Mussolini's success, with mounting crisis in the Reich, and with adulation being heaped on him by his own supporters, Hitler looked increasingly to 'a strong man who would rescue Germany'.⁷¹ He continued to speak in the plural, however, of the need for leaders - of a non-parliamentary kind - who would rule if necessary against the will of the majority in the interests of the nation.⁷² 'The people don't want ministers any longer, but leaders,' he proclaimed.⁷³

On 4 May 1923, in a speech castigating the parliamentary system as the 'downfall and end of the German nation',⁷⁴ Hitler gave the clearest hint to date of how he saw his own role. With reference to Frederick the Great and Bismarck, 'giants' whose deeds contrasted with those of the Reichstag, 'Germany's grave-digger', he declared: 'What can save Germany is the dictatorship of the national will and national determination. The question arises: is the suitable personality to hand? Our task is not to look for such a person. He is a gift from heaven, or is not there. Our task is to create the sword that this person will need when he is there. Our task is to give the dictator, when he comes, a people ready for him!'⁷⁵

By July he was saying that only the value of personality, not majority decisions of parliament, could save Germany: 'as Leader of the National Socialist Party I see my task in accepting the responsibility.'⁷⁶ His call for a dictatorship met with great applause.⁷⁷ As his remarks show, he saw himself still as the 'drummer'.⁷⁸ But there was an element of ambiguity. In an interview with the British *Daily Mail* on 2 October 1923, Hitler was reported as saying: 'If a German Mussolini is given to Germany . . . people would fall down on their knees and worship him more than Mussolini has ever been worshipped.'⁷⁹ If he was seeing himself - as his followers were seeing him - as the 'German Mussolini', then he was apparently beginning to associate the greatness of national leadership with his own person.⁸⁰ In Nuremberg, asking whether Kahr deserved support, he denied the Bavarian ruler any claim to true leadership. He located 'greatness' solely in heroic qualities of the individual, and found these in 'three of our greatest Germans': Martin Luther, Frederick the Great and Richard Wagner. All three were 'pioneers' (*Wegbereiter*) in the national cause and thereby 'heroes of their people'. Kahr was 'decent', and a capable administrator. But these were

things to be taken for granted terms, and was incapable of liberation.⁸² 'A freedom-fighter will and nothing more than w its denial to Kahr, and the qu suggest that Hitler was beginn of supreme (and heroic) natio his own aim as that of the 'pi German freedom-movement'. 'drummer'.⁸⁵ On the other, h pioneer with the great nation this time, so he said. 'the call to detected 'outright Napoleon:

The lack of clarity in Hitler in part, presumably tactical. possible support through a p supreme leader. As Hitler ha could be left unanswered until possess'. Only then would th he give us the right leader'.⁸⁷ B concept of politics as essent Organizational forms remain freedom of action was not cc leadership of the 'political st self-confidence in this field ar not subsequently have meant) of the 'national movement'. in the crisis-ridden year of 19 a process of change. He stil calling there was in his eyes triumph in the trial after the the presumption that he was

That was all in the future. outside the ranks of his mos as Germany's coming 'great

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masses, that commissions and lent.⁶⁹ Such comments were not the time that he took over the rarely spoken of a dictatorship in terms which did not necessarily 1923, in the wake of Mussolini's and with adulation being heaped increasingly to 'a strong man' to speak in the plural, however, of an entary kind – who would rule if in the interests of the nation.⁷² 'But leaders,' he proclaimed.⁷³ the parliamentary system as the ⁷⁴ Hitler gave the clearest hint to reference to Frederick the Great and with those of the Reichstag, 'What can save Germany is the national determination. The question, Our task is not to look for such at there. Our task is to create the is there. Our task is to give the for him!'⁷⁵ value of personality, not majority many: 'as Leader of the National the responsibility'.⁷⁶ His call for a his remarks show, he saw himself an element of ambiguity. In an October 1923, Hitler was reported en to Germany . . . people would im more than Mussolini has ever self – as his followers were seeing he was apparently beginning to ership with his own person.⁸⁰ In ed support, he denied the Bavarian ocated 'greatness' solely in heroic in 'three of our greatest Germans': l Richard Wagner. All three were cause and thereby 'heroes of their ble administrator. But these were

things to be taken for granted.⁸¹ Kahr thought only in Bavarian defensive terms, and was incapable of leading from Munich the struggle for national liberation.⁸² 'A freedom-fighter must have the right instinct, he must have will and nothing more than will.'⁸³ The juxtaposition of heroic leadership, its denial to Kahr, and the qualities required of the 'freedom-fighter' again suggest that Hitler was beginning to stake a claim for himself to the position of supreme (and heroic) national leader. The ambiguity remained. He saw his own aim as that of the 'pioneer', the one 'paving the way for the great German freedom-movement'.⁸⁴ On the one hand, this still suggested the 'drummer'.⁸⁵ On the other, he had already just linked the path-breaking pioneer with the great national heroes of the past. At any rate, he felt by this time, so he said, 'the call to Germany's salvation within him', and others detected 'outright Napoleonic and messianic allures' in what he said.⁸⁶

The lack of clarity in Hitler's comments about the future leadership was, in part, presumably tactical. There was nothing to be gained by alienating possible support through a premature conflict about who would later be supreme leader. As Hitler had stated in October, the leadership question could be left unanswered until 'the weapon is created which the leader must possess'. Only then would the time be ripe to 'pray to our Lord God that he give us the right leader'.⁸⁷ But it was predominantly a reflection of Hitler's concept of politics as essentially agitation, propaganda, and 'struggle'.⁸⁸ Organizational forms remained of little concern to him as long as his own freedom of action was not constrained by them. The crucial issue was the leadership of the 'political struggle'. But it is hard to imagine that Hitler's self-confidence in this field and his ingrained refusal to compromise would not subsequently have meant his demand for total, unconstrained leadership of the 'national movement'. At any rate, Hitler's comments on leadership in the crisis-ridden year of 1923 seem to indicate that his self-image was in a process of change. He still saw himself as the 'drummer', the highest calling there was in his eyes. But it would not take much, following his triumph in the trial after the failed putsch, to convert that self-image into the presumption that he was the 'heroic leader' himself.

IV

That was all in the future. Around the beginning of 1923, few, if any, outside the ranks of his most fervent devotees thought seriously of Hitler as Germany's coming 'great leader'. But his rise to star status on Munich's

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& nobody thinks

like them and for them, but tell them
what to do. Steal from the Jews.
Develop the idea of the Messiah who
is coming.

political scene – alongside the Hofbräuhaus, the city's only notable curiosity, as one newspaper put it⁸⁹ – meant that individuals from quite outside his normal social circles began to take a keen interest in him.

Two were converts to the party who were able to open up useful new contacts for Hitler. Kurt Lüdecke, a well-connected former gambler, play-boy, and commercial adventurer, a widely-travelled 'man of the world', was 'looking for a leader and a cause' when he first heard Hitler speak at the rally of the 'Patriotic Associations' in Munich in August 1922.⁹⁰ Lüdecke was enthralled. 'My critical faculty was swept away,' he later wrote. 'He was holding the masses, and me with them, under a hypnotic spell by the sheer force of his conviction . . . His appeal to German manhood was like a call to arms, the gospel he preached a sacred truth. He seemed another Luther . . . I experienced an exaltation that could be likened only to religious conversion . . . I had found myself, my leader, and my cause.'⁹¹ According to his own account, Lüdecke used his connections to promote Hitler's standing with General Ludendorff, a war-hero since repulsing the Russian advance into East Prussia in 1914, in effect Germany's dictator during the last two war years, and now the outstanding figure on the radical right, whose name alone was sufficient to open further doors to Hitler. He also sang Hitler's praises to the former Munich chief of police, already an important Nazi sympathizer and protector, Ernst Pöhner.⁹² Abroad Lüdecke was able to establish contacts just before the 'March on Rome' with Mussolini (who at that time had never heard of Hitler), and in 1923 with Gömbös and other leading figures in Hungary.⁹³ His foreign bank accounts, and sizeable donations he was able to acquire abroad, proved valuable to the party during the hyperinflation of 1923.⁹⁴ He also fitted out and accommodated at his own cost an entire stormtrooper company. Even so, many of Lüdecke's well-placed contacts were impatient at his constant proselytizing for the NSDAP, and quietly dropped him. And within the party, he was unable to overcome dislike and distrust. He was even denounced to the police by Max Amann as a French spy and jailed under false pretences for two months.⁹⁵ By the end of 1923, Lüdecke had used up almost his entire income on behalf of the party.⁹⁶

An even more useful convert was Ernst 'Putzi' Hanfstaengl, a six-foot-four-inch-tall, cultured part-American – his mother, a Sedgwick-Heine, was a descendant of two generals who had fought in the Civil War – from an upper-middle-class art-dealer family, Harvard graduate, partner in an art-print publishing firm, and extremely well-connected in Munich *salon* society. Like Lüdecke, his first experience of Hitler was hearing him speak.⁹⁷

Hanfstaengl was greatly impressed. 'Far beyond his electrifying rhetoric he possessed the uncanny gift of combining the strong leader-figure with his own merging that every conceivable element – an astonishing spectacle.' Hanfstaengl was plainly fascinated in his shabby blue suit, looking with awkward mannerisms, but addressing a mass audience.⁹⁸ Hitler of Hitler – not least of his habits and culture (where Hanfstaengl opinionated know-all).¹⁰⁰ On Hitler's awkward use of knife and fork (b snobbishly) his host.¹⁰¹ At the same time this 'virtuoso on the keyboard' catching Hitler sugaring a vintage. Hanfstaengl, 'he could have perceived belief in his homespun sincerity'.

Soon, Hitler was a regular guest, gorged himself on cream-cakes, wife, Helena, in his quaint Vienna stride. 'Believe me, he's an husband.'¹⁰⁵ Putzi himself believed sexually impotent, gaining substitute the 'feminine' masses.¹⁰⁶ Hitler especially his ability to play Wagner the tune, marching up and down an orchestra, relaxing visibly in time – his wife even more so. But the above all Hanfstaengl was useful providing openings to circles far removed in Hitler's entourage with Neumaier.¹⁰⁹

Hanfstaengl introduced Hitler publisher Hugo Bruckmann, a man who had published the works of ingratiating manners and social graces.¹¹⁰ Whether it was the wish to

aus, the city's only notable curiosity, and individuals from quite outside his own interest in him.

He was able to open up useful new well-connected former gambler, playfully-travelled 'man of the world', was when he first heard Hitler speak at the Munich in August 1922.⁹⁰ Lüdecke is swept away,' he later wrote. 'He them, under a hypnotic spell by the appeal to German manhood was like a sacred truth. He seemed another that could be likened only to religious leader, and my cause.'⁹¹ According to connections to promote Hitler's 'war-hero since repulsing the Russian effect Germany's dictator during the standing figure on the radical-right', even further doors to Hitler. He also Munich chief of police, already an actor, Ernst Pöhner.⁹² Abroad Lüdecke is the 'March on Rome' with Mussolini (Hitler), and in 1923 with Gömbös.⁹³ His foreign bank accounts, and abroad, proved valuable to the party also fitted out and accommodated at company. Even so, many of Lüdecke's to his constant proselytizing for the end within the party, he was unable as even denounced to the police by killed under false pretences for two had used up almost his entire income

Putzi' Hanfstaengl, a six-foot-four; mother, a Sedgwick-Heine, was a fighter in the Civil War – from 1914 to 1918, Harvard graduate, partner in an equally well-connected in Munich *salon* of Hitler was hearing him speak.⁹⁷

Hanfstaengl was greatly impressed by Hitler's power to sway the masses. 'Far beyond his electrifying rhetoric,' he later wrote, 'this man seemed to possess the uncanny gift of coupling the gnostic yearning of the era for a strong leader-figure with his own missionary claim and to suggest in this merging that every conceivable hope and expectation was capable of fulfilment – an astonishing spectacle of suggestive influence of the mass psyche'.⁹⁸ Hanfstaengl was plainly fascinated by the subaltern, petty-bourgeois Hitler in his shabby blue suit, looking part-way between an NCO and a clerk, with awkward mannerisms, but possessing such power as a speaker when addressing a mass audience.⁹⁹ Hanfstaengl remained in part contemptuous of Hitler – not least of his half-baked cliché-ridden judgements on art and culture (where Hanfstaengl was truly at home and Hitler merely an opinionated know-all).¹⁰⁰ On Hitler's first visit to the Hanfstaengl home, 'his awkward use of knife and fork betrayed his background,' wrote (somewhat snobbishly) his host.¹⁰¹ At the same time, Putzi was plainly captivated by this 'virtuoso on the keyboard of the mass psyche'.¹⁰² He was appalled at catching Hitler sugaring a vintage wine he had offered him. But, added Hanfstaengl, 'he could have peppered it, for each naïve act increased my belief in his homespun sincerity'.¹⁰³

Soon, Hitler was a regular guest at Hanfstaengl's home, where he regularly gorged himself on cream-cakes, paying court to Hanfstaengl's attractive wife, Helena, in his quaint Viennese style.¹⁰⁴ She took Hitler's attentions in her stride. 'Believe me, he's an absolute neuter, not a man,' she told her husband.¹⁰⁵ Putzi himself believed, for what it was worth, that Hitler was sexually impotent, gaining substitute gratification from his intercourse with the 'feminine' masses.¹⁰⁶ Hitler was taken by Putzi's skills as a pianist, especially his ability to play Wagner. He would accompany Putzi by whistling the tune, marching up and down swinging his arms like the conductor of an orchestra, relaxing visibly in the process.¹⁰⁷ He plainly liked Hanfstaengl – his wife even more so. But the criterion, as always, was usefulness. And above all Hanfstaengl was useful. He became a type of 'social secretary',¹⁰⁸ providing openings to circles far different from the petty-bourgeois rough-necks in Hitler's entourage who gathered each Monday in the Café Neumaier.¹⁰⁹

Hanfstaengl introduced Hitler to Frau Elsa Bruckmann, the wife of the publisher Hugo Bruckmann, a Pan-German sympathizer and antisemite who had published the works of Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Hitler's ingratiating manners and social naivety brought out the mother instinct in her.¹¹⁰ Whether it was the wish to afford him some protection against his

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enemies that persuaded her to make him a present of one of the dog-whips he invariably carried around is not clear. (Oddly, his other dog-whip – the first he possessed – had been given to him by a rival patroness, Frau Helene Bechstein, while a third heavy whip, made from hippopotamus hide, which he later carried, was given to him by Frau Büchner, the landlady of the Platterhof, the hotel where he stayed on the Obersalzberg.¹¹¹) Everyone who was someone in Munich would be invited at some stage to the soirées of Frau Bruckmann, by birth a Rumanian princess, so that Hitler was brought into contact here with industrialists, members of the army and aristocracy, and academics.¹¹² In his gangster hat and trenchcoat over his dinner jacket, touting a pistol and carrying as usual his dog-whip, he cut a bizarre figure in the salons of Munich's upper-crust. But his very eccentricity of dress and exaggerated mannerisms – the affected excessive politeness of one aware of his social inferiority – saw him lionized by condescending hosts and fellow-guests. His social awkwardness and uncertainty, often covered by either silence or tendency to monologues, but at the same time the consciousness of his public success that one could read in his face, made him an oddity, affording him curiosity value among the patronizing cultured and well-to-do pillars of the establishment.¹¹³ 'Weak but wanting to be hard, half-educated wishing to be an all-rounder (universell), a Bohemian who had to be a soldier if he wanted to impress true soldiers. A man mistrustful towards himself and what he was capable of (seine Möglichkeiten), and so full of inferiority-complex towards all who were anything or were on the way to outflank him . . . He was never a gentleman, even later in evening dress,' was how one contemporary, the Freikorps leader Gerhard Roßbach, described Hitler around this time.¹¹⁴

Hitler was also a guest from time to time of the publisher Lehmann, for long a party sympathizer. And the wife of piano manufacturer Bechstein – to whom he had been introduced by Eckart – was another to 'mother' Hitler, as well as lending the party her jewellery as surety against 60,000 Swiss Francs which Hitler was able to borrow from a Berlin coffee merchant in September 1923. The Bechsteins, who usually wintered in Bavaria, used to invite Hitler to their suite in the 'Bayerischer Hof', or to their country residence near Berchtesgaden. Through the Bechsteins, Hitler was introduced to the Wagner circle at Bayreuth.¹¹⁵ He was transfixed at the first visit, in October 1923, to the shrine of his ultimate hero at Haus Wahnfried, where he tiptoed around the former possessions of Richard Wagner in the music-room and library 'as though he were viewing relics in a cathedral'. The Wagners had mixed views of their unusual guest, who had turned up looking

'rather common' in his traditional woollen socks, red and blue (Winifred, the English-born wife) 'destined to be the saviour of fraud and an upstart'.¹¹⁶

The rapid growth in the party in 1923 that had made it a power with the 'patriotic associations' arose meant that funding had been the case in its first years; the party's finances relied heavily on entrance-fees and collections; the more were recruited as members to permit yet more meetings to be held.

But even now, the party's funding was not easy to drum up. A fund-raising trip that Hitler was appointing in its wake.¹¹⁷ Party mouth operation.¹¹⁸ Hitler was asking supporters for donations. But immediately devalued through inflation was a premium, therefore, on the Lüdecke and Hanfstaengl, a Hanfstaengl also financed his fortune in inflation-ridden Germany that enabled the *Völkischer Kampfer* format.¹¹⁹ Rumours, some false, were repeatedly aired by opponents in 1923 revealed considerable benefactors.

One important go-between in Riga, linguistically able, a war, and later imprisoned for Baltic. After the war he had many counter-revolutionaries the NSDAP in autumn 1920 Nazi Party, he used his excellent Princess Alexandra, wife of the acquire funds directed at Luc

* "He's awful"
"You are all the same"

Oct 1923

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'rather common' in his traditional Bavarian outfit of lederhosen, thick
woollen socks, red and blue checked shirt and ill-fitting short blue jacket.
Winifred, the English-born wife of Wagner's son Siegfried, thought he was
'destined to be the saviour of Germany'. Siegfried himself saw Hitler as 'a
fraud and an upstart'.¹¹⁶

The rapid growth in the party during the latter part of 1922 and especially
in 1923 that had made it a political force in Munich, its closer connections
with the 'patriotic associations', and the wider social contacts which now
arose meant that funding flowed more readily to the NSDAP than had
been the case in its first years. Now, as would be the case later, the
party's finances relied heavily upon members' subscriptions together with
entrance-fees and collections at meetings.¹¹⁷ The more came to meetings,
the more were recruited as members, the more income came to the party,
to permit yet more meetings to be held. Propaganda financed propaganda.¹¹⁸

But even now, the party's heavy outgoings were difficult to meet, and
funding was not easy to drum up in conditions of rip-roaring inflation. A
fund-raising trip that Hitler made to Berlin in April 1922 proved dis-
appointing in its yield.¹¹⁹ Party finances were still in many respects a hand-to-
mouth operation.¹²⁰ Hitler was constantly seeking to tap party friends and
supporters for donations. But any payment in Marks, however large, was
immediately devalued through the galloping currency depreciation.¹²¹ There
was a premium, therefore, on donations made in hard foreign currency –
Lüdecke and Hanfstaengl, as already noted, were useful in this regard.
Hanfstaengl also financed with an interest-free loan of 1,000 dollars – a
fortune in inflation-ridden Germany – the purchase of two rotary presses
that enabled the *Völkischer Beobachter* to appear in larger, American-style
format.¹²² Rumours, some far wide of the mark, about the party's finances
were repeatedly aired by opponents in the press. Even so, official inquiries
in 1923 revealed considerable sums raised from an increasing array of
benefactors.

One important go-between was Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, born
in Riga, linguistically able, with diplomatic service in Turkey during the
war, and later imprisoned for a time by Communists on his return to the
Baltic. After the war he had participated in the Kapp Putsch, then, like so
many counter-revolutionaries, made his way to Munich, where he joined
the NSDAP in autumn 1920.¹²³ A significant, if shadowy, figure in the early
Nazi Party, he used his excellent connections with Russian emigrés, such as
Princess Alexandra, wife of the Russian heir to the throne Prince Kyrill, to
acquire funds directed at Ludendorff and, through him, deflected in part to

* "He's awful, he's ersatz, he is so vulgar."
"You are wrong, darling, he will be
all the way to the moon and back."
This movie dialogue!

quick
escape
#

Feb - Nov 1923

the NSDAP. Other members of the aristocracy, including Frau Gertrud von Seidlitz, who used monies from foreign stocks and shares, also contributed to Nazi funds.¹²⁴ Hitler was almost certainly a co-beneficiary (though probably in a minor way) of the generous gift of 100,000 Gold Marks made by Fritz Thyssen, heir to the family's Ruhr steelworks, to Ludendorff, but Germany's leading industrialists, apart from Ernst von Borsig, head of the Berlin locomotive and machine-building firm, showed little direct interest in the Nazis at this time.¹²⁵ Police inquiries which remained inconclusive suggested that Borsig and car-manufacturers Daimler were among other firms contributing to the party.¹²⁶ Some Bavarian industrialists and businessmen, too, were persuaded by Hitler to make donations to the movement.¹²⁷

Valuable funds were also obtained abroad. Anti-Marxism and the hopes in a strong Germany as a bulwark against Bolshevism often provided motive enough for such donations. The *Völkischer Beobachter's* new offices were financed with Czech Kronen.¹²⁸ An important link with Swiss funds was Dr Emil Gansser, a Berlin chemist and long-standing Nazi supporter, who engineered a gift of 33,000 Swiss Francs from right-wing Swiss benefactors.¹²⁹ Further Swiss donations followed a visit from Hitler himself to Zürich in the summer of 1923.¹³⁰ And from right-wing circles in the arch-enemy France, 90,000 Gold Marks were passed to Captain Karl Mayr, Hitler's first patron, and from him to the 'patriotic associations'. It can be presumed that the NSDAP was among the beneficiaries. In addition to monetary donations, Röhm saw to it that the SA, along with other paramilitary organizations, was well provided with equipment and weapons from his secret arsenal.¹³¹ Whatever the financial support, without Röhm's supplies an armed putsch would scarcely have been possible.

In November 1922, rumours were already circulating that Hitler was planning a putsch.¹³² By January 1923, in the explosive climate following the French march into the Ruhr, the rumours in Munich of a Hitler putsch were even stronger.¹³³ The crisis, without which Hitler would have been nothing, was deepening by the day. In its wake, the Nazi movement was expanding rapidly. Some 35,000 were to join between February and November 1923, giving a strength of around 55,000 on the eve of the putsch. Recruits came from all sections of society. Around a third were workers, a tenth or more came from the upper-middle and professional classes, but more than half belonged to the crafts, commercial, white-collar, and farming lower-middle class.¹³⁴ Most had joined the party out of protest, anger, and bitterness as the economic and political crisis mounted. The same was true

of the thousands flocking to promising them action. The revolution would be overthrown indefinitely without least was not simply a character-leadership, his political aim control of events as they unfolded the leading player in the drama and organizations to content had no stage on which to act and reactions - have to be

Hitler's incessant barrage undermined by an event that involved occupation of the Ruhr. C seemed to be acting firmly

The request by the government for a moratorium for two years turned down by the allies in December. Germany had a wood - it owed 200,000 marks 65,000 metres - and coal 65,000 metres. Compared with payments to amount. But 135,000 metres and Belgian troops on 11 January coal deliveries. Germany was that crossed all social and political from Social Democrats to invoking the 'Burgfrieden' fever class conflict and in sense of national accord - an expression of the depth of government declared a coal occupation. 14 January was The gunning-down by French nationalists - of workers

, including Frau Gertrud von and shares, also contributed to beneficiary (though probably 3,000 Gold Marks made by steelworks, to Ludendorff, and Ernst von Borsig, head of the firm, showed little direct interest which remained inconclusive. Daimler were among other Bavarian industrialists and to make donations to the

of the thousands flocking into the SA. Hitler had won their support by promising them action. The sacrifices of the war would be avenged. The revolution would be overturned.¹³⁵ He could not hold them at fever-pitch indefinitely without unleashing such action. The tendency to 'go for broke' was not simply a character-trait of Hitler; it was built into the nature of his leadership, his political aims, and the party he led. But Hitler was not in control of events as they unfolded in 1923. Nor was he, before 8 November, the leading player in the drama. Without the readiness of powerful figures and organizations to contemplate a putsch against Berlin, Hitler would have had no stage on which to act so disastrously. His own role, his actions – and reactions – have to be seen in that light.

V

Anti-Marxism and the hopes of conservatism often provided motive. *Georg Meißner's* new offices were linked with Swiss funds was Dr. Ernst Meißner, a leading Nazi supporter, who had been a right-wing Swiss benefactor.¹²⁹ Hitler himself to Zürich in 1923, in the arch-enemy France, where he met Dr. Meißner, his first patron. It can be presumed that the appeal to monetary donations, to paramilitary organizations, and to funds from his secret arsenal.¹³¹ Hitler's supplies an armed putsch

Hitler's incessant barrage of anti-government propaganda was nearly undermined by an event that invoked national unity in January 1923: the French occupation of the Ruhr. On this occasion at least, the Reich government seemed to be acting firmly – and acting with mass popular support.

The request by the government of Reich Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno for a moratorium for two years on reparations payments in money had been turned down by the allied heads of government meeting in Paris at the end of December. Germany had fallen behind in its reparations payments in kind – it owed 200,000 metres of telegraph poles and had delivered only 65,000 metres – and coal deliveries to the tune of 24 million Gold Marks. Compared with payments made of 1,480 million Gold Marks it was a trivial amount. But 135,000 metres of missing telegraph poles sufficed for French and Belgian troops on 11 January to march into the Ruhr district to ensure coal deliveries. Germany was gripped by an elemental wave of national fury that crossed all social and political divides. A 'national unity front' stretching from Social Democrats to German Nationals was founded.¹³⁶ The unity – invoking the '*Burgfrieden*' (civil truce) of 1914, when in the wake of war fever class conflict and internal disputes had temporarily given way to a sense of national accord – had little chance of lasting. But it was an immediate expression of the depth of feeling in the country. On 13 January the Reich government declared a campaign of 'passive resistance' against the Ruhr occupation. 14 January was to be a day of mourning throughout Germany. The gunning-down by French soldiers – possibly provoked by German nationalists – of workers in the Krupp factory at Essen on 31 March,

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31 Mar 1923

leaving thirteen dead and forty-one wounded, was the worst of numerous confrontations that wildly inflamed an already overheated situation.¹³⁷ The policy of 'passive resistance' was, therefore, certain of widespread public support. For radical nationalists, it did not, however, go nearly far enough. Disbanded Freikorps groups were reinstated again, with the clandestine help of the Reichswehr. Acts of sabotage were carried out in the occupied zone, again supported by the army.¹³⁸ The extent and vehemence of the opposition to the Ruhr occupation posed, nevertheless, a problem for the National Socialists. The popular protest threatened to take the wind out of their sails. Attacks on a Berlin government engaged in protest at the Ruhr occupation were not guaranteed to have mass appeal.¹³⁹ Undeterred, Hitler saw advantage to be gained from the French occupation.¹⁴⁰ As usual, he went on a propaganda offensive.

On the very day of the French march into the Ruhr he spoke in a packed Circus Krone. 'Down with the November Criminals' was the title of his speech. It was not the first time he had used the term 'November Criminals' to describe the Social Democrat revolutionaries of 1918. But from now on, the slogan was seldom far from his lips.¹⁴¹ It showed the line he would take towards the Ruhr occupation. The real enemy was within. 'The German rebirth is externally only possible when the criminals are faced with their responsibility and delivered to their just fate,' he declared.¹⁴² Marxism, democracy, parliamentarism, internationalism, and, of course, behind it all the power of the Jews, were held by Hitler to blame for the national defencelessness that allowed the French to treat Germany like a colony.¹⁴³ Hitler poured scorn on the newly proclaimed 'national unity'. He announced that any party members involved in active resistance to the occupation would be expelled.¹⁴⁴ His own supporters were temporarily taken aback. But the tactic worked.

The propaganda offensive was stepped up with preparations for the NSDAP's first 'Reich Party Rally', scheduled to take place in Munich on 27-9 January. It brought confrontation with the Bavarian government, so frightened about rumours of a putsch that on 26 January it declared a state of emergency in Munich, but so weak that it lacked the power to carry through its intended ban on the rally.¹⁴⁵ Hitler was beside himself with rage when told the rally was prohibited. For him, as usual, there could be no retreat. He promised to go ahead despite the ban, and threatened disturbances of the peace and possibly bloodshed. He was prepared, he declared, somewhat melodramatically, to stand in the front row when the shots were fired.¹⁴⁶ It needed Röhm to calm him down and put forward a

more constructive approach. Röhm persuaded Epp Reichswehr Division, stationed at Lossow, to come down on Hitler to an audience with Lossow. Hitler, and promised on his part, attempted. Hitler and Röhm, President of Upper Bavaria, and President Eduard Nortz. Hitler twelve mass meetings - all of that had been arranged as well SA standards on the Marsfeld Munich, on 28 January in front of the party had fewer friends in firm, it would, as Ernst Röhm, prestige.¹⁴⁸ As it was, thanks to another propaganda triumph.

At the meetings during the confident, certain of success, rally had been devised in the face of the German freedom movement, devised to sustain maximum effort. According to a newspaper, when he entered the Festsaal on speeches in the evening of 27 January Löwenbräukeller the same evening as he entered the hall, deliberately outstretched in the salute - provided by them from Imperial Reich Movement by 1926.¹⁵¹ It was an von Müller, to the diffident gatherings.¹⁵²

Hitler's near-exclusive conciliatory approach, while the latter's en threat to Hitler's authority.¹⁵³ Breaking with Pittinger, Röhm: Patriotic Fighting Associations' Kampfverbände) comprising, Reichsflagge, Wikingbund, and

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more constructive approach. The Reichswehr once more came to Hitler's aid. Röhm persuaded Epp to prevail upon the commander of the 7th Reichswehr Division, stationed in Bavaria, General Otto Hermann von Lossow, to come down on Hitler's side. Röhm was ordered to bring Hitler to an audience with Lossow. Hitler guaranteed the peaceful conduct of the rally, and promised on his 'word of honour' that no putsch would be attempted. Hitler and Röhm then hastened to Kahr, at the time Government President of Upper Bavaria, who also offered his support, as did the Police President Eduard Nortz. Hitler was given permission to go ahead with the twelve mass meetings – all of which he addressed on the same evening – that had been arranged as well as the theatrical display of the dedication of SA standards on the Marsfeld, a big parade-ground close to the centre of Munich, on 28 January in front of 6,000 uniformed stormtroopers.¹⁴⁷ Had the party had fewer friends in high places, and had the government held firm, it would, as Ernst Röhm recognized, have been a heavy blow to Hitler's prestige.¹⁴⁸ As it was, thanks to the Bavarian authorities, he could celebrate another propaganda triumph.

At the meetings during the rally, Hitler could once more appear self-confident, certain of success, to the masses of his supporters. The whole rally had been devised in the form of a ritual homage-paying to the 'leader of the German freedom-movement'.¹⁴⁹ The leadership cult, consciously devised to sustain maximum cohesion within the party, was taking off. According to a newspaper report, Hitler was greeted 'like a saviour' when he entered the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus during one of his twelve speeches in the evening of 27 January.¹⁵⁰ In the feverish atmosphere in the Löwenbräukeller the same evening, he was given a similar hero's welcome as he entered the hall, deliberately late, shielded by his bodyguard, arm outstretched in the salute – probably borrowed from the Italian Fascists (and by them from Imperial Rome) – which would become standard in the Movement by 1926.¹⁵¹ It was an unrecognizable Hitler, noted Karl Alexander von Müller, to the diffident individual he had encountered in private gatherings.¹⁵²

Hitler's near-exclusive concentration on propaganda was not Röhm's approach, while the latter's emphasis on the paramilitary posed a latent threat to Hitler's authority.¹⁵³ At the beginning of February, directly after breaking with Pittinger, Röhm founded a 'Working Community of the Patriotic Fighting Associations' (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Vaterländischen Kampfverbände) comprising, alongside the SA, the Bund Oberland, Reichsflagge, Wikingbund, and Kampfverband Niederbayern.¹⁵⁴ The direct

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May 1923

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in frontation with the Bavarian time a serious loss of face for parade of the socialists through d been approved by the police, tright provocation. In Munich, mbolic day of socialism. It was liberation' of the city from the c), the short-lived Soviet-style is trouble could, therefore, be uch a clash seemed very likely. been a serious shooting incident nists and National Socialists on tion, the Social Democrats had d, though their proposal, put to een duly defeated. But above all, As Georg Escherich, the former Radicals in Munich are looking

¹⁶⁹

could not be kept in a state of He proposed a national demon- ck on the 'Reds'.¹⁷⁰ Increasingly nces, the Munich police revoked , and now confined permission ition on the spacious Theresien- a putsch from the Left, almost erved as a pretext for a 'defence' dded 'their' weapons back from hswehr. But on the afternoon of aders, Lossow, concerned about sed to hand over the armaments. breach of trust.¹⁷² But there was nfidenc. And this time, for once, ll that could be salvaged was a 2,000 men from the paramilitary l Socialists – on the Oberwiesen- /, well away from the May Day rdon of police. Tame exercises

carried out with arms distributed from Rohm's arsenal were no substitute for the planned assault on the Left. After standing around for much of the time since dawn holding their rifles and facing the police, the men handed back their arms around two o'clock and dispersed. Many had left already. There were one or two skirmishes reported in the city. In the most serious, a group of workers on their way home from the left-wing demonstration were set upon and beaten up by SA men leaving the Oberwiesenfild. The police did not intervene.¹⁷³ Compared with the bloodshed that might have taken place, it was of minor significance. The May Day rally on the Theresienwiese, with its 25,000 participants, had ended without incident around midday.

Most of those taking part had already left to attend the May Day celebrations in the Hirschgarten, a large beer-garden two or three miles to the west of the city centre, that afternoon. Attended by an estimated 30,000 socialists, these passed without incident.¹⁷⁴ Hitler made virtue out of necessity at a packed meeting that evening in the Circus Krone. He announced to huge applause that the day had been a special one in bringing about an alliance of National Socialists with Bund Oberland, Bund Blücher, Reichsflagge, and Wikingbund. Otherwise he had to resort to his usual attacks on Jews, socialists and the International, appealing, according to a police report, to the basest instincts of the masses in such an antisemitic tirade – denouncing the Jews as 'racial tuberculosis' – that it prompted a 'pogrom mood'.¹⁷⁵ That was Hitler's way of rebounding from a setback. It fooled few people outside Nazi fanatics. Most recognized the events of May Day to have been a severe embarrassment for Hitler and his followers. The Württemberg ambassador reported the frequently expressed view that Hitler's star was now on the wane.¹⁷⁶

The Bavarian Minister President, Eugen von Knilling, had commented in April that 'the enemy stands Left, but the danger [stands] on the Right'.¹⁷⁷ The remark typified the hopeless attempt by the BVP-led government to steer a middling course in the crisis. Its weak and vacillating stance was, as Knilling's comment suggests, based upon the need to head off the menace of a right-wing putsch, but at the same time on a rooted fear of the Left – even of the moderate Majority Social Democrats. The May Day affair ought to have shown the government that firm and resolute action could defeat Hitler. But by this time, the Bavarian government had long since ruled out any potential for working together with the democratic forces on the Left. It was permanently at loggerheads with the Reich government. And it had no effective control over its own army leaders, who were playing their own

May 1923

game. It was little wonder in this context that it was buffered in all directions. Incapable of tackling the problem of the radical Right because both will and power were ultimately lacking to do so, it allowed the Hitler movement the space to recover from the temporary setback of 1 May.¹⁷⁸

But above all, the lesson of 1 May was that Hitler was powerless without the support of the Reichswehr. In January, when the Party Rally had been initially banned, then allowed to go ahead, Lossow's permission had given Hitler the chance to escape the blow to his prestige. Now, on 1 May, Lossow's refusal had prevented Hitler's planned propaganda triumph. Deprived of his lifeblood – regular outlets for his propaganda – the main base of Hitler's effectiveness would have been undermined. But the Bavarian Reichswehr was to remain largely an independent variable in the equation of Bavarian politics in the latter part of 1923. And the part accommodating, part vacillating attitude of the Bavarian authorities to the radical Right, driven by fierce anti-socialism linked to its antagonism towards Berlin, ensured that the momentum of Hitler's movement was not seriously checked by the May Day events.¹⁷⁹ Hitler could, in fact, have been taken out of circulation altogether for up to two years, had charges of breach of the peace, arising from the May Day incidents, been pressed. But the Bavarian Justice Minister Franz Gürtner saw to it that the inquiries never came to formal charges – after Hitler had threatened to reveal details of Reichswehr complicity in the training and arming of the paramilitaries in preparation for a war against France – and the matter was quietly dropped.¹⁸⁰

For his part, Hitler continued unabated his relentless agitation against the 'November criminals' during the summer of 1923. The fierce animosity towards Berlin, now as before providing a bond between the otherwise competing sections of the Right, ensured that his message of hatred and revenge towards internal as well as external enemies would not be short of an audience.¹⁸¹ He alone remained able to fill the cavernous Circus Krone. Between May and the beginning of August he addressed five overfilled meetings there, and also spoke at another ten party meetings elsewhere in Bavaria.¹⁸² Relations with the Bavarian authorities, for all their tolerance towards the NSDAP, remained tense. Unlike the leaders of some of the paramilitary organizations, Hitler refused to let the SA serve as auxiliary police. That would have been to compromise his freedom of action towards the Bavarian state.¹⁸³ At the Deutsches Turnfest (Rally of German Gymnastic Organizations) in Munich on 14 July, it came to violent clashes between the SA and the police as the Nazi formations, leaving the meeting at the Circus Krone, disobeyed police orders prohibiting the display of party

banners.¹⁸⁴ Such confrontations themselves of alleged assassins their purpose of keeping the Hitler was aware that agitation indefinitely. Outside observers to activism to which so many does not come to action with ambassador in Munich on 30 May. He needed most of all the support the cooperation of the other part of paramilitary politics, he was continued to pour into the SA movement of 1 May, Hitler was for the end of May for a while to Berchtesgaden.¹⁸⁵ Among the national associations, Ludendorff the 'national struggle'. Hitler spokesmen. In the case of disapproval superiority.¹⁸⁹

The former World War hero (German Day) in Nuremberg the police reckoned 100,000 were and veterans' associations since German victory over France at the Reichsflagge, the National Socialist. The enormous propaganda support of the speakers, to repair the damage. At the two-hour march-past, General Ludendorff, Prinz Ludwig head of the 'patriotic associations'.

What came out of the rally Oberland, and the Reichsflagge (German Combat League). When Hitler's man Scheubner-Richter later, thanks to Röhm's machinations of the heads of the other paramilitary of the Kampfbund.¹⁹⁴

What this meant in practice dictator in the umbrella organization.

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notions about a future dictator in the 'coming Germany', that position was envisaged as Ludendorff's.¹⁹⁵ For Hitler, 'political leadership' seems to have indicated the subordination of paramilitary politics to the building of a revolutionary mass movement through nationalist propaganda and agitation. But for the leaders of the formations, the 'primacy of the soldier' – the professionals like Röhm and Kriebel – was what still counted. Hitler was seen as a type of 'political instructor'.¹⁹⁶ He could whip up the feelings of the masses like no one else. But beyond that he had no clear idea of the mechanics of attaining power. Cooler heads were needed for that. As an 'Action Programme' of the Kampfbund drawn up by Scheubner-Richter on 24 September made plain, the 'national revolution' in Bavaria had to follow, not precede, the winning over of the army and police, the forces that sustained the power of the state. Scheubner-Richter concluded that it was necessary to take over the police in a formally legal fashion by placing Kampfbund leaders in charge of the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior and the Munich police.¹⁹⁷ Hitler, like his partners in the Kampfbund, knew that an attempt at a putsch in the teeth of opposition from the forces of the military and police in Bavaria stood little chance of success.¹⁹⁸ But for the time being his approach, as ever, was to go on a frontal propaganda offensive against the Bavarian government. His position within the Kampfbund now ensured that the pressure to act – even without a clear strategy for the practical steps needed to gain control of the state – would not relent.

VI

Crisis was Hitler's oxygen. He needed it to survive. And the deteriorating conditions in Germany (with their distinctive flavour in Bavaria) as summer turned to autumn, and the currency collapsed totally under the impact of the 'passive resistance' policy, guaranteed an increasing appeal for Hitler's brand of agitation. By the time he took over the political leadership of the Kampfbund, Germany's searing crisis was heading for its denouement.

By 13 August, when the leader of the DVP Gustav Stresemann – former ardent monarchist and wartime annexationist turned pragmatic Republican – replaced Cuno as Reich Chancellor, taking over the Foreign Ministry at the same time – it was obvious that passive resistance by the shaky Republic had to be ended. It was an inevitable capitulation to the French. The country was bankrupt, its currency ruined. Inflation had gone into a dizzy tailspin. Where there had been 4.20 Marks to the dollar on the eve of the First World

War, there were 17,972 Marks in 98,860,000 Marks in September, credible 4,200,000 million Mark kilo of butter was costing 168 r buying the *Völkischer Beobachter* Marks.¹⁹⁹

Speculators and profiteers thrived on hyper-inflation for ordinary people effects incalculable. Savings of insurance policies were not worth with pensions and fixed incomes into worthlessness. Workers were to prevent social unrest, agreed with costs. Even so, it was little wonder sharp political radicalization on the inspired strikes rocked the country Democrats into the Stresemann 'game' effect on the working class, which the most part loyal to the SPD. I this was seen as another provocation strength and potential, the Communists in Thuringia and Saxony after they had won of these states. In Hamburg, where and keen to become the centre of the – manifesting itself mainly in attacks take place between 23 and 26 C Communists and seventeen police in Germany, the Reich government in danger of Communist insurgency) sent in by the Reich government extreme Right.²⁰¹ The Thuringian government refused to disband the paramilitary force was needed. Twenty-three people in one Saxon town when troops of shooting in a number of other towns allegedly at gunpoint.²⁰² The proclamation at the first show of government 'German October' did not, however

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in Bavaria, continuing to use the 'red threat' in Middle Germany as a pretext for schemes to march on Berlin.

Bavaria's immediate response to the ending of passive resistance on 26 September was to proclaim a state of emergency and make Gustav Ritter von Kahr General State Commissar with near-dictatorial powers. Knilling hoped to take the wind out of Hitler's sails by putting the so-called Bavarian strong man Kahr in charge.²⁰³ The reaction of the NSDAP indicated that the party felt Kahr's appointment to have been in reality a blow to its hopes of seizing power.²⁰⁴ The Reich responded with the declaration of a general state of emergency and the granting of emergency powers to the Reichswehr. One of Kahr's first acts was to ban – amid renewed putsch rumours – the fourteen meetings which the NSDAP had planned for the evening of 27 September. Hitler was in a frenzy of rage.²⁰⁵ He felt bypassed by the manoeuvre to bring in Kahr, and certain that the head of the Bavarian state was not the man to lead a national revolution. Alongside attacks on the Reich government for betraying the national resistance – a contrary, though more popular, line to that he had taken earlier in the year towards the policy of passive resistance – Hitler now turned his fire on Kahr.²⁰⁶

The weeks following Kahr's appointment were filled with plot, intrigue, and tension which mounted to fever-pitch. The mood of the people, according to police reports, was one of expectancy. Conditions were appalling in Bavaria, as in the rest of the country. 'Unemployment and hunger stand like threatening ghosts at many doors,' ran a report from Swabia in the second half of August.²⁰⁷ A report from Franconia indicated the level of distress there: black bread cost 1,000 million Marks a pound; unemployment was rapidly rising; industry had no orders; large numbers of people were unable to feed themselves; the government could not even pay its own employees.²⁰⁸ It was reported from Upper Bavaria that the mood was comparable with that of November 1918 and April 1919.²⁰⁹ Growing hatred of foreigners, profiteers and those in government was noted in the same region.²¹⁰ The Munich police registered a worsening mood by September, looking for an outlet in some sort of action. Political meetings were, however, not well attended because of the high entry charges and the price of beer. Only the Nazis could continue to fill the beerhalls.²¹¹ As rumours of a forthcoming putsch continued to circulate, there was a feeling that something would have to happen soon.²¹²

Hitler was under pressure to act. The leader of the Munich SA regiment, Wilhelm Bruckner, told him: 'The day is coming when I can no longer hold my people. If nothing happens now the men will sneak away.'²¹³

Scheubner-Richter said much that one must finally undertake soon Left radicals.²¹⁴ Hitler himself in November: 'Economic pressure or our followers will swing to fashion retrospectively, days after fashion in Landsberg: 'The Kam have been held back any longer for so long, and been trained to see something really tangible... become discontented. There was falling apart.'²¹⁶ Hitler's instincts as possible. The favourable circumstances could not last indefinitely. He was And his own prestige would be dissipated, or if the movement May.

However, the cards were in the members of the triumvirate which chief Seißer and Reichswehr which differed in significant details. In extensive negotiations with the triumvirate was looking to based on a directorate, with without the inclusion of Luder of the Reichswehr. The Kampf a directorate in Munich, centring Kahr, which would take Berlin granted that any move against by the military, the Kampf operation with Reichswehr by military leader, Oberstleutnant any attempts by the Bavarian 'patriotic associations'. Hitler subjecting the latter on 24 October. Neither was persuaded to the position of Lossow – with the ambiguous and wavering.²¹⁷

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Scheubner-Richter said much the same: 'In order to keep the men together, one must finally undertake something. Otherwise the people will become Left radicals.'²¹⁴ Hitler himself used almost the identical argument with head of the Landespolizei Colonel Hans Ritter von Seißer at the beginning of November: 'Economic pressures drive our people so that we must either act or our followers will swing to the Communists.'²¹⁵ He argued in similar fashion retrospectively, days after the putsch's failure, during his first interrogation in Landsberg: 'The Kampfbund people had pressed. They could not have been held back any longer. They had been given prospect of action for so long, and been trained for so long, that finally they had wanted to see something really tangible . . . There was also no more money. People had become discontented. There would have been the danger of the Kampfbund falling apart.'²¹⁶ Hitler's instincts were in any case to force the issue as soon as possible. The favourable circumstances of the comprehensive state crisis could not last indefinitely. He was determined not to be outflanked by Kahr. And his own prestige would wane if nothing was attempted and enthusiasm dissipated, or if the movement were faced down again as it had been on 1 May.

However, the cards were not in his hands. Kahr and the two other members of the triumvirate which was effectively ruling Bavaria (State Police chief Seißer and Reichswehr commander Lossow) had their own agenda, which differed in significant detail from that of the Kampfbund leadership. In extensive negotiations with north German contacts throughout October, the triumvirate was looking to install a nationalist dictatorship in Berlin based on a directorate, with or without Kahr as a member but certainly without the inclusion of Ludendorff or Hitler, and resting on the support of the Reichswehr. The Kampfbund leadership, on the other hand, wanted a directorate in Munich, centring on Ludendorff and Hitler, certainly without Kahr, which would take Berlin by force. And while Lossow took it for granted that any move against the Berlin government would be carried out by the military, the Kampfbund presumed that it would be a paramilitary operation with Reichswehr backing. If need be, declared the Kampfbund military leader, Oberstleutnant Kriebel, the Kampfbund would even resist any attempts by the Bavarian government to use armed force against the 'patriotic associations'. Hitler did his best to win over Lossow and Seißer, subjecting the latter on 24 October to a four-hour lecture on his aims. Neither was persuaded to throw in his lot with the Kampfbund, though the position of Lossow – with chief responsibility for order in Bavaria – was ambiguous and wavering.²¹⁷

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At a meeting he called of paramilitary leaders on 24 October, Lossow spoke – presumably with Mussolini's 'March on Rome' in mind – in favour of a march on Berlin and the proclamation of a national dictatorship.²¹⁸ But actually, both he and Seißer temporized – offering token and conditional support to the Kampfbund, though in reality reserving their position.²¹⁹ By the end of October, the stand-off between the triumvirate and the Kampfbund was much as it had been at the beginning of the month.²²⁰ But the atmosphere was even more fevered. The Bavarian authorities regarded the dangers of a putsch by Hitler as particularly great, and feared that disillusioned supporters of Kahr would swing over to him, that he would take over the government in Munich, and would immediately set out on his march on Berlin.²²¹ The authorities were not over-reacting. There were indications that the Kampfbund intended to act on 4 November, the day when Munich's war memorial would be dedicated before civic and military dignitaries.²²² However, if such plans were seriously envisaged, they were rapidly called off.²²³

At the beginning of November, Seißer was sent to Berlin to conduct negotiations on behalf of the triumvirate with a number of important contacts, most vitally with Seeckt. The Reichswehr chief made plain at the meeting on 3 November that he would not move against the legal government in Berlin.²²⁴ With that, any plans of the triumvirate were effectively scuppered. At a crucial meeting in Munich three days later with the heads of the 'patriotic associations', including Kriebel of the Kampfbund, Kahr warned the 'patriotic associations' – by which he meant the Kampfbund – against independent action. Any attempt to impose a national government in Berlin had to be unified and follow prepared plans. Lossow stated he would go along with a rightist dictatorship if the chances of success were 51 per cent, but would have no truck with an ill-devised putsch. Seißer also underlined his support for Kahr and his readiness to put down a putsch by force.²²⁵ It was plain that the triumvirate was not prepared to act against Berlin.

Lossow later claimed he told Hitler to wait two to three weeks until the other defence district commanders could be won over. Then the coup would be undertaken.²²⁶ But Hitler was now faced with the thread slipping through his fingers. He was not prepared to wait any longer and risk losing the initiative. On the evening of 6 November, in direct response to the meeting addressed by Kahr (which he had not attended), Hitler met Kriebel (military head of the Kampfbund) and Dr Friedrich Weber (head of Bund Oberland), to discuss an attempt to persuade Kahr to reverse the opposition to the Kampfbund which he had shown since the beginning of November. Weber was commissioned to ask Ludendorff to arrange a meeting between Hitler

and Kahr. But on 7 November following day, or after the meet which the General State Comm before, that a putsch would on and army. But whatever the o: Kahr, Hitler was determined to

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and Kahr. But on 7 November, Kahr refused to meet Hitler either the following day, or after the meeting on 8 November in the Bürgerbräukeller which the General State Commissar would address.²²⁷ It was plain, now as before, that a putsch would only be successful with the support of police and army. But whatever the outcome of the intended deliberations with Kahr, Hitler was determined to delay no longer.

At another meeting on the evening of 6 November with Scheubner-Richter, Theodor von der Pfordten (a member of the supreme court in Bavaria and shadowy figure in pre-putsch Nazi circles), and probably other advisers (though this is not certain), he decided to act – in the hope more than the certainty of forcing the triumvirate to support the coup.²²⁸ The decision to strike was confirmed the next day, 7 November, at a meeting of Kampfbund leaders. Ludendorff later denied being present at the meeting, but apart from the Kampfbund leadership attending the meeting – Hitler, Weber, Kriebel, Scheubner-Richter and Göring – he was the only person fully initiated into what was to happen.²²⁹ The number of people in the know was to be kept, at Hitler's insistence, to an absolute minimum. Plans were laid down for the action. Priority was given to the seizure of communications and takeover of police stations and town halls in the major cities of Bavaria. Communist, socialist, and trade union leaders were to be arrested.²³⁰ Kriebel argued for the night of 10–11 November. Members of the government would be arrested in their beds, and the triumvirate forced to take up the offices foreseen for them in the national government.²³¹ The others rejected the suggestion because, it seems, of the difficulty of ensuring the arrest of all members of the government. Instead, after a good deal of discussion, Hitler's alternative plan was adopted. It was decided that the strike would be carried out on the following day, 8 November, when all the prominent figures in Munich would be assembled in the Bürgerbräukeller to hear an address from Kahr on the fifth anniversary of the November Revolution, fiercely denouncing Marxism. The meeting, arranged at short notice, was seen by the Kampfbund leadership as a threat, all the more so in the light of Kahr's refusal to meet Hitler before it took place. At the very least the meeting was seen as an attempt to strengthen Kahr's position and weaken the power of the Kampfbund. Whether they believed that Kahr intended to seal the breach with the nationalists by proclaiming the restoration of the Bavarian monarchy is uncertain. They were probably more concerned about the possibility of Kahr instigating the 'action' against Berlin without the Kampfbund's involvement – all the more since Hitler was aware of Losow's comment on 24 October, that the 'march on Berlin' to erect a national

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st within fourteen days.²³² At any meeting. If the Kampfbund were as nothing for it but to act on its, Hitler stated: 'Our opponents on around the 12th of November earlier.'²³⁴

Hitler discussed the plans with his ch Graf, as he left the meeting, He returned to his apartment in an hours later, wearing his long as in excited mood in Rosenberg's s there with Rosenberg, discussing ter. Hitler told them 'the moment cecy, and ordered them to be at ler. They were to bring pistols.'²³⁶

what was planned. Pöchner, too, intimates such as Hoffmann were founder and honorary chairman, dy evening of 8 November (where eakers' platform as Hitler), when told that he did not need bother uncelled.²³⁹

speech to the 3,000 or so packed an hour when, around 8.30p.m., ahr broke off his speech. A body 's stormtroopers had arrived. A hall.²⁴⁰ People were standing on ing as Hitler advanced through dyguards, their pistols pointing unable to make himself heard in l and fired a shot through the ional revolution had broken out, rmed men. If there was trouble, nto the gallery.²⁴² The Bavarian ch government would be formed. requested – though it was really company him into the adjoining me hesitation, they complied.²⁴³ ually Göring managed to make

himself heard. He said the action was directed neither at Kahr nor at the army and police. People should stay calm and remain in their places. 'You've got your beer,' he added.²⁴⁴ This quietened things somewhat, but most were still critical of what they were comparing with the theatricals that might happen in Latin American countries.

In the adjoining room, Hitler announced, waving his pistol about, that no one would leave without his permission. He declared the formation of a new Reich government, headed by himself. Ludendorff was to be in charge of the national army, Lossow would be Reichswehr Minister, Seißer Police Minister, Kahr himself would be head of state (*Landesverweser*), and Pöchner Minister President with dictatorial powers in Bavaria. He apologized for having to force the pace, but it had to be done: he had had to enable the triumvirate to act. If things went wrong, he had four bullets in his pistol – three for his collaborators, the last for himself.²⁴⁵

Hitler returned to the hall after about ten minutes amid renewed tumult. He repeated Göring's assurances that the action was not directed at the police and Reichswehr, but 'solely at the Berlin Jew government and the November criminals of 1918'. He put forward his proposals for the new governments in Berlin and Munich, now mentioning Ludendorff as 'leader, and chief with dictatorial power, of the German national army'.²⁴⁶ He told the crowded hall that matters were taking longer than he had earlier predicted. 'Outside are Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer,' he declared. 'They are struggling hard to reach a decision. May I say to them that you will stand behind them?' As the crowd bellowed back its approval, Hitler, with his pronounced sense of the theatrical, announced in emotional terms: 'I can say this to you: Either the German revolution begins tonight or we will all be dead by dawn!'²⁴⁷ By the time he had finished his short address – a 'rhetorical masterpiece' in the opinion of Karl Alexander von Müller, an eye-witness – the mood in the hall had swung completely in his favour.²⁴⁸

About an hour had passed since Hitler's initial entry into the hall before he and Ludendorff (who had meanwhile arrived, dressed in full uniform of the Imperial Army), together with the Bavarian ruling triumvirate, returned to the podium. Kahr, calm, face like a mask, spoke first, announcing to tumultuous applause that he had agreed to serve Bavaria as regent for the monarchy.²⁴⁹ Hitler, with a euphoric expression resembling childlike delight, declared that he would direct the policy of the new Reich government, and warmly clasped Kahr's hand. Ludendorff, deadly earnest, spoke next, mentioning his surprise at the whole business. Lossow, wearing a somewhat impenetrable expression, and Seißer, the most agitated of the group, were

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promised cooperation with whole ensemble.²⁵⁰ He was to be his night. The hurried improvisation at only a day's notice, that the putsch should be advanced without its toll, determining before the hall was cleared, the Bürgerbräukeller tamely of names given to him led to the meeting at the centre, where Kampfbund There was delirium in the hly. Röhm did manage to amazingly failed to take to order the transport to es. Frick and Pöhner were headquarters. Elsewhere, it of chaos, the putschists anization, to take control urly and partial successes er the army nor the state

making his first mistake putschists were encountered there himself in what was left in charge at the and gentlemen, promptly then free to renege on the Hitler.²⁵² hotel that night recalled young men in high spirits arian revolution had been ler as Reich Chancellor - him.²⁵⁴ Surprisingly, and tion of the putsch, Hitler onal dictatorship' until 9 ced Julius Streicher, the in charge of the party's

organization and propaganda - presumably because he was expecting his hands to be more than full if developments went according to plan.²⁵⁶ The reality was that by midnight, even if the putschist leaders had not by then fully realized it themselves, the ill-fated attempt to take control of the state had failed.

By late evening, Kahr, Lossow and Seißer were in positions to ensure the state authorities that they repudiated the putsch. All German radio stations were informed of this by Lossow at 2.55a.m.²⁵⁷ By the early hours, it was becoming clear to the putschists themselves that the triumvirate and - far more importantly - the Reichswehr and state police opposed the coup.²⁵⁸ At 5a.m. Hitler was still giving assurances that he was determined to fight and die for the cause - a sign that by this time at the latest he, too, had lost confidence in the success of the putsch.²⁵⁹ Shortly before, on the way back to the Bürgerbräukeller from the Wehrkreiskommando, he had in fact already told Ulrich Graf that 'it's looking very serious for us'.²⁶⁰ From what he later said, it was on returning to find that Ludendorff had let Kahr, Lossow, and Seißer go that he had immediately had the feeling that the cause was lost.²⁶¹ The mood in the beerhall itself was dispirited. The pall of stale tobacco smoke hung over the hundreds who listlessly lounged around the tables or stretched out wearily on chairs they had dragged together.²⁶² The mountains of bread rolls and gallons of beer which contributed in good measure to the bill of 11,347,000 Marks eventually sent to the Nazi Party for the evening's entertainment had by now largely been consumed.²⁶¹ And still there were no orders. No one knew what was happening.

The putschist leaders were themselves by this time unclear what to do next. They sat around arguing, while the government forces regrouped. There was no fall-back position. Hitler was as clueless as the others. He was far from in control of the situation. Clutching wildly at straws, he even contemplated driving to Berchtesgaden to win over Prinz Rupprecht, known to be hostile to the putschists.²⁶⁴ Kriebel argued for armed resistance, organized from Rosenheim. Ludendorff said he was not prepared to see the affair end in the slush of a country road. Hitler, too, favoured armed resistance, but had few practical suggestions to offer, and was cut short in mid-peroration by Ludendorff. For hours, the putschist troops in the city received no orders from their leaders.²⁶⁵ As the bitterly cold morning dawned, depressed troops began to drift off from the Bürgerbräukeller.²⁶⁶ Around 8a.m. Hitler sent some of his SA men to seize bundles of 50-billion Mark notes direct from the printing press to keep his troops paid.²⁶⁷ It was more or less the only practical action taken as the putsch started rapidly to crumble.

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Only during the course of the morning did Hitler and Ludendorff come up with the idea of a demonstration march through the city. Ludendorff apparently made the initial suggestion.²⁶⁸ The aim was predictably confused and unclear. 'In Munich, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, an immeasurable jubilation, an enormous enthusiasm would have broken out in the German Reich,' Hitler later remarked. 'And when the first division of the German national army had left the last square metre of Bavarian soil and stepped for the first time on to Thuringian land, we would have experienced the jubilation of the people there. People would have had to recognize that the German misery has an end, that redemption could only come about through a rising.'²⁶⁹ It amounted to a vague hope that the march would stir popular enthusiasm for the putsch, and that the army, faced with the fervour of the mobilized masses and the prospect of firing on the war-hero Ludendorff, would change its mind.²⁷⁰ The gathering acclaim of the masses and the support of the army would then pave the way for a triumphant march on Berlin.²⁷¹ Such was the wild illusion - gesture politics born out of pessimism, depression, and despair. Reality did not take long to assert itself.

Around noon, the column of around 2,000 men - many of them, including Hitler, armed - set out from the Bürgerbräukeller. Pistols at the ready, they confronted a small police cordon on the Ludwigsbrücke and under threat swept it aside, headed through Isartor and up the Tal to Marienplatz, in the centre of the city, and decided then to march to the War Ministry. They gained encouragement from throngs of shouting and waving supporters on the pavements. Some thought they were witnessing the arrival of the new government.²⁷² The putschists could not help but note, however, that many of the posters proclaiming the national revolution had already been ripped down or papered over with new directions from the ruling triumvirate. Earlier in the morning some bystanders had already started to make fun of the putsch. 'Has your mummy given you permission to play with such dangerous things here on the street?' one worker had asked, as Hans Frank's unit had taken up position with machine-guns not far from the Bürgerbräukeller.²⁷³ The participants on the march knew the cause was lost. One of them remarked that it was like a funeral procession.²⁷⁴

At the top of the Residenzstraße, as it approaches Odeonsplatz, the marchers, accompanied by the occasional 'Heil' from the crowd and trying to keep up their spirits by singing the 'Sturm-Lied' (Storming Song) composed by Dietrich Eckart, encountered the second, and larger, police cordon. 'Here they come. Heil Hitler!' a bystander cried out.²⁷⁵ Then shots rang out. Who fired the first shot was never fully clarified, but the evidence points to it

being one of the putschists.²⁷⁶ minute followed. When the policemen lay dead.²⁷⁷

The dead included one of Richter, who had been in the with Hitler, just behind the si Scheubner-Richter been a for different course. As it was, Hi wrenched to the ground by Sch his left shoulder.²⁷⁹ Göring w. and a number of other leadi Austrian border.²⁸⁰ Some, incl Röhm, were immediately arre: shoot-out totally unscathed, ga word.²⁸¹

Hitler himself was attended i SA medical corps, pushed into from the scene of the action. H near the Staffelsee, south of M November, found and arrested had taken flight to Austria - he c placing the party chairmanship deputy.²⁸³ Hitler, according to wife's testimony, was desolate he had to be restrained from depressed but calm, dressed in sling, when the police arrived t Landsberg am Lech, a picture Munich. Thirty-nine guards w residence. Graf Arco, the killer o in February 1919, was evicted for the new, high-ranking pris

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being one of the putschists.²⁷⁶ A furious gun-battle lasting almost half a
minute followed. When the firing ceased, fourteen putschists and four
policemen lay dead.²⁷⁷

The dead included one of the putsch architects, Erwin von Scheubner-
Richter, who had been in the front line of the putsch leaders, linking arms
with Hitler, just behind the standard-bearers. Had the bullet which killed
Scheubner-Richter been a foot to the right, history would have taken a
different course. As it was, Hitler either took instant evasive action, or was
wrenched to the ground by Scheubner-Richter.²⁷⁸ In any event, he dislocated
his left shoulder.²⁷⁹ Göring was among those injured, shot in the leg. He
and a number of other leading putschists were able to escape over the
Austrian border.²⁸⁰ Some, including Streicher, Frick, Pöhner, Amann and
Rohm, were immediately arrested. Ludendorff, who had emerged from the
shoot-out totally unscathed, gave himself up and was released on his officer's
word.²⁸¹

Hitler himself was attended to by Dr Walter Schultze, chief of the Munich
SA medical corps, pushed into his car, stationed nearby, and driven at speed
from the scene of the action. He ended up at Hanfstaengl's home in Uffing,
near the Staffelsee, south of Munich, where the police, on the evening of 11
November, found and arrested him.²⁸² While at Hanfstaengl's – Putzi himself
had taken flight to Austria – he composed the first of his 'political testaments',
placing the party chairmanship in Rosenberg's hands, with Amann as his
deputy.²⁸³ Hitler, according to Hanfstaengl's later account, based on his
wife's testimony, was desolate on arrival in Uffing.²⁸⁴ But later stories that
he had to be restrained from suicide have no firm backing.²⁸⁵ He was
depressed but calm, dressed in a white nightgown, his injured left arm in a
sling, when the police arrived to escort him to prison in the old fortress at
Landsberg am Lech, a picturesque little town some forty miles west of
Munich. Thirty-nine guards were on hand to greet him in his new place of
residence. Graf Arco, the killer of Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian premier murdered
in February 1919, was evicted from his spacious Cell no.7 to make room
for the new, high-ranking prisoner.²⁸⁶

In Munich and other parts of Bavaria, the putsch fizzled out as rapidly
as it had started. With the sympathies of a good part of the population in
Munich behind the putschists, there were initial demonstrations there and
elsewhere against the 'treachery' of Kahr.²⁸⁷ But the adventure was over.
Hitler was finished. At least, he should have been. The American consular
representative in Munich, Robert Murphy, presumed Hitler would serve
his sentence then be deported from Germany.²⁸⁸ The author Stefan Zweig

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later remarked: 'In this year 1923, the swastikas and stormtroops disappeared, and the name of Adolf Hitler fell back almost into oblivion. Nobody thought of him any longer as a possible in terms of power.'²⁸⁹

VII

Like the high-point of a dangerous fever, the crisis had passed, then rapidly subsided. The following months brought currency stabilization with the introduction of the Rentenmark, regulation of the reparations issue through the Dawes Plan (named after the American banker Charles G. Dawes, head of the committee which established in 1924 a provisional framework for the phased repayment of reparations, commencing at a low level and linked to foreign loans for Germany), and the beginning of the political stabilization that marked the end of the post-war turbulence and was to last until the new economic shock-waves of the late 1920s. With Hitler in jail, the NSDAP banned, and the *völkisch* movement split into its component factions, the threat from the extreme Right lost its immediate potency.

Sympathies with the radical Right by no means disappeared. With 33 per cent of the votes in Munich, the *Völkischer Block* (the largest grouping in the now fractured *völkisch* movement) was the strongest party in the city at the Landtag elections on 6 April 1924, gaining more votes than both the Socialists and Communists put together.²⁹⁰ At the Reichstag election on 4 May, the result was little different. The *Völkischer Block* won 28.5 per cent of the vote in Munich, 17 per cent overall in the electoral region of Upper Bavaria and Swabia, and 20.8 per cent in Franconia.²⁹¹ But the bubble had burst. As Germany recovered and the Right remained in disarray, voters deserted the *völkisch* movement. By the second Reichstag elections of 1924, a fortnight before Hitler's release from Landsberg, the vote for the *Völkischer Block* had dwindled to residual limits of 7.5 per cent in Franconia, 4.8 per cent in Upper Bavaria/Swabia, and 3.0 per cent in Lower Bavaria (compared with 10.2 per cent there seven months earlier).²⁹²

Bavaria, for all its continuing ingrained oddities, was no longer the boiling cauldron of radical Right insurgency it had been between 1920 and 1923. The paramilitary organizations had had their teeth drawn in the confrontation with the legal forces of the state. Without the support of the army, they were shown to be little more than a paper tiger. In the aftermath of the putsch, the *Kampfbund* organizations were dissolved, and the 'patriotic associations' in general had their weaponry confiscated, a ban imposed

on their military exercises, a triumvirate installed by the Bav contain the wilder and even m power and credibility through all ousted by early 1924.²⁹⁴ With conventional cabinet government rich Held – the leading figure in the BVP – and with it a degree

Even now, however, the force politics and enabled him to devise contrived to save him when his 'Hitler-Putsch' was, as we have Hitler had provided the frenetic reflection of his 'all-or-nothing' to the dynamism of his movement dilettante improvisation, lack of characteristic impulse to act without a fall-back position. But the putsch would not have been kept alive within the Bav as well as among the different formations for months before the the dogmatic anti-Berlin stance of anti-democratic, anti-socialist, and together otherwise antagonistic revolution, Hitler's all-or-nothing never have occurred. The Bavaria the training and preparation of the state. And important personages whatever their subsequent defense Lossow, and Seißer were dirty, who been the spiritual figurehead of the therefore, in the trial of the putsch February and 27 March 1924 – the on 1 April – to let the spotlight fall too glad to play the role assigned

Hitler's first reaction to his indic triumphalist performance in the N say anything, and announced that

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announced on the ninth anniversary of his accession: "Now for the first time the true old Jewish law will be applied: 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!'"¹⁹⁸ On ushering in World War II he had delivered himself of a variant that went straight to the point: "He who fights with poison will be fought with poison gas."¹⁹⁹ This fell in with his running stress on the retributive means. "The Jews are being fought by us with the same means as they employ against us," he asserted early in his agitation.²⁰⁰ Here, finally, was his basic formula for reprisal and removal combined: "You can fight one poison only with another."²⁰¹

Hitler's threats against the Jews were not often specific. "Removal" could portend expulsion or extermination.²⁰² So could language that dehumanized the Jews: "to dispose of the poison mushroom"²⁰³ was just as ambiguous, if more sinister. Nor did metaphors help. "The evil must be grasped by its root," Hitler told his public. "We must provide the people with curative measures. The Jewish question must be settled, not skirted. And there is only one thing to be done about it!"²⁰⁴ That "one thing" went unspoken then, and repeatedly, amid noisy approbation. It was still more grimly hushed when Hitler declared: "We must take up the fight against this race at long last. Any further compromising there would be poison for ourselves. . . . The Frankfurter Zeitung wrote triumphantly on 9 November 1918: 'The German people has made a revolution.' Yes, it made a revolution, but we hope it will also make a second one that does away with the Jew pack altogether."²⁰⁵ He also cast this hope as a precept: "If you are determined to defend yourself at last, German people, then become merciless!"²⁰⁶ To the Jews he declared correspondingly: "When we have power in our hands, then God help you!"²⁰⁷

But alongside such vague and ominous early statements by Hitler, others can be lined up so that they pass over imperceptibly into outspokenness about that "ruthless violence"²⁰⁸ he foretold. A few may suffice to mark this effect. "We are actuated by the inexorable resolve to grasp the evil by the roots and eradicate it to the core. To attain our end, every means must be right by us.

even a pact with the devil."²⁰⁹ "There are only two possibilities:

* D.T. Memo from the O.O. — Got the damn fool to stop talking²⁰⁷ But way he was no relations w/ us. — only w/ God — God save the mark

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we shall be sacrificial lamb—or victor!"²¹⁰ "In the life of peoples, whoever will not be the hammer must be the anvil."²¹¹ "Short work must be made of Jewry."²¹² "Jewry as a people confronts us as a deadly enemy."²¹³ Anti-Semitism is worthless unless "it is implemented in truly bloody earnest as the precondition for our people's inner convalescence."²¹⁴ "Solving the Jewish problem is for us National Socialists the core problem. This problem cannot be settled by tenderness, but in view of the enemy's fearful weapons only by brachial violence."²¹⁵ "Fight to the knife against Jewry!"²¹⁶ "No humanity toward the Jews..."²¹⁷ "May we be inhumane! But if we save Germany we have done the world's greatest deed. May we be unjust! But if we save Germany we have rectified the world's greatest injustice."²¹⁸ "The army command made one mistake: that it did not string up in good time all the filthy Jewish rabble that drove our people into the dreadful calamity in 1918."²¹⁹ "... their heads will roll. ... The wheel will roll over [them]."²²⁰ "Let us swear today that we will not rest until our goal is reached, until our oppressors lie smashed on the ground."²²¹ "The Jew's skull will be smashed by Germanic will."²²² Hitler's "one thing to be done" about the Jews required no more specifying than this. He allowed that the Nazis were indeed "anti-Semitic rowdies" pending the takeover²²³ But after the takeover, he stipulated, they would act by due process. "We want no pogroms. ... We want a firm organization of the national will that can then effect our purposes."²²⁴

Even consciously his public can only have understood those purposes as deadly. Yet they intermingled with alternative purposes that were less than deadly. "Out with the Jews, who are poisoning our people," he cried in those same early years,²²⁵ and "away with the racially alien rabble."²²⁶ Or again, he called for "removal of the Jews from our nation, not because we begrudge them their existence, we congratulate the whole rest of the world on their visit."²²⁷ Alternatively he proposed: "The Jewish undermining of our people is to be prevented, if necessary by its instigators being locked up in concentration camps."²²⁸ In one instance he schemed: "Upon the takeover of the state the Jews

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is rooted in the soil, work, the artistic, have only a "secondary" intellect and making a profit on the works produced Freud's psychoanalysis was an expression "for they so like to work everything sounder and more self-assured Nordic all his sensuality by working and being

laicus," the Jewish disease, was poisonous," and that the world was "wasting sequences of the horrible infection!"¹²⁹ From town to town as a lecturer, warning papers entitled "Germany or Zion" or wish philosopher Theodor Lessing of his lectures "as a manifesto to the king to a few hundred people who are he does is on the same level as Luther's bull of excommunication." Trebitsch, a "weirdo": "No group takes him

Berlin, Trebitsch's paranoia became so he submitted to an institution. His next publishers turned out all the more aggressive (The German mind or Judaism), which "poisoned" by the Jews and of an alleged according to Trebitsch, the Jews were fighting Catholics, the Jesuits, and the Free-mason power. Thus the German people was not defend itself. It also needed a leader. Yet to serve the will of such a Führer the total will of the entire German people remained mute so far and become loud er."¹³¹

persecuted by Jews who were supposedly in the rays. In 1923 he listed all these discharges of his "Verfolgungswahn" (The contained the dedication: "You will not ew, / You cunning mob! For I'm a match

over that—blond and tall as he was—Aryan messiah and Germanic hero. Like

Weininger, he conjured up Christ as someone who had completely overcome his own Jewishness. For a while Trebitsch even made a claim to leadership in German-National circles, but did not prevail.

In the early twenties Trebitsch came in contact with Hitler and his mentor Dietrich Eckart in Munich and became one of the first patrons of the new National Socialist party under Hitler.¹³² Eckart mentioned Trebitsch in his booklet "Dialog between Hitler and Me": "You do know what a certain Trebitsch has said," Eckart says to Hitler: "Germany Bolshevik, and the Jews will easily overcome Rome. As a Jew he must know." To which Eckart added the snide comment: "Arthur Trebitsch, Jewish writer writing against the Jews, or at least thinks he does. His every other word is, 'We Aryans.'"¹³³

In March 1935 Hitler advised an acquaintance of his to study Trebitsch's writings: *Read every sentence he has written. He unmasked the Jews as no one else did. However, Hitler added, Trebitsch had believed he, Hitler, had a blind spot in his eye. A blind spot for the smart-alecky Zionist snakes in the party's cadre. . . . Born Jews and Judases, he believed, were controlling the movement, and the party would be at their mercy.* Hitler added: *He didn't like Streicher, or Strasser, or Ley, Frank, Rosenberg, and others—he had a whole register of names. Hitler said he had revered Trebitsch so much that he had even considered giving him Alfred Rosenberg's office of supervision of ideological training. He had been sorry when Trebitsch left: I know nothing about him. But I haven't forgotten what he wrote and said.*¹³⁴ In 1935 Hitler still had not learned that Trebitsch had died in 1927.

It is impossible to uncover completely all the sources of Hitler's Weltanschauung, for he hid them very carefully. The most we can hope to achieve is to get closer to this mosaic, the product of the books he read. Furthermore, I need to stress that young Hitler did not usually gain his knowledge directly from such philosophers and theoreticians as Darwin, Chamberlain, Dühring, Le Bon, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, or Schiller, but instead from reports in newspapers, pamphlets, and popular periodicals, which regurgitated the main theses of the writers who happened to be in vogue. Trying to trace these dark sources individually is almost hopeless unless Hitler himself gives us a clue. However, at least some basic features are emerging. Almost all of the theories Hitler preferred have in common that they were not in agreement with academic science but were the products of the idiosyncratic thought processes of private scholars who were full of contempt for established scientists, who hardly ever accepted them either, and for good reason.

All this was in line with the zeitgeist, which in certain circles vir-

European countries worked more on development and testing of airships. They were for the first time dropped by enemy already had a secret air force, and, the military requested and received an air force.

of what modern aeronautics meant, for example, in 1908 *Pall Mall Magazine* fantasized about a German attack on Paris. In 1912 the *Neues Wiener Journal* reported a German air raid on Paris: "The monsters will take off at a signal and, after having waited for, set course for Paris and take them a few hours to reach the city. Most they will have dropped 10,000 bombs on capital. Each device carries forty bombs." Articles like this almost always exaggerated the national "army of the air" as a threat.

The Balkans

kept playing with fire: after Austro-Hungary took part of the Balkan province of the Triple Alliance. Then a year and tickled the Balkan peninsula, and Greece formed the Balkan League for the Balkan people," on August 8, 1912, with the aim of dividing the Balkans. Thus the First Balkan War started. In the Balkans, Austro-Hungary lost eighty-two million kro- against Social Democratic

over, the victors soon began to divide the areas to be allocated. Prince Nikola of Montenegro retook Albania, and occupied it. He

would not be deterred even when an international fleet under British command turned up at the coast of Montenegro some time later. The headline of a Viennese newspaper read, "The Unbelievable Has Happened! Montenegro has audacity to throw gauntlet to all of Europe."²⁸

Yet this Balkan prince was extremely deft at protecting himself; he married off his two daughters to the thrones of Russia and Italy. As late as 1943, Hitler would entertain his audience with Viennese stories about Nikola, the "ram thief": *To be sure, he said, in civilian life it would certainly be very difficult to marry a daughter if Dad has stolen rams and been in jail countless times; in courtly life, however, that's not a disgrace but an honor: there princes are hot on the princesses. To think that good old Nikola had been nothing indeed but a scoundrel who had fled Austria, who had committed nothing but one blackmail after another, and who always played the two against each other, Italy and Austria.*²⁹

The prince revealed the superpowers' impotence and helplessness. Calls for "keepers of orders" and a forceful intervention in the Balkans by Austro-Hungary became louder and louder. The Dual Monarchy had shown enough patience, the argument ran, particularly with Serbia, and should not longer let itself be made a fool of.

Franz Ferdinand, the successor to the throne, a fierce opponent of Serbia, Hungary, and Italy, worked on plans to politically "clean up" the Balkans for Austro-Hungary's sake. He aimed toward restructuring the monarchy's dualism into a trialism, with a relatively independent Southern Slavic empire under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs. This empire was supposed to attract all Southern Slavs in the Balkans, thus counteracting the Kingdom of Serbia's attempts to unite all Southern Slavs under its own scepter. The heavily mixed countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina were the main bone of contention between Austro-Hungary and Serbia.

At home, this plan met with the opposition not only of the Hungarians, who were not willing to accept such a loss of power, but also of many other nationalities in the multiethnic empire. Since 1867 there had clearly been discrimination against the Czechs, who had for centuries been the Dual Monarchy's third-strongest power. Now they had reason to demand independence. The Poles demanded a similar status for themselves. The Italians would have liked to take the chance to pledge their allegiance to Italy. And so forth. Once again it turned out that the slightest change in the Dual Monarchy's jeopardized the overall, complex structure.

What Hitler said in *Mein Kampf* expressed general public opinion: Austria was then like an old mosaic; the cement, binding the various little stones

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73 together, had grown old and begun to crumble; as long as the work of art is not touched, it can continue to give a show of existence, but as soon as it receives a blow, it breaks into a thousand fragments.³⁰

Plans for a Preventive War

Ever since the annexation crisis of 1908, rumors had been bandied about in Vienna about the Dual Monarchy's alleged need to wage a preventive war, particularly against Serbia. Austro-Hungarian general chief of staff Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf worked diligently on such plans and gained more and more supporters, even outside the army. His argument was that Russia was rearming fast. The sooner and more surprisingly Austro-Hungary attacked, he said, the more the danger of a "big" war would be decreased. Among the many civilian supporters of a preventive strike were many who hoped to calm things down domestically, particularly the various national battles. The major part of the army—certainly its German-speaking part—was on Conrad's side anyway. The government went ahead with armament at great speed and expense. "Serbia has to die" became a ubiquitous slogan in Vienna.

In 1909 a prominent Viennese military newspaper published its lead article under the headline: "Before the War": "The hour has come. War is unavoidable. Never was a war more just. And never before has our belief in a victorious outcome been grounded more firmly. We are being forced into the war: Russia is forcing us. Italy is forcing us. Serbia and Montenegro are forcing us, and Turkey is forcing us." And: "The army is waiting for the tasks ahead, full of joyful anticipation. . . . We are entering the battle knowing that the Empire's future depends on us. . . . Our blood is boiling, we can hardly restrain ourselves. *Call us, Emperor!*"³¹ Yet the old emperor was reluctant. In 1909 he was still able to preserve peace.

Conrad, who thought Austro-Hungary surrounded by enemies, also advocated an allegedly necessary preventive war against the monarchy's unpopular ally, Italy—in 1907, then again in 1909, and particularly during the Tripoli war. Popular opinion in Vienna held that Rome was only waiting for the monarchy to fall apart so that it could annex Trieste, Terentino, and South Tyrol. Many considered the Triple Alliance somewhat of a handicap; as Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf*: *That anyone even for a moment should have dared to believe in the possibility of . . . the miracle that Italy would fight side by side with Austria . . . could be nothing but incomprehensible to anyone who was not stricken with diplomatic blindness.*³² The old emperor opposed all preventive war plans. Indeed, treacherously attacking an ally to whom he officially always pledged loyalty, fundamentally vio-

lated Franz Josef's sense of the Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand's office in 1912, without having the preventive war.

Later on Hitler, who as a with Italy, dealt extensively with Austro-Hungary and Italy and for the Hapsburg Empire: *Soon a government to send even a sin hated Habsburg state, except as outbursts of the passionate contention was "devoted" to the Austrian against Italian freedom and independence great to be forgotten, even if the was not present; neither in the past time Italy had had only two positions: the first, the Italians were able to other words, Hitler too presumed moment to break the alliance exactly as Conrad had surmised.*

Many personal letters and all social groups were increasing the emperor's forty-year-old daughter, her diary: "Continuing rumors about that a great upheaval such a war aspects . . . that it would build up."

The Pan-Germans, too, we albeit for different reasons. The collapse of the multiethnic monarchy annexation to the German Reich. The Alliance between Germany about what was really going on being pushed toward the abyss. appealed to Berlin to leave the Hapsburg and not to watch calmly "as dirty Germans are being destroyed as state inimical to Germans."³⁵

Hitler took the same view of the events: Berlin, he said, *had no idea of the country,*³⁶ and in his opinion the Austro-Hungary: *I solemnly confi-*