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Modern Pictorial Artists
In National Socialist Germany

by

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Introduction

The opening of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich, Germany on July 19, 1937 marked one of the most significant government propaganda efforts to take place in recent history. Never before has the politicizing of aesthetic issues turned into such a virulent threat to the freedom of expression in the visual arts of a country.

This exhibition was set up to officially condemn modern German art. Its intention was more than just to ridicule and demean the artists represented. Juxtaposed with the *Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung* of official German art which opened on the previous day in Munich, it served as one of Hitler's most effective cultural propaganda tools.

These two exhibitions marked the high point of Hitler's reign of control over culture and art in Germany. From the day he became Reich Chancellor to the day he committed suicide in 1945, he attempted to control art in a way unparalleled in history. Only the Soviet Union and Communist China are comparable to Germany in the way that art was elevated to such a high position in a totalitarian society.

The first two sections of this paper will serve as a prologue to the events that took place in Germany in 1933-1945. The first one deals with the background of the modern pictorial artists in Germany who were ridiculed and persecuted during Hitler's rule. The artists' styles, careers and associations will be explored as these are the things that Hitler would
later use as weapons to slander them. The major, modern art movements taking place in Germany will be traced, starting in 1905 with the emergence of Expressionism. Several of these artists and movements were controversial even before Hitler claimed power, so some of these events will also be noted.

The modern pictorial artists were only a small fraction of the people affected by Hitler’s all-encompassing control over German culture. They serve here only as an example of the plight of free-thinking individuals in National Socialist Germany.

The modern artists mentioned will be limited to those who were both represented in the Entartete Kunst exhibition and who also had major careers in Germany creating pictorial art as defined by paintings, watercolors, drawings, woodcuts and lithographs. The reason for this limitation is because, as a young child, Hitler’s first and foremost dream was to become a painter. Thus, it can be seen how he controlled others who had his same original artistic aspirations.

The second section will deal with only one artist--Hitler. Emphasis will be on the artistic side of his personality as he always considered himself an artist up until the time he died. His love of art can be seen starting with his childhood drawings and continuing to the redecorating of the National Socialist party headquarters. This passion for art was a major influence behind his decision to control culture in Germany.
The third section deals with the control of modern art in National Socialist Germany from 1933-1945, during Hitler’s reign of power. The events and persecutions preceding and following the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition will be traced, and the dual Munich exhibitions of 1937 will be explored both from Hitler’s viewpoint and the view of the modern artists. The emphasis will be on the two juxtaposed exhibits because these were the culmination of Hitler’s control of art and culture in Germany.

After exploring the fate of the modern artists and the ruling artist of Germany, Hitler, the current status of their artwork will be assessed from today’s point of view. Even though Hitler, like the 21 modern painters, could technically be considered an artist, the results will show who has made their mark historically and who has made their mark in the field of art, thereby proving who actually "won" the cultural conflict of 1933-1945.

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1 I use "National Socialist Germany" rather than "Third Reich" because the Nazis did not utilize the latter term after July 10, 1939 when its use was prohibited by the Propagandaministerium (Kammer 51).
The most casual survey of modern German art cannot fail to convey the impression of an immense and vital force struggling to assert itself through the medium of form and color. An abounding sense of freedom and energy, which at present has no parallel in any other country, to-day surges through the varied channels of Teutonic aesthetic expression. 

Christian Briton, 
1909 (129)

Prussian kings had long been collectors of works of art which they used to glorify themselves and their royal families. These paintings and sculptures were designed for their private palaces and were not accessible for viewing by the general public. When Kaiser Wilhelm II took the throne, he decided a change was in order. Art was not to be solely behind the locked doors of private palace collections. It was to be brought out and developed into "a loftier art, a Volkskunst" which was meant "to be free of access, to delight the eye and fertilize the imagination of the people" ("German Art" 345). This idea resulted in Wilhelm forcing his private views of art on the people.

Wilhelm tended to put historical art to the forefront and thought in terms of great monumental art which followed tradition and glorified his ancestry. He saw sculpture as the best way to accomplish his plans and he envisioned monuments and statues throughout his capital city. Unfortunately his vision of art tended to be somewhat narrow, and he dictated every step of the sculpting process. The result was mediocre,
sold and lifeless statues which soon cluttered many otherwise picturesque locations throughout Berlin subsequently drawing criticism from the public.

Criticism against the art tastes of the domineering Kaiser was even more pronounced in the field of painting, where he clearly stated his views: "I recognize no directions (Richtungen) in art: I recognize only art, noble art" ("German Art" 348). By "noble art" he meant the art of the Old Masters who he believed had already firmly established the rules of art--rules the Kaiser intended to maintain through his own form of censorship.

In 1909 Wilhelm dismissed the director of the National Gallery in Berlin because he was turning the gallery into "a showplace for the modern art" (Grosshans 8) at the expense of the Kaiser's beloved "noble art". Wilhelm's censorship of painting was also evident that same year in the Exhibition of German Art that took place at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The purpose of the exhibition was to allow Americans to view contemporary German art. It was authorized by Wilhelm who also directed the German officials who organized it. The Kaiser had a portrait of himself painted especially for the exhibition by German art professor Arthur Kampf (Fig.1). American art critic M. Irwin MacDonald notes that this portrait dominated the exhibition in the same way that the Kaiser's restless, turbulent and aggressive personality seems to draw to a focus the national feeling that is there represented. He aims at supremacy along all lines. He plays at painting, sculpture, music
oratory, poetry and architecture as he plays with the dream of being War-Lord of the world, and the nation, or a part of it, follows his lead...all this conflict of warring elements...[and] all this grasping after false ideals, shows on the walls of the seven galleries at the Metropolitan (635).

Out of context, this statement could easily pass as a description of Hitler and the series of German art exhibitions he authorized almost two decades later which had not just one, but many portraits of him dominating the galleries (Fig.2).

Though Wilhelm commanded the National Gallery of Berlin and other German Museums to send over what he felt was the best of German art, the exhibition did not show a unity of artistic vision. MacDonald explains that "there could be no stronger evidence of the lack of unity in the national life of Germany than exists in the utter lack of homogeneousness that we feel in the work of the modern German painters" (635). He continues by noting that "the Germany of today does not furnish favorable soil for the development of a vigorous national art--at least along the lines of painting, sculpture and architecture" (634). Though Wilhelm eliminated from the exhibition works by the younger artists who represented the most recent art movements in Germany, he did not succeed in evoking the view of a unified art in his country. In this case, his attempt at censorship was not entirely effective.

Wilhelm had a little better luck at controlling an out-of-country display of German art previously in 1908 when the artists of the Impressionist school in Paris decided to invite their German counterparts to display in their annual fall
Salon. The recent revolutionary art movements in both countries combined into one exhibition would have served as an example of the rising internationalism in art. Thus, the offer, coming as it did from art nouveau French artists, attracted the German artists who were also following the neue Richtung—the German modernists. The works of Germany's traditional, orthodox painters were rejected, so many of those artists lodged complaints, and their favorite patron, Kaiser Wilhelm II, came to the rescue by demanding admission of the orthodox artists to the Salon. The French offer fell through and German paintings were not represented in the exhibition. The Cri de Paris described the turn of events as "the result of the invasion of jackboot and sabre into the domain of art" ("German Art" 345).

Though MacDonald notes that Wilhelm's artistic interest was "as unflagging as his interest in Weltpolitik" (632), he was not able to use his influence to totally control the modern art movements that he so despised, and they continued to thrive throughout his reign of power. In the meantime, many of the works executed to fulfill his commands for public art gave many people the impression "that the acceptance of a commission from the Kaiser is a confession of mediocrity" ("German Art" 348).

At the turn of the century, the Secessionist school was a major force in the emerging German modern art movements that Wilhelm so distained. These artists wanted artistic freedom from the traditional conventions and wanted to promote
progressive ideas in painting so they seceded from the annual Royal Picture Exhibition and formed the Berlin Secession in 1892. They were in direct opposition to the German imperial court and its promotion of the military and the empire through art. Among the members of the Secession were Lovis Corinth, Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt, who were known as the Trias des deutschen Impressionismus.

In order to teach his impressionistic style, Corinth opened a school for art in Berlin where between 1907 and 1908 he influenced August Macke, who was one of his students. Around this time Corinth found himself drawn slightly away from impressionism toward the new anti-naturalistic movements in German painting. However, his style did not change much until 1911 after he suffered a stroke and his work started displaying more emotion and a restless nervousness. He was to continue this style until his death in 1925. In the 1920s he reached the height of his fame as a portrait artist much favored by the Weimar government. In 1924, one year before his death, he completed a portrait of the president, Friedrich Ebert.

Though he found himself drawn towards the new movements in painting around 1908, Corinth did not totally accept them. In his autobiography he states that the subsequent decline of the Berlin Secession after that year was due to the admission of new, harmful exhibitors who "did not conform to any recognizable standard of artistic criteria" (Herbert 41). The group of artists who provoked this response was known as Die
Brücke, an artists' association founded in 1905 by four young Dresden painters: Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff and Fritz Bleyl. The men of Die Brücke were the first avant-garde artists to react against the later work of the German Impressionists and they came to be known as the first group of German Expressionists.

The group originally set up their shop in a cobbler's store which they decorated with their own designs, murals and furniture. Originally, to keep anonymity, they seldom signed their canvases, and to maintain a community spirit, they not only shared their paintbrushes, but also their views, ideas and opinions on art. This communal working relationship made them mutually dependent on each other.

Die Brücke's first exhibition at a local lamp factory in 1906 received little attention. Max Pechstein soon joined the group and the following year they again exhibited at a local gallery arousing a storm of indignation. The paintings that aroused this response were spontaneous and personal works with brilliant colors primarily depicting subjects taken from nature. The artists of Die Brücke had received much of their inspiration from van Gogh and were familiar with other impressionists. They were also strongly influenced by primitive art and its simplified means of expression.

By 1908, the Berlin Secession had accepted and displayed a set of Brücke graphics. Pechstein had moved to Berlin around this time and in 1910 Otto Mueller joined the group there. In
1911 Kirchner, Heckel and Schmidt-Rottluff also relocated to Berlin. By this time their personal tendencies started showing in their art and the uniform style of their Dresden days faded away. In the process of developing their own unique styles, the artists slowly drew apart and Die Brücke disbanded in 1913.

Pechstein was the first of the group to have achieved success. When they disbanded, he took a trip to the Palau Islands in the South Pacific which inspired many of his paintings and a portfolio of lithographs. He also enjoyed painting flowers, landscapes and portraits at that time. The later addition of religious imagery to his work was directly influenced by his battlefield experiences while serving in France during the war.

After his move to Berlin, Kirchner painted street scenes, cafes and music-halls and the people that frequented these locales. After the war broke out he volunteered for service but suffered a nervous breakdown and was confined to a sanatorium for some time where he finished several paintings, woodcuts and frescoes. He moved to Switzerland in 1917 where he continued creating art throughout the 1920s.

The son of a civil servant, Otto Mueller’s first painting reflected his admiration of Egyptian frescos. The straw colored, slender, nude figures on green, yellow and blue landscapes that dominated his paintings early on continued to be his dominant subject matter and style throughout his career (Fig.3). It was these paintings that caught the eye of the
Brücke artists who admitted him immediately into their group. Mueller volunteered and served in the German army from 1914-1918 even though his bad health exempted him from service. After the war, gypsies became a part of his subject matter and shortly before his death in 1930, he finally changed his palette to dull browns, ochres, greens and oranges.

Karl Schmidt-Rottluff's style first followed that of Impressionism. By 1913, when Die Brücke disbanded, he refined his use of bold colors but restrained his use of detail. During the war he served on the Eastern Front. He found that his nerves were shot when he tried to paint again in 1916. The works he did manage to paint at that time contain only monotonous, muted colors of blue-gray, brown and olive-green. Color finally reappeared in his work after the war. In 1919 he was commissioned to redesign the German imperial eagle because it was too strongly predatory to be a symbol of the emerging Weimar Republic. His new eagle was a much tamer version of the original.

Erich Heckel's paintings were calmer and more serene than the other Brücke artists' works. While working as a volunteer for the Red Cross during the war, he continued painting but the subjects were landscapes and seascapes rather than war related subjects.

Christian Rohlfs, the oldest of the Expressionists, independently and simultaneously developed a similar style as Die Brücke artists though he was geographically separated from
them. Originally a naturalistic landscape painter, his style slowly changed to Impressionism and by 1905 at the age of 56 it had transformed into Expressionism. His painting style by that time was totally spontaneous, utilizing blazing pure colors that he later simplified to just the basics of red, blue and yellow used with landscapes, still-lifes, portraits and religious paintings. After the outbreak of World War I Rohlfs was troubled and his nerves were frazzled so he temporarily ceased painting. He continued working after the war and started receiving more recognition for his art.

In January 1906 the members of Die Brücke had encountered the work of another of the solitary expressionistic artists, Emil Nolde, at an exhibition in Dresden. They were so impressed that Schmidt-Rottluff sent Nolde a letter indicating their admiration of his painting and inviting him to become a member of Die Brücke. Nolde was happily surprised by this letter as he indicates in Jahre der Kämpfe: "Ich war nicht allein! Es waren auch andere zukunftsfohe junge Maler mit Bestrebungen, die den meinen glichen" (Nolde 91).

Nolde had indeed been a loner in regard to both his life and his art. Born into the peasant-class near the German-Danish border this taciturn, introverted, mostly self-taught artist stayed closely attached to his homeland throughout his life. From 1892-1898 Nolde taught drawing in Switzerland. There he first met a famous artist, Lovis Corinth, who was visiting the area. During this time, Nolde made caricatures of
peasants, did a series of grotesque and demonic masks, and made postcards of mountains with troll-like features (Selz 11). The postcards received considerable interest after two of them were published in the magazine Jugend. He then printed up 100,000 of these rough, simply-drawn cards, which sold out in ten days. He decided then and there to become a painter. He applied for admission to classes taught by Franz von Stuck in Munich but was rejected. He studied for a while with other artists but mostly struck out in his own direction artistically.

Nolde thought little of the German Impressionists, but he did study the impressionistic style at about the same time that his own style solidified. His use of pure, brilliant colors on his canvases soon gained him the reputation of being one of Germany's great colorists. In 1905, the year before he joined Die Brücke, he had his first painting accepted for exhibition by the Berlin Secession.

Nolde only stayed with Die Brücke for about a year and a half. During this time he was encouraged in the further development of his own style, and he benefitted from the mutual exchange of ideas. He was still accustomed to working alone and he soon felt that his ideas might be weakened if shared by the entire group. He withdrew from the group but maintained personal contact with them.

After he was on his own again, Nolde continued to depend on his spontaneous reaction to pure colors as he painted naturalistic portraits, flowers and other scenes from nature.
In 1909 he began his first series of religious paintings, which further utilized his blazing, pure colors. His religious painting *Abendmahl* became the first Expressionist picture purchased by a German public museum (Fig. 4).

Nolde continued to submit his paintings to the Secession but they were rejected several years in a row. In 1910 the Secession jury was particularly critical of all works by artists from the younger movements, and they rejected all of *Die Brücke*’s works as well as Nolde’s. Nolde sent a sharply critical letter to Max Liebermann, the Secession president, starting a public controversy. The artists of *Die Brücke* disassociated themselves from the Berlin Secession and Nolde was expelled. Nolde and Pechstein co-founded the short-lived *Neue Sezession* as an alternative group which the rest of *Die Brücke* artists joined.

Nolde had been introduced to primitive objects and primitive painting by *Die Brücke* artists, but in 1911-12 he converted this influence into active inspiration. Masks became a theme in many of his paintings. This interest continued and in 1913 he was asked to act as a pictorial reporter on an expedition to the South Seas. The trip lasted a year and Nolde journeyed to Russia, China, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Burma and to various South Sea islands including Melanesia where he finally got to encounter primitive people.

Although he did not care to be called an Expressionist (Barron 286), the Austrian Oskar Kokoschka was independently
developing a style reflective of the other early expressionists. This well-rounded artist, who was a writer and a playwright when not painting or doing graphic arts, studied at the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule from 1905 to 1909. Besides doing freelance postcards and decorative objects in Vienna, he also began painting still-lifes and portraits. In his portraits, Kokoschka wanted to do more than render the human face. He used exaggerated expressions and hand gestures to try to uncover qualities underneath the sitter's skin. By the age of 24, he had begun to do portraits of Europe's intellectual elite. While he was still in Vienna, some of his work drew extensive criticism, and the Archduke Franz Ferdinand once declared that every bone in his body should be broken (Grosshans 39). Kokoschka volunteered for service and was severely wounded during World War I. After the war his writing and art work continued to be well received. He travelled throughout Europe and North Africa and began painting townscapes and landscapes.

Another artists' association developing an Expressionist style similar to Die Brücke called Die Neue Künstlervereinigung München was independently formed in 1909 as a reaction against the Munich Secession. The group was co-founded by Wassily Kandinsky, Alexej von Jawlensky, and two other artists. They believed that color was a means of expressing the spirit and addressing the soul.
Jawlensky was born in Russia and was pursuing a career in the czar's infantry regiment until his decision to follow his passion for art brought him to Munich where he met another Russian who greatly influenced his art--Wassily Kandinsky.

Kandinsky had moved to Munich in 1896 to study painting. At one point he applied to study painting with Franz Stuck at the Academy but was turned down because his drawing technique was not up to par. He practiced drawing for a year and was again turned down. Determined to get in, he tried once more and received a place in Stuck's painting class which was also attended by Paul Klee. Originally, Kandinsky used figurative representation in his paintings. He gradually moved away from this, first touching on fairy tale-like paintings. Russian folk art with its primitive, exuberant colors intrigued both Kandinsky and Jawlensky and it was reflected in their painting styles. They managed to elevate Fauvism to a level of spontaneous, colorful expression.

Karl Hofer joined Die Neue Künstlervereinigung in 1910 even though his influences for his idealistic figure painting were more in line with the French tradition of Cézanne. When the war started in 1914, he was in Paris and was imprisoned as an enemy alien. His experiences interned as a prisoner as well as the bitter realities of the war affected his paintings which became somber, unsensuous works with flat, dry colors. In 1919 he began teaching at the Berlin Academy. Unlike Kandinsky,
Hofer always remained classical in temperament rather than turning to Expressionism.

By 1910 Kandinsky had painted his first abstract picture and he found himself associating with some new painters. He teamed up with Franz Marc, August Macke and finally his former fellow student from the Academy, Paul Klee. Kandinsky had been formulating a new idea of art where "the harmony of color and form must be based solely upon the principle of the proper contact with the soul" (Haftmann 55). This was a little too much for Hofer and many of the artists in Die Neue Künstlervereinigung to fathom so the group broke up in 1911. That same month Kandinsky and his new friends held an exhibition entitled *Der Blaue Reiter*. The second major German Expressionist movement was born from this new group of friends who staged this exhibition. They took their group name, *Der Blaue Reiter*, from a book Kandinsky and Marc had edited and published. The core members of the group were Kandinsky, Marc, Macke, Jawlensky and Klee. They were a very close knit group but they enjoyed the individualism of their own ideas and did not create a communal atmosphere like *Die Brücke*.

By 1910 the major spirit behind the group, Kandinsky, had ceased reproducing objects in his paintings and he also abandoned objective titles preferring single words such as "Composition" or "Abstraction". He successfully used his ideas to influence Marc's style of painting.
Franz Marc’s great theme in painting at this time was animals which he loved to paint in vivid reds, yellows and blues, marking a departure from visible nature (Fig. 5). His organization of these animals slowly turned to cubism and he finally rejected objective pictures and turned to total abstraction like Kandinsky.

Heinrich Campendonk had taken part in the first Blaue Reiter exhibition and became the youngest member of the group in 1911. At that point his paintings became so greatly influenced by the work of Marc and Kandinsky that he was criticized for losing most of his own originality (Herbert 167). He did manage to develop his own style again depicting scenes containing fairy-tale figures and creatures. After the war his style did not change much. In 1926 he accepted a teaching position at the Düsseldorf Academy and by this time he primarily worked on stained-glass windows.

The draftsman Paul Klee knew the power of expression using linear means, but after a trip to Tunisia with other Blaue Reiter artists the miracle of color awakened in him. He started expressing the visual translation of color in his paintings. He felt that creative activity’s role was not to reproduce nature, but to be analogous to the creative processes in nature.

Jawlensky painted mostly landscapes and portrait heads during his association with Der Blaue Reiter. He had
romantic-religious tendencies that found form in the subtle cross-shape of the faces of his portrait heads (Fig.6).

Unfortunately the outbreak of war meant the death of Der Blaue Reiter. Jawlensky was an enemy alien and was exiled to Switzerland. He lost his Russian citizenship after the war, so he hoped to become a German citizen. Shortly after the war he joined with Klee, Kandinsky and Lyonel Feininger to form Die Blauen Vier with the intentions of exhibiting rather than becoming an association like Die Blaue Reiter. By 1929 arthritis and health problems slowed him down and hampered his painting.

Macke enthusiastically volunteered for service in 1914. His good friend Marc also eagerly embraced the war and followed suit. A month later Macke was killed in action but this did not deter Marc’s enthusiasm. Like so many young men at that time, he had high hopes for a purification and a new beginning for Germany and Europe. On March 4, 1916 Marc died at Verdun and the spirit of Der Blaue Reiter died with him.

The war interrupted creative processes and artistic movements in the same way that it interrupted all aspects of life in Germany. It was the rare artist who remained unaffected by the war, and the majority of them were greatly influenced by it. In some cases, the war was a direct inspiration for their art. In other cases the terrifying experience of the war changed their outlook on life, which in turn influenced their artistic style and output.
Emil Nolde was the rare artist who was not influenced by the war. He was on the way back from the South Seas when he learned of the outbreak of war. All of his belongings including canvases painted in Melanesia were confiscated by the British in Port Said, but he managed to obtain a Danish passport and was able to return to Germany. At 45 years of age, he was too old to serve in the war and he remained reasonably unaffected by it. Instead of the war, it was his recent trip to the South Seas which reawakened the creative urge in him full force, and in 1915, he completed the most paintings he ever did in a year's time. The burst of creativity stemming from his voyage inspired many of his works. Other subjects he painted at this time included his usual flowers, landscapes, seascapes, a few religious themes and some North German inspired mythical subjects.

After the war the area where Nolde resided became a part of Denmark so he became a Danish citizen and remained one until the end of his life. Not generally a political man, he did join the radical Arbeitsrat für Kunst after the war and in 1920 he changed his direction and became a charter member of the National Socialist party in North Schleswig because their ideology matched his own conservative, nationalistic and racist beliefs. His belief in racial purity seemed to be a contradiction as he found himself extremely attracted to primitive man and his arts, and he was quite intrigued by the many different races and cultures he encountered during his
trip to the South Seas. Many of his paintings reflected his attraction to these people.

Nolde was so attached to his artwork that he and his wife regarded his pictures as their children (Selz 71). In 1921, when he learned that his confiscated Melanesia canvases were in England, he and his wife wasted no time traveling there in order to recover the paintings.

During the 1920s recognition of Nolde as a major force in German art steadily increased and his paintings were entering important museums. In 1926 the title of *doctor honoris causa* was conferred on him by the University of Kiel. The following year, Nolde’s artistic reputation was solidified by a retrospective exhibition of over 200 of his paintings that was shown in five major German cities on the occasion of his 60th birthday. In 1931 he was appointed as a member of the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts and the following year his work was included in an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. He also had a whole room devoted to his work in the National Gallery in Berlin. This self-professed loner artist from the North German peasant-classes had finally received recognition from around the world.

George Grosz was an artist who was greatly influenced by the war, and his major works of art were not produced until after that time. He had decided to become an art student back in 1909 after being thrown out of school for striking a teacher right before final examinations. He applied to be and became
a student of Richard Müller at the Dresden Art Academy. Grosz and the other art students at the Academy rebelled against Müller's military discipline, "mindless copying" and "unimaginative technical perfections" (Schneede 10). By 1910 Grosz was doing traditional historical painting, sketching landscapes and various objects and drawing cartoons along the line of art nouveau illustrations for satirical periodicals, the later work being inspired by Lyonel Feininger.

Before the war Grosz started seeking refuge in the abnormal as a response to the limitations placed on society by the Prussian state (Schneede 19). His drawings dealt with unpicturesque subjects such as circus figures and dance hall artists, and he utilized both a Frankenstein motif made of severed body parts, and a murder motif. He especially seemed to like drawing sex murders which he based on books or actual events. Uwe M. Schneede notes that Grosz had introduced a new motif by basing murder on actual, current events rather than on historical events (19).

Although Grosz considered himself apolitical and was not as enthused by the prospect of war as artists like Marc and Macke, he did volunteer for service in November 1914. He never saw battle and was temporarily discharged in 1915 for health reasons. By this time his feeling regarding his country had changed. He wrote in a letter: "Having experienced one year of war, I'm no longer such a devoted friend of my fatherland"
(Schneede 23). He developed a hatred for militarism and anyone who supported it. He also wrote of his hatred of Germans:

I feel no relationship to this human stew....Being German means being tasteless, stupid, ugly, fat, unathletic....millions of people...unable to see what is really happening...whose minds have been stuffed with the attributes of ignorant reaction, such as God, Fatherland, militarism (Eberle 56).

This view influenced much of his work until the end of the war.

In January 1917 Grosz was recalled to duty and the following day he was sent to the infirmary. A month later he was transferred to a sanitarium. By May he was discharged as permanently unfit for service.

Grosz's paintings continued to reflect his hatred for war, but they also depicted the range of experiences offered in the city during war-time. He derived primitive artistic influences from children's drawings and scribbles in public toilets. He also anglicized his name by adding an "e" to Georg as a rejection of German mentality. He continued to despise the German masses.

In 1915, Grosz's work started appearing in the radical, anti-war periodical Die Aktion, which ended up being heavily censored by the government. In 1916 Neue Jugend started publishing his work. That magazine in turn was banned by the government in 1917.

Grosz was one of the artists who helped to bring Dada to full force in Berlin as a protest against the bourgeois art world and Expressionism, which they especially disliked. The idea of Dada, according to Grosz's friend Wieland Herzfelde,
was to "destroy illusions...without regard for public values or government authority" in order to "advance the present-day world by undermining the status quo" (Schneede 107).

In 1918-1919 Grosz sympathized with the Spartacus and Bolshevist positions, he considered himself a member of the Spartacus League, and he joined the KPD immediately after its founding. His satirical drawings appeared primarily in magazines and newspapers directly connected to communist sympathizers such as Die Rote Fahne, the Communist Party organ. In conjunction with two friends, Grosz put out the first issue of the magazine Jedermann sein eigner Fußball, which was confiscated immediately by the authorities. Grosz then helped to put out Die Pleite, whose publication was also forbidden on several occasions. Grosz liked to attack German society. Many of his drawings depicted either people crippled by the war or the collapse of capitalist society. Early on he recognized the dangers of fascism, and in 1925, he did a caricature of Hitler wearing a bearskin and a swastika tattoo (Fig.7).

In the summer of 1920 when the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe was held in Berlin, Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, Max Ernst, and George Dix were included in the exhibition. Grosz exhibited his portfolio Gott mit uns, which was deemed by the authorities as insulting to the German Army. He was arrested, put on trial, fined, without a warrant his drawings were confiscated from his publishing house, the printing plates were destroyed and the ministry of the army gained control of the copyrights.
In 1923 Grosz published 100 caricature drawings in *Ecce Homo* attacking the moral decay of the bourgeois, which again brought him into court, this time for blasphemy. He was fined for circulating obscene drawings and 24 plates from the unsold portfolios were seized.

In 1928 Grosz had the portfolio *Hintergrund* published. A couple of the plates prompted one of the major blasphemy trials ever to take place in Germany. One plate showed the crucified Christ wearing a gas mask and army boots (Fig. 8). Another one, which showed a pastor balancing a cross on his nose, attacked the alliance between the military, the church and the legal system. The portfolios were confiscated and Grosz was interrogated. After going to court Grosz was found guilty of slander and was fined 2,000 marks. An appeal was entered, the case was reheard, and Grosz was acquitted. The prosecutor appealed and the case was sent back for retrial and Grosz was acquitted again. The prosecutor appealed once more and the case was heard again with the result being the destruction of the plates and all obtainable copies of the drawing of Christ on the cross. The trial received widespread public response. In 1930 Grosz displayed a statue of Christ wearing a gas mask and army boots similar to the earlier drawing. The police confiscated it immediately.

By 1932 Grosz knew that he wanted to leave Germany because "there were no possibilities left there for an artist of his stature" (Schneede 177). After accepting a guest professorship
in the United States in 1932, he permanently moved there in January 1933.

Hatred of war also greatly influenced the works of Otto Dix. Originally overjoyed by the thought of war, he volunteered in 1914 and was trained as an artilleryman and later was made commander of a machine-gun unit. Although he had studied art before the war, most notably with Richard Müller at the Dresden Academy, his major works were not produced until after the war. The war itself gave him much of his inspiration. He described the war later in life as "a horrible thing, but there was something tremendous about it, too. I didn’t want to miss it at any price" (Eberle 22).

Dix drew over 600 war scenes during lulls in the fighting. Most of these scenes excluded the horrors of war itself. He preferred to depict flowers growing from graves, couples embracing, soldiers charging in battle, and the destroyed earth.

It was not until after the armistice that Dix became embittered by the war. Like others of his generation, his hopes for change and a better world were dashed to pieces by the war. He took an anti-war stance and began portraying war cripples, rather gruesome figures from bordellos, nightclubs and cabarets, and sex murders similar in vein to early George Grosz works.

In 1920 Dix exhibited a harsh painting of disabled veterans at the Erste Internationale Dada-Messe. George Grosz
had been brought to trial for an anti-military work he had in
the same exhibition, but the authorities felt that Dix's
painting, though it also was an attack on the army, was not as
controversial.

In 1923 the authorities did not overlook two prostitute
paintings Dix had on exhibit. Dix managed successfully to
defend himself against the charges of indecency, but he also
acquired the reputation of being a controversial artist in the
process.

By 1923 Dix finally finished work on a large painting
begun some three years earlier. Entitled Der Schützengraben,
it depicted the graphic remnants of a bombed-out trench filled
with mutilated and impaled bodies (Figs. 9, 10). It was acquired
and displayed by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, where
visitors had to walk behind a large curtain to see it. In
describing the work the Kölnische Volkszeitung made a
prediction: "Represented is perhaps the most gruesome picture
ever painted,...[it] will always find many enemies" (Crockett
74). Many newspaper critics wrote articles for and against the
painting, but Julius Meier-Graefe was one of the harshest
describing it as a "public nuisance" and "enough to make one
puke" (Crockett 76). He also believed that its display in the
occupied areas of the Rhineland, where it could be viewed by
British and French soldiers, created a national embarrassment
for Germany.
As this controversy cooled down, the 10th anniversary of the beginning of the war and the first national Memorial Day came and went. Dix's painting seemed even more to be a slap on the face to those who continued to cling to the idea of hero worship. By 1925 Dix had become known as a radical pacifist, and his painting was removed from the museum due to public pressure and returned to his art dealer. The painting was then displayed at the International Art Exhibition in Zurich where the "national embarrassment" received international acclaim. The Dresden state collections then purchased the painting in 1928, but it was placed in storage out of public view. By that time Dix had become both a professor at the Dresden Academy and a commercial success as an artist.

When he received news of the outbreak of war, Max Beckmann called it the "greatest national catastrophe imaginable," and he could not resist its fascination (Eberle 4). In 1914 he enlisted as a medical orderly and by that summer he suffered a nervous and physical breakdown. By 1917 when he was discharged permanently from the army without seeing battle again, his style of painting had irreversibly changed.

Around 1908-1909 Beckmann had a happy life at home with his wife and new son. He valued his domestic peace and wanted to protect it from the dangers he saw in the society around him. At that time he painted reflections of this world of conflict and violence in a style similar to the Impressionism of the Berlin Secession. He easily accepted the conflict and
war in 1914, and in 1915, he still believed that "war is a miracle, if a rather unpleasant one. My art finds plenty to feed on here" (Eberle 84). He eventually did grow disenchanted and began to view the war as catastrophic. By the time he was released from service his painting style had changed to one of Expressionism touching on Cubism with a realistic edge similar to Grosz's work. He still used his earlier subjects of violence and conflict, but now they infringed on the domestic life, and even the family was not safe and free from violence in his paintings.

Beckmann did not share the political aims of the Spartacus group, but he did depict the suffering and martyrdom of Rosa Luxemburg in 1919. The suffering of Christ was also a subject that appeared frequently in his work at that time (Fig.11). The popularity of Beckmann's work increased throughout the 1920s and in 1925 he accepted a teaching position at the Städelschule in Frankfurt.

After the war and the revolution of 1918 many artists throughout Germany organized radical, revolutionary societies aimed at promoting extreme tendencies in modern art and expounding art's cultural and social role in the new Germany. These organizations were intended to resemble workers' soviets and were designed to bring modern art into closer contact with the citizens of Germany. In Munich the Arbeitsausschuß der Bildenden Künste was formed, in Bielefeld Der Wurf was organized and Düsseldorf's version was Das Junge Rheinland.
One of the better known societies joined by Pechstein, Feininger, Schmidt-Rottluff, Mueller and Heckel was the Novembergruppe formed in Berlin. George Grosz was one of many artists who exhibited with this group.

Another revolutionary society in Berlin, the Arbeitsrat für Kunst, was inspired and formed by the architect Walter Gropius. Gropius drew up the society's program in 1919, which was signed by 114 people including the painters Heckel, Campendonk, Mueller, Nolde, Pechstein, Rohlfs, Schmidt-Rottluff and Feininger. The organization was short-lived but it did manage to hold several well received exhibitions and publish several pamphlets and essays. The main objective of the group was to bring art to the people because "art must no longer be the privilege of the few, but the pleasure and life of the masses. The joining of the arts under the wings of a great architecture is the goal" (Lane 52).

The slogan "Architects, sculptors, painters, we must all return to the crafts!" (Lane 50) was used by Gropius for the Novembergruppe as well as for the new Bauhaus school which he established in April 1919 in Weimar. The school's curriculum avoided classes on the fine arts and instead offered courses on traditional crafts such as weaving and carpentry as well as a Vorkurs which emphasized abstract forms and natural materials rather than traditional European art styles.

In the Manifesto of the Bauhaus, Gropius indicated his goal of uniting architecture, sculpture and painting under the
same roof. To help him achieve his goals, he wanted painters to help him who could already effectively deal with problems of form.

Lyonel Feininger, an American artist, accepted Gropius's invitation to join the Bauhaus in 1919. Prior to World War I Feininger drew and had published many social and political caricatures attacking both Wilhelm II and the German society. These caricatures influenced George Grosz's early work. He exhibited in 1913 with Der Blaue Reiter and started experimenting with cubism. As an enemy alien Feininger was held for four years in a detention camp in Germany. After the war he joined the Novembergruppe, from which he soon resigned, and Gropius's Arbeitsrat für Kunst. At the Bauhaus he became an instructor of the graphic arts and succeeded in producing over 200 of his own prints. In his Bauhaus paintings he continued to develop along his earlier cubist lines with emphasis on geometry.

Oskar Schlemmer came to the Bauhaus in 1921. When World War I started he had immediately enlisted and was wounded twice during his years of service. Most of his important work was created after he joined the Bauhaus, and it was not inspired directly by the war. When he first joined the Bauhaus, he taught sculpture and mural painting. Later he was in charge of the experimental theater and dance there. He was intrigued by the form of the human body both at rest and in motion and the relationship of the body to the room surrounding it. This
interest showed in his paintings where he dealt with the problem of a figure in space (Fig.12). Before the Bauhaus left Weimar, he painted a series of murals in a stairwell of one of their buildings.

Paul Klee also came to the Bauhaus in 1921. By 1915, after the war had destroyed Der Blaue Reiter, Klee turned to a nonrepresentational abstract style of painting as a response to the war. At the same time, he became withdrawn from the daily affairs of the world. For a while after the war, he affiliated with the Dada artists. In 1919 Schlemmer attempted to secure for him a teaching position at the Stuttgart Academy but he was never hired, in part because his works had a childlike appearance, a criticism that would also haunt him later in his career (Fig.13).

At the time he joined the Bauhaus, Klee was deeply interested in the connections between the ego and the world. He wanted his images to be compared to "the totality of the All" and "serve as a formal analogy for the all-embracing unity of man and the world" (Haftmann 119).

Another Blaue Reiter artist, Wassily Kandinsky, joined the Bauhaus staff in 1922. When the war broke out Kandinsky, like Feininger, was an enemy alien. He was not detained but he reluctantly returned to Russia: "For sixteen [sic] years that I have lived in Germany I have devoted myself to the German Kunstleben...How should I suddenly feel like a foreigner?" (Barron 263). He participated in the Russian art scene and
enrolled in the service of the government after the revolution. The new government appeared to endorse the country's modern artists until about 1921. Kandinsky had been political and had refused to become a member of the Communist party, so when the government turned hostile toward modern art, he happily accepted a position at the Bauhaus and became a German citizen in 1928 while still employed there.

In Russia the style and purpose of Kandinsky's art changed and he moved away from Expressionism and toward Constructivism. He began using elementary, geometrical forms with brilliant colors set in formal organizations without reference to anything objective.

At the time these artists joined the Bauhaus, it was being financed by the radical state government and was attracting students from all over Germany and abroad. Both of these facts did not mesh well with the politically conservative leanings of the Weimar population who were already having a hard time being the center of the turbulence which accompanied Germany's political revolution. The things that upset them the most, however, was Gropius's attempt at incorporating the old art academy of Weimar into the Bauhaus, as well as the fact that Gropius promoted modern art, and that his writings were anti-academic. At a public meeting the citizens voiced their disapproval of the lack of respect of the Bauhaus members for Weimar traditions and customs and they indicated their hopes of preserving the local art academy. At another meeting, an
academy student gave a speech on German art stating that the true sources of art "were dying out in a Germany threatened by international domination" (Lane 72). Though it was not clear if he was speaking about the Bauhaus, many people accepted the speech as an attack on the school. Some charges of left-wing political influence and degrading cultural influences were later raised during the controversy, but these died down when the state government agreed to make the academy a separate institution.

Two years later, in 1922, a second controversy occurred when the first major Bauhaus exhibition took place, this time centering on political and aesthetic grounds. The Bauhaus's new style was deemed a cultural danger—a foreign art that would promote the decay of the German culture. The Weimariehe Zeitung called the school "A seedbed of Communists... in part imported from Russia" (Lane 79), a direct reference to Kandinsky. Konrad Nonn, editor of a cultural journal for the Russian Finance Ministry, attacked the school by comparing the Bauhaus art to the works of Prinzhorn's insane artists and indicating that the art bears signs of deep disintegration (Lane 82), a similar comparison to one cited in 1919 during the first Bauhaus controversy. By noting Gropius's Arteitsrat für Kunst connection, Nonn proposed that the intentions of the Bauhaus were political rather than artistic.

Eventually the decision was made to cut state funding of the school and recombine it with the art academy. By April
1925 most of the Bauhaus staff and students had moved to Dessau, but not before the controversy surrounding them received massive coverage in the German newspapers. Most of the resistance to the school had been in Thuringia as the school was supported throughout other parts of the country by various newspapers, organizations and intellectuals. The Bauhaus did encounter some opposition in Dessau, but this resistance to the school was ineffectual up until 1932.

Willi Baumeister did not identify himself with any particular artistic group though he was a friend of Schlemmer's and a good neighbor to the Bauhaus group, contributing to one of their portfolios. After serving in the German army from 1914-1919 he developed the idea of integrating painting into a whole room—a composition that would include the walls, ceiling and floor. He liked doing abstractions and created constructivist-style wall paintings. In 1918 he was appointed to teach at the Städische Kunstschule in Frankfurt. The following year one of his works was purchased by a museum in Frankfurt where it was criticized by the local paper as "proof of the spiritual and artistic aberrations of a period without discipline and culture" (Barron 200).

By the end of the 1920s, most of the major, modern pictorial artists in Germany were finally starting to receive respect for their work from a larger section of the population. Many of these artists held teaching posts, often in state art schools. Public and private support for these artists had
grown thanks in a large part due to the foresight of many museum directors who purchased modern paintings before the artists had received acceptance by the general public. Work of the modern artists could even be found in the smaller art museums, and the larger museums had developed special galleries to house their modern art collections. Berlin and Munich had separate museums whose entire collections included only art produced since the Impressionism movement.

Acceptance of modern art was still on the rise in 1932 in Germany, but this ascent was prematurely and abruptly halted by a man whose love of art would not let him leave it alone, even after obtaining the highest political position possible in Germany.
II. Hitler: Artist and Politician, 1889-1932

Adolf Hitler, the man who would later hold not only the fate of German art and artists in his hands but also the fate of the whole country, was born on Easter Saturday, April 20, 1889, in Braunau am Inn on the Austrian-German border to Alois and Klara Hitler. Hitler describes his parents in Mein Kampf as being Bavarian by blood and as nationals of Austria where Alois worked as a faithful civil servant, like Otto Mueller’s father, and Klara was a devoted housewife and mother (2). Klara had grown up in a family of peasant farmers and Alois was the illegitimate son of a peasant woman. Alois became the first of the family to cast off his peasant origins and rise to become a respected Austrian customs official who could provide a decent, lower-middle class life for his family.

Theodore Lidz, writer of the foreword to Adolf Hitler: A Family Perspective by Helm Stierlin, points out that Hitler’s being an unremarkable child of an equally unremarkable family and emerging as he did from the anonymity of this lower-middle class family are in part reasons why little is actually known
about his early life (11). Another reason for this lack of information is because the National Socialists and Hitler himself obscured with mythology, altered or destroyed much of his past as he rose to power in the NSDAP\(^2\) and in Germany. Various sources also tend to contradict much of the surviving information. Enough evidence exists, however, to indicate that art played a leading role during Hitler's youth and continued as an important part of his life as politics slowly replaced it as his dominant passion.

When Hitler was three his family moved from Braunau to Passau in Bavaria, Germany, and then moved again in 1895 back to Austria. On May 1, 1895, Hitler entered the first class of the Volksschule at Fischlam near where the family had recently purchased their first house and nine acres of land (Maser 25). The next month, Hitler's father retired due to bad health after serving 40 years in the civil service (Maser 25). After his retirement, Alois had more time to devote to farming, his hobby of bee-keeping, his family, and young Hitler.

There is good reason to believe that by the time of his retirement Alois wished for Adolf to follow in his footsteps and become a civil servant. Adolf was Alois's sixth child and the fourth by his third wife, Klara. Adolf's older half-

\(^2\)Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.

\(^1\)In Mein Kampf Hitler incorrectly indicates that Alois bought the farm after his illness and retirement. This appears to be an attempt on Hitler's part to show that Alois, after a long and hard-working life, wanted to return to a working farm life similar to that of his peasant father (3).
brother, Alois, from his father’s second marriage, left home in 1896 at the age of 14 supposedly due to the short-temper of his father (Maser 27) leaving Adolf as the eldest son of the household. Adolf easily became the center of his retired father’s attention and his determination to make a civil servant out of one of his children. Hitler states in Mein Kampf that he thought little about his future career at that young age but "so lag doch von vornherein meine Sympathie auf keinen Fall in der Linie des Lebenslaufes meines Vaters " (3).

Adolf received good marks when he first started school and these no doubt encouraged his father in his ambitions for his son’s future. Adolf’s first year in school was successful and his teacher awarded him top marks, which he continued to receive throughout his attendance in Volksschule. During the fourth and fifth classes of the Volksschule he also did exceptionally well—good enough for his teacher, Sixtl, to exclaim, "In Geschichte und Geographie wisse er mehr als mancher Lehrer " (Kubizek 67). Hitler describes this point in his schooling: "Das lächerlich leichte Lernen in der Schule gab mir so viel freie Zeit, daß mich mehr die Sonne als das Zimmer sah " (6), and he still did not want to become an official like his father:

Mir wurde gähnend Übel bei dem Gedanken, als unfreier Mann einst in einem Büro sitzen zu dürfen; nicht Herr sein zu können der eigenen Zeit, sondern

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4Werner Maser contradicts Kubizek in Hitler: Legend, Myth and Reality when he indicates that Sixtl was Hitler’s teacher and said this when he was in the first class of the Realschule in Linz (30).
Adolf's high scholastic aptitude continued to help fuel his father's ambitions for his son's career but a clash ensued when it became time for Adolf to attend secondary school. His father wanted him to attend the Realschule rather than the more humanistic Gymnasium which he thought would be unsuited to Adolf's abilities (Hitler 5).

Hitler describes in Mein Kampf his father's opinion as being strengthened

durch eine ersichtliche Fähigkeit zum Zeichnen; ein Gegenstand, der in den österreichischen Gymnasien seiner Überzeugung nach vernachlässigt wurde....das humanistische Studium...[schien] in seinen Augen unpraktisch....Grundsätzlich war er aber der Willensmeinung, daß, so wie er, natürlich auch sein Sohn Staatsbeamter werden würde (5).'

Adolf did end up attending Realschule in Linz and did well in history, geography and drawing, but he did not progress to the next class at the end of the year because of uneven work and his first poor marks in mathematics and natural history. Hitler himself notes:

Meine Zeugnisse in dieser Zeit stellten, je nach dem Gegenstande und seiner Einschätzung, immer Extreme dar. Neben "lobenswert" und "vorzüglich" "genügend" oder auch "nicht genügend". Am weitaus besten waren meine Leistungen in Geographie und mehr noch in

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Franz Jetzinger in Hitlers Jugend believes that Alois' wanting Hitler to become a civil servant is a myth which has perpetuated since Hitler wrote Mein Kampf. He argues that Hitler's father would not have sent him to Realschule in such a case because subjects that a future official would need to know, such as Latin, are not taught there (98).
Weltgeschichte. Die beiden Lieblingsfächer, in denen ich der Klasse vorschoß (8).

In Mein Kampf, Hitler attributes his scholastic failures to a deliberate decision to show lack of progress in school so that his father would drop the idea of civil service and let him become a painter:


As his earlier good marks in school show, Hitler was not lacking in talent or intelligence. The extreme marks he received later in school show that they were dependent solely upon his interests and talents and his good marks were given in subjects where no extra effort was needed. However, where any work was required above and beyond this, Hitler failed to give any effort and he received poor marks. He always received good marks in drawing.

Hitler did manage to be promoted after his second year in the first class of Realschule. On January 3, 1903, during his second class of Realschule, Hitler's father died suddenly from
a stroke. According to his father’s wishes, his mother decided to continue his schooling in the hope that he would become a civil servant (Hitler 16). Hitler writes that more than ever he was determined not to become an official and "In eben dem Maße nun, in dem die Mittelschule sich in Lehrstoff und Ausbildung von meinem Ideal entfernte, wurde ich innerlich gleichgültiger " (16). Shortly before he died, Alois took Adolf to the Hauptzollamt in Linz to show the boy what his future work place would be like (Kubizek 63). This ended up being his father’s last vain attempt at changing Adolf’s stubborn mind.

After his father’s death, Hitler barely passed the second class of Realschule, receiving the mark "nicht genügend " in mathematics. According to August Kubizek, his childhood friend, Hitler hated mathematics "weil sie ihm zu trocken war, und eine strenge, systematische Arbeit erforderte " (Kubizek 69). This distaste of mathematics proved to be to his disadvantage later on in his life. In 1904, Hitler finished the third class and received two "nicht genügend " marks. One of Hitler’s most hated subjects was French. In order to be promoted to the fourth class, Hitler had to retake the French examination and then was forced to move to a different school (Maser 33). Dr. Eduard Huemer, his German and French teacher at this time, testified later at Hitler’s 1924 trial in Munich:

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*In Adolf Hitler mein Jugendfreund, Kubizek incorrectly states that this happened during the third class of Realschule, which would have been the 1903/04 school year (69).*
Hitler was entschieden begabt, wenn auch einseitig, hatte sich aber wenig in der Gewalt, zum mindesten galt er auch für widerborstig, eigenmächtig, rechthaberisch und jähzornig....Er war auch nicht fleißig; denn sonst hätte er bei seinen unbestreitbaren Anlagen viel bessere Erfolge erzielen können (Kubizek 69-70).

Hitler entered the fourth class of Realschule in Steyr in September 1904, where he took up lodging away from home. Here he received four "nicht genügend " marks in German, French, mathematics and shorthand. The only good marks he received were once again in two of his favorite subjects: freehand drawing and gymnastics.

In Mein Kampf Hitler maintains that he finally left school in the fall of 1905 due to an ailment (16). His mother took him to visit her relations in Spital in order to recuperate. There Hitler mainly "kept himself to himself and spent his time playing the zither, drawing, painting, exploring the beautiful countryside" (Maser 37). He did receive a final school report from the Steyr Realschule, which was enough to allow him to take the entrance exams at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, where he hoped to follow his dreams of becoming a painter. Due to his illness, his mother finally accepted the fact he would not return to Realschule and didn’t pressure him to apply to the Academy right away (Hitler 16).

Jetzinger believes that this is another myth that Hitler propagated in Mein Kampf. He maintains that Hitler tried to use his illness to hide the fact that his bad grades and idleness were the real reasons why he did not finish his schooling (148-50).
At last free of parental pressure to become a civil servant, Hitler seemed to be in no hurry to pursue formal art studies. Instead he partook in "die Hohlheit des gemäßlichen Lebens" (Hitler 20), spending his time dreaming and pursuing his own artist pleasures in Linz for a couple of years. During that time he regularly attended the theatre where he never missed a performance of Wagner’s operas; he drew, painted, wrote poetry, composed music, designed bridges, streets, theatres and other buildings, and discussed grandiose and fantastic projects with his friend Kubizek (Maser 38).

He did take a trip to Vienna in the summer of 1906 where he visited the museums, theaters, operas and admired the architecture of the Ringstraße, but his stay was not long enough for him to take the entrance exams, and it was "kurz genug, um noch nicht die Not und das Elend zu sehen, das sich hinter der prunkvollen Fassade der Kaiserstadt verbarg" (Kubizek 145).

Hitler returned to Vienna in the Fall of 1907 and took the examination for the painting school at the Academy. The first part of the exam involved selecting two sets of subjects to be executed in two different three-hour sessions (Maser 39). Thirty-three of the 113 original candidates failed the first exam but Hitler was not one of them. The aspiring artists then had to show a portfolio of their drawings for the second part of the exam. Hitler failed this part of the exam along with 51 other candidates. Only 28 of the candidates passed and were offered admission to the Academy. One of the ones who failed,
Robin Christian Anderson, later had a successful art career and also held one of the top positions in the Academy (Maser 40). Hitler failed the second part of the test because his portfolio contained "Wenig Köpfe " (Picker 478). He went to see the academy's rector, who explained that Hitler's drawings showed a lack of ability for painting, but he did have a talent for architecture and he should apply for the architecture school at the Academy (Hitler 19). In Mein Kampf Hitler explains: "mein malerisches Talent schien übertroffen zu werden von meinem zeichnerischen, besonders auf fast allen Gebieten der Architektur " (18). He then decided to become an architect but lacked the qualifications to enter the school of architecture. He had not finished Realschule so he could not attend the mandatory technical building school needed for admission to the architecture school. A good architect also needs knowledge in mathematics, that "dry, strict, systematic" subject he so despised while in school.

By the time Hitler headed back to Linz to attend to his ailing mother, he had given up on an art career: "Nach menschlichem Ermessen also war eine Erfüllung meines Künstlertraumes nicht mehr möglich " (Hitler 19). After his mother's death he decided to return to Vienna. By that time "Der frühere Trotz war wieder gekommen " and Hitler "wollte Baumeister werden " (Hitler 19).

Hitler still cherished his dreams of becoming an artist. Even his dreams of becoming a painter had not diminished as he
studied painting for a year with the Viennese sculptor Panholzer; and in the fall of 1908 he again took the entrance examinations for the painting school. This time he did not pass the first part of the exam so he was not allowed to show his new portfolio supplemented with recent work done for Panholzer. The historian Werner Maser believes Hitler failed the test the second time because of the emotional strains from both the death of his mother and his new-found independent life, as well as the fact that Panholzer’s rigid training did not help him to develop his natural art talents (46).

Hitler worked as an unskilled worker for a while but he wanted something closer to his chosen career as an artist. In Mein Kampf he reflects:

_In den Jahren 1909 auf 1910 hatte sich auch meine eigene Lage insofern etwas geändert...Ich arbeitete damals schon selbständig als kleiner Zeichner und Aquarellist....Meine jetzige Arbeit verlief ja parallel meinem künftigen Berufe. Auch konnte ich nun als Herr meiner eigenen Zeit mir diese wesentlich besser einteilen, als dies früher möglich war (35)._ 

Like many aspiring artists such as Nolde and Kokoschka, Hitler painted postcards in order to earn money. The majority of his postcards were watercolors of buildings in Vienna technically rendered with accurate perspective and impeccable detail. The figures he included strolling down the streets near the buildings were stiff and their motion was awkwardly drawn (Fig.14). The style of his postcards justifies the Academy rector’s reasons for telling Hitler that he was not a painter but should become an architect.
Unlike Nolde, Hitler's postcards were not overly successful. Knowledge of Nolde's crudely drawn sketches, done at a time when he had not even considered becoming an artist yet, would have only elicited contempt from Hitler, whose naturalistic, finely detailed buildings were the antithesis to Nolde's work. Hitler also painted townscapes and landscapes in oils, ink or watercolors, which he often copied from old prints or picture postcards, a technique he used for his postcard subjects as well. Occasionally he did prints for posters or illustrated advertisements promoting everything from face powder to shoe polish.

Often Hitler's dealer in Vienna, Reinhold Hanish, sold his paintings to individuals, art dealers or interior decorators, and he shared the profits with Hitler. Hanish indicated later that he did have many customers but the better art trade businesses never bought any of Hitler's work (Maser 47). This working relationship eventually ended, and Hitler sold most of his pictures himself, often to intellectuals or Jewish businessmen, and sometimes a Jewish dealer called Neumann sold some as well (Maser 48).

Hitler's new aspirations of becoming an architect grew stronger during his stay in Vienna, and he slowly grew careless in his painting. He began to paint less, his interests in studying buildings, reading and politics increased, and he began to see behind the facades that blocked his view of the real Vienna when he first visited the city. Hitler relates:
"Es kam die Zeit, da ich nicht mehr wie in den ersten Tagen blind durch die mächtige Stadt wandelte, sondern mit offenem Auge außer den Bauten auch die Menschen besah" (59). Much of Hitler's Weltanschauung was derived from the people he encountered and the things he experienced in Vienna. His hopes for a career in art were shattered there at the Academy and the pieces he picked up to replace it became the foundation of his future political thoughts and actions.

Hitler became an anti-Semite while in Vienna even though most of his art customers were Jewish. He appeared to lay the blame for all his artistic problems and failings on the Jews.

He writes:

Gab es denn da einen Unrat, eine Schamlosigkeit in irgendeiner Form, vor allem des kulturellen Lebens, an der nicht wenigstens ein Jude beteiligt gewesen wäre?...wie die Made im faulenden Leibe....je niedriger das geistige und sittliche Niveau eines solchen Kunstfabrikanten ist, um so unbegrenzter ist seine Fruchtbarkeit, bis so ein Bursche schon mehr wie eine Schleudermaschine seinen Unrat der anderen Menschheit ins Antlitz spritzt...die Unbegrenztheit ihrer Zahl...als Bazillenträger schlimmster Art die Seelen vergiften....Ich begann damals sorgfältig die Namen all der Erzeuger dieser unsauberen Produkte des öffentlichen Kunstlebens zu prüfen...Die Tatsache, daß neun Zehntel alles literarischen Schmutzes, künstlerischen Kitsches und theatricalischen Blödsinns auf das Schuldkonto eines Volkes zu schreiben sind, das kaum ein hundertstel aller Einwohner im Lande beträgt, ließ sich einfach nicht wegleugnen (Hitler 61-62).

He also blamed the Jews for the prostitution on the streets in Vienna, the problems of the World press, being anti-German, being the leaders of Social Democracy and he linked them directly to Marxism. He collected all of these ideas into
his Weltanschauung on which he later based both his political and artistic ideas. The things he would later fight against as a politician he would also fight against in the realm of German art: prostitution and degradation of German women, internationalism, Marxism/Bolshevism and the all-encompassing Judaism which he thought controlled all of the other things he hated.

In speaking of the old "German" Austria Hitler states:

Deutsch aber waren endlich Kunst und Wissenschaft. Abgesehen vom Kitsch der neueren Kunstentwicklung, dessen Produktion allerdings auch einem Negervolke ohne weiteres möglich sein dürfe, war der Besitzer und auch Verbreiter wahrer Kunstgesinnung nur der Deutsche allein. In Musik, Baukunst, Bildhauerei und Malerei war Wien der Brunnen, der in unerschöpflicher Fülle die ganze Doppelmonarchie versorgte, ohne jemals selber sichtlich zu versiegen (Hitler 75-76).

It is possible, though not documented, that Hitler had encountered modern paintings in Vienna by the Secessionists or Kokoschka, who was also working and living there at that same time. If he did, they probably left a negative impression on him as his own work was along the line of genre pictures. Regardless, Hitler was attracted to the old German art and Germany itself, so when his turn came to do military duty in May 1913, he dodged the draft and moved to Munich, the former art capital of Germany."

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"In Mein Kampf Hitler indicates he left in the spring of 1912, most likely so that it would not look as though he had avoided doing military service in Austria (138)."
At the time Hitler moved to Munich, it was a hotbed of German Expressionism, and *Der Blaue Reiter* was near the height of its artistic achievements. It is hard to say how much notice Hitler paid to these artists who lived in the same neighborhood of Schwabing, because he continued painting important buildings in his same old style, still copying them from photos down to the last finicky detail.

Hitler describes this time in Munich as the happiest in his life, and as an artist he felt he was destined to end up there:

[mein] Studium...mich auf Schritt und Tritt ja auf diese Metropole der deutschen Kunst hinwies. Man hat nicht nur Deuschland nicht gesehen, wenn man München nicht kennt, nein, man kennt vor allem die deutsche Kunst nicht, wenn man München nicht sah (Hitler 138).

By the time war broke out in 1914, most of Hitler's views on art were already formed and they would change little throughout his lifetime. The beginning of the war more or less also marked the end of Hitler's career as an artist and the selling of paintings to make a living. On the other hand, the end of the war marked the real beginning of Hitler, the politician.

Like so many Germans, Hitler also eagerly embraced the war: "ich, überwältigt von stürmischer Begeisterung, in die Knie gesunken war und dem Himmel aus Übervollem Herzen dankte, daß er mir das Glück geschenkt, in dieser Zeit leben zu dürfen" (Hitler 177). As an Austrian, he had to petition King Ludwig III so that he could serve in the German army. His request was
honored and he served as a runner throughout the war receiving the Iron Cross both First and Second Class. He did continue his art by doing occasional paintings and drawings in charcoal, pencil or ink. Hitler indicates that it was during the war that the idea first came to him to get involved in politics (192).

In October 1918, Hitler was hospitalized after encountering mustard gas. He reveals that he was "unter dem Schrecken, für immer zu erblinden " (223) and that "Freilich, daß ...[er] jemals wieder würde zeichnen können, durfte...[er] nicht mehr hoffen " (222), an indication that he still intended to pursue an artistic career. Hitler was still in the hospital when he heard about the November revolution. This news greatly disturbed him. Still partially blind and upset over the political events in Germany, he decided to change the direction of his life: "In den Tagen darauf wurde mir auch mein Schicksal bewußt....Ich aber beschloß, Politiker zu werden " (Hitler 225).

After being discharged from the hospital, Hitler returned to a Munich caught up in political turmoil. Right after Munich was "liberated," he was commanded to become part of an investigating commission on revolutionary events in an infantry regiment. This assignment became his "erste mehr oder weniger rein politische aktive Tätigkeit " (Hitler 227). On September 12, 1919, Hitler was asked as an army political agent to attend and report on a meeting of the Deutsche Arteiterpartei. After
this meeting he made an offer to become the party's propagandist, and he received membership card number seven. Hitler had taken his first major step toward becoming a politician, but on joining the party, he wrote down his occupation as "artist" and later changed it to "writer" (Maser 361, f.120), indicating his ongoing belief that he was an artist.

After the war, Hans Mend, an army friend, sometimes sold Hitler's paintings for him. Many of his army friends, including Mend, owned some of his works, and, convinced of his talent, they urged him to pursue art (Maser 65). After being asked to critique Hitler's work at that time, the artist Max Zaepfer was impressed and got a second opinion from Professor Ferdinand Staeger who indicated: "It shows quite exceptional talent" (Maser 65). The sometimes half-carelessly painted but meticulously detailed postcards made for public consumption or Hitler's quickly drawn doodles and sketches are often the works that draw the criticism of Hitler being a "house painter," "Sunday painter" or a "failed artist." According to the historian Werner Maser, Hitler did not paint much from nature, but when he did, the paintings were "thoroughly competent," and they "betray quite uncommon talent" (54-55). He also analyses:

Indeed not a few great painters have left behind pictures inferior to those of Hitler, who is nevertheless debarred from a permanent place in the

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9In Die Bildenden Künste im Dritten Reich, Joseph Wulf has reproduced two of these quickly drawn sketches as well as a watercolor painted during World War I.
history of art by the fact that he never produced one really major work (55).

The extent of Hitler's talent might always be in question, but he did have talent. What most of his pictures seemed to lack was not so much talent as it was imagination and the ability to make unique works of art. Though the drawings and paintings that Hitler produced will always be open to criticism as to their artistic merit, two things are certain: Hitler did manage to make a living for a while selling the work that he produced, and he always considered himself to be an artist.

By the end of 1919 Hitler's political duties preoccupied him, and art had to take a back seat. He did continue to draw and do other small paintings until his death, and his attraction to art soon made it one of his main political propaganda tools.

For the most part, Hitler had developed his Weltanschauung in Vienna, but his ideas continued to be cultivated in the unstable, post-war period in Germany. His already formulated ideas on nationalism, anti-Semitism, and his views on art and culture continued to be enhanced and solidified while he was in Munich. He had help from several of his new acquaintances in these areas. One of them was the poet, journalist and writer Dietrich Eckart.

Eckart had moved to Munich in 1915 where he wrote nationalistic magazine and newspaper articles which gradually developed anti-Semitic overtones. This attitude became almost violent after the war when his anti-Semitic pamphlets,
brochures and poetry brought him the title "Judenfresser" (Grosshans 57). He was a member of both the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei and the Thule Society, whose symbol was a swastika and motto was "Remember that you are a German. Keep your blood pure" (Grosshans 57).

In 1920, the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei obtained the Völkischer Beobachter newspaper as their official publication, and one year later Eckart became its editor. He used the paper to help promote his view that Germany's cultural decline stemmed from the violation of German blood and the subjugation of Germans to foreign influences, which he defined with the word Kulturbolschewismus. This word was commonly used after 1918 to define any offense to one's aesthetic tastes. Eckart attributed Kulturbolschewismus to the Jews, and he felt it was being promoted by the new Russian communists. He also felt that the German culture should not be spread to other, lower races and it should not become international. The focus should be on the German people themselves, uninfluenced by the world outside of their own country.

Art played a major role in Eckart’s line of thought. He felt that the purpose of an artist was not to entertain but to define what is German: German history, German heroism, German culture, and the German race itself. Instead of being isolated from the rest of the population, artists should be tightly connected to the community. He also felt that Jews and Slavs were not capable of any true cultural achievements, and he
hated any European art influences that were not German. Germany needed to be saved from these outside cultural manifestations. He also envisioned an intellectual, artist-soldier who would rescue Germany from these manifestations. This was his version of the Führer mystique that was found among many members of the early Nazi party.

On February 24, 1920 Hitler, Eckart and other members of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei drew up and adopted a 25 point program for the party. Part of point 23 states:

Wir fordern den gesetzlichen Kampf gegen eine Kunst- und Literatur-Richtung, die einen zersetzenden Einfluß auf unser Volksleben ausübt und die Schließung von Veranstaltungen, die gegen vorstehende Forderungen verstoßen (Feder 20).

indicating that it was the intention of Hitler and the party from early on to regulate German art and keep it free of any unwanted influences. In 1926 the party reaffirmed this original program by prohibiting alteration of any of the basic principles and ideas that it contained.

Echoes of point 23 of the program soon appeared and continued to appear in Hitler's speeches. In an April 1923 speech about the Jew versus the German people Hitler mentioned:

we need a reform in the sphere of art, literature and the theatre. The government must see to it that its people is not [sic] poisoned. There is a higher right which is based on the recognition of that which harms a people, and that which harms a people must be done away with (Baynes 66).

This shows that Hitler firmly believed by this time that the government alone had the "higher right" to regulate German art
in order to protect the people. Regulation to him meant destroying any art tendencies deemed to be harmful or poisonous.

Later that same year, the unsuccessful Feldherrnhalleputsch took place in Munich. The NSDAP and the Völkische Beobachter were immediately banned, and Hitler was later arrested. While he was waiting to stand trial his mentor Eckart died. After being convicted, Hitler served nine months in the Landsberg fortress during which time he wrote Mein Kampf, which he concluded with a tribute to his friend Eckart. The purpose of Mein Kampf was primarily to display Hitler’s Weltanschauung and outline the aims of the NSDAP.

In Mein Kampf, Hitler frequently mentions art and culture, often inserting his views on art as quick thoughts in the middle of discussing a totally unrelated subject. This is an indication of how important these two subjects were to him since they kept recurring in his thoughts as he wrote the book.

In talking about the "art" of propaganda Hitler compares it in his book to posters for art exhibitions in that

ihre Aufgabe ja genau wie bei dem Plakat im Aufmerksam macher der Menge zu bestehen hat...Jede Propaganda hat volkstümlich zu sein und ihr geistiges Niveau einzustellen nach der Aufnahmefähigkeit des Beschränktesten unter denen, an die sie sich zu richten gedenkt....Je bescheidner...und je mehr sie ausschließlich auf das Fühlen der Masse Rücksicht nimmt, um so durchschlagender der Erfolg.

10The Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP) changed its name in 1920 to Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP).
He felt that in order to convince the masses and for them to remember anything one must continuously repeat only the simplest of ideas; therefore, throughout his book he constantly warns of the dangers of using half-measures especially in regard to propaganda. Though party members would later disagree on what was good art and effective propaganda, Hitler, hating half-measures, would solve this dispute by controlling propaganda and making it known that only his view of art would be the "official" view. Later on, Hitler would also use art itself as a propaganda tool, and in the process of doing so, he would try to eliminate modern art because its "spiritual level" was too high to draw the necessary masses. He would also be very careful in choosing a simple genre style for the official art so that it would easily be understood by the masses.

Beyond propaganda Hitler also speaks in *Mein Kampf* about the degeneration of the German blood and race caused by prostitution and syphilis as well as *Rassenschande*: The mixing of German blood with that of Jews and other "lower" races. He termed this as "Sünde wider Blut und Rasse" (272). Besides mentioning the need to keep the German blood pure, he also indicates the need to increase the German race, to keep Germany secure, free and independent and that
Art would later serve these purposes as well, and if it did not, it would be rejected and deemed "degenerate art." 

Hitler also talks about the degeneration of art that happened before the war. He speaks of this as either a "Seuche," "Wucherung," "Krankheit" or "Verfallserscheinungen," that infiltrated all areas of German art and culture at that time. This "Prostituierung der Kunst " (284) was caused by

He refers to this "Zeit der beschämendsten Minderwertigkeit " (287) as the point when alien elements forced their way into German art which in turn announced the arrival of the country’s political collapse. He blames the cultural and political decay of other countries on the alien element of Bolshevism manifested in art in the form of Cubism, Futurism and Dadaism, which he felt was also influencing Germany’s decline.

Hitler indicates his view of Expressionism by describing it as bolshevist and "frechen Unsinn ":

"The usual German word for degenerate is "degeneriert " whereas the word "entartet " is actually a biological term. Max Nordau, himself a Jew, in his 1892 book Entartung used this word for the first time to describe dangerous manifestations in culture and art (vii-ix). Hitler uses these words interchangeably to describe both art and people in Mein Kampf."

ein inneres Erleben sein könnte, war ja gar nicht zu zweifeln, wohl aber daran, ob es angängig ist, der gesunden Welt die Halluzinationen von Geisteskranken oder Verbrechern vorzusetzen (288).

He also notes that this bolshevist art is the only cultural and intellectual accomplishment that Bolshevism is capable of producing (283). He describes Jewish art in a similar way but gives it even less credit:

es gab eine jüdische Kunst niemals...Was es auf dem Gebiete der Kunst leistet, ist entweder Verbalhornung oder geistiger Diebstahl. Damit aber fehlen dem Juden jene Eigenschaften, die schöpferisch und damit kulturell begnadete Rassen auszeichnen (332).

The influence of the architect, philosopher and party member Alfred Rosenberg on Hitler can be seen throughout Mein Kampf. Rosenberg, originally from Estonia, had fled from Russia’s Red Revolution and ended up in Munich, where he became a core member of the NSDAP. In 1917 he started outlining his book Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts, which he finished in 1925 and published in 1930. This book along with Mein Kampf, could easily be considered volumes one and two of the basic Nazi ideology. Though it was published last, many of Rosenberg’s ideas are reflected in Hitler’s book. Peter Viereck, author of Metapolitics, notes this similarity:

Hitler’s repetition of Rosenberg’s ideas...is too obvious to anyone who has glanced at Mein Kampf...every view...from Rosenberg is repeated there, often in exactly the same phrases and almost the same sentences (252).

As an architect himself with a major interest in art, it is easy to see how Rosenberg, like Eckart, played a role in
enhancing and solidifying Hitler's views on art and culture during the 1920s.

Rosenberg devotes about one-fourth of his book to his chapter on "Das Wesen der germanischen Kunst." In the field of art, Rosenberg rejects individualism and internationalism. He also rejects most of the art of the decades right before the 1920s because it was influenced by Judaism, Marxism, internationalism or democracy. He singles out Expressionism for being "Innerlich haltlos " and for promoting primitive art rather than European-Nordic art (301-02). He felt that the purpose of art was to promote and glorify the Nordic race. He elaborates on the concept of a highly cultured Nordic super-race whose destiny was to rule the world. All of these ideas were also brought forth by Hitler in Mein Kampf.

Later in the 1920s it is quite possible that Hitler's views on art were also influenced by Paul Schultze-Naumburg's racial theories of art as indicated in his book Kunst und Rasse. Schultze-Naumburg believed that one's race influenced the way one viewed or created art. An artist will automatically produce works that reflect his own physical characteristics, thus linking the distortions of modern art to the racial deformities of the artist. He held a particularly strong hatred of the Expressionists, whose art he compared to physically deformed people (Figs.15,16).

During the 1920s, Hitler had put his artistic talents to good use within the National Socialist party. He designed the
party insignia of a swastika in a round, white field set on a red background. He also designed the Storm Troop insignia, the party flags, banners, uniforms and armbands, he made decorative buttons, and he drew up meeting posters and layouts for newspapers. In 1928 he even redecorated the party offices in an anti-modern style.

Hitler not only prepared his party visually for the events that would take place after 1933, but ideologically as well. Politically and artistically his thoughts had become the basis of the party's ideology and plans for the future.

In 1932 Hitler still viewed himself as an artist, but he also felt that politics could be a means through which his artistic ideas could be put into practice. He was now ready to take political and artistic control of Germany and begin shaping the cultural image of the country's people.
III. Conflict and Control, 1933-1945

If a German government had built a gigantic studio, subsidized the newspapers to declare him the greatest artist of all time, and managed to satisfy his limitless vanity that way, I believe he would have turned to completely harmless pursuits and would never have gotten the idea of setting fire to the world.

Friedrich Reck-Malleczewen, (26)

On January 30, 1933, when Hitler accepted Hindenburg's invitation to become Reich Chancellor, he immediately began to enact point 23 of the NSDAP 's program and he started his persecution of the free, creative, artistic spirit in Germany.

The Nazi purges on art had actually begun before Hitler took power. When the National Socialists made their first significant showing at a provincial election in Thuringia in 1929, they elected Wilhelm Frick to the Reichstag. In order to "rid Thuringia of all 'immoral and foreign racial elements in the arts'" (Lane 156) Frick passed an "Ordinance against Negro Culture" in 1930. He first used this ordinance to attack what remained of the Weimar Bauhaus, which had continued teaching crafts and architecture after 1925 in loose affiliation with the art academy. Paul Schultze-Naumburg was appointed by Frick to head the school, where he proceeded to discharge the entire faculty and destroy all of Schlemmer's murals, marking the first time the Nazi party was linked to opposition against the Bauhaus. Schultze-Naumburg also had paintings by Schmidt-Rottluff and the Bauhaus teachers Klee, Kandinsky and Schlemmer removed from public view in Weimar (Lane 157). Schultze-
Naumburg soon joined the Nazi organization Kampfbund für Deutsche Kunst, which was headed by Alfred Rosenberg.

The Nazis attacked art in other cities in 1930 as well. One of Dix's murals suffered the same fate as Schlemmer's when it was torn down from the wall of the Hygienemuseum in Dresden. That same year the director of the Zwickau museum was discharged for including works such as the "Schmierereien von Kokoschka, die läppischen Krikel-Krakel von Klee," ones by "[den] technischen Stümper[n] Nolde [und] Schmidt-Rottluff," and ones showing "ethischen Nihilismus, wie...in den Machwerken der Dix, Hofer und Grosz " (Rave 19).

The first major victim of the Nazi art purges ended up being the Dessau Bauhaus in 1932. The Bauhaus had been leading a non-confrontational existence on the local level since it had moved to Dessau in 1925, but early in 1932 the Nazis gained control of both the city council there and the Landtag. By October the government dissolved the school and the faculty and students were dismissed, part of them continuing the Bauhaus school by relocating it to Berlin. In 1933 the Nazis gained control of the Prussian government and they "provisionally" closed the Berlin school in April. The school continued to operate unofficially for four months until forced to close permanently due to lack of funds.

As an individual, George Grosz was quickly singled out after Hitler came to power, and his Berlin studio and apartment were searched by the Nazis who destroyed or confiscated the
artworks that he had left behind. With his strong connections to communist journals, publishers and organizations, his trial convictions, and his satirical caricatures of Hitler, Grosz was easily deemed harmful to the new regime. Grosz's arrival in New York one week before Hitler became Chancellor was good timing, and he himself stated, "It's unlikely I'd be alive now if they had found me there [in Berlin]" (Schneede 179). After the Reichstag fire on February 27, Grosz became one of the first Germans to be stripped of his citizenship by the government. By the end of the year Goebbels requested permission from the German court system for the rights to print Grosz's Maul halten und weiter dienen (Fig.8) in a brochure about cultural bolshevism.

Paul Klee also had his house searched by the Nazis, who confiscated letters he had written to his wife. Shortly thereafter, he was forced to produce papers to prove he was Aryan and not Jewish.

After gaining power, the National Socialists immediately began removing "offensive" modern art works from public view. Schmidt-Rottluff's Weimar eagle was one of the first to go, as it was found on buildings throughout the country. Hitler probably deemed the eagle as being wimpy and not strong or predatory enough for the new government. Another artist, Kirchner, was ordered by the government to abandon a mural project at the Folkwang Museum in Essen.
The Nazis also closed many exhibitions containing works by modern artists in galleries and museums throughout the country. Other state museums and galleries were forced to remove individual works of modern art from their walls. With the help of nationalist organizations, many of these state museums arranged special exhibitions of their modern art with the intent of drawing public ridicule and criticism to the art's decadence. These exhibitions were popularly known as Schreckenskammern der Kunst or Schandausstellungen and were held from 1933-1936 throughout Germany. Some of the biggest of these exhibitions were \textit{Regierungskunst 1918-1933} in Karlsruhe, \textit{Novembergeist: Kunst im Dienste der Zersetzung} in Stuttgart, and \textit{Kulturbolschewistische Bilder} in Mannheim. Otto Dix's notorious painting \textit{Der Schützengraben} (Figs. 9, 10) came out of storage and was displayed in Dresden's \textit{Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst}, which was conceived by Dix's former teacher Richard Müller. Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels and Hitler visited this Dresden exhibition, the latter declaring: "this unique exhibition...ought to be shown in as many German cities as possible" (Zuschlag 85). The show traveled to seven other cities in the next two years.

Many of these Schandausstellungen were set up so that the "bad" modern art could be compared to "healthy" German art. The modern works were frequently displayed together with a notation on the amount of money paid for the pieces, often making them appear exceedingly expensive due to the inflation.
of the 1920s and the change in the currency rate. At the Mannheim exhibition paintings were hung recklessly and without frames in order to further ridicule the works.

In April 1933, the "Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtenums" was enacted by the Nazis, allowing them to terminate any professional for racial, political or artistic reasons. Over twenty directors and curators of state museums were discharged from their positions. In the art schools Dix, Campendonk, Baumeister, Pechstein, Kokoschka, Schmidt-Rottluff, Kirchner, Beckmann, Schlemmer and Klee all lost their teaching positions because of this law, though some of them retroactively. Dix had the privilege of having his letter of dismissal signed by his former art teacher and recent Nazi Richard Müller.

Karl Hofer, surprisingly, didn't lose his professorship until 1934 even though he had been strongly and openly critical of Hitler's cultural policies for several years. A letter of his appeared in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung in 1933 accusing the Nazis of producing kitsch art for the masses and stating that a Kulturkampf was unnecessary because of Hitler's love of art and the existence of few Jews in the visual arts (Barron 255). Earlier that year, posters had appeared at his academy promoting the idea that he was a Jew and a Marxist in order to keep students away from his classes. At the time he lost his appointment, he was also forbidden to paint and exhibit. It was not until later that he realized what he had
done: "Wenig vorsichtig war ich in meinen Äußerungen, und heute will es mir wie ein Wunder erscheinen, daß ich noch am Leben bin." (Wulf 51).

The steps against modern artists taken by the Nazis had caused many of them to emigrate by the end of 1933; Kokoschka moved to Prague, Campendonk went to Amsterdam and Klee fled to Switzerland. Kandinsky also realized he was not safe:

In Germany my position is especially bad, because I have three qualities, of which each one alone is bad: 1) former Russian, 2) abstractionist, 3) former Bauhaus instructor until the last day of its existence (Barron 263) so he emigrated to Paris. His friend Jawlensky, suffering from a crippling illness, stayed in Germany, where, as a former Russian, the Nazis would not allow him to exhibit, declared his works worthless, and prohibited his art from leaving the country.

Throughout the Nazi art purges of 1933, there remained two of the major modern pictorial artists who believed that their art was in line with the nature of the National Socialists. One of these was Oskar Schlemmer, even though he had been fired from his post at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen für Kunst in Berlin after being slandered by posters hung in the school similar to the ones used to attack Hofer. He had published a protest manuscript in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung before his dismissal, describing his thoughts on the unification of art with the state. Unfortunately Schlemmer’s view of an apolitical artist in society was contradictory to the National
Socialist idea of political control of art. He continued writing protest letters to Nazi officials for the next few years to no avail in the hope that they would regard his work in a favorable light.

The other politically blind, modern pictorial artist was the longtime National Socialist party member Emil Nolde. Nolde’s nationalist, racist and conservative beliefs matched that of the party, but his brilliantly colored, expressionistic paintings of primitive people and exotic races ran contrary to the aesthetics of most of the party members. Nolde firmly believed that his style of painting would perfectly mesh with the National Socialist ideologies and should become part of the new national style of art. He was not alone in this belief, as his paintings were greatly admired by Joseph Goebbels.

Goebbels and his wife had been totally delighted by several Nolde watercolors that were borrowed from the National Gallery in Berlin to decorate their new residence in 1933. Hitler’s immediate disapproval upon seeing them changed Goebbels’ mind and he had them removed. Later, the head of the art section of the Propaganda Ministry, Hans Weidemann, assembled Nolde-like pictures for an exhibition of revolutionary, nationalist art (Speer 41). Goebbels had learned his lesson, and he promptly rejected the exhibition and moved Weidemann to a lower post in the Ministry. Goebbels liked modern art but he was not going to protect it. He easily
accepted Hitler's absolute authority in all matters, including art.

During Hitler's first year in power there was a lot of controversy over what the official, nationalist art should look like. There were many proponents of the idea that modern art was truly German, and that it had helped to usher in the takeover by the Nazis. When the National Socialists' new replacement director of the National Gallery in Berlin was instructed to rehang the galleries, he prominently displayed the modern artists in an exhibition to indicate their German qualities and because he felt they suited the ideology of the new government. Many party members disagreed with this and he was asked to leave his new post. His replacement's train of thought was also along the same line, and he mistakenly continued supplementing the museum's holdings with even more works by the modern artists.

Besides a division in the party over what should be included as the official art, there was also a division between two organizations which both wanted to have the power of control over art and culture. The first of these organizations was the Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur formed around 1928 by Alfred Rosenberg with the intent of extending the party's influence into the cultural sphere. Originally, the organization used public lectures and publications to attack modern art, though it ignored the visual arts in its propaganda for the first two years. By 1933 it had reached the height of
its cultural influence, but it was never to attain the status of being the chief organ controlling the arts in Germany.

In March 1933, the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda was established with the intent of controlling cultural activities in the Reich. Goebbels became head of it as Reich Minister. Goebbels and Rosenberg generally argued with each other over which one’s organization would control the arts in Germany, causing a strain on the party.

In the summer of 1933 members of the Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund organized an exhibition to illustrate the union of Nazism and modern art. This Bund had earlier attacked the Kampfbund and Rosenberg for not supporting the Expressionists. Three days after the exhibition’s opening, Rosenberg had Wilhelm Frick, the Minister of the Interior, close it down and expel the students from the Studentenbund.

By the end of 1933, Goebbels’ views on modern art had changed thanks to the Nolde watercolor incident, but there was still conflict between him and Rosenberg. In November, Goebbels established the Reichskulturkammer with seven chambers, including one for the fine arts, all of which fell under Goebbels’s control. All artists were expected to join this organization or they would be denied permission to receive commissions or exhibit. This office also had to give its approval for any public showing of art to take place.
Other than allowing the existence of the Kulturkammer, Hitler originally did nothing to end the debate between Goebbels and Rosenberg. During the party meetings in Nuremberg on September 1, 1933, he had given his first long address on culture that would become a fixture at all of the annual party meetings. This speech was the first official declaration on the role of arts in the new Germany as well as his first drawn out discussion on art and culture since Mein Kampf was published (Lane 180). Hitler was very noncommittal to either side of the cultural debate during the speech so both Rosenberg and Goebbels continued to argue over the control of the arts.

After Goebbels assumed authority of the Kulturkammer the debate diminished somewhat but still existed. By the time the next annual party meeting took place in 1934, Hitler had strengthened his ideas, and in his speech on culture he made it clear that he himself would have final say in all cultural matters, marking a permanent end to the dispute between Goebbels and Rosenberg. In the opening address of this party rally Rudolf Hess spoke to Hitler: "Sie sind Deutschland. Wenn Sie handeln, handelt die Nation. Wenn Sie richten, richtet das Volk," and in his closing speech he concluded: "Die Partei ist Hitler. Hitler aber ist Deutschland wie Deutschland Hitler ist " ("Triumph"). This quite accurately sums up the exclusive position of authority that Hitler held in the party and the country by this time. He was now the solitary authoritative voice in all matters concerning German art, and
he proceeded to disregard both the will of the people and the ideas of most of his fellow Nazis when it came to this sphere of influence.

Hitler clearly delineated his thoughts on art that year. He condemned the modernists, which he defined, as in Mein Kampf, as the Cubists, Futurists and Dadaists. He said that there was no place for the modernists and their contortions in Germany. He also declared that art was to become an operative part of the Nazi program. Hitler would never deviate for the rest of his life from any of the policies on art as defined in this speech.

By this time, things were continuing to grow worse for the modern artists who had stayed in Germany. Both Nolde and Heckel signed an appeal supporting Hitler after the death of Hindenburg, in the hope that they would be left alone to work in peace. They might have stood a better chance if Hitler had signed an appeal to support them, as their positions did not change after this action. Heckel in the meantime had objected to Schultze-Naumburg's derogatory statements about Expressionists being Jews during a lecture and he was immediately corrected with the help of two Sturmabteilung members (Barron 250). Nolde, on the other hand, had released his autobiography Jahre der Kämpfe, in which he attacked some of the other modern artists. He also sent a letter to Goebbels indicating the validity of his artwork, an act which proved to
be of no avail as Goebbels had entirely stopped supporting the Expressionists after Hitler’s rally speech in Nuremberg.

Schlemmer was also having problems, as his wall panels were removed from the Folkwang Museum in Essen by the new director there. A competition was held for new panels and Schlemmer, still naively blind to the real views of the government, wanted to enter but was rejected before he could submit his work.

In 1934, Dix was forbidden to exhibit and Klee was finding out that the old controversy regarding his childlike art was now becoming a major political issue. Klee released a retrospective book of his 1921-1930 drawings, and all copies of it were immediately confiscated by the Gestapo.

Hitler’s address on art at the Nazi Party Rally in Nuremberg in 1935 pertained to the revival and resurrection of German art:

I am...convinced that art, since it forms the most uncorrupted, the most immediate reflection of the life of the people’s soul, exercises unconsciously by far the greatest direct influence upon the masses of the peoples, but always subject to one condition: that it draws a true picture of that life and of the inborn capacities of a people and does not distort them. This gives us a sure clue in judging the worth or the worthlessness of an art (Baynes 574).

He described the new German art as being able to summon the great spirit of the past, but yet able to last a millennia in order to proclaim the greatness of the nation of Germany.

In his speech, Hitler again attacked Dadaism, Cubism and Futurism as being Jewish-Bolshevist mockings of art, but he
also made a special point of attacking the primitive in art, which he called a nuisance produced by incapable people, cheats or madmen. He deemed the primitive in art an unhealthy sign of degeneration and downfall: "That which poses as a revelation of the 'cult of the Primitive' is not the expression of a naive, unspoiled soul but of a degeneracy which is utterly corrupt and diseased" (Baynes 577).

The same year as this speech, Nolde, the National Socialist who painted primitive subjects, had his works, along with those of Beckmann, Heckel and Feininger, removed from an exhibition of Berlin art that was shown in Munich. The American Feininger was also required to produce papers on his Aryan ancestry after being accused of being Jewish.

Though having emigrated to Paris, Kandinsky was often as naive as Nolde and Schlemmer in regard to the National Socialists. In 1935 he asked a nephew traveling in Berlin to explain to the government: "The reasons I have not been in Germany for almost two years now have nothing to do with politics but only with art" (Barron 264). As a former Russian government employee and Bauhaus teacher, the last thing the Nazis would have wanted was for him to be back in their country again.

Things did not fare much better in 1936 for the modern artists left in Germany. Pechstein was denounced as a Jew and forbidden to paint. Later he would be denied an exit visa from the government when offered a teaching post outside of Germany.
Kirchner became disturbed this same year when he was forbidden to exhibit in Germany. Still a party member, Nolde was forbidden to engage in any artistic activity, but Schlemmer was pleasantly surprised when his work was allowed to be included in a German exhibition. Heckel probably received the biggest surprise that year when he was inducted into the Reichskammer without applying.

To help safeguard art, Goebbels banned all art criticism in November 1936. Only descriptions of works were allowed to be published, and these only if the writer signed his full name. Permission also had to be obtained to edit any journal on art and was not to be given to anyone under 30 years of age.

The year 1937 marked the height of Hitler's power in regard to politics and the control of art in Germany. This year also marked the first sign of a major deterioration in Hitler's health. These health problems caused Hitler to become more impatient, his actions showed a greater sense of urgency, and he wanted results immediately. He had no tolerance anymore for argument and he refused to accept advice from his comrades, from whom he slowly withdrew until he was almost unapproachable. His health continued to deteriorate over the next few years, negatively changing his character and his actions, to the point that Heinrich Himmler and some of his other followers deemed him in 1942 as being incurably "degenerate" (Maser 279).
The climax to both Hitler’s fight to destroy modern art in Germany and his attempts to shape the country’s cultural image took place in 1937 in the form of two contrasting art exhibitions in Munich. These quite likely reflected Hitler’s new need for immediate results in all fields due to his declining health (Maser 212-13). They were certainly the greatest propaganda tools Hitler ever employed to control art and culture in Germany.

The first of these exhibitions was the Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung that opened on July 18, 1937 as the first show in Hitler’s new Haus der Deutschen Kunst. The exhibition, which became an annual event until 1944, was meant to define the official German standards to which all art must conform. A total of 884 artworks were exhibited including paintings by the top Nazi painter Adolf Ziegler, known by his detractors as "the Master of the Pubic Hair" because of his "meticulously detailed nudes" (Lehmann-Haupt 78).

Portraits of Hitler were prominently displayed throughout the exhibition, and these pictures of Hitler would continue to play a major role in all the annual exhibitions (Fig.2). Hitler had special ideas about how he should be portrayed in portraits. He was always shown in a standing position and almost always full-length rather than a sitting, head-and-shoulders or three-quarter-length portrait. They were also "auf Haltung, Gestik, Blick und auf Wirkung abgestellt; alles Persönliche und Menschliche war ausgeschaltet" (Petsch 60). He
was also always shown as the central figure when with a group. The reason for this style of presentation was to show his position of authority.

There were also a large number of nudes in the exhibition. These depictions were cold rather than sensual, as their intention was not so much to inspire romance as it was to display the ideal of the healthy, beautiful, Aryan body. Male nudes were muscular in order to depict the heroic, dynamic strength of the German race. Female nudes were to emphasize healthy, feminine contours and be pleasing to the eye. Ziegler explained the inclusion of so many female nudes: "To encourage the idea of the perfect body. Also to give German men the incentive to have many children" (Stavis 29). Though the nude paintings had "elevating" titles, their overall impression was "cold," "insipid," and "tasteless" (Guenther 38).

Other subject matter in the exhibition included landscapes, historical portraits, some animals and still-lifes, and pictures of ordinary German people including many farmers. Ziegler described examples of appropriate subject matter: "German landscape heavy with produce. German peasants at work—but preferably at play. A German family with many children. It must be German and it must be real" (Stavis 30). Most of the paintings were well crafted, impeccably detailed, realistic representations to the point that they often looked like photographs. At the same time, most of them were no more than
bland, mediocre genre paintings. As a whole, the work was in line with Hitler’s own personal style of painting.

During his opening speech for the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* Hitler spoke for an hour and a half entirely on the subjects of art and culture. He made it obvious that he now had absolute authority in regard to art matters:

During the long years in which I planned the formation of a new Reich I gave much thought to the tasks which would await us in the cultural cleansing of the people’s life: there was to be a cultural renascence....I was...always determined that if fate could one day give us power I would discuss these matters with no one but would form my own decisions (Baynes 588).

He described the new art as being healthy, German, eternal and as the expression of the essential character of the abiding people [it] must be an eternal monument, itself abiding and permanent...I shall see the standard for that art in the German people, in its character and life, in its feeling, its emotions and its development (Baynes 586-87).

He felt that artists should create for the people and they will be the ones to judge it. He went on to describe the exhibition as "a beginning, yet the end of the artistic stultification of Germany has begun" (Baynes 592).

The referral to the "stultification" was in regard to a second exhibition called *Entartete Kunst* that was to open on the following day in Munich. Hitler described the art in this show as being international, Jewish and bolshevist. He also attacked it for its "primitive art":

It is either impudent effrontery or a comprehensible stupidity to exhibit to the folk of to-day works which perhaps ten or twenty thousand years ago might have been made by a man of the Stone Age...it is not
the function of art to retreat backwards from the stage of development which a people has already reached (Baynes 590).

In addition to these "prehistoric art-stutterers" he also assaulted the modern artists in other ways:

Misformed cripples and cretins, women who inspire only disgust, men who are more like wild beasts, children who, were they alive, must be regarded as cursed of God....it is clear that the eye of some men shows them things otherwise than as they are—that there really are men who on principle feel meadows to be blue, the heaven green, clouds sulphur-yellow—or as they perhaps prefer to say "experience" them thus...these pitiable unfortunates who clearly suffer from defects of vision...either...really see things in this way and believe in that which they represent--then one has but to ask how the defect in vision arose...or if they do not believe in the reality of such impressions but seek on other grounds to impose upon a nation by this humbug (Baynes 590-91).

The Entartete Kunst exhibition had been prepared by the painter Adolf Ziegler, who had recently been appointed president of the fine arts chamber of the Reichskulturkammer, under the authorization of Hitler and Goebbels. Over 650 German works made since 1910 from some 32 museums were collected in the exhibition in order to clarify for the German public what was unacceptable art, as opposed to the acceptable art of the Grosse Deutsche Kunstaustellung.

The degenerate art exhibition was modeled after some of its precursor Schreckenskammern, and it actually included the entire collection from the Dresden Spiegelbilder des Verfalls in der Kunst exhibition. The paintings were closely hung with special derogatory captions and numerous inscriptions often indicating their inflated purchase prices. Comments by artists
and critics taken out of context and quotes from Hitler sometimes covered entire walls. The utter chaos of the exhibition alone was enough to help defame the artworks and their creators.

The *Entartete Kunst* exhibition served as one of Hitler's most effective cultural propaganda tools against modern art, as over two million people viewed it in the first four months. It became the best attended art exhibition in history. However, as a dual exhibition it was not as effective because the other half of the event, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung*, only attracted some 400,000 visitors during its run at the *Haus der Deutschen Kunst*.

In the official *Entartete Kunst* catalog the exhibition was divided into nine categories of decadence: works distorting form and misusing color; those mocking religion; items advocating Bolshevism; those slandering the military; paintings promoting prostitution; artists who promoted primitive cultures; modern artists depicting their own inner decadence in the form of idiots and cretins; works by Jewish artists; and a group of works generally entitled "Utter Madness" (Grosshans 109). The last category included works by "artistically blind" artists as described in Hitler's speech.

Several artists who were already dead had works of theirs in the show. One of them was Corinth who died in 1925. He had been one of the artists whom Rosenberg had singled out in *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*. The seven works of his that were
included in the exhibit were those painted after his illness in 1911. The National Socialists believed that they were lacking in "technical and artistic skill" (Barron 222), and they pathologically mirrored his illness. Another strike against him was his work as a painter of the Weimar government.

Otto Mueller had also been dead for several years as of the time of the exhibition. Most of his paintings in the exhibition were of his slender nudes and gypsies (Fig.3). They were included with other works that were deemed by the Nazis to be insulting to German women or portraying prostitutes. His participation in the Novembergruppe and the Arbeitsrat für Kunst were enough to warrant his inclusion in the exhibition, but his work with Die Brücke guaranteed it.

The Expressionists were especially targeted by the Nazis for the exhibition and of these artists the majority of works were from Die Brücke. Kirchner had 38 works included, Heckel had 13, Pechstein had 15, and Schmidt-Rottluff had 24 prints and 27 paintings displayed as degenerate. Both Heckel’s and Schmidt-Rottluff’s works were branded for glorifying cretins, idiots and cripples at the expense of the Aryan. That same year Heckel and Pechstein were finally forbidden to exhibit. Pechstein was also expelled from the Preussische Akademie that year, and his protests that he was a war veteran and his sons were SA and Hitler Jugend members fell on deaf ears.

A third dead artist who had five works featured in the Entartete Kunst exhibition was Franz Marc. His death at
Verdun, his earning the Iron Cross, and his status as a war hero were all reasons for the controversies that surrounded his work since Hitler came to power. In 1933, he was praised as a model of behavior and his works were considered carriers of the national revolution. In 1936 two major exhibitions of his works were allowed to take place in Germany. Even the hard-nosed painter and Entartete Kunst organizer Ziegler appreciated his work and believed that if Marc were still alive, he would be Germany's greatest painter of all time (Barron 295). Horses however are not blue or red, so he easily fitted into Hitler's category of artists with defective vision, and his work was considered degenerate. A protest letter by the Deutscher Offiziersbund was sent to the Reichskammer indicating it was a scandal to disgrace Marc this way, so Der Turm der blauen Pferde (Fig.5) was removed, but the other paintings were still displayed (Barron 295).

Most of the other Blaue Reiter artists were also represented in the exhibition. Campendonk had six works included, Jawlensky was represented by two paintings and several lithographs of heads (Fig.6), Klee had 17 works displayed, and Kandinsky had 14 set up for ridicule in the show. Klee was again derided for his primitive, child-like works that the Nazis compared to art of schizophrenics and non-European races (Fig.13). Klee and Kandinsky were easily condemned because they had taught at the Bauhaus. Jawlensky and Kandinsky were Russians by birth so it was easy to label
their work bolshevist. Kandinsky had the unique distinction of having one of his works rather crudely reproduced on one wall of the exhibition. The National Socialists termed this the "Dada wall" and had posters and paintings by Dada artists including Klee hung over the reproduction (Figs.17,18).

The independent expressionist Christian Rohlfs was basically apolitical throughout his life, but his painting style went against the grain of National Socialism so he had 23 works in the Exhibition. Karl Hofer, whose style only bordered on expressionism had eight works exhibited. After having ten works, a portfolio and a poster hung in the exhibition, Kokoschka reacted by painting the self-portrait Bildnis eines entarteten Künstlers.

One of the Entartete Künstl organizers, Richard Müller, had two of his former pupils' works shown in the exhibition. Dix had 26 works including Der Schützengraben (Figs.9,10) displayed, while Grosz had a total of 20 works singled out including Maul halten und weiter dienen (Fig.8). Grosz had previously been pleased by his inclusion in the Schandausstellungen because it "substantiated the fact that his art had a purpose, that it was true" (Barron 244).

Beckmann had 21 works on display including Kreuzabnahme (Fig.11), which was denounced for disregarding "the sanctity of the solemn moment depicted" (Barron 204). The opening of the dual exhibitions in Munich and his inclusion in the degenerate one finally opened Beckmann's eyes to Hitler's real art
policies. He fled to Amsterdam the day the second exhibition opened, never to return.

Feininger had a total of 22 items on display at the exhibition even though he was still an American citizen and only German artists were supposed to be represented there. He had left for New York one month before the exhibition and never returned to Germany.

Schlemmer, Feininger's Bauhaus friend, had seven paintings and a portfolio in the exhibition. His work was described by the National Socialists as being barbaric (Fig.12). After this exhibition Schlemmer finally gave up the hope that his work would be accepted by the Nazis.

Two of the artists who had works displayed actually visited the exhibition. One of them was Baumeister whose four paintings and one lithograph were deemed bolshevist though he was apolitical and only a friend of with the Bauhaus. He also attended the Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung in 1937 and again in 1938. He utilized the catalog from the 1938 show to make postcard collages to send to friends. These were soon seized by the Gestapo but he managed to get out of the situation:

Thank God, Hitler in the electric chair was not among the intercepted letters. I extricated myself by writing a long report to the Gestapo, explaining that these were plans for a book dealing with color modulation and patina, in connection with an especially resistant paint for the camouflaging of tanks and pill boxes (Lehmann-Haupt 87).

Nolde, the politically naive National Socialist, visited the exhibition only to find 27 of his works hanging on the
walls. Many of his religious paintings were included and were condemned for offending religious attitudes (Fig.4). Deeply upset over this derogatory treatment of his work he canceled his 70th birthday celebration and wrote a letter of protest to Goebbels complaining of the "Verächtlichmachung seiner Kunst " (Rave 74). He also demanded the return of the privately owned works of his that were seized while on loan to museums. He did not make any headway with his first complaint, but in the latter one he did manage to get his beloved "children" back again.

In May 1938, Hitler and Goebbels signed the "Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst " which legalized the ongoing art seizures. The law stated: "products of degenerate art that have been secured in museums or in collections open to the public before this law went into effect...can be appropriated by the Reich without compensation" (Grosshans 113). In all some 20,000 works were confiscated by Ziegler and his committee including an incredible 1,052 works by Nolde. The museums were also purged of many works by non-German artists such as van Gogh and Picasso. The items that were not included in the Entartete Kunst exhibition were placed into two storage facilities. Over 4,000 of the most valuable works were housed in a castle in Berlin, and some 12,000 others were placed in crowded storerooms.

Reich Marshal Hermann Göring felt that these expropriated, degenerate works should be sold so that Germany could obtain
badly needed foreign currency. Hitler and Goebbels agreed after touring one of the storage areas and the later set up the Kommission zur Verwertung der Produkte entarteter Kunst. Four dealers were authorized to sell the confiscated works, which they proceeded to do for the next several years.

One member of Hitler’s staff, Göring, did not practice what the National Socialists preached in regard to the "poisonous influences" of modern art. Already in 1937 Göring had seized for private use Marc’s Der Turm der blauen Pferde (Fig.5) after it was removed from the Entartete Kunst exhibition. In 1938 he sorted through the confiscated works and generously added many of them to his private collection before they could be sold.

Things continued on a downward slide for many of the modern artists in 1938. After having been banned from exhibiting and having his works attacked by the Nazis, Kirchner experienced deep stress. This, combined with an illness, caused an emotional collapse. After destroying all of his woodblocks and burning many of his other works, he committed suicide on June 15 (Barron 271).

Jawlensky was also quite ill in 1938, which forced him to stop working. He was already experiencing financial hardships; being banned from exhibiting, so his friends, including Nolde, helped him to get by until his death in 1941.

Rohlfs passed away in Germany in 1938. After his death the Nazi authorities prohibited the sale of his work. That
same year Kokoschka, who had previously escaped to Prague, was forced to flee to England after Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Nazis.

In 1938, the exhibition 20th Century German Art was staged at the Burlington Galleries in London. Originally it was intended as a response to the previous year’s Entartete Kunst exhibition in Germany. By the time it opened they made no point to directly link it to the German exhibition although the "degenerate" artists from the first exhibition were the only ones represented there: Kandinsky lent five works to the show, Baumeister lent four, Klee had 15 works displayed, and both Nolde and Dix made a point to send works in for the exhibition. Apparently without his knowledge, Schlemmer was also represented by three works sent in by Swiss collectors (Barron 337). This caused some problems for him as he still resided in Germany, and he had to explain the presence of his works in the exhibition to the Reichskammer (Barron 337-38).

The same year as this exhibition Hitler, as an artist, was to reach the height of his fame as his Vienna and Munich watercolors were selling at a premium throughout Germany.

In the summer of 1939, the Nazis had 125 of the most valuable of the confiscated artworks auctioned off in Switzerland. The auction included pieces by German artists such as Marc, Nolde and Grosz, as well as paintings by non-Germans such as van Gogh, Matisse and Picasso. The sale netted approximately $115,000 (Barron 144) for the German government,
some of which was used to purchase "desirable examples of German art" (Lehmann-Haupt 82). Many of the confiscated paintings were bartered. Often large numbers of these were exchanged for a single "desirable" German painting. Many of the less valuable works were sold for whatever money would be paid for them, often no more than 50 reichsmarks (Barron 256). Thousands of leftover prints, drawings and paintings deemed worthless and unsalable by the Nazis were destroyed in a bonfire in Berlin that year.

From 1939 onward, things went rapidly downhill for Germany, Hitler, and the modern artists who were left in the country. A failed attempt on Hitler's life took place in November of that year in Munich. Many local intellectuals were arrested and accused of involvement, including Dix, who ended up spending a week in jail because of the incident. In 1940, Dix's painting Der Schützengraben was sold by the Nazis for $200 and its location has remained a mystery. He was drafted into the army in 1945 and was captured as a prisoner of war. He eventually got assigned to the artists' detail in France where he worked until his release in 1946.

Campendonk had lived in Amsterdam since fleeing Germany, but when Holland was occupied by the Nazis in 1940 he felt himself to be in danger. He stopped teaching at the academy there and hid with the help of friends. By 1942, the Gestapo caught up with him and tried to procure defamatory information
about him from the academy. Campendonk lived with constant persecution until the end of the war.

Nolde, now fully disillusioned, was constantly being persecuted by the Nazis. Though Nordic and a party member, he had become a main target of defamation and his name was used synonymously with the term *Kulturbolshevismus*. No artist occupied the officials like Nolde and the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* was still discussing him in 1940 (Barron 320). In 1941 Nolde was expelled from the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste* which proceeded to demand the surrender of his artistic production from the previous two years. He was forbidden to work and lost 54 of his "children" who were confiscated from him by the Nazis. He made one last appeal to the Nazi officials in 1942 but was again rejected.

Schmidt-Rottluff was also dismissed from the *Reichskammer* and forbidden to work in 1941. In 1943, his apartment was bombed and he lost some of his drawings and paintings. The destruction of the Allied bombs took their toll on the works of many other artists. Both Pechstein and Nolde had their Berlin studios totally destroyed during air raids in 1942. Hofer lost both his apartment and studio in 1943. In 1944 Heckel’s Berlin atelier was destroyed by bombs. In 1945 the advancing Russian troops destroyed more of Nolde’s works that had been left in Berlin.

Several of the modern artists died while the war was raging in Europe. Paul Klee died in 1940 a week before the
final review of his application for Swiss citizenship. Jawlensky passed away in 1941. After lying in a coma in 1943, Schlemmer wrote: "this [illness] is the price I have to pay for ten years of imitations, mistakes, rootlessness, alienation from my true concerns" (Barron 338). He died that same year. Kandinsky, his Bauhaus friend, died as a French citizen in 1944.

The Nazis confined Hofer to a sanitarium in 1944 for refusing to comply. That same year, Pechstein was ordered by the Nazis to leave for Schippen, where Russian soldiers captured him, and he remained a prisoner until the end of the war (Barron 328).

The country's ruling artist, Hitler, seemed to be faring well on the national level in the artistic sense in 1942. The Ministry of the Interior declared Hitler's watercolors "works of art of national importance," and they were to be registered with the government (Maser 53). These watercolors could not be sold to foreign buyers without prior permission. The National Socialist party central archives had already started registering and photographing many of Hitler's paintings four years earlier. Hitler's art had legally become a national treasure while the real artistic treasure of the nation had long since been destroyed or sold to foreign buyers.

Politically, Hitler was not faring so well by 1942. As he saw his political situation crumbling around him that year he stated:

Hitler was still a politician but art continued to hold second place in his life. His architect, Albert Speer, believed that "in his heart Hitler always remained an artist" (Maser 65). In his personal life he continued to draw, paint and make architectural plans for buildings. In his public life he maintained control of the art of an entire nation.

Hitler was never again to be free to pursue art outside of politics. When he committed suicide on April 30, 1945, he died as a politician and a dictator. His name has not gone down in history for being an artist.

Hitler's death signaled the reemergence of artistic freedom in Germany and marked the end to the inner emigration of the handful of major, modern pictorial artists who were still alive and living in Germany. It is these modern pictorial artists, along with those who had already died, whose names will be remembered throughout history for their accomplishments in the field of art.
Epilogue

The end of World War II and the death of Hitler marked a new beginning for Germany. As the cities of Germany were being rebuilt over the ruins; the artists of the country were also starting anew after having their palettes wiped totally clean.

The war and 13 years of dictatorship had destroyed everything relating to modern art that had flourished in Germany in the 1920s. More important than the works that were eradicated or lost, however, was the destruction of the artistic spirit itself. The heart and soul of German art had been removed and could never be revitalized again in the same way. The inner soul of many of the remaining modern pictorial artists had been shattered, but many tried to pick up the pieces and continue their artistic careers.

Hofer, Nolde, Pechstein and Heckel all accepted posts at the state art schools after the war and started teaching again. Grosz and Dix on the other hand, rejected the positions that they were offered. Beckmann accepted a teaching position in the U.S. where he remained until he died, and Kokoschka stayed in England where he became a British citizen.

Many surviving modern artists underwent a style change after Hitler’s reign of power. These changes often reflected the persecution and helplessness the artists felt during this time.

Grosz showed his helplessness and pessimism in the form of "stickmen" which he portrayed in drawings as artificial beings
without substance who were either "being subjected to oppression and destruction" or barely saving their lives while surrounded by a world of ruins (Schneede 186). He also had a "painter of the hole" figure who was only capable of painting a hole (Schneede 186).

From 1939 onward, Nolde, who had become totally disillusioned because of constant persecution and his longing to remain in Germany, used as an outlet for his distress the painting of many very small pieces he called "Unpainted Pictures." These depicted mostly fantasy figures dreamed up in his mind. After the war, he started translating some of these pictures into oil paintings that were softer and more serene than any of his earlier work, possibly a reflection of the experiences he went through during the Nazi rule.

The modern artists like Nolde and Grosz who survived the years of Nazism actually emerged to find that their art was now receiving world-wide acclaim. In a large part due to the sale of "degenerate" art, many museums throughout the world now contain examples of their work. Retrospective exhibitions of these artists have sprung up in Europe and the U.S. since the war. Several exhibitions are direct reflections of the former Entartete Kunst show. Entartete Kunst, Bildersturm vor 25 Jahren, held in Munich's Haus der Deutschen Kunst in 1962 was a gathering of works by the persecuted artists. Another exhibition was held in 1987 in Munich on the 50th anniversary of the original Entartete Kunst show. In 1992 the exhibition
'Degenerate Art': The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany' was shown in three American cities. This exhibition collected actual works that had been on display in the original show. The display of these works served as a reminder of what the art world lost during Hitler's reign.

The names of the modern artists cannot he ignored when it comes to the history of 20th century modern art. In speaking at the 1938 Exhibition of German Architecture, Arts and Crafts, Hitler described great artists:

In the final analysis their work will be judged in the light of centuries and not in that of unimportant and transitory phenomena....[their] works...are destined to leave their imprint, not just on tens of years, but on hundreds of years (Maser 58-59).

This statement certainly seems to reflect the artwork of the modern artists whom he persecuted. Their art has stood the test of time and still remains viable today.

The official "healthy" art of National Socialist Germany has suffered a different fate. After the war, the Americans collected these paintings and drawings. Anything containing a swastika or picture of Hitler was destroyed or brought back to the U.S. as Nazi war propaganda. Other works were given back to their owners and the leftovers were stored in the Munich Hauptzollamt. In 1986 the U.S. gave over 6,000 of these works back to Germany. The returned works now lie locked in the basement of an army museum in Germany, many of them still unpacked. The works that had remained in Germany are closely crammed beside or on top of each other locked in the
depository. For 45 years, they have been treated as "Verschlußsache" (Arnu 25) and, outside of an occasional journalist or scholar, they are not open for public access.

Today, Germany does not know what to do with this "Nazi-inheritance" though the possibility of placing some of the works in a history museum has been considered. The idea of displaying the works in an art museum has not been contemplated. The works have generally been deemed as unartistic and their value is historical at best. Any public showing of these works will have to be handled carefully in light of the recent neo-Nazi movement in Germany. With nationalism again on the rise in Germany, and the public display of Nazi symbols, salutes, armbands and jackboots by the neo-Nazis, caution will certainly be exercised by the German government so as not to further fuel the fire.

As it stands today, the formerly censored, degenerate works of the persecuted modern artists have received world-wide acclaim while the National Socialist art that was meant to last for centuries is now the art that is being censored, and it remains hidden from public view. But what about the work Hitler personally produced?

Occasionally since his death, news of Hitler's paintings has reached the media. In 1970 his watercolor *Alte Hofbräuhaus* was offered for sale for 30,000 marks. In 1984 an exhibition of 20 of his watercolors took place in Italy. These same 20 works were put up for auction in November 1992 but
there were no bidders. The Italian Culture Minister described the watercolors as: "Klassenarbeiten eines gelehrtigen, aber wenig begabten Schülers" that are at best "interessant für die kriminalistische Psychologie oder Anthropologie" ("Klassenarbeiten" 27).

Hitler's paintings are viewed today as simply curiosities rather than works of art. They only survive because Hitler himself has continued to survive in the public imagination. Hitler, with his large-scale destruction of human lives, has made a mark on history unlike any man before him. After centuries have passed, the artwork that he left behind will still be judged as unaesthetic and may actually one day be forgotten.

A recent article in New Yorker notes what Hitler did manage to leave behind him that will last through the centuries: "Call it Hitler's gift to the world: he, like no one before him, has the ability to make us remember history" ("Notes" 28).

Hitler was a politician and a powerful dictator. His dreams of becoming a great artist remained only fantasies, but the mixture of politician and artist in him allowed him to fanatically control art in a way nobody has ever done before. His mark on history in regard to art is still reflected today in his bronze code over the entrance to the Munich Haus der Deutschen Kunst: "Kunst ist eine erhabene und zum Fanatismus verflichtende Mission."
Figure 1
Arthur Kampf, *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, 1908
Figure 2
Heinrich Knirr, *Führerbildnis*, 1938
Figure 3
Otto Mueller, Knabe vor zwei stehenden und einem sitzenden Mädchen, 1918-1919
Figure 4
Emil Nolde, Abendmahl, 1909
Figure 5
Frans Marc, *Turm der blauen Pferde*, 1913-1914
Figure 6
Alexej von Jawlensky, Kopf, c. 1922
Figure 7
George Grosz, *Hitler der Retter*, 1923
Figure 8
George Grosz, Maul halten und weiter dienen, 1928
Figure 9
Otto Dix, Der Schützengraben, c. 1920-1923
Figure 10
Otto Dix, *Der Schützengraben*, (detail)
Figure 11
Max Beckman, *Kreuzabnahme*, 1917
Figure 12
Oskar Schlemmer, *Römisches*, 1925
Figure 13
Paul Klee, *Die Zwitschermachine*, 1922
Figure 14
Adolf Hitler, Wien, Burgtheater (postcard)
Paul Schultze-Naumburg compares modern art to deformities (90-91).
Paul Schultze-Naumburg compares modern art to physical deformities (98-99).
Figure 17
Wassily Kandinsky, *Der schwarze Fleck*, 1921

Figure 18
Dada wall in the *Entartete Kunst Ausstellung*
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Supplementary Bibliography


