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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 4; Miller, “Hitleriana,” 72.

2. Bullock, Hitler, 7. On the history of Hitler biographies, see Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler; and Lukacs, Hitler of History.

3. Notable exceptions include Dahm et al., eds., Tödliche Utopie, 52–187; Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 242–59; and Günther, Design der Macht.

4. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 85. On Speer, see Sereny, Albert Speer.

5. Entry for July 14, 1944, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 2, vol. 13, 116.

6. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” 23–30; Pamela E. Swett, Corey Ross, and Fabrice d’Almeida, “Pleasure and Power in Nazi Germany: An Introduction,” in Swett, Ross, and d’Almeida, eds., Pleasure and Power, 1–15; Hans Dieter Schäfer, “Das gespaltene Bewußtsein: Alltagskultur im Dritten Reich,” in Schäfer, Das gespaltene Bewußtsein, 9–87; Baranowski, Strength through Joy, 1–10; Ogan and Weiss, eds., Faszination und Gewalt.

1. HITLER SETS UP HOUSE

1. Stachura, “Political Strategy,” 261–88. For an overview of Hitler’s rise to power and the Nazi state, see Burleigh, Third Reich; from a historiographical perspective, see Kershaw, Nazi Dictatorship.

2. Adolf Hitler’s completed questionnaire for apartment seekers, September 13, 1929, Zim 117, Stadtarchiv München; police registration record for Jakob Ernst Reichert, PMB R80, Stadtarchiv München; Hanfstaengl, Hitler, 47.

3. Bullock, Hitler, 75.

4. Hanfstaengl, Hitler, 47.

5. Hale, “Adolf Hitler: Taxpayer,” 833.

6. Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 288–89.

7. Trevor-Roper, ed., Hitler’s Table Talk, 161–68; Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 60–63. For an analysis of Mein Kampf, see Gregor, How to Read Hitler; and Jäckel, Hitler’s World View.

8. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 165, 554; Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 62; Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 271–76; Prager Tageblatt, “Hitlers Stiefschwester.”

9. Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 287–90; Hale, “Adolf Hitler: Taxpayer,” 830–42.

10. Anheier and Neidhardt, “Soziographische Entwicklung der <sc>NSDAP</sc>,” 179–86.

11. Scotsman, “Police Trace Organisation.”

12. See power of attorney and rental documents for 16 Prince Regent Square, Zim 117, Stadtarchiv München. The names and professions of the building’s occupants are listed under the entry for Prinzregentenplatz 16 in the Adressbuch der Stadt München und Umgebung (Munich: Adressbuchverlag der Industrie-und Handelskammer München, 1929), Stadtarchiv München. On the Bruckmanns and their relationship to Hitler, see Martynkewicz, Salon Deutschland; and Käfer, “Hitlers frühe Förderer,” 52–79. For an overview of National Socialism in Munich, see Large, Where Ghosts Walked; and Bauer et al., eds., München.

13. Rental contract between Hugo Schühle and Adolf Hitler, approved by the Municipal Housing Authority on September 18, 1929, Zim 117, Stadtarchiv München. The building plans are located at the Lokalbaukommission München.

14. Martynkewicz, Salon Deutschland, 76–77, 409.

15. Ottomeyer and Ziffer, Möbel des Neoklassizismus, 88–89; Barkow, Gross, and Lenarz, eds., Novemberpogrom 1938, 482–83.

16. Hermann Historica Catalogue (III), auction 45, October 17–18, 2003, lot 6558; Hermann Historica Catalogue, auction 46, May 7–8, 2004, lot 5575; Hermann Historica Catalogue, auction 59, April 15–16, 2010, lot 7272; Birmingham (UK) Post, “Hitler’s Desk and Chair.”

17. Berliner Volkszeitung, “Hitler braucht 9-Zimmer-Wohnung”; New York Times, “German Fascist Chief Prospers.”

18. Police report dated September 28, 1931, MInn 72443, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich; Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler, 99–134.

19. Schirach, Ich glaubte an Hitler, 109.

20. Grimm, “Selbstmord in Hitlers Wohnung.”

21. Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 324; Die Fanfare, “Geliebte Hitlers verübt Selbstmord.”

22. Münchener Post, “Rätselhafte Affäre”; Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler, 108.

23. Münchener Post, “Rätselhafte Affäre.”

24. Die Fanfare, “Geliebte Hitlers verübt Selbstmord”; Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler, 46–48, 109–17.

25. Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler, 108.

26. Frank, Im Angesicht des Galgens, 90–91.

27. Rosenbaum, Explaining Hitler, 39.

2. HOW THE CHANCELLOR LIVES

1. Hitler, “Reichskanzlei,” 277. According to Birgit Schwarz, despite Hitler’s complaints about the bad quality of the state-loaned art, many of the paintings borrowed from Berlin museums at the Chancellery were rehung after its renovation. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 140.

2. Hitler, “Reichskanzlei,” 277.

3. Ibid. I have borrowed from the translation in Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 29.

4. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 29. In their memoirs, both Christa Schroeder and Traudl Junge repeat an anecdote that Hitler told them about the day he visited Hindenburg at the Chancellery to be sworn in as chancellor. As he entered the Congress Hall, where the ceremony was to be performed, he claims that Hindenburg warned him: “Keep to the walls, Herr Hitler, the floor won’t last much longer.” It is important to keep in mind that the source for this story is Hitler, who was committed to the narrative of decay. See Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 19; and Junge, Until the Final Hour, 149.

5. Pünder, ed., Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 67–72.

6. Hitler is often credited (as in the Schroeder and Junge memoirs; see note 4) with having rescued the historic Congress Hall by ordering the replacement of its rotted timber floor with a new steel-girder construction. Dietmar Arnold convincingly argues, on the basis of archival records, that the work was done to allow the removal of a weight-bearing wall in the Reception Hall and four columns in the foyer directly below the Congress Hall. Arnold, Neue Reichskanzlei, 55–56, 172n36. On the 1926 renovations, see also Demps, Berlin-Wilhelmstrasse, 147, 150.

7. Gerdy Troost to Albert Speer, 28 November 1934, in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 452 (container 768). (After being microfilmed, the originals of the Gerdy and Paul Troost papers in the German Captured Documents collection were turned over to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.) The construction site manager was Josef Schatz, a Munich builder hired by Paul Troost. See Gerdy Troost, “Zur Frage Albert Speer” (“On the Albert Speer Question”), unpublished manuscript, n.d., Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The collection identified here and in subsequent endnotes as “Gerdy Troost Personal Papers” is the portion of her papers at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek that is closed to scholars until 2019. It is uncatalogued and has been given a preliminary call number of Ana 325.

8. Gerdy Troost, interview by John Toland, November 5, 1971, transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

9. List of renovation expenditures and payments, January 29, 1935; Reich Finance Ministry to Atelier Troost, 27 March 1934; and Atelier Troost to Reich Finance Ministry, 4 April 1934, all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

10. Schönberger, Neue Reichskanzlei, 21.

11. Wilderotter, Alltag der Macht, 74.

12. Gerdy Troost, “Adolf Hitler: Erste Begegnung—‘Braunes Haus’ (Umbau Palais Barlow)” (“Adolf Hitler: First Encounter—‘Brown House’ [Barlow Palace Renovation]”), undated manuscript, private collection.

13. Ibid.; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 68–69, 71–72.

14. Ibid., 86.

15. Ibid., 238–39.

16. Frank, Im Angesicht des Galgens, 122.

17. Arnold, Neue Reichskanzlei, 47. Arnold mistakenly states that the apartment was located on the fifth floor (German fourth floor) of the Siedler building. In fact, it was on the fourth floor (German third floor).

18. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 67–68.

19. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 50.

20. On the number of employees in the Atelier Troost, see Gerdy Troost’s denazification registration form, May 6, 1946, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

21. Seckendorff, “Monumentalität und Gemütlichkeit,” 120.

22. Werner, “Führer,” 27.

23. See the mention of a furniture cost estimate from August 1933 in the invoice from Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk to Atelier Troost, March 15, 1934, in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

24. <sc>NSDAP</sc>-Baupläne 11210, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich. See also Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 132–34, 236–38. Gerdy Troost also credited Paul Troost with the design of Hitler’s study. Gerdy Troost, “Zur Privat-Veröffentlichung von Dr. Sonja Günther: ‘Innenräume des 3. Reiches’” (“On Dr. Sonja Günther’s private publication, ‘Interiors of the Third Reich’”), undated manuscript (commentary), Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

25. Hitler, “Reichskanzlei,” 277.

26. Pünder, Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 70, 74.

27. For the Atelier Troost’s floor plans of the Old Chancellery (c. 1934–40), see <sc>NSDAP</sc>-Baupläne 11243, 11244, 11370, 11372, 11373, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. The areas of the Old Chancellery renovated by Speer are sometimes indicated on these plans, but little is known about the work. Photographs of the Chancellery’s public rooms were published in die neue linie, “Tradition und Gegenwart,” 14–16, 48.

28. “Rede Hitlers zum Richtfest der Neuen Reichskanzlei in der Deutschlandhalle am 2.8.1938,” in Schönberger, Neue Reichskanzlei, 178.

29. Ibid.

30. The Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., holds the Atelier Troost’s photographs of the renovated spaces of the Old Chancellery, some of which are reproduced in this chapter. The full collection of images (“Interior Views of the Chancellery, 1935–1945”) is available in the online catalogue of the Print and Photographs Division (http://www.loc.gov/pictures/) under the call number LOT 3940 (H) [P&P].

31. Pünder, Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 74; Wilderotter, Alltag der Macht, 299.

32. See note 6.

33. Wagner and Cooper, Heritage of Fire, 120. Hitler told a more diplomatic version to British journalist George Ward Price, claiming that the carpet “was originally ordered for the new headquarters of the League of Nations at Geneva, but could not be completed in time and was bought by the German government.” Ward Price, I Know These Dictators, 31. On Hitler’s decision to withdraw from the League of Nations, see Kershaw, Hitler: Hubris, 490–95.

34. On the role of tapestries in National Socialist interiors, see Prölss-Kammerer, Tapisserie im Nationalsozialismus.

35. Ward Price, I Know These Dictators, 29–32. See also the description of the party and the renovated Reich Chancellery rooms in Tennant, True Account, 184–87.

36. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 129; Wagner and Cooper, Heritage of Fire, 122.

37. Günther, Design der Macht, 21. Compare this to the pre-renovation foyer depicted in Pünder, Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 10.

38. Günther, Design der Macht, 21–22, 24.

39. Pünder, Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 73–74; Wilderotter, Alltag der Macht, 115–22; Günther, Design der Macht, 23; hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

40. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 137–38; Zimmermanns, Friedrich August von Kaulbach, 193, 282.

41. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 119–21.

42. Ibid., 119.

43. Dietrich, Hitler I Knew, 199.

44. Spitzy, So haben wir das Reich verspielt, 125.

45. Günther, Design der Macht, 27.

46. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 118.

47. Rauschning, Voice of Destruction, 61. On Hitler’s daily routine at the Chancellery, see Kershaw, Hitler: Nemesis, 32–33.

48. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 118ff.

49. Ryback, Hitler’s Private Library.

50. Günther, Design der Macht, 24–26. A 1943 letter from Gerdy Troost to Martin Bormann discussing which of the Old Chancellery furnishings to place in protective storage mentions books in the library and in Hitler’s study. Gerdy Troost to Martin Bormann, 1 September 1943, Troost, Gerhardine, Prof., RKK 2401, Box 257, File 8, microfilm G-0087/92, frame 1848, National Archives, College Park, Md. (originals in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde).

51. Wagner and Cooper, Heritage of Fire, 122.

52. Ibid.; <sc>NSDAP</sc>-Baupläne 11244, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

53. Speer dates this renovation, which is visible in fig. 4, to 1939. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 130. Speer designed the furniture for her. Günther, Design der Macht, 70–72.

54. Seckendorff, “Monumentalität und Gemütlichkeit,” 120.

55. <sc>NSDAP</sc>-Baupläne 11316, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. For a photograph showing the state of the room in 1928, see Pünder, Geschichte des Reichskanzlerpalais, 14.

56. Viktor Hannemann, invoice, March 13, 1934; Gobelin Manufaktur A. Barfuss and Vikt. Hannemann to Atelier Troost, invoice, July 20, 1934; Mü. Gobelin Manufaktur to Atelier Troost, invoice, August 9, 1934; Max Schwarzer to Atelier Troost, invoice, September 3, 1934; all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

57. Günther, Design der Macht, 29–30; Dietrich, Hitler I Knew, 196; Kershaw, Hitler, 135.

58. 1935 invoices, Captured German Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

59. Troost, “Privat-Veröffentlichung.”

60. Wilderotter, Alltag der Macht, 149–50.

61. Günther, Design der Macht, 31–33; Schwarz, Geniewahn, 133–35, 141–42; Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 37.

62. 1935–36 invoices, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

63. <sc>NSDAP</sc>-Baupläne 11373, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; Silberspiegel, “Neuen Räume,” 524–26.

64. Schönberger, Neue Reichskanzlei, 34.

65. Arnold, Neue Reichskanzlei, 126–27.

66. Hitler, “Reichskanzlei,” 280; Schönberger, Neue Reichskanzlei, 37ff; Arnold, Neue Reichskanzlei, 62ff. On the role of buildings in Hitler’s vision of empire, see Thies, Hitler’s Plans for Global Domination.

67. Günther, Design der Macht, 33; Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 38.

68. Kellerhoff, Mythos Führerbunker, 69–71.

69. Junge, Until the Final Hour, 148, 150.

3. CULTIVATED INTERIORS

1. Bathrick, “Cinematic Remaskings of Hitler,” 152–55.

2. See receipts for payments totaling 120,000 Reichsmarks from the Eher Verlag to the Atelier Troost, dated March 27, 1935, May 10, 1935, May 15, 1935, and June 12, 1935; all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 451 (container 767). The average taxable income of a doctor in Germany in 1935 was 11,608 Reichsmarks. Wuttke-Groneberg, Medizin im Nationalsozialismus, 347.

3. Police registration record for Jakob Ernst Reichert, PMB R80, Stadtarchiv München; Ernst Reichert (8.10.1881), SpkA 1393, Staatsarchiv München. In the police investigation concerning Geli Raubal’s death, Ernst Reichert is identified as a “Bürovorsteher,” meaning head clerk or office manager. Police report dated September 28, 1931, MInn 72443, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich.

4. Adolf Hitler, completed questionnaire for apartment seekers, September 13, 1929, Zim 117, Stadtarchiv München.

5. In a postwar interview with the journalist Nerin E. Gun, Anni Winter mentioned that in 1931, when Geli Raubal died, she and her husband had their own apartment to which they returned at the end of the workday. In a 1948 interrogation, however, she indicated that the couple moved in with Hitler on October 1, 1929, and acquired their own “wing” during the subsequent renovation. Georg Winter is listed in the 1931 Munich address book as living in Hitler’s apartment. Gun, Eva Braun, 8; Anni Winter, interrogation by Michael Musmanno, March 30, 1948, 1, Musmanno Collection, Duquesne University Archives, Pittsburgh, Pa.; entry for Prinzregentenplatz 16, Addressbuch für München und Umgebung 1931, microfilm, Stadtarchiv München.

6. Testimony of Georg Winter, May 25, 1948; and Ernst Hermann Sund to the Enforcement Division of the Internees’ Hospital Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 29 January 1948, both in SpkA K 1985: Georg Winter, Staatsarchiv München; Schirach, Frauen um Hitler, 44.

7. Ernst Hermann Sund to the Enforcement Division of the Internees’ Hospital Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 21 January 1948; testimony of Georg Winter, May 25, 1948; testimony of Julius Schaub, February 16, 1948; and verdict justification, August 13, 1948, all in SpkA K 1985: Georg Winter, Staatsarchiv München.

8. Winter, Musmanno interrogation, March 30, 1948, 1, Musmanno Collection; Gerdy Troost to Frau v. Kardorf, n.d. [c. 1978], carbon copy, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 68–69; Seckendorff, “Monumentalität und Gemütlichkeit,” 119. In 1978, Gerdy Troost recalled that although Elsa Bruckmann had taken Hitler to the United Workshops for Art in Handicraft to outfit his Munich apartment, he had found their prices too high and had not made additional purchases (although he did own a previously acquired Paul Troost desk). See Gerdy Troost to Frau v. Kardorf, n.d. [c. 1978], carbon copy, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

9. Winter, Musmanno interrogation, March 30, 1948, 12, and Winter, Musmanno interrogation, April 28, 1948, both in the Musmanno Collection; Schirach, Frauen um Hitler, 68, 73–75.

10. Junge, Until the Final Hour, 100.

11. Police report dated September 28, 1931, MInn 72443, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

12. Gerdy Troost, questionnaire, n.d., Karen Kuykendall Papers, MS 243, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.

13. Miller, “Hitleriana,” 72–73. Only a small number of the photographs Lee Miller took at the apartment were published in this issue. The originals are held by the Lee Miller Archives, Farley Farm House, Muddles Green, Chiddingly, East Sussex, UK.

14. Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda [Joseph Goebbels] to State Secretary and Reich Chancellery Chief [Hans Lammers], 18 August 1935, R43 II/1065, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. For the published photographs, see die neue linie, “Tradition und Gegenwart,” 14–16, 48.

15. Plan of the apartment with proposed architectural modifications, January 1935, building file for 16 Prince Regent Square, number 169265, Lokalbaukommission München.

16. M. Rosenmüller to Atelier Troost, invoice for cleaners working from April 15–20, 1935, May 27, 1935, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 451 (container 767). On April 27, 1935, Joseph Goebbels visited the apartment and enthused: “His new apartment has turned out very gemütlich.” Entry for April 27, 1935, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 3 (book I), 223.

17. Bruppacher, Adolf Hitler, vol. 1, 405. On support for Hitler among Germany’s aristocrats, see Petropoulos, Royals and the Reich.

18. Winter, Musmanno interrogation, March 30, 1948, 4, 14, Musmanno Collection.

19. Schirach, Frauen um Hitler, 46; Junge, Until the Final Hour, 100.

20. Invoice J. and F. Diepold, September 4, 1935, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 451 (container 767).

21. Rasp, “Bauten und Bauplanung,” 297; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 238–39.

22. Albert Speer to Karen Kuykendall, 19 February 1972, Karen Kuykendall Papers; Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 39.

23. Ward Price, I Know These Dictators, 27; Kershaw, Making Friends with Hitler, 51.

24. Max Färber Carpet Manufactory to Atelier Troost, invoice, June 3, 1935 (duplicate from April 24, 1935); Max Färber to Gerdy Troost, 20 April 1935; Max Färber to Gerdy Troost, 18 April 1935, all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 451 (container 767).

25. Jones, Diary with Letters, 197–98.

26. Craig, Germany, 692.

27. Northedge, Troubled Giant, 389; quoted in Hall, “Foreign Policy-Making Process,” 477–99. For further reading on British-German naval relations, see Maiolo, Royal Navy and Nazi Germany.

28. Peterborough, “Baroque,” Daily Telegraph; New York Times, “Hitler’s Taste Shows Wagnerian Influence.”

29. Stankiewitz, Prachtstrassen in München, 89–91.

30. Koss, Modernism after Wagner, 131–36; Seidel, ed., Prinzregenten-Theater, 20–21, 25–26, 28; Schläder and Braunmüller, Tradition mit Zukunft, 108, 115; Köhler, Wagner’s Hitler, 262–63.

31. Stankiewitz, Prachtstrassen in München, 152. Another nearby musical reference, although to a different composer, is found in Grillparzer Street, which Hitler’s apartment faced on its eastern side. The street was named after Franz Grillparzer, an Austrian poet who wrote a libretto as well as the funeral oration for Ludwig van Beethoven, also a Hitler favorite.

32. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 110–11; Schirach, Frauen um Hitler, 46.

33. Danzker, ed., Villa Stuck, 296.

34. Spotts, Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics, 124; Schnöller, “Malerfürsten im 19. Jahrhundert,” 195–217; Orosz, “Der Makart-Stil,” 116–24; Jooss, “‘Bauernsohn,’” 196–228; Muthesius, Poetic Home, 116. On conceptions of the artist’s home more broadly, see Gribenski, Meyer, and Vernois, eds., La Maison de l’artiste.

35. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 70–75, 271–72.

36. Wichmann, Neue Sammlung, 25, 44, 46.

37. Aynsley, Designing Modern Germany, 117–18, 133–36.

38. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 250–51.

39. Götz, Friedensengel, 9, 12.

40. Nerdinger, ed., Ort und Erinnerung, 122.

41. Donath, Architektur in München, 38–39.

42. Letter to Dr. Schels of the Local Building Authority from the Munich Employment Office, dated 25 November 1939, building file for 16 Prince Regent Square, number 169265, Lokalbaukommission München.

43. Property tax registry (Grundsteuer-Kataster) 12994, Staatsarchiv München.

44. Jones, Diary with Letters, 198; Ward Price, I Know These Dictators, 27; Junge, Until the Final Hour, 99.

45. Bruppacher, Adolf Hitler, vol. 1, 509; Bruppacher, Adolf Hitler, vol. 2, 66; Winter, Musmanno interrogation, March 30, 1948, 4, Musmanno Collection.

46. Faber, Munich, 1938, 414–16.

47. Two similar bronze busts used to stand on the sideboard behind Hitler’s desk in his formal office in the Old Chancellery; see “Large credenza in the study, over which hangs a large Renaissance painting, Reichs Chancellery, Berlin, Germany,” in the online catalogue of the Print and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/, under the call number LOT 3940 (H) [P&P]. These had been loaned to Hitler by Gerdy Troost and were identified in a 1935 inventory as two bronze heads by Luca della Robbia (list of antiques and bronzes owned by Gerdy Troost, March 22, 1935, R 43 I/1609, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde). One of the heads from the Chancellery office very closely resembles that seen in Hoffmann’s photograph of Hitler’s Munich apartment, where it may have been moved. Two bronze busts identical to those in the Old Chancellery were in Troost’s possession upon her death, when they were sold to private collectors. On the art collection in Hitler’s Munich apartment, see Schwarz, Geniewahn, 105–15.

48. Faber, Munich, 1938, 415.

49. Carbon copy of letter to Franz Steigerwalds Neffe, 19 May 1942, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 457 (container 774).

50. New York Times, “Capture of Kerch Claimed in Berlin”; Harris, “Today and Yesterday.”

51. Invoices ranging from February 12, 1943, to July 13, 1943, Troost, Gerhardine, Prof., RKK 2401, Box 257, File 8, microfilm G087, frames 2562–2582, BDC Series 2401, A3339-RKK, National Archives, College Park, Md.

52. Fischer, Hitler and America, 199–225.

4. FROM HAUS WACHENFELD TO THE BERGHOF

1. Josef Neumaier, plan for building a garage and annex on the property of Frau “Councilor of Commerce” Winter, Obersalzberg, September 8, 1932, BLP Berchtesgaden 1933/27, Staatsarchiv München. The 1916 plans are reproduced in Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 278–79. Contemporary photographs also show that the front door was moved to the northeast side of the house and the kitchen expanded, but these do not appear on Neumaier’s plan.

2. Dietrich, With Hitler, 44; Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 298.

3. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 166; Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 294–96, 299; Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 81; Schöner and Irlinger, Alte Obersalzberg, 16; Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 69.

4. Tolischus, “Where Hitler Dreams,” 1.

5. Linge, With Hitler to the End, 22.

6. Various invoices from 1933 for domestic goods and plants sent to the Obersalzberg, NS-10 120, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. This file also contains purchases made for Hitler’s Munich apartment in the same period.

7. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 85–86. On Speer’s relationship to Hitler, see Sereny, Albert Speer.

8. Hans Friederich to the chairman, Miesbach Denazification Tribunal, 28 April 1948; and Baurat (building councilor) Adlmüller, declaration, May 19, 1948, both in SpkA K 262: Degano, Alois, Staatsarchiv München. For the 1936 Berghof building plans and elevations approved by the Berchtesgaden municipal authorities, see the collection BPL Berchtesgaden 1936-14 at the Staatsarchiv München.

9. Adolf Wagner to Hans Lammers, 25 September 1936, R43/4326, 10–11, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

10. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, facing 167; Pogge, “Berghof,” 20; Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 110.

11. On farmhouses in southeastern Upper Bavaria, see Gebhard and Keim, eds., Oberbayern.

12. L. Werner München to Adolf Hitler, receipts from 1933 and 1934, NS 10/120, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. On March 20, 1934, Hitler purchased Klaus Thiede, Deutsche Bauernhäuser (Köningstein im Taunus: Langewiesche, 1934).

13. Innen-Dekoration, “Berghof,” 51; St[einlein], “Berghof Wachenfeld auf Obersalzberg,” 457; Berndt, “Berghof,” 769.

14. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 46.

15. Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 44.

16. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 86.

17. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 184.

18. Alt’s painting is reproduced in Gleis, ed., Makart, 27; Werckmeister, “Hitler the Artist,” 270–97; Spotts, Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics, 43–94; Michaud, Cult of Art, 1–73; Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 164; drawing of the table, Berghof portfolio of drawings, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.A.V.4, #2, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Most of the documentation pertaining to the Atelier Troost’s projects held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek is open to researchers (under the call numbers Ana 325.A and Ana325.B). I have identified this material here and in subsequent endnotes as the “Gerdy Troost Professional Papers” to distinguish it from the sealed “Gerdy Troost Personal Papers.” Nonetheless, the collections overlap somewhat with regard to the personal and professional nature of their contents.

19. “Umbau Berghof” (“Berghof renovation”), B1081, negatives 5–7, and B1084, negatives 1–7, 22–33, album 15, Heinrich Hoffmann Photograph Collection, Record Group 242-HLB, National Archives, College Park, Md.

20. Unity Mitford to Diana Mitford, 18 July 1938, in Mosley, Mitfords, 127.

21. Gerdy Troost, questionnaire, n.d.; Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 15 January 1975, English trans., both in Karen Kuykendall Papers, MS 243, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson. Troost also felt that the gabled front of the Berghof was too narrow for the structure as a whole.

22. Jones, Diary with Letters, 249.

23. Sylvester, Real Lloyd George, 235.

24. Lloyd George, “I Talked to Hitler.” On Lloyd George’s visit to the Berghof, see Lentin, Lloyd George and Lost Peace, 89–105.

25. Kirkpatrick, Inner Circle, 96–97. On Halifax’s visit to Germany, see Faber, Munich, 1938, 9–45.

26. Stadler, “Hitler’s Rooms,” 64, 66; drawing of the sofa, January 10, 1936, Berghof portfolio of drawings, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.A.V.4, #65.

27. Kirkpatrick, Inner Circle, 97.

28. Jones, Diary with Letters, 244. On the couches, see also Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 164.

29. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 90, 86. On the visuality of the Great Hall, see also Koepnick, Framing Attention, 163–99.

30. For a list of prominent foreign visitors to the Berghof, see Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 133–34.

31. Jones, Diary with Letters, 249.

32. Undated pencil drawing of the marble mantle for the Great Hall fireplace, Berghof portfolio of drawings, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.A.V.4, #8.

33. Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 60; Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 90; drawing of the cupboard, December 5, 1935, Berghof portfolio of drawings, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.A.V.4, #77.

34. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 15 January 1975, Karen Kuykendall Papers.

35. Seckendorff, “Monumentalität und Gemütlichkeit,” 131; Schaffing, Obersalzberg, 95.

36. Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 59.

37. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 15 January 1975, English trans., Karen Kuykendall Papers.

38. Heinrich Kreisel, report, September 12, 1936, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 449 (container 765). Gerdy Troost’s use of colors in the Great Hall is described at length in Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 59–60.

39. Fabric sample book for the Berghof, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana325.A.V.4, #137.

40. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 27 November 1973, Karen Kuykendall Papers. See also Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 30 April 1975, carbon copy, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

41. Gerdy Troost, questionnaire, Karen Kuykendall Papers.

42. Toland, Adolf Hitler, 220.

43. Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 70.

44. Innen-Dekoration, “Berghof,” 51, 53; Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 57, 59.

45. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 86.

46. Erlanger, “Hitler Loved Money.”

47. Gerdy Troost to E. Fritzsche, 8 July 1936, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 449 (container 765); Gerdy Troost, interview by John Toland, November 5, 1971, interview transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; Silverman, Hitler’s Economy, 171.

48. D’Almeida, High Society, 132–33; Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 90; drawing of the sideboard, Berghof portfolio of drawings, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.A.V.4, #41 and #43.

49. Alois Degano to Julius Schaub, 27 November 1936, and Ludwig Zerzog to Adolf Hitler, 4 November 1936, both in NS-10 117, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

50. Hitlers Berghof, 54–55, 60–61.

51. Jones, Diary with Letters, 248.

52. Carroll, “Editorial Notes,” 5; Anglo-German Review 2, no. 10 (September 1938): cover. On Chamberlain’s visit to Berchtesgaden, see Faber, Munich, 1938, 272–96.

53. Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 155; Gerdy Troost, questionnaire, n.d., Karen Kuykendall Papers; Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 88.

54. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 124–27.

55. Storey, “Novel Decorations.”

56. Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 60–61, 63.

57. Machtan, “Hitler, Röhm,” 17; Fromm, Blood and Banquets, 92.

58. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 159–64.

59. Junge, Until the Final Hour, 59–60.

60. Linge, With Hitler to the End, 24; “Der Führer beim Kegeln. Berghof” (“The Führer bowling at the Berghof”), album 19, page B 1379, negatives 28–30, Heinrich Hoffmann Photograph Collection, Record Group 242-HLB.

61. Junge, Until the Final Hour, 58.

62. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 86.

63. Junge, Until the Final Hour, 60–61; Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 149–50.

64. Martin Bormann, circular, October 5, 1938, NS 6/231, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

65. Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 141–42.

66. Linge, “I Was Hitler’s Valet”; Görtemaker, Eva Braun, 194, 246.

67. Gerdy Troost, questionnaire, n.d., Karen Kuykendall Papers.

68. Eva Braun’s Photo Albums, album 12, 242-EB-12–12A, Record Group 242-EB, National Archives, College Park, Md. A rare color photograph of this same room shows the color of the bird-motif fabric as blue rather than terra-cotta. Either Troost (or Braun) opted for a different color from the swatch in the sample book, or the color printed in the photograph was altered. See Capelle and Bovenkamp, Berghof, 44.

69. Gun, Eva Braun, 112–13; Sigmund, Frauen der Nazis, 263.

70. Schaub, In Hitlers Schatten, 278.

71. Linge, “Valet Upsets Love Scene.” See also Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 143.

72. Berghof third- (attic-) story floor plan, BPL Berchtesgaden 1936-14-B116, Staatsarchiv München. This apartment also matches the description of Braun’s rooms given by Sergeant Harry Sions when he visited the Berghof at the war’s end (see Chapter 10). Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 4.

73. Schmölders, Hitler’s Face, 72–73.

74. Eva Braun’s Photo Albums, album 12, page 13, Record Group 242-EB.

75. Guerin, Through Amateur Eyes, 217–86; Lambert, Eva Braun, 161–74; McCrum and Downing, “Hitler Home Movies,” 20.

76. Eva Braun’s Photo Albums, album 6, 242-EB-6–26, 242-EB-6–30a, and 242-EB-6–34, Record Group 242-EB; Linge, With Hitler to the End, 70; Gun, Eva Braun, 160–61.

77. List of guests, security personnel, and domestic staff on the Obersalzberg dated May 10, 1939, NS-10 124, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde. A higher number of fifty domestic employees at the Berghof is given in Remme, “Life with Hitler.”

78. Neul, Hitler und der Obersalzberg, 85.

79. OBB KuPL 5441, 5450–5476, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich.

80. OBB KuPL 5441, 5471, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

81. OBB KuPL 5454, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

82. OBB KuPL 5456–5459, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

83. Habel, Festspielhaus und Wahnfried, 536–37.

84. OBB KuPL 5468, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

85. OBB KuPL 5462–5463, 5465–5467, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

86. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 161.

87. Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 111.

88. Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 176.

89. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 162.

90. Trevor-Roper, ed., Bormann Letters, 171.

5. GERDY TROOST

1. The news of Hitler’s death was broadcast on German radio at 10:30 <sc>p.m.</sc> on May 1, 1945. Gerdy Troost, 1945 datebook, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

2. On women’s architectural education, see Stratigakos, “I Myself Want to Build,” 727–56. On women architects in Germany more generally, see Stratigakos, Women’s Berlin.

3. Gerdy Troost, curriculum vitae, n.d. [c. 1947], Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 56–57; Gerdy Troost letters to Maria Nachtigal, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

4. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 51, 52, 174ff. Gerdy Troost to Jessy Schroeder, 11 December 1934, quoted in ibid., 52. Gerdy Troost made a similar, if less personal, statement about her work with her husband in Rützow, “Bertreuerin eines Vermächtnisses.”

5. Gerdy Troost, “Adolf Hitler: Erste Begegnung—‘Braunes Haus’ (Umbau Palais Barlow)” (“Adolf Hitler: First Encounter—‘Brown House’ [Barlow Palace Renovation]”), undated manuscript, private collection.

6. Ibid.

7. Gerdy Troost to Maria Andresen, 25 November 1930, quoted in Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 152.

8. Troost, “Adolf Hitler: Erste Begegnung.” Gerdy Troost’s postwar account suggesting that the couple shared concerns about Hitler’s politics is contradicted by Paul Troost’s entry into the National Socialist Party nearly two months before he met Hitler. His biographer, Timo Nüsslein, postulates, however, that Troost’s membership card was backdated by the party, and that Troost joined the party with his wife in 1932. See Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 68.

9. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 61–63, 66.

10. Ibid., 175–76; Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 39; Schaub, In Hitlers Schatten, 138.

11. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 66–67; Schaub, In Hitlers Schatten, 137; hearing, Munich I Denazification Tribunal, February 13, 1948, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

12. Gerdy Troost to Alice Hess, 14 April 1933, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

13. Ibid.

14. Brandt, “Hitler’s Legion of Ladies.”

15. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

16. Schwarz, Geniewahn, 84; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 75.

17. Adolf Hitler to Gerdy Troost, 21 January 1944, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325. The letter (abridged) is reprinted in Picker, Hitlers Tischgespräche, 204.

18. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Schaub, In Hitlers Schatte, 140.

19. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 12 February 1973, Karen Kuykendall Papers, MS 243, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson; Jellonnek, Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz, 26.

20. Schaub, In Hitlers Schatte, 140.

21. August Wagner, Vereinigte Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glasmalerei to Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten für Mosaik und Glassmalerei, 1 June 1935; Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten to August Wagner, 5 June 1935; August Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 21 June 1935; Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten to August Wagner, 9 March 1936; Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten to August Wagner, 15 August 1936; August Wagner to “Nau,” 28 September 1935; Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten to August Wagner, 31 August 1936; Vereinigte Süddeutsche Werkstätten to August Wagner, 8 January 1937; and Atelier Troost to August Wagner, 18 February 1937, all in Berlinische Galerie, Berlin.

22. Dietrich, Hitler I Knew, 156; Gillessen, Auf verlorenem Posten, 457–502; entry for May 7, 1943, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 2, vol. 8, 223; entry for June 17, 1943, ibid., 487.

23. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 50–51. See also Schlenker, Hitler’s Salon, 141–42; and Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 164–65.

24. Wagner and Cooper, Heritage of Fire, 157.

25. Ibid.; Schultze-Naumburg, Kunst und Rasse; Schultze-Naumburg, Gesicht des Deutschen Hauses; Michaud, Cult of Art, 127–34; Borrmann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, 208–9; Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 164–65; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 76–77.

26. Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 7 July 1962; Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 14 July 1962; and Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 17 July 1962, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325. Emphasis in the original.

27. Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 164–65; Günther, Mein Eindruck, 89–91. Günther’s views are quoted and supported by Schultze-Naumburg’s biographer; see Borrmann, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, 208–9.

28. Troost, ed., Das Bauen im Neuen Reich, 5–10.

29. Ibid., 10ff.

30. Kurt Trampler to Gerdy Troost, 4 January 1938, Troost Papers, NL Troost 16, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich. For additional letters between Trampler and Troost, see NL Troost 32, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

31. Publishing contract between Gauverlag Bayreuth, Gerdy Troost, and Kurt Trampler, June 23, 1944, Gerdy Troost Professional Papers, Ana 325.B, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

32. Preliminary overview of the conception and organization of the building and decorative arts exhibition planned for the House of German Art, October 6, 1937, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., microfilm reel 461 (container no. 778).

33. 1. Deutsche Architektur und Kunsthandwerkausstellung. See also images of the exhibition in “Im Kampf um das Dritte Reich,” presentation album for Adolf Wagner, January 1938, LOT 2970–8, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

34. Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 163; Gerdy Troost, interview by John Toland, November 5, 1971, interview transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; Albert Speer to Gerdy Troost, 2 August 1944, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 458 (container no. 775).

35. This is evident in the 1970s correspondence of Karen Kuykendall with various members of Hitler’s inner circle, including Speer. See Karen Kuykendall Papers.

36. Gerdy Troost, interview by John Toland, November 5, 1971, interview transcripts for tapes C-37 and tape C-50, John Toland Papers.

37. Gerdy Troost, “Zur Frage Albert Speer,” unpublished manuscript, n.d., Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Toland, Adolf Hitler, 414–15.

38. Gerdy Troost, notes on a telephone conversation with historian Matthias Schmidt of Berlin, October 27, 1981, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

39. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 39–43, 49–51.

40. Feuchtmayr, Prinz Carl-Palais, 87; Walther and Gelberg, “Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik,” 379.

41. Various 1937 invoices for Persian carpets purchased for the Prince Carl Palace, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 459 (container 776).

42. Feuchtmayr, Prinz Carl-Palais, 82–90; Walther and Gelberg, “Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik,” 379; Gerhard Stinglwagner, Von Mönchen, Prinzen und Ministern, 86–92.

43. Guenther, Nazi Chic?, 234–35. On the Four-Year Plan, see Tooze, Wages of Destruction, 203–84.

44. Leo Killy to Walter Köhler, 5 December 1936, Troost, Gerhardine, Prof., RKK 2401, Box 257, File 8, microfilm G087, frame 1732, BDC Series 2401, A3339-RKK, National Archives, College Park, Md. (originals in the Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde).

45. Heinrich Ruelberg to Franz Willuhn, 20 March 1937, R43 II/375, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

46. Jaskot, Architecture of Oppression, 80–113.

47. Petropoulos, Faustian Bargain, 137.

48. Heinrich Doehle to Colonel Keil, 16 July 1940, microfilm reel 452 (container 768); Recruiting District Headquarters Munich I to Atelier Troost, 20 March 1941, microfilm reel 450 (container 766); Recruiting District Headquarters Munich I to Gerdy Troost, 24 April 1941, microfilm reel 450 (container 766); and Ernst Heigenmooser to Gerdy Troost, December 18, 1943, microfilm reel 458 (container 775), all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers.

49. Wilhelm Corsten to the chairman, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, May 27, 1947, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 187–88.

50. Nüsslein, “Gerdy Troost,” 128–36.

51. Gerdy Troost to Willy Wiegand, 8 August 1940, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 450 (container 766). See also the memo specifying the tasks and responsibilities of each member of the artistic team (including Troost) involved in the design and making of the certificate and presentation folder for the awarding of Reich Marshal Hermann Göring’s Grand Cross, December 19, 1941, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 461 (container 778).

52. Kiener, “Ritterkreuzurkunden,” 247–55.

53. Gerdy Troost to Heinrich Doehle, 9 November 1940, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 452 (container 768).

54. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 188.

55. Carl Wildbrett to Ministerial Advisor Dr. v. Schröder, 25 April 1944; and Lüdke to Atelier Troost, 30 April 1944, both in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 458 (container 775).

56. Wandinger to the Jean Wunderlich Firm, 25 February 1943, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 461 (container 778); and F. H. Wandinger to the Reich Office for Precious Metals, 7 June 1943; Helmut von Hummel to the Reich Office for Precious Metals, 8 June 1943; Gerdy Troost to Otto Meissner, 28 July 1943; F. H. Wandinger, invoice, October 8, 1943; and authorization certificate (to import jewels) for Jean Wunderlich from F. H. Wandinger, n.d., all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 458 (container 775).

57. Der Spiegel, “Kriegsorden,” 34.

58. Gerdy Troost to Willy Wiegand, 8 August 1940, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 450 (container 766).

59. Schaub, In Hitlers Schatten, 140.

60. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

61. Ferdinand Mößmer to Gerdy Troost, 22 February 1934, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 449 (container 765).

62. Wilhelm Corsten to the chairman, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, 22 April 1947; and Gerdy Troost to C. Sachs, 15 May 1950, both in SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; M.-M., jr., “Frau Troost.”

63. Julius Schaub to Hans Lammers, 8 January 1940; Julius Schaub to Hans Lammers, 2 March 1942; and Julius Schaub to Hans Lammers, 10 February 1943, all in R43II/1242, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

64. Petropoulos, Art as Politics, 277.

65. Proceedings of the Hauptkammer München, February 23, 1950; and Therese Lang, sworn declaration, May 30, 1949, both in SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

66. Völkischer Beobachter, “Deutsche Künstler”; Academy of the Fine Arts to the Ministry of Education and Culture, 1 June 1937, MK 40901, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; Bauwelt, “Persönliches,” 670; Bachmann to Gerdy Troost, 9 April 1943, Troost, Gerhardine, Prof., RKK 2401, Box 257, File 8, microfilm G087, frame 1888, BDC Series 2401, A3339-RKK, National Archives.

67. 1939 Party Survey, <sc>NSDAP</sc> chancellery correspondence, Troost, Gerdy, H., VBS 1, 1180015252, Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde.

68. Gerda [sic] Troost to Adolf Hitler, 31 January 1943, carbon copy, SpkA K 1844, Staatsarchiv München.

69. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

70. Rützow, “Bertreuerin eines Vermächtnisses”; Welt-Spiegel, “Führer im Haus der Deutschen Kunst,” cover page; I. v. W., “Aus der Arbeit von Frau Prof. Troost.”

71. Werner, “Führer und seine Architekten,” 27.

72. Lochner, “Hitler Looks to Aides”; Dickson, “Europe’s Man of Mystery!”

73. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 178.

74. Dora Herrmann to Gerdy Troost, 12 July 1938, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 450 (container 766); Hans Rose to Gerdy Troost, 1 October 1938; Leo Perlstein to Gerdy Troost, 12 November 1938; and Theresia Lisch-Hasenforther to Gerdy Troost, 2 November 1941, all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, reel 462 (container 779).

75. “[Na?]chspiel zur Fernfahrt des kgl. Italienischen Automobilklubs von Mailand nach Stolp,” Die Wochenschau, April 21, 1928, 3, newspaper clipping, private collection; “Schweres Autounglück am Dorfner Berg,” Wolfratshauser Wochenblatt, April 21, 1928, newspaper clipping, private collection; Gerdy Troost to Adolf Hitler, 8 September 1942, and Gerdy Troost to Ernst Haiger, 9 November 1942, both in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, reel 457 (container 774); Gerdy Troost’s medical records, German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 451 (container 767). Gerdy Troost also discussed Zabel’s diet with Hitler: see Gerdy Troost to Werner Zabel, 10 July 1943, SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

76. Ragnar Berg to Gerdy Troost, n.d. [December 1942]; Lammers to Ragnar Berg, 30 November 1942, photocopy; and Gerdy Troost to Ragnar Berg, 23 December 1942, carbon copy, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

77. Burleigh and Wipperman, Racial State, 77–112; Burleigh, Third Reich, 281–342; Karl Wessely, sworn declaration, December 2, 1946, carbon copy; and Maria Nachtigal, sworn declaration, December 11, 1946, carbon copy, both in SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München; Friedel, “Karl Wessely,” 25–30, 109–16, 143–44.

78. Maria Nachtigall, sworn declaration, December 11, 1946, carbon copy, SpKa SpkA Karton 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

79. Selig, “Arisierung” in München, 809; Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 177–78; Löhr, Braune Haus der Kunst, 56, 117, 129. For a broader European perspective, see Dean, Robbing the Jews.

80. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 12 February 1973, Karen Kuykendall Papers; Gerdy Troost to Hans Lammers, 21 August 1936; Hans Lammers to Gerdy Troost, 28 August 1936; Gerdy Troost to Hans Lammers, 3 September 1936; Gerdy Troost to Hans Lammers, 12 October 1936; and Gerdy Troost to Alwin-Broder Albrecht, 9 November 1943, all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, reel 458 (container 775). Albert Speer claimed that this “silver work of high artistic merit” was carried out according to Gerdy Troost’s sketches and under her supervision. Albert Speer to Karen Kuykendall, 19 February 1972, Karen Kuykendall Papers.

81. Schlenker, Hitler’s Salon, 140–41.

82. Albert Stenzel, expert opinion, October 24, 1946, SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

83. Brantl, Haus der Kunst, 81–84; Toland interview with Troost, transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers. On the Degenerate Art exhibition, see Barron et al., “Degenerate Art”; and Peters, ed., Degenerate Art.

84. Brantl, Haus der Kunst, 83–84; Toland, Adolf Hitler, 415; Toland interview with Troost, transcript for tape C-50 (quotes slightly amended), John Toland Papers; entry for June 6, 1937, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 4, 170.

85. Westheim, “Die janze Richtung”; Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 29 September 1977, Karen Kuykendall Papers.

86. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

87. Toland interview with Troost, transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947; and hearing, Munich I Denazification Tribunal, February 13, 1948, both in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

88. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 25 September 1978, Karen Kuykendall Papers; Toland interview with Troost, transcript for tape C-50, John Toland Papers.

89. Entry for January 21, 1936, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 3 (book I), 366. See also entry for March 24, 1934, ibid., pt. 1, vol. 2 (book III), 390; entry for January 23, 1938, ibid., pt. 1, vol. 5, 112; and entry for June 27, 1943, ibid., pt. 2, vol. 8, 552.

90. “Grosse Halle, Geiselgasteig—Filmwerkstätten” (“Soundstage, Geiselgasteig Film Studios”), photocopy of text prepared for Martha Schad, n.d.; and hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, both Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; entry for February 17, 1938, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 5, 160.

91. Entry for June 22, 1938, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 5, 355. In a later diary entry, however, he seems convinced that he had transformed her into an ally for his film plans. Entry for February 26, 1939, ibid., pt. 1, vol. 6, 269. Hellmut Keil, who knew Troost from the Bavaria Filmkunst board, claimed that she did resist Goebbels’s influence. Hellmut Keil, sworn declaration, March 29, 1949, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

92. Entry for November 21, 1940, Goebbels, Tagebücher, pt. 1, vol. 8, 429.

93. Copies of both films are in the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin. An undated list of films (pre-1945), noting thirty-two titles and the storage of the negatives with Kinokop in Berlin, is among Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

94. Hanni Umlauf, appendix to curriculum vitae, n.d. (postwar), Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

95. Hanni Umlauf to Gerdy Troost, 1 March 1951, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Johanna Umlauf, police registration record, Stadtarchiv München; Dieter Umlauf, in discussion with the author, November 2010.

96. Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 31 December 1965; Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 6 September 1965; and Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 21 November 1966, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

97. Schoppmann, Zeit der Maskierung, 15.

98. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Paul Capellmann, sworn declaration, June 25, 1947, carbon copy, SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

99. L. Werner München, invoice, September 9, 1939, NL Troost 24, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

100. Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 177; Junge, Until the Final Hour, 137–38; Martin Bormann to Gerdy Troost, 18 April 1943; and Martin Bormann to Gerdy Troost, 8 May 1943, both in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 458 (container 775).

101. Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 177; hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

102. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Gerdy Troost to Paul Giesler, 17 August 1944, SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

103. Attestation from Police Station 4 (16 Emil Riedel Street, Munich) confirming the date when Gerdy Troost fled Munich, April 23, 1948, SpkA K 1844: Gerdy Troost, Staatsarchiv München.

104. Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 18 March 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

105. Hauptkammer München, proceedings (continuation) of the public hearing on February 23, 1950, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

106. Hanni Umlauf, denazification registration form, May 5, 1946; SkpkA K 2616: Umlauf, Hanni, Staatsarchiv München; Hanni Umlauf, appendix to curriculum vitae, n.d. (postwar), Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; Werner Zabel, medical report, February 21, 1950, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; Die Abendzeitung, “Gerhardine Troost.”

107. Schad, Sie liebten den Führer, 178. Troost, then in her mid-nineties, told Schad that she had been placed under house arrest for six years, but there is no evidence to support this claim. To the contrary, in an application submitted by Wilhelm Corsten, Troost’s financial advisor, to the military government on November 12, 1946, he stated that Gerdy Troost had never been arrested. Wilhelm Corsten, application for a special license to engage in a transaction, submitted to the Military Government Finance Section, November 12, 1946, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

108. “Auszug aus dem Bericht: Chieming 11. Juli 1945: Frau Professor Troost” (“Excerpt from the report: Chieming, July 11, 1945: Frau Professor Troost”), SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München. This is an excerpt of a fuller report on Troost that apparently went missing. Mayor of Chieming Municipality, “Beurteilung der Frau Gerhardine Troost” (“Assessment of Gerhardine Troost”), August 11, 1946, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

109. Emphasis in the original. Wilhelm Corsten to Gerdy Troost, 16 January 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

110. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947; hearing, Munich I Denazification Tribunal, February 13, 1948; and court transcript, denazification hearings on February 23–24, 1950, before the Hauptkammer München, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

111. Curt von Stackelberg, defense brief, October 27, 1947, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; W. Schmitz-Bäumer to Gerdy Troost, 30 January 1956, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

112. Hearing, Traunstein Denazification Tribunal, January 21, 1947, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

113. Hearing, Munich I Denazification Tribunal, February 13, 1948, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

114. Curt von Stackelberg, defense brief, October 27, 1947, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

115. M.-M., jr., “Frau Troost.”

116. Albert Stenzel, expert opinion, September 4, 1948; and chairman of the Hauptkammer München to Dr. Lutz, 27 January 1949, both in SpkA K 482: Gall, Leonhard, Staatsarchiv München.

117. Reichel, Schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches; Spotts, Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics; Rentschler, Ministry of Illusion.

118. Hearing, Munich I Denazification Tribunal, February 13, 1948, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

119. Report on Gerdy Troost’s trial addressed to State Secretary C. Sachs, Bavarian State Ministry for Special Affairs, February 24, 1950, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

120. Verdict, March 2, 1950, in ibid.

121. Ibid. The Süddeutsche Zeitung incorrectly reported that Troost was forbidden to work for ten years (in fact, it was two). Lb, “Frau Troost.”

122. Denazification verdict, December 21, 1948; proceedings of the public hearing on December 21, 1948; and Professor Peter Birkenholz testimonial, November 20, 1945, all in SpkA K 482: Gall, Leonhard, Staatsarchiv München; verdict, March 2, 1950, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

123. Gerdy Troost to C. Sachs, 15 May 1950; and resolution, Minister for Political Liberation in Bavaria, August 7, 1950, both in SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; Leonhard Gall, petition for a reduction in fees, March 22, 1949; and Prosecutor, Hauptkammer München to Leonhard Gall, 4 April 1949, both in SpkA K 482: Gall, Leonhard, Staatsarchiv München. On fines in denazification trials, see Petropoulos, “Postwar Justice,” 325–38.

124. Wilhelm Corsten to Tax Office for Munich North, 14 May 1946, carbon copy, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

125. Tax Office for Munich North, certified copy of the notice of income tax assessment, carbon copy, August 22, 1946, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

126. Bayerisches Gesetz-u. Verordnungsblatt, “Gesetz zum Abschluss.” The law became effective on September 1, 1950; A. Templer to Hauptkammer München, 17 October 1950; and Hauptkammer München, certificate, October 30, 1950, both in SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München.

127. Gerdy Troost to Arfmann and Festerling, 1 August 1954; 1955 income statement; Deutsche Holzkunstwerkstätten, list of commissions paid to Gerdy Troost from October 1, 1955 to December 31, 1955, n.d.; Deutsche Holzkunstwerkstätten to Heinrich Arfmann, 20 March 1956; and Deutsche Holzkunstwerkstätten, list of commissions paid to Gerdy Troost from January 1, 1956 to March 31, 1956, April 25, 1956, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

128. Gerdy Troost to Dr. Mulzer, 29 September 1962, carbon copy; Gerdy Troost to Dr. Mulzer, 5 July 1962, carbon copy; and Gerdy Troost to Dr. Mulzer, 5 April 1962, carbon copy, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

129. Troost to Dr. Mulzer, 29 September 1962, carbon copy; Gerdy Troost to Heinrich Arfmann, 23 March 1959, carbon copy; and Gerdy Troost to Bavarian State Bank, 20 April 1966, all in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325. On postwar design in West Germany, see Betts, Authority of Everyday Objects.

130. Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 25 September 1978, Karen Kuykendall Papers.

131. Hanni Umlauf, appendix to curriculum vitae, n.d. (postwar), Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

132. Umlauf, Zwischen Rhein und Ruhr.

133. Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 14 August 1970, carbon copy, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers.

134. Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 6 September 1962, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

135. Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost and Hanni Umlauf, 1 October 1969; and Gerdy Troost to Winifred Wagner, 14 October 1968, carbon copy, both in Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

136. Lotte Pfeiffer-Bechstein to Winifred Wagner, 15 July 1975, letter enclosed with Winifred Wagner to Gerdy Troost, 16 July 1975, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325. In her book on Winifred Wagner, Brigitte Hamann misidentifies the artwork that Troost hoped to sell as a bust of Hitler. Hamann, Winifred Wagner, 502. On the Bechsteins, see Joachimsthaler, Hitlers Liste, 63–102.

137. “Eugen Henke” folder, Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325; “BND: ‘Die Welt ist voller Wunder,’” Der Spiegel, December 11, 1978, 20–21.

138. Photocopies of the letters are among Gerdy Troost Personal Papers, Ana 325.

139. Johnson, “Nazi Feminists,” 55–62; Linda Gordon, “Review Essay: Nazi Feminists?,” 97–105.

140. Emphasis in the original. Hanna Löv to Gerdy Troost, 14 June 1939; Gerdy Troost to Hanna Löv, 28 June 1939; and Hanna Löv to Gerdy Troost, 9 December 1939, all in German Captured Documents, Gerdy and Paul Troost Papers, microfilm reel 455 (container 772); Gerdy Troost to Karen Kuykendall, 12 February 1973, Karen Kuykendall Papers. On Löv, see Aicher and Drepper, eds., Robert Vorhoelzer.

141. Braveheart, “Remember Gerdy Troost.”

142. Williamson, Knight’s Cross, 7.

6. CAMPAIGN POLITICS AND THE INVENTION OF THE PRIVATE HITLER

1. Toland, Adolf Hitler, 263.

2. Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 194, 243. My discussion of this critical shift in National Socialist propaganda is indebted to Rudolf Herz’s study of Heinrich Hoffmann’s broad role in the creation of the Führer myth.

3. Kershaw, Hitler: Hubris, 363.

4. Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 190–94, 242–48; Kershaw, “Hitler Myth,” 41–42; Goltz, Hindenburg, 156.

5. Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 194, 197.

6. Ibid., 40.

7. Baldur von Schirach, “Zum Geleit,” in Hoffmann, ed., Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, x–xi. Capitals in the original.

8. Ibid. Capitals in the original.

9. Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, 69.

10. Schirach, “Zum Geleit,” xiii–xiv.

11. Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, 61.

12. Schirach, “Zum Geleit,” xiv.

13. Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, 88.

14. Ibid., 14–15.

15. Reinhold, “Unwiderstehliche,” 839.

16. Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, 74, 39.

17. Ibid., 75, 77.

18. Goebbels, “Adolf Hitler als Mensch.”

19. Vorwärts, “Vielgeknipste.”

20. Schirach, “Zum Geleit,” xi–xiii.

21. Friedrich, Hitler’s Berlin, 217.

22. Reinhold, “Unwiderstehliche,” 837–40.

23. Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 244, 372.

24. Life, “Speaking of Pictures,” 6–7, 9.

25. McDaniel, “Hitler Myth?,” 46–53. On American views of the Nazi regime, see also Moore, Know Your Enemy.

26. Ploch, “Bild als Ware,” 8, 12.

7. AN ALPINE SEDUCTION

1. Schuster-Winkelhof, Adolf Hitlers Wahlheimat.

2. Walter Schmidkunz, “Begleitworte,” in ibid., 2.

3. Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 69–70.

4. Schmidkunz, “Begleitworte,” 4.

5. Schuster, Weisse Berge, Schwarze Zelte. The following year, he began to publish under the name Schuster-Winkelhof.

6. Speer, Inside the Third Reich, 48.

7. Schuster-Winkelhof, Adolf Hitlers Wahlheimat, 15. The Obersalzberg was part of the Salzberg municipality, which should not be confused with the nearby Austrian city of Salzburg.

8. Schmidkunz, “Begleitworte,” 15.

9. Ibid., 1.

10. Ibid., 10; Herfried Münkler, Deutschen und ihre Mythen, 36–68; Uhlir, ed., Schattenreich des Untersberges, 43–46, 73–75.

11. Schmidkunz, “Begleitworte,” 14–15. On the shaping of the public image of Hitler’s domesticity in 1932, see Chapter 6.

12. Ibid., 15, 9.

13. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” 23–30.

14. Deutschland-Bericht der Sopade 1, no. 2 (May–June 1934), reprinted in Deutschland-Berichte, 101.

15. Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 72–73.

16. Ibid., 73–80. In a later, officially sanctioned publication about the Berghof, the history of the Türken Inn was cynically rewritten to erase the memory of the Schuster family’s presence and replace it with that of another. See Hamm, Obersalzberg, 14–18.

17. Evans, Third Reich in Power, 81.

18. Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 94–107, 116–20. For details on the sale of the Obersalzberg properties, see Schöner and Irlinger, Alte Obersalzberg.

19. Baldur von Schirach, “Zum Geleit,” in Hoffmann, Hitler in seinen Bergen, n.p.

20. See, for example, Hoffmann, Hitler Abseits vom Alltag.

21. Schirach, “Zum Geleit.”

22. Hoffmann, Jugend um Hitler.

23. Schirach, “Zum Geleit.”

24. Knopp and Staehler, “Familie Hitler,” 39–43.

25. Adolf Hitler an seine Jugend, n.p. Further reinforcing the connection, Hitler’s Nuremberg words were used as a caption for two photographs of Hitler posing with children in Jugend um Hitler and repeated in the foreword by Baldur von Schirach.

26. Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 248–52.

27. Life, “Speaking of Pictures,” 6–7, 9.

28. See Pine, Nazi Family Policy; Pine, Education in Nazi Germany; and Kater, Hitler Youth.

29. Münchner Illustrierte Presse 13, no. 3 (1936): 412.

30. Ploch, “Bild als Ware,” 8.

31. Richard F. Reiter, e-mail message to the author, August 13, 2012. See also Knox and Obee, “Uncle Wolf and Me.”

32. Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 152, 238n5.

33. Dietrich, Road to Power, 43.

34. Trevor-Roper, Hitler’s Table Talk, 128.

35. Schirach, “Zum Geleit.”

36. Ozturk, “Interlude,” 77–97; Rosenblum, Modern Painting, 10–40; Schwarz, Geniewahn, 34.

37. Rentschler, Ministry of Illusion, 27–51; Hake, German National Cinema, 45–46.

38. In later wartime newsreels, Hitler did appear near the window, but in carefully staged dramatic and dynamic contexts. See Chapter 9.

39. Deutschland Erwacht, 141. On the Nazi domination of nature in the east, see Blackbourn, Conquest of Nature, 251–309.

40. Hoffmann, Hitler in seinen Bergen.

41. H. E., “‘Führer’ hinter Stacheldraht.”

42. Pariser Tageszeitung, “Hitlers Bergfestung in Berchtesgaden.”

43. Jacobs, “Zwischen Intuition und Experiment,” 171.

44. Adolf Hitler: Bilder; Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 372.

45. Koonz, Nazi Conscience, 77.

46. Steinberg, Nazi-Kitsch, 5–6, 80–81.

47. New York Times, “Reich Exhibits”; Deutscher Reichsanzeiger, “Entscheidungen”; Deutsche Handels-Wacht, “Pleite, die uns freut,” 198.

48. For an extensive collection of newspaper and journal articles on the campaign against kitsch, see Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch) NS 5 VI/19127, NS 5 VI/19128, and NS 15/157. On the German Werkbund, see Campbell, German Werkbund; Schwartz, Werkbund; and Stratigakos, “Women and the Werkbund,” 490–511.

49. Hopmann, “Fort mit nationalen Kitsch,” 255; Niedersachsen-Stürmer, “Wasserkopf als Salzstreuer,” 7; Dr. M. V., “Typen des Kitsches,” 21–23; New York Times, “Reich Exhibits”; Boston Sunday Globe, “Bad Taste, Says Hitler.” See also Betts, Authority of Everyday Objects, 31–34.

50. Kolbrand, “Kampf dem Kitsch,” 14. See also van Dyke, “Kunst, Propaganda und Kitsch,” 250–57.

51. Steinberg, Nazi-Kitsch, 81.

52. Ornamental plates that depicted the large swastika flag that hung outside the house were also forbidden. Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 68–69.

53. Ibid., 69.

54. Steinberg, Nazi-Kitsch, 81.

55. Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 69.

56. Innen-Dekoration, “Berghof,” 50–53; Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 54–64; Pogge, “Berghof,” 18–26, 52.

57. Innen-Dekoration, “Berghof,” 51, 53.

58. Innen-Dekoration, “Innenräume des Berghofes,” 55, 59–61.

59. Innen-Dekoration, “Berghof,” 53. On the problematic position of modern design in the Third Reich, see Betts, Authority of Everyday Objects, 23–72; Nerdinger, ed., Bauhaus-Moderne; Lane, Architecture and Politics; and Heskett, “Modernism and Archaism,” 110–27.

60. Wilson, Livable Modernism; Buckley, Designing Modern Britain, 83–123; Battersby, Decorative Thirties.

61. Brantl, Haus der Kunst, 96–99, 107–8. See also Schlenker, Hitler’s Salon, 88–92; and Günther, Das Deutsche Heim, 118–23. The Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., has two photographic collections of the 1938 and 1939 Architecture and Applied Arts exhibitions at the House of German Art, which are among Bavarian Gauleiter Adolf Wagner’s albums, “Im Kampf um das Dritte Reich” (LOT 2970: vol. 8, January 1938; and vol. 15, Nov.–Dec. 1938). Additionally, they have an album of Hitler’s purchases from the first show (LOT 11362).

62. Kükelhaus and Hirzel, eds., Deutsche Warenkunde; see also Betts, Authority of Everyday Objects, 63.

63. Petsch, “Möbeldesign im Dritten Reich,” 43, 46; Godau, “Anti-Moderne?,” 77–79, 82.

64. Innen-Dekoration, “Deutsche Architektur,” 160. The article credited Gerdy Troost with a guiding role in the arrangement of the room exhibits and display cases, in collaboration with the Bavarian Arts and Crafts Association, which was responsible for the planning and direction of the applied arts section of the 1938 exhibition.

65. 1. Deutsche Architektur und Kunsthandwerkausstellung, 17–21, 86–89, 91.

66. Hitlers Berghof, 54–55.

67. Innen-Dekoration, “Deutsche Architektur,” 166.

68. Baldur von Schirach, epigraph, Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt.

69. Fritz Bäuml, sworn declaration, October 10, 1947, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München; Ziffer, Nymphenburger Moderne, 9, 69, 277, 290–93, 314–15, 338–40.

70. Bäuml, sworn declaration, October 10, 1947, SpkA K 1844: Troost, Gerdy, Staatsarchiv München. On Mittelbau-Dora, see Wagner, Produktion des Todes.

71. Steinweis, Kristallnacht, 46, 61ff, 127–34.

8. THE SQUIRE OF BERCHTESGADEN

1. Phayre, “Man of Peru”; Phayre, “Italy’s Military Problems”; Phayre, “Japan’s ‘World-War.’” For a brief biographical note on Fitz-Gerald’s world travels, see North American Review, “By Way of Introduction.”

2. See, for example, the positive reviews of Fitz-Gerald’s first book, America’s Day (1918), in Saturday Review, “America of To-Day,” 1132–33; and New Age, “America’s Day,” 282.

3. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman”; Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler”; Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet”; Phayre, “Hitler at Home”; Phayre, “Holiday Home”; Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home.”

4. [Fitz-Gerald], “Dictator at Home”; Phayre, “‘Squire’ Among His Dogs.”

5. Phayre, “Race-Hatred.” Despite his contempt for such violence, Fitz-Gerald’s own racism, which I discuss below, is apparent throughout the article.

6. Phayre, “Slave-Trade To-Day,” 55–65.

7. FitzGerald, All in a Life, 4, 7–10; American Forests and Forest Life, “Who’s Who,” 128; Murphy, “FitzGerald,” 820–24.

8. Fitz-Gerald, Voice of Ireland.

9. Brannigan, Race, 22–23.

10. Phayre, “Japan’s ‘World-War,’” 1.

11. Phayre, Can America Last?, 38–39.

12. Phayre, “League’s ‘Black Baby,’” 237.

13. Phayre, Can America Last?, ix.

14. Ibid., 308. FitzGerald explicitly evoked the racial meaning of the word “master,” claiming that “even the Southern negroes now favour a more despotic sway.” Ibid., 308–9.

15. Phayre, “Man of Peru,” 567, 565. According to his nephew, Fitz-Gerald “offered his services as a public relations officer to various South American governments, apparently with some success” (FitzGerald, All in a Life, 4.) The article on Leguía thus may have been a paid endorsement. Nonetheless, the sentiments expressed accord with the broader ideological stream of Fitz-Gerald’s writings.

16. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 50–51. All italics in the original.

17. Ibid., 51.

18. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 322, 324. For a broader discussion of the prewar British newspaper coverage of Hitler, see Kershaw, Making Friends, 25–64.

19. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 51; Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet,” 10.

20. [Fitz-Gerald], “Dictator at Home.”

21. Peterson and Kellogg, eds., Greenwood Encyclopedia of Clothing, vol. 1, 267; Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324; [Fitz-Gerald], “Dictator at Home.”

22. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 322.

23. Ibid., 324.

24. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 194.

25. Ibid., 195. The picture was originally published in Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner Kennt, 37.

26. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324.

27. Ibid., 323.

28. Phayre, “Dogs Are Real Friends,” 6.

29. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 58.

30. Ibid., 54. See also Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324; and Phayre, “With Herr Hitler,” 46–47.

31. For more on the ideal attributes and history of the country squire, see Ditchfield, Old English Country Squire.

32. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 53–54.

33. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 195.

34. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324.

35. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 194–95.

36. It is hard to imagine that Hitler’s Bavarian chef counted pressed duck, an elaborate French dish requiring special equipment, in his cooking repertoire. Nor was the vegetarian Hitler likely to approve the serving of such a bloody dish at his table. Fitz-Gerald no doubt invented this detail in order to create an aura of sophistication around the Hitler household.

37. Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet,” 29.

38. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 194.

39. Phayre, “Hitler at Home,” 362.

40. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 54; see also Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet,” 27.

41. Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet,” 27; Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 195. Fitz-Gerald based his comments on the size and nature of Hitler’s library on the description given by Baldur von Schirach in his foreword to Hoffmann, Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt, xiv. Schirach was referring, however, to the library in Hitler’s Munich apartment. See Walter Schmidkunz, afterword, Schuster-Winkelhof, Adolf Hitlers Wahlheimat, 15.

42. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 194.

43. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 52–53. See also Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324.

44. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 54. See also Phayre, “Hitler at Home,” 362; and Fitz-Gerald, “Summer Chalet,” 11.

45. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 195.

46. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 322; Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 193–94; Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 52.

47. Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 194.

48. Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 324.

49. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 52; Phayre, “Hitler’s Mountain Home,” 195.

50. The closest airport to the Obersalzberg was at Ainring, near Freilassing. It opened in 1934 for government business. Train travel, however, was the far more common form of transportation to Berchtesgaden. On the Ainring airport, see Rolinek, Lehner, and Strasser, Im Schatten der Mozartkugel, 252–55.

51. Phayre, “Dogs Are Real Friends,” 5.

52. As Martin Bormann discovered when he established an unviable farming complex on the Obersalzberg in 1938. See Feiber, “Filiale von Berlin,” 77.

53. On the expulsion of the Obersalzberg’s inhabitants, see Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 94–107.

54. Conradi, Hitler’s Piano Player, 182.

55. See, for example, Henry Haskell’s 1935 article, which noted that Hanfstaengl “has slipped from the charmed circle and no longer plays the piano to lull the Fuehrer to sleep.” Haskell, “Germany’s 1000 Dictators”; Chicago Daily Tribune, “Hitler’s Bosom Pal.”

56. Compare the story about Ignatz Westenkirchner in Phayre, “Holiday Home,” 36–37, with Time, “Adolf and Ignatz,” 13–14, and “Bless Me Natzi!,” 21.

57. Peterborough, “Baroque,” Daily Telegraph. Compare to Phayre, “Hitler as a Countryman,” 322.

58. Hoffmann, Hitler in seinen Bergen.

59. Observer, “Hitler at Home.”

60. Hoffmann, Hitler in seinen Bergen.

61. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 55. In the version he recounts in Windsor Magazine, he attributes the information about Hitler’s autographs funding charities to Joseph Goebbels and Alfred Rosenberg. Phayre, “Holiday Home,” 48.

62. Phayre, “Holiday with Hitler,” 53. Compare to Hoffmann, Hitler in seinen Bergen.

63. Times Literary Supplement, “Can America Last?,” 245.

64. FitzGerald, All in a Life, 4.

65. Ibid. Even as a novelist, Fitz-Gerald had been criticized for romantic excess; see the Saturday Review, “The Shrine of Sebekh,” 118.

66. Historicus, “England’s Sore Need,” 560–61. On Lady Houston and the Saturday Review, see McKie, Bright Particular Stars, 271–90.

67. Nor is this the only instance of a foreign journalist publishing a suspicious pro-Hitler account of a visit to his house. In 1938, Australian newspapers carried stories by an Australian writer who claimed to have had tea with Hitler. Like Fitz-Gerald’s articles, her narrative is marked by plagiarized content. See Merrill, “Hitler’s Life at Berchtesgaden”; Merrill du Cane, “Tea with Hitler.”

68. Griffiths, Fellow Travellers, 191–244.

69. Henderson, “Media and Celebrity Culture,” 52.

70. Daily Express, “Hitler’s Sister.”

71. Bronner, “Beautiful Wife.”

72. Tange, Architectural Identities; Silverman, Art Nouveau, 75–106; Clark, American Family Home.

73. Henderson, “Barnum to ‘Bling Bling,’” 44. See also Barbas, First Lady of Hollywood.

74. Abrams, Hollywood Bohemians, 113, 119–20, 122.

75. Newsweek, “Hitler at Bavarian Retreat.”

76. Coleman, Historic House Museums, 18.

77. Woolf, “Great Men’s Houses,” 23.

78. Vogue (U.S.), “Mussolini, Hitler, and Eden,” 70.

79. Ibid., 70–71.

80. Ibid.

81. On the 1936 Olympics, see Large, Nazi Games.

82. New York Times Magazine, “Hitler His Own Architect,” 15. Large portions of this text reappear almost verbatim in the articles that Fitz-Gerald published on Hitler’s home the following year. These similarities and the lack of a byline raise the question of his authorship. Fitz-Gerald did contribute to the New York Times under the pseudonym of Ignatius Phayre in the 1920s. However, given the numerous instances of plagiarism evident in his reports on Hitler, as noted previously, I am inclined to believe that he copied rather than wrote this article.

83. Tolischus, “Where Hitler Dreams,” 1.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 1–2.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., 2, 16.

88. Ibid., 16.

89. Ibid.

90. Simpson, “Home in the Clouds,” 5, 22.

91. Ibid., 5.

92. Ibid., 5, 22.

93. Ibid., 22.

94. New York Times, “War Moves Go On,” “Pontiff,” “Coup Fear,” and “Developments in Europe.”

9. WAR AND THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA’S REAPPRAISAL OF THE DOMESTIC HITLER

1. Doberer, “New Reich Weapon.”

2. Life, “Paintings by Adolf Hitler,” 52–58.

3. Ibid., 52–53.

4. Ibid., 52, 55.

5. Ibid., 52.

6. Ibid., 56.

7. For contemporary views on Hitler’s sober temperament, see Tolischus, “Hitler,” 2, 21; and Ferguson, “Dictators Don’t Drink,” 103–5.

8. Ibid., 56–58.

9. Life, “Letters to the Editors,” 2, 4.

10. Ibid.

11. Life, “Paintings by Adolf Hitler,” 58.

12. Tolischus, “Where Hitler Dreams,” 1–2, 16.

13. Peters, “In Hitler’s Chalet,” 9, 21.

14. Ibid., 9.

15. Dietrich, Hitler in die Macht, 121–27.

16. Peters, “In Hitler’s Chalet,” 9, 21.

17. See, for example, Dickson, “Europe’s Man of Mystery!”

18. Simpson, “Home in the Clouds,” 5, 22.

19. On the dangers faced by foreign correspondents in Germany, see Voss, Reporting the War.

20. Peters, “In Hitler’s Chalet,” 9.

21. Wagnon, “Churchill Devotes.”

22. Wagnon, “Britain’s Hopes.”

23. Grover, “Life of Wakeful Spartan.” On the Nazi “Law on Animal Protection,” see Sax, Animals in the Third Reich, 179–83.

24. Grover, “Warlord Hitler.”

25. Ibid.

26. Ernest Howard Shepard, “The White Paper Hanger,” Punch, April 10, 1940, 391. The Karen Kuykendall Papers (MS 243) held by the University of Arizona’s Special Collections in Tucson contain numerous political cartoons depicting Hitler as a paperhanger.

27. New York Times, “Our Role Abroad.”

28. George Butterworth, “Inferior Decoration,” Daily Dispatch, August 6, 1941.

29. Manchester (UK) Guardian, “Pervasive Madness,” and “Bavaria’s Fascists”; Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel, “Bavaria Leads”; Gierasch, “Bavarian Menace,” 226; Jordan, “Ex-Chief Facing Trial.”

30. Hitler, Mein Kampf, 24, 40–42. On historians’ dismissal of Hitler’s claims, see, for example, Hamann, Hitler’s Vienna, 142–44; and Kershaw, Hitler: Hubris, 53.

31. New York Times, “Hitler’s Father Changed Name.” Hitler’s father’s birth name was Alois Schicklgruber. It was misspelled in the article. On the name change, see Hamann, Hitler’s Vienna, 43–44.

32. On Brecht, see Hermand, “More than a House-Painter?”

33. Daily Boston Globe, “Cardinal Mundelein Scores Nazis.”

34. Schultz, “Nazis Angered”; Time, “Peeved Paperhangers,” 15; New York Times, “Links to Hitler Enrage.”

35. “The Paper Hanger Returns,” editorial cartoon, Los Angeles Times, March 3, 1938. The cartoon was originally published in the New York Times.

36. See the cartoons published in the Louisville Courier-Journal and the Houston Post in the Karen Kuykendall Papers.

37. Daily Boston Globe, “Hitler Couldn’t Hang Paper.” Nussbaum’s account seems unlikely, given that Hitler never used the name Schickelgruber.

38. New York Times, “Effigies of Hitler.”

39. Shirer, “Germans Blame Hitler.” See also Observer, “R.A.F. Destroying Civilian Morale”; and Axelsson, “Cynical German Humor.”

40. Cartoon dated February 1944 (source not given), Karen Kuykendall Papers.

41. Low, Years of Wrath, 251.

42. Both cartoons are in the Karen Kuykendall Papers.

43. Brown, “Hitler’s Real ‘Kampf,’” 5, 33.

44. Matthews, “Fliers Punish Berchtesgaden”; Los Angeles Times, “Dynamite Parcel ‘Sent’”; New York Times, “One Year.”

45. Seerwald, Gipfel der Macht?, 13, 55, 5, 47. See also Beierl, Geschichte des Kehlsteins.

46. Barnes, “Hitler Builds Hideaway.”

47. Living Age, “German Scene,” 32; Lochner, “Der Fuehrer’s Thoughts”; Panton, “Hitler’s New Hide-Away.”

48. New York Times, “Hitler Eyrie.”

49. Associated Press, “Hitler’s ‘Eagle Nest.’”

50. Oechsner, “Hitler Fantasies.”

51. Los Angeles Times, “Hitler Gets His Hideout Prepared,” based on a dispatch from the Daily Mail.

52. As evidence of the confusion, see, for example, Fodor, “Conqueror’s Manual.” Fodor believed that the Kehlsteinhaus was Hitler’s new residence and that it was connected to the Berghof by an elevator.

53. New York Times, “Hour of Suspense.”

54. See, for example, Hoffmann, ed., Hitler in Polen, Mit Hitler im Westen, and Für Hitler bis Narvik. See also Herz, Hoffmann and Hitler, 300–327.

55. Hoffmann, “Propagandistic,” 133–42; Baltimore Sun, “Hitler Receives Leader”; Deutsche Wochenschau 519, released on August 16, 1940; Deutsche Wochenschau 547, released on February 26, 1941; Deutsche Wochenschau 548, released on March 5, 1941; Deutsche Wochenschau 562, released on June 11, 1941; Deutsche Wochenschau 609, released on May 6, 1942. The films are available in the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin.

56. Châteaubriant, foreword, Chef et son Peuple, n.p.; Fiss, Grand Illusion, 9–44, 191–218; Duroselle, France and the Nazi Threat, 158; Weber, Hollow Years, 130. On the French experience under the occupation, see Vinen, Unfree French.

57. Châteaubriant, Chef et son Peuple, 3. On Châteaubriant, see Chadwick, Alphonse de Châteaubriant.

58. Châteaubriant, Chef et son Peuple, 5.

59. Ibid., n.p.

10. SECRETS IN THE CELLAR

1. Los Angeles Times, “Allies Destroy Nazi Planes”; New York Times,“Luftwaffe Is ‘Out.’”

2. Huston, American Airpower, 166.

3. Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 51–54.

4. Matthews, “Fliers Who Hit Berchtesgaden”; Gowran, “Hurl Rockets”; Daily Boston Globe, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden Lair Lashed”; Life, “Berchtesgaden,” 34.

5. Robert C. Powell, letter to the editor, Washington Post, March 1, 1945.

6. Domarus, ed., Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations, 3018.

7. Johanna Stangassinger quoted in Chaussy and Püschner, Nachbar Hitler, 183.

8. Royal Air Force Operations Record Books, National Archives, Kew, UK: AIR 27/169/8; AIR 27/483A/8; AIR 27/798/8; AIR 27/804/8; AIR 27/817/8; AIR 27/828/8; AIR 27/1013/16; AIR 27/1029/32; AIR 27/1089/57; AIR 27/1097/8; AIR 27/1236/16; AIR 27/1410/28; AIR 27/1658/37; AIR 27/1679/50; AIR 27/1701/32; AIR 27/1790/7; AIR 27/1882/28; AIR 27/1910/8; AIR 27/2037/36; AIR 27/2047/34; AIR 27/2111/32; AIR 27/2128/42; AIR 27/2131/46; AIR 27/2143/38; AIR 27/2145/36; AIR 27/2152/36; AIR 27/2155/28. The logged times in these reports are based on Greenwich Mean Time. I have adjusted them to indicate the time the bombings occurred on the Obersalzberg.

9. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb”; Daily Mirror, “RAF Score”; Gruson, “RAF 6-Ton Bombs”; Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 116; Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 123, 128, 134; Hartmann, Verwandlung eines Berges, 100.

10. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb”; Frank, Rettung von Berchtesgaden, 99.

11. Haller, “Destroying Hitler’s Berghof,” 13–14.

12. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb.”

13. Middlebrook and Everitt, Bomber Command War Diaries, 701.

14. Operations Record Books, National Archives: AIR 27/1236/16; AIR 27/1410/28; AIR 27/2128/42; AIR 27/2152/36.

15. Operations Record Book, no. 617 Squadron, National Archives: AIR/27/2128/42.

16. Richard F. Reiter, e-mail messages to author, August 15, 2012, February 19, 2013, and March 2, 2013. Reiter, a courier delivering documents to Hermann Göring’s house that morning (see below), estimates that he saw the Berghof less than an hour after the bombing had ended. He may have been the first on the scene, as he arrived before the all-clear had sounded and did not see anyone else there, either guards or civilians. Other eyewitnesses do not mention a fire, but it may have gone out by the time they emerged from the bomb shelters. According to Christa Schroeder, Hitler’s secretary, the all-clear did not sound until about 2:30 <sc>p.m.</sc> (local time), three-and-a-half hours after the raid ended. See Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 128.

17. Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 187–88.

18. Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 128. For a description of the condition of the house after the Allied troops arrived, see Johnston, “Hitler’s House Completely Ruined.” Johnson wrongly attributed all the damage he saw to the aerial bombing on April 25, ignoring the fires set by the SS.

19. Geiss, Obersalzberg, 94; Haller, “Destroying Hitler’s Berghof,” 14–15; and Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 116, 129, 132–33. While Mitchell cites compelling firsthand accounts that the Berghof was not as badly damaged as was formerly believed, his assertion that “the building had suffered no damage from the April 25 bombing” (129) contradicts other evidence, including aerial photographs.

20. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb.”

21. Ibid.; Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, 433–34, 456–58. On the myth of the National Redoubt, see Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 67–82.

22. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb.”

23. Williams, “Allied Armies Intent.”

24. John W. Snyder, interview by Jerry N. Hess, March 12, 1968, transcript, 455–89, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Independence, Mo.

25. McKinstry, Lancaster, 481–82; Operations Record Books, National Archives: AIR 27/1236/16; AIR 27/1410/28; AIR 27/2145/36.

26. Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, 458.

27. Haller, “Destroying Hitler’s Berghof,” 6; Neillands, Bomber War, 367–73.

28. Chamberlain, “6-Ton Bomb”; Gruson, “RAF 6-Ton Bombs”; Daily Mirror, “RAF Score.”

29. Miller, “Hitleriana,” 37.

30. Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 120–36; McManus, American Courage, 525–29.

31. Miller, “Hitleriana,” 37, 72.

32. Richard F. Reiter, e-mail messages to author, August 15, 2012, January 28, 2013, March 2, 2013, and March 12, 2014. Reiter reports that, after the war, he gave the Persian plate and knife as gifts to U.S. officials who had helped him. He kept the folio of art prints, which had been produced by the Franz Hanfstaengl Art Publishing House. Some of the prints were subsequently published in a two-part feature on Reiter’s experiences in the Times-Colonist (Victoria, B.C.): “Art from Hitler’s Lair,” and Knox and Obee, “Uncle Wolf and Me.” After American soldiers arrived on the Obersalzberg, more exploded objects from Göring’s house—along with two bodies—were found in the pool. See Alford, Nazi Plunder, 70–71.

33. Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 139.

34. Schroeder, He Was My Chief, 190.

35. Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 132; Feiber, “Lange Schatten Adolf Hitlers,” 711–12; Hartmann, Verwandlung eines Berges, 104.

36. Webster, “We Drank Hitler’s Champagne,” 25, 135.

37. Ibid., 136–37.

38. Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 3–4. Both at the Berghof and in Hitler’s Munich apartment, the sealed house safes contained only signed copies of Mein Kampf—perhaps the author’s idea of a final joke. On the Munich safe’s contents, see Lochner, “Faces of Hopeful GI’s.”

39. Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 3–4.

40. Anni Winter, interrogation by Michael Musmanno, March 30, 1948, 2, Musmanno Collection, Duquesne University Archives, Pittsburgh, Pa.

41. Lee Miller to Audrey Withers, undated service message, reprinted in Penrose, ed., Lee Miller’s War, 188–89.

42. Miller, “Hitleriana,” 72–73.

43. Ibid., 73. On Miller in Hitler’s bathtub, see Kaplan, Landscapes of Holocaust Postmemory, 71–98; Monahan, “Waste Management,” 98–119; Zox-Weaver, Women Modernists and Fascism, 150–91; and Burke, “Lee Miller in Hitler’s Bathtub,” 148–57.

44. Miller to Withers, undated service message, reprinted in Penrose, Lee Miller’s War, 189.

45. Miller, “Hitleriana,” 74; Penrose, Lee Miller’s War, 191–203.

46. Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 4.

47. Webster, “We Drank Hitler’s Champagne,” 137.

48. Sions, “Berchtesgaden,” 4.

49. Webster, “We Drank Hitler’s Champagne,” 137; Nicholas, Rape of Europa, 354–57; Wales, “Yanks’ Looting in Reich.”

50. Pampa (Tex.) Daily News, “Hitler’s Silverware.”

51. Alford, Nazi Plunder, 67–69.

52. Morning Herald (Hargerstown, Md.), “She Has Hitler’s Silverware”; Carbondale (Ill.) Free Press, “Wife Receives Hitler’s Silver.”

53. New York Times, “15,000 on Train See Surrender Papers”; Hartford (Conn.) Courant, “Loan Train Exhibit.”

54. Ransom, “Secret Weapons on Display.”

55. Big Spring (Tex.) Daily Herald, “Hitler’s Silverware on ‘Victory Loan.’”

56. Bernard, “Press Representatives Eat Meal.” Bernard states that the silverware came from Hitler’s headquarters in Munich, but other accounts give the source as his Munich dwelling.

57. Manchester (UK) Guardian, “Nazi Looting in Poland.”

58. Daily Boston Globe, “Engineers Blast into ‘Gold Room’”; Bradsher, “Nazi Gold,” 11–12. Valuable artworks from the state museums in Berlin had also been stored in the mine.

59. Lochner, “Hitler’s Chalet.” For a report similar to that of Lochner, see Fleischer, “Hitler’s Eagle Nest.”

60. Lochner, “Fuehrer’s Thoughts in Clouds.”

61. Lochner, “Nazis’ Hideouts Ready”; Lochner, “Der Fuehrer’s Thoughts”; “Lochner, “Hitler’s Retreat.”

62. Lochner, “Faces of Hopeful GI’s”; [Lochner], “Hitler’s Safe.” For another account of the Munich homes of Hitler and Braun, see Schultz, “Hitler’s Two Love Nests.”

63. Lochner, “Faces of Hopeful GI’s”; [Lochner], “Hitler’s Safe.”

64. Los Angeles Times, “Goering’s Looted Art Treasure”; New York Times, “Tenants Purchase Apartment House: Property at Park Avenue and 58th,” December 4, 1945.

65. Yeide, Beyond the Dreams of Avarice, 16.

66. New York Times, “‘Liberated’ Nazi Loot”; Baltimore Sun, “Goering’s Art Booty.”

67. Rapport and Northwood, Rendezvous with Destiny, 748–49; Thalhofer, Company A!, 228–38.

68. Johnston, “Vast Art Collection Found.” Nancy Yeide disputes this claim, pointing out that the contents of the collection do not support the widely held view of Göring’s exceptional ability to spot a masterpiece. Yeide, Beyond the Dreams of Avarice, 17.

69. Baltimore Sun, “Goering’s Art Booty”; New York Times, “‘Liberated’ Nazi Loot”; Johnston, “Goering’s Private Art Collection”; Newsday (Long Island, N.Y.), “Goering ‘Bought’ Treasure Trove”; Los Angeles Times, “Vast Goering Loot Operations”; Johnston, “Vast Art Collection Found”; Chicago Daily Tribune, “Art Collectors.” On the Nazis’ practices of art collecting and looting, see Nicholas, Rape of Europa; and Petropoulos, Art as Politics.

70. Washington Post, “Yanks Uncover 5 Billions”; Chicago Daily Tribune, “Yank Who Found Nazi Gold”; Bradsher, “Nazi Gold,” 17.

71. Chicago Daily Tribune, “Gold Piled Up Like Cordwood”; Barden, “Nazis Made Piker.”

72. Chicago Daily Tribune, “Gold Piled Up Like Cordwood.”

11. “ADOLF DOESN’T LIVE HERE ANYMORE”

1. Stead, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden.”

2. Ziemke, U.S. Army in the Occupation, 332–33.

3. Stead, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden.”

4. See, for example, Stead, “Germans Clear Debris”; and Stead, “Nuremberg: Grim Housing Shortage.”

5. Stead, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden.”

6. Ibid.

7. Taylor, “Berchtesgaden.”

8. Day, “Berchtesgaden Chalet.”

9. Stead, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden.”

10. Ibid.

11. Day, “Berchtesgaden Chalet.”

12. Richard F. Reiter, e-mail messages to author, August 15, 2012, and August 21, 2012.

13. Such Nazi propaganda is discussed in Chapter 7.

14. Day, “Berchtesgaden Chalet.”

15. Stead, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden.”

16. Hamburger, “Letter from Berchtesgaden,” 46.

17. Christian Science Monitor, “Hitler’s Berchtesgaden Retreat.”

18. Day, “Berchtesgaden Chalet.”

19. Taylor, “Berchtesgaden.”

20. Day, “Berchtesgaden Chalet.”

21. For an analysis of Gertrude Stein’s preoccupation with authoritarian male figures and her visit to Berchtesgaden in the context of literary modernism, see Zox-Weaver, Women Modernists and Fascism, 59–107.

22. Stein, “Now We Are Back in Paris,” 59.

23. Malcolm, Two Lives, 6, 48–53, 97–99; Will, Unlikely Collaboration.

24. Joan Retallack, “Introduction,” in Retallack, Gertrude Stein: Selections, 55–70; Sawyer-Lauçanno, Continual Pilgrimage, 46–66.

25. Life, “Liberation of Gertrude Stein,” 83–84.

26. Stein, “Off We All Went,” 56.

27. Life, “Paintings by Adolf Hitler,” 56; Stein, “Off We All Went,” 58.

28. Stein, “Off We All Went,” 56–57.

29. Whittier-Ferguson, “Liberation of Gertrude Stein,” 417.

30. Corn and Latimer, Seeing Gertrude Stein, 61–117.

31. Retallack, “Introduction,” 60, 68.

32. Malcolm, Two Lives, 24, 93–94, 106, 190.

33. Stein, “Off We All Went,” 57; Zox-Weaver, Women Modernists and Fascism, 106.

34. Jones, “Globe Man in Berchtesgaden”; Mitchell, Hitler’s Mountain, 170.

35. Washington Post, “Hitler’s ‘Love Nest’ Razed”; Muhlen, Return of Germany, 31.

36. “Souvenir of Berchtesgaden,” NL Ehard 781, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich; “Souvenir of the Eagle’s Nest,” catalogued as “Pictures of Hitler’s House and Eagle’s Nest,” LOT 9704 (F), Print and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Brett Ashley Kaplan examines three similar “Souvenir of Berchtesgaden” albums in collections in California, Indiana, and Illinois in her book, Landscapes of Holocaust Postmemory, 48–56. On American-sanctioned sales of memorabilia in Berchtesgaden, see Feiber, “Lange Schatten Adolf Hitlers” 679–80.

37. The copy of “Souvenir of the Eagle’s Nest” owned by the Library of Congress bears a stamp at the back identifying the album maker as Photo-Haus Hugo Babnigg in Berchtesgaden. Whether the “Souvenir of Berchtesgaden” albums in other collections were also made by this photography studio is uncertain. The quality of “Souvenir of the Eagle’s Nest” is not as high as the other “Souvenir of Berchtesgaden” albums. Nonetheless, given the similarities, it seems either that all of the albums were produced by Hugo Babnigg’s studio (but perhaps by different hands) or this album closely imitated another’s model.

38. “Souvenir of Berchtesgaden,” NL Ehard 781, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

39. Ibid.; “Souvenir of the Eagle’s Nest,” Library of Congress.

40. Schöner, Berchtesgadener Land, 374.

41. Mansfield (Ohio) News-Journal, “Hitler’s Former Mountain Retreat.”

42. Neven-du Mont, “Propagandazelle Obersalzberg,” 31; Geiss, Obersalzberg, 96–97.

43. Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika, vol. 1, 82–83.

44. Neven-du Mont, “Propagandazelle Obersalzberg”; Neven-du Mont, “Kleine Geschäfte.”

45. Ibid.

46. Quoted in Kuby, “Wahrheit über den Obersalzberg.”

47. Ibid.

48. Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Am Obersalzberg wird zugegriffen,” and “Ministerrat besichtigt Obersalzberg”; Theodor Jacob to Wilhelm Hoegner, 17 July 1951, StK 14105, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

49. Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Der Ministerbesuch”; Südost-Kurier, “Problem Obersalzberg.”

50. Berchtesgadener Anzeiger, “Das Kehlsteinhaus bleibt erhalten,” and “Obersalzberg-Problem in Berchtesgadener Sicht.”

51. Berchtesgadener Anzeiger, “Bitte an alle Leser,” “Nicht Befragten,” and “Nicht Befragten: II”; Moor, “Old Order,” 58.

52. Berchtesgadener Anzeiger, “Berghof wird dem Erdboden gleichgemacht.”

53. Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Um Obersalzberg und Kehlstein.”

54. George Shuster to Hans Ehard, 1 November 1951, StK 14105, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. The Platterhof Hotel had originally been included in this list, but was later omitted because of restitution proceedings. Hans Ehard to Charles W. Thayer, 6 November 1952, StK 14105, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

55. Moor, “Old Order,” 65.

56. Der Spiegel, “Obersalzberg,” 12; Berchtesgadener Anzeiger, “Hitlers Berghof,” and “Berghof Hauptanziehungspunkt.”

57. Frei, Amerikanische Lizenzpolitik, 162.

58. Moor, “Old Order,” 58; Frei, Amerikanische Lizenzpolitik, 163.

59. Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Entschlossene Haltung der SPD.” The Berchtesgadener-Kurier was the local edition of the Südost-Kurier.

60. Kiene, “Offener Brief.” See also Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Nochmals das Thema.”

61. On the problematic history of postwar memorialization in Germany, see Niven and Paver, eds., Memorialization in Germany; Rosenfeld and Jaskot, eds., Beyond Berlin; Rosenfeld, Munich and Memory; Neumann, Shifting Memories; Meng, Shattered Spaces; and Moeller, War Stories.

62. Hilpoltsteiner, “Neofaschismus in Berchtesgaden?”

63. Moor, “Old Order,” 60.

64. Ibid., 59–60; see Mehringer, Waldemar von Knoeringen.

65. Moor, “Old Order,” 59–60; Hilpoltsteiner, “Neofaschismus in Berchtesgaden?”; Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Neofaschisten schädigen Berchtesgadener Land!”; Frei, Amerikanische Lizenzpolitik, 164. On Heinz Erich Krause, see Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika, vol. 2, 1074–1075n177.

66. Chicago Daily Tribune, “Goering’s Villa Being Razed”; Feiber, “Lange Schatten Adolf Hitlers,” 700.

67. Moor, “Old Order,” 64–65.

68. Life, “Blowup at Berchtesgaden,” 41.

69. Berchtesgadener-Kurier, “Bagger auf dem Obersalzberg.”

70. Der Spiegel, “Obersalzberg,” 10–11.

71. [H]ilpoltsteiner, “Der ‘Berghof’ wurde gesprengt.”

72. Life, “Blowup at Berchtesgaden,” 42.

73. New York Times, “House that Hitler Built.”

74. Neuerbourg, “Kilroy’s Been at Hitler’s Aerie.”

75. Brügge, “In Hitlers Bunker,” 42–43.

76. Ibid., 42.

77. Ibid., 42–43.

78. Ibid., 42, 44

79. Fabritius, Obersalzberg.

80. Jerusalem Post, “Row over Souvenirs.”

81. Anderson, “Bavarian Stronghold.”

82. On the protracted property struggles of former Obersalzberg residents, see Feiber, “Lange Schatten Adolf Hitlers,” 685–94.

83. Brügge, “In Hitlers Bunker,” 44–45.

84. Los Angeles Times, “Bavaria Seals ‘Eagle’s Nest’”; New York Times, “Hitler Bunker Shut.”

85. New York Times, “Hitler’s Alpine Hideaway.”

86. Miller, “Nazi Symbol to Return”; Der Spiegel, “Nazi-Erbe,” 94.

87. Kinzer, “Unspoiled Alpine View.”

88. Jordan, Structures of Memory, 92–133.

89. Tagliabues, “Construction at Nazi Death Camp”; Fisher, “Market at Nazi Camp Site”; Globe and Mail, “Germans Scrap Market.”

90. Bernstein, “Where Hitler Played.”

91. Kinzer, “Unspoiled Alpine View.”

92. Leidig, “Outrage at Third Reich Museum.”

93. Losch, “New Exhibit”; Dahm, “Dokumentationsstätte,” 327.

94. Dahm, “Obersalzberg als historischer Ort,” 20–21.

95. Finger, “Nie wieder Schnörkel.”

96. Dahm, “Obersalzberg als historischer Ort,” 24; Huber, “Geleitwort,” 11.

97. Margolis, “Night on Evil Mountain.”

98. Ryback, “Hitler Shrine,” 131; Kaplan, Landscapes of Holocaust Postmemory, 57.

99. Peter Roos, reporting for Die Zeit, cited five thousand articles published globally about the opening. Peter Roos, “Hitlerconti.”

100. Harvey, “Hitler Hilton.”

101. Symons, “Hitler Hotel.”

102. Connolly, “British to Revive”; Eisinger, “Hitler’s Villa Site.”

103. Buruma, “Tainted Ground.” See also Bernstein, “Where Hitler Played.”

104. Margolis, “Night on Evil Mountain.”

105. Davidson, “World of Evil and Hope.”

106. Calgary Herald, “Haunted by Ghost of Hitler.”

107. Margolis, “Night on Evil Mountain”; Williams, “Resort Bids to Balance.”

108. Roos, “Hitlerconti.”

109. Welt Kompakt, “Millionengrab auf dem Obersalzberg.”

110. Stumberger, “Luft wird dünner”; Förster, “Problemberg.”

111. Zekri, “Berge versetzen”; Beierl, Hitlers Berg, 151–52.

112. Ryback, “Hitler Shrine,” 131, 133–34.

113. Connolly, “British to Revive.”

114. Bernstein, “Where Hitler Played”; Eisinger, “Hitler’s Villa Site.”

115. Boyes, “Luxury Spa at Hitler’s Lair.”

116. Neumann, “Nazi-Bauten,” 50.

117. Feiber, “Lange Schatten Adolf Hitlers,” 721.

118. Ryback, “Hitler Shrine,” 131, 134; Ryback and Beierl, “Damnation of Memory.”

119. Förster, “Problemberg.”

120. Neumann, “Adolfs Platten”; Ryback and Beierl, “Damnation of Memory.”

121. Ryback and Beierl, “Damnation of Memory.”

122. Neumann, “Nazi-Bauten,” 51.

123. Ibid., 50.

124. Hall, “Chapel ‘Becomes Nazi Shrine.’”

125. D. M., “Gerüchte aus Marmor.”

126. Ryback and Beierl, “Damnation of Memory.”

127. Nüsslein, Paul Ludwig Troost, 245; Pröse, “Daheim bei Hitler,” 124.

128. Harald Freundorfer (police chief inspector, Police Station 22, Munich), in discussion with the author, November 11, 2010.

129. Anni Winter, interrogation by Michael Musmanno, March 30, 1948, 9, Musmanno Collection, Duquesne University Archives, Pittsburgh, Pa.

130. Beginning in 1945 and continuing into the 1990s, Munich purged its urban landscape of National Socialism’s physical remains, either through removal or the normalizing reuse of Nazi structures. It has also been reluctant to create memorials, preferring to leave that function to nearby Dachau. Munich’s evasion (to use Gavriel Rosenfeld’s term) of its Nazi past became a particularly contentious issue after 1989, when memorialization movements arose in other German cities. See Rosenfeld, “Memory and the Museum,” 163–84; Rosenfeld, Munich and Memory; Large, Where Ghosts Walked, 347–61; and Winifried Nerdinger, “Ort und Erinnerung,” in Nerdinger, Ort und Erinnerung, 7–9.

131. See, for example, Hendrick, “Hitler Sale Tasteless”; and Wagner, “Yad Vashem.”

132. Sturz, “Evil for Sale,” 70–72.

133. Ottomeyer, “Vorwort,” 14.

134. Barron, “Plan to Display Silver.”

135. Ibid.

136. See, for example, Spotts, Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics; Reichel, Schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches; and Ogan and Weiss, Faszination und Gewalt.

137. Hofer et al., Stories in Sterling, 282–83.

138. See, for example, Simpson, “Home in the Clouds,” 5, 22. The American media’s coverage of Hitler’s domestic life is discussed at length in chapters 8 and 9.

139. Waldman, “At Home with the Führer.”

140. Ibid.; Glenn, “Hitler at Home”; U.S. Newswire, “Publication of Article Was ‘Appalling.” The press release “Statement Regarding Homes and Gardens, November 1938,” originally posted on IPC Media’s website, has since been removed.