



Spring 2021

## An Education in Hate: The “Granite Foundation” of Adolf Hitler’s Antisemitism in Vienna

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## Abstract

Adolf Hitler’s formative years in Vienna, from roughly 1907 to 1913, fundamentally shaped his antisemitism and provided the foundation of a worldview that later caused immense tragedy for European Jews. Combined with a study of Viennese culture and society, the first-hand accounts of Adolf Hitler and his former friends, August Kubizek and Reinhold Hanisch, reveal how Hitler’s vicious antisemitic convictions developed through his devotion to Richard Wagner and his rejection of Viennese “Jewish” Modernism; his admiration of political role models, Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger; his adoption of the rhetoric and dogma disseminated by antisemitic newspapers and pamphlets; and his perception of the “otherness” of Ostjuden on the streets of Vienna. Altogether, Hitler’s interest in and pursuit of these major influences on his extreme and deadly prejudice against Jews have illuminated how such a figure became a historical possibility.

## Disciplines

European History | Holocaust and Genocide Studies | Jewish Studies

## Comments

Written for HIST 418: Nazism

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An Education in Hate:  
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Madeleine M. Neiman

Dr. William D. Bowman’s HIST 418: Nazism

14 May 2021

*Abstract*

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### Historians on Adolf Hitler's Formative Years in Vienna

“Vienna was and remained for me the hardest, though most thorough, school of my life,” Adolf Hitler claimed in his manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, published in 1925.<sup>1</sup> Hitler maintained that, in the “school” of Vienna, where he lived from roughly 1907 to 1913, he developed “a world picture and a philosophy which became the granite foundation of all [his] acts.”<sup>2</sup> Of the lessons that formed this “granite foundation,” the most significant, considering the atrocities that he committed within two decades following *Mein Kampf*'s publication, was the vicious antisemitism that he claimed to have first encountered in Vienna.<sup>3</sup> By the time he left the city, Hitler declared that he had “become an anti-Semite.”<sup>4</sup> *Mein Kampf* is, however, widely accepted as propaganda and Adolf Hitler as an unreliable narrator; since 1925, scholars have debated the validity of Hitler's claims, including the significance of the Vienna years on the development of his worldview and, especially, his antisemitism. As little historical documentation exists from this period of Hitler's youth, scholars have relied upon Hitler's own words, the accounts of former friends – most importantly, August Kubizek and Reinhold Hanisch – and the social and cultural history of Vienna at the turn of the century to interpret if, how, and to what extent Hitler's formative years in the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire shaped the antisemitism that ruled his later actions and caused such utter devastation for European Jews.

Attempts to answer these questions began even before the Holocaust or World War II had ended. Konrad Heiden, an early opponent of Nazism and the first to write about Hitler's youth in 1936, argued that Hitler “formed his opinion of foreign nations, but especially of the

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<sup>1</sup> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), 125.

<sup>2</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 22.

<sup>3</sup> I have elected to use the unhyphenated “antisemitism,” as promoted by the Anti-Defamation League and the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. For more information on the recent shift away from the hyphenated “anti-Semitic,” see Mitchell Bard, “Anti-Semitism or Antisemitism?” Jewish Virtual Library, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/anti-semitism-or-antisemitism>.

<sup>4</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 64.

Jews” in Vienna and that “[h]ere, at an early age, anti-Semitism developed into persecution mania.”<sup>5</sup> Heiden’s evidence came primarily from interviews with Reinhold Hanisch, often characterized by scholars as “something of a bum,” who Hitler met in late 1909 while living in a Viennese men’s hostel.<sup>6</sup> Based largely on Hanisch’s testimony, Heiden concluded that Hitler left Vienna “complete” with a fully developed antisemitic worldview.<sup>7</sup> In 1939, however, when Hanisch published his own account in the New York newspaper, *The New Republic*, he claimed that Hitler in Vienna “was by no means a Jew hater.”<sup>8</sup> Already, conflicting interpretations complicated the historical understanding of the Vienna years’ relationship to Hitler’s antisemitism.

In 1953, a first-hand account by another friend from Hitler’s youth, August Kubizek, expanded historians’ documentation of his time in Vienna, though it did not simplify the scholarly debate surrounding it. Contradicting Hanisch’s account, Kubizek claimed that Hitler “was already a dyed-in-the-wool anti-Semite when he came to Vienna,” but his experiences there “must have made him think in a more radical manner than before.”<sup>9</sup> Kubizek claimed to have been Hitler’s only friend between 1904 and 1908, during his youth in Linz and first year in Vienna.<sup>10</sup> In 1958, Franz Jetzinger, one of the first scholars to utilize Kubizek as a source, criticized Kubizek’s veracity and pointed to inconsistencies between his account and an earlier version of it written in 1938.<sup>11</sup> Later scholars have condemned Jetzinger for discrediting

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<sup>5</sup> Konrad Heiden, *Hitler: A Biography*, trans. Winifred Ray (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1936), 14-15.

<sup>6</sup> Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna: A Dictator’s Apprenticeship*, trans. Thomas Thornton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 155.

<sup>7</sup> Heiden, *Hitler*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Reinhold Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II,” *The New Republic* (New York), April 12, 1939.

<sup>9</sup> August Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew: The Definitive Inside Look at the Artist Who Became a Monster*, trans. Geoffrey Brooks (South Yorkshire: Frontline Books, 2011), 94.

<sup>10</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Franz Jetzinger, *Hitler’s Youth* (London: Hutchinson, 1958), 11.

Kubizek, whose account, like Hanisch's, has been accepted as largely reliable.<sup>12</sup> Jetzinger argued, too, that Hitler's claims in *Mein Kampf* were "an exaggeration" but that "the years spent in Vienna were, nevertheless, the 'years of apprenticeship,'" although Jetzinger focused more heavily on the development of Hitler's politics than his antisemitism.<sup>13</sup> In this way, Jetzinger represented a group of scholars, including Joachim Fest, who largely ignored the subject of Jews or antisemitism in the discussion of Hitler's experiences in Vienna.<sup>14</sup> Such scholars remained a minority in the debate surrounding the Vienna years and Hitler's antisemitism.

Indeed, over roughly the next five decades, the consensus among historians accepted Hitler's years in Vienna as key to understanding the development of his antisemitism; still, scholars have offered nuanced portrayals that differ over the timing and extent of Hitler's hatred of Jews while living in the Austrian capital. Following the example of Kubizek, scholars such as William A. Jenks and Lucy S. Dawidowicz suggested that Hitler was prejudiced against Jews already in Linz but that the Vienna years were "far more decisive" for his convictions about race related to antisemitism.<sup>15</sup> Other scholars such as J. Sydney Jones, Ivar Oxaal, Ian Kershaw, and Robert S. Wistrich ruled that Hitler, as he himself claimed in *Mein Kampf*, only arrived at his antisemitism in Vienna.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, historians have differed on the extent of Hitler's worldview as developed in Vienna. Alan Bullock, for example, indicated that World War I

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<sup>12</sup> Scholars such as William A. Jenks and Brigitte Hamann have criticized Franz Jetzinger for his abuse of Kubizek's account and have found Kubizek more reliable than Jetzinger on Hitler's Vienna years. Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 57; William A. Jenks, *Vienna and the Young Hitler* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), viii.

<sup>13</sup> Jetzinger, *Hitler's Youth*, 142-143.

<sup>14</sup> Joachim Fest's account is also notable for its distinctly sympathetic portrayal of Hitler, often describing him in the language of victimhood, and for its avoidance of antisemitism through discussions of Social Darwinism. Joachim Fest, "The Granite Foundation," in *Hitler*, 37-59 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974).

<sup>15</sup> Jenks, *Vienna*, 126; Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), 8.

<sup>16</sup> J. Sydney Jones, *Hitler in Vienna, 1907-1913* (New York: Stein and Day, 1983); Ivar Oxaal, "The Jews of Young Hitler's Vienna: Historical and Sociological Aspects," in *Jews, Antisemitism, and Culture in Vienna*, ed. Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz, 11-38 (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); Ian Kershaw, "Drop-out," in *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 29-69 (New York: Norton, 1999); Robert S. Wistrich, *Laboratory for World Destruction: Germans and Jews in Central Europe* (University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

complemented the Vienna years in building Hitler's antisemitic ideology.<sup>17</sup> While Oxaal argued that Hitler formed his "life-long *Weltanschauung*," or worldview, in Vienna, Kershaw claimed that, during these years, Hitler's antisemitism was more "personalized hatred" than fully developed philosophy.<sup>18</sup> Along with the timing of Hitler's arrival at antisemitism, historians have disagreed over the degree to which Hitler left Vienna fully formed in his ideologies, though none of these scholars have refuted that Hitler was, to a great extent, antisemitic in Vienna.

One of the most well-respected scholars of Hitler's years in Vienna, Brigitte Hamann has expressed a markedly different perspective in the debate. Although Hamann neither disagreed with "how profoundly" Vienna impacted Hitler's character nor rejected the evidence that Hitler "studied anti-Semitism" in the city, she argued that "the crucial question as to when anti-Semitism became Hitler's central issue and core of his [W]eltanschauung cannot be answered by looking at his years in Linz and Vienna. This development took place in later years."<sup>19</sup> As previously seen, several scholars have agreed that Hitler's worldview was incomplete while in Vienna and that later events, such as World War I, may have played an equally important role in shaping his ideology. Hamann, however, has insisted that no historical evidence could support an interpretation of Hitler as antisemitic during the Vienna years. Drawing heavily from Reinhold Hanisch's account, Hamann pointed to the "Jewish benefactors" and "friends" that Hitler had in the men's hostel as well as the absence of documented instances of antisemitic remarks by a young Hitler.<sup>20</sup> Although her conclusions differ from other historians on the subject, Hamann's

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<sup>17</sup> Alan Bullock, "The Formative Years, 1889-1918," in *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, 23-56 (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1962).

<sup>18</sup> Oxaal, "The Jews in Young Hitler's Vienna," 13; Kershaw, "Drop-out," 67.

<sup>19</sup> Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, vii, 347, 351.

<sup>20</sup> Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 349-351.

research has provided a strong impression of the social and cultural history, including the antisemitism, that surrounded Hitler in the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In contrast to Hamann, I argue that the years Adolf Hitler spent in Vienna, from roughly 1907 to 1913, fundamentally shaped his antisemitism and provided the foundation of the worldview that he pursued from the 1920s through 1940s. Like Dawidowicz and Kershaw, I resist confirming Hitler's own claims that his antisemitism originated and solidified into a fully thought-out ideology while living in the Austrian capital. Nevertheless, in Vienna, Hitler gained an intense education in antisemitism, one that provided the "granite foundation" for his later persecution of the Jews as leader of the Nazi movement. A study of turn-of-the-century Viennese society and culture, in connection with the first-hand accounts of Hitler, Hanisch, and Kubizek, will illuminate how a figure such as Adolf Hitler "became an historical *possibility*."<sup>21</sup>

### **An Introduction to Viennese Modernism, the "Other" Vienna, and Antisemitism**

The capital of the vast, multiethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna was "one of the most important cities in the world" at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna has become the focus of much scholarship as a place of immense cultural and intellectual innovation in art and architecture, music, literature, and psychoanalysis.<sup>23</sup> Viennese Modernism was, however, limited to a small class of the liberal bourgeoisie, and studies of this cultural phenomenon have often overlooked the "other" Vienna: "[t]he world of the suburbs, the lives of

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<sup>21</sup> This phrase originated in Ivar Oxaal's essay, in which he clarified that his study of Jews in Hitler's Vienna aimed not to portray Hitler as "a representative or an inevitable product" of Vienna but rather as a "historical *possibility*." Likewise, this paper does not intend to promote any notion of the inevitability of Adolf Hitler due to the environment in which he lived in Vienna. Oxaal, "The Jews of Young Hitler's Vienna," 15.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Waissenberger, ed., *Vienna, 1890-1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Fin-de-siècle*, meaning "end of the century," has been used somewhat interchangeably with "Modernism" to describe this period of Viennese cultural history. For the defining piece of scholarship on Viennese Modernism, see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

immigrants, proletarian, and urban pariahs.”<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the popular image of turn-of-the-century Vienna has often neglected the multifaceted Jewish experience in the capital – both as creators and patrons of Viennese Modernist culture and as immigrants settling into the “other” Vienna.<sup>25</sup> Both bourgeois and proletarian Jews, assimilated Viennese Jews and more orthodox *Ostjuden*, experienced the increasingly widespread and cruel modern antisemitism that characterized Vienna at this time, too. No longer based exclusively on religion, antisemitism at the turn of the century had become largely shaped by notions of race and ethnicity. Into this “period of glaring contrasts, unparalleled in the history of Vienna” arrived a young Adolf Hitler.<sup>26</sup>

“[A] wonderfully orchestrated city,” wrote Stefan Zweig of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, his birthplace, in 1943. “The Imperial house still set the tempo....Then came ‘good society,’ consisting of the lesser nobility, the higher officials, industry, and the ‘old families,’ then the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Each of these social strata lived in its own circle, and even its own district.”<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Vienna’s city layout reflected its strict social hierarchy (see Appendix, Figure 1.1). Built in 1857, the *Ringstraße*, a ring road lined with “splendid monumental buildings,” such as the Court Opera, the *Burgtheater*, the Parliament, and the town hall, encircled the city center and separated it from the inner and outer suburbs.<sup>28</sup> In the city center lived the imperial family, the nobility, and the upper middle class; in the inner suburbs the petit

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<sup>24</sup> Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner, *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, trans. David Fernbach and Michael Huffmaster (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 1.

<sup>25</sup> For more information on the study of Jews in Viennese Modernism, see Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867-1938: A Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); George E. Berkley, *Vienna and Its Jews: The Tragedy of Success, 1880s-1980s* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Books, Inc., 1988); Abigail Gillman, *Viennese Jewish Modernism: Freud, Hofmannsthal, Beer-Hofmann, and Schnitzler* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz, eds., *Jews, Antisemitism, and Culture in Vienna* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); and Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867-1914: Assimilation and Identity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1984).

<sup>26</sup> Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 69.

<sup>27</sup> Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography* (New York: The Viking Press), 17.

<sup>28</sup> After the dissolution of the Austrian monarchy in 1918, the Court Opera became known as the State Opera. The *Burgtheater* can also be identified as the Imperial or Court Theater but is best known as the *Burgtheater*. Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 65, 171.

bourgeoisie and civil servants; and in the outer suburbs the industrial proletariat and the poorest of Viennese society.<sup>29</sup> Despite this sense of order, the mood of the time reflected “the Monarchy’s impending doom,” a sense of the decline of old traditions which, according to scholars of Viennese Modernism, provided the impetus for the unprecedented cultural achievements of such figures as the psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud; the artists Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Oskar Kokoschka; the musicians Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schönberg; the writers Arthur Schnitzler, Karl Kraus, and Peter Altenberg; and the architects Adolf Loos and Otto Wagner.<sup>30</sup> Aesthetically and intellectually, these primarily liberal bourgeois individuals and their contemporaries broke from past styles and rules. Meanwhile, in the outer suburbs of the city, there existed an “urban panorama of misery,” characterized by hunger, malnutrition, alcoholism, uncleanliness, prostitution, child labor, severe housing shortages, and homelessness.<sup>31</sup> New immigration from Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia created additional pressures as industrialization and urbanization expanded.<sup>32</sup> Between 1900 and 1910, Vienna’s population grew from 1,674,957 to 2,031,498.<sup>33</sup> A “microcosm” of its multinational empire, Vienna was a city socially and culturally divided.<sup>34</sup>

The Jewish experience in *fin-de-siècle* Vienna was similarly split between “two extreme poles” that mirrored the city’s social and cultural rift.<sup>35</sup> At this time, Jews constituted approximately 8.6 percent of Vienna’s population, larger than any other contemporary German city, and seventy-one percent of the liberal bourgeois class.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, if one believes Stefan

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<sup>29</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 76.

<sup>31</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 52, 56, 62.

<sup>32</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 146.

<sup>33</sup> Oxaal, “The Jews in Young Hitler’s Vienna,” 24.

<sup>34</sup> Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 147.

<sup>36</sup> Kershaw, “Drop-out,” 31; Steven Beller, “Class, Culture and the Jews of Vienna, 1900,” in *Jews, Antisemitism, and Culture in Vienna*, ed. Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz (New York: Routledge &

Zweig, as many scholars of Viennese Modernism increasingly have, “nine-tenths of what the world celebrated as Viennese culture...was promoted, nourished, or even created by Viennese Jewry.”<sup>37</sup> Zweig himself descended from such a liberal bourgeois Jewish family.<sup>38</sup> In psychoanalysis and literature, several celebrated figures had Jewish backgrounds, including Freud, Schnitzler, Kraus, and Altenberg. Mahler and Schönberg also descended from Jewish families, although most members of the music, art, and architecture movements were not Jewish.<sup>39</sup> Still, through patronage and the press, the support for musicians, artists, and architects was heavily Jewish.<sup>40</sup> The leading liberal newspapers in Vienna, the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, offered a platform for modernist writers, intellectuals, and artists.<sup>41</sup> Some scholars have thus rebranded Viennese Modernism as Viennese Jewish Modernism.<sup>42</sup>

This connection was, however, equally apparent to contemporary antisemites. Antisemitic newspapers, most significantly the *Deutsches Volksblatt* and the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt*, and even more depraved gutter literature, such as *Ostara*, waged against the liberal “Jewish-controlled” press and modern culture.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, these antisemitic publications peddled prejudices against thousands of incoming *Ostjuden*, Jewish immigrants largely from Galicia.<sup>44</sup> Compared to the highly assimilated bourgeois Jews, the *Ostjuden*’s more orthodox, traditional character promoted ideas of “foreignness, strangeness, and seclusion” that fueled racist antisemitic

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Kegan Paul, 1987), 52. This paper follows Steven Beller’s broad interpretation of “Jewish,” meaning not only individuals who practiced Judaism but also those who had Jewish familial backgrounds. Beller has asserted that assimilation was an especially Jewish phenomenon. For a deeper explanation, see Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*.

<sup>37</sup> Zweig, *The World*, 22.

<sup>38</sup> Zweig, *The World*, 5.

<sup>39</sup> Beller, “Class, Culture,” 42-43.

<sup>40</sup> Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 81; Jones, *Hitler*, 111.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Abigail Gillman has titled her work, *Viennese Jewish Modernism*.

<sup>43</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 81; Jones, *Hitler*, 111, 114.

<sup>44</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 147.

attacks.<sup>45</sup> In Vienna, Leopoldstadt remained a traditionally Jewish quarter, in which Jews of all social classes constituted thirty-four percent of the district's population.<sup>46</sup> The neighboring Brigittenau district, an industrialized and impoverished part of the city, held a high percentage of *Ostjuden*, while the bourgeois Viennese Jews tended to live in the city center, Alsergrund, Döbling, or other middle- and upper-class suburbs (see Appendix, Figure 1.2).<sup>47</sup> Physically, socially, and culturally divided, Vienna's Jews reflected the city's tensions and endured brutal modern antisemitism that targeted Jews not only as a religious group but increasingly as a racial and ethnic one.<sup>48</sup>

Viennese antisemitism was not confined to the press and gutter literature; in fact, it had become engrained in the politics of the day. Two political leaders – Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger – had dominated Viennese society and championed antisemitism. Schönerer, elected to the Parliament in 1873, represented the German Nationalist Party and acted as “the most vociferous and popular promoter of ethnic anti-Semitism” in the city.<sup>49</sup> During the 1880s, he had campaigned viciously against Vienna's liberal newspapers.<sup>50</sup> By the early 1900s, Schönerer's popularity had diminished but his legacy had not.<sup>51</sup> At that time, Vienna was “Lueger's city.”<sup>52</sup> Dr. Karl Lueger of the Christian Social Party had been appointed mayor in 1897 and, by the time of his death in 1910, was a highly celebrated figure.<sup>53</sup> While Schönerer

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<sup>45</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 147.

<sup>46</sup> Oxaal, “The Jews in Young Hitler's Vienna,” 29-30.

<sup>47</sup> Oxaal, “The Jews in Young Hitler's Vienna,” 29-30.

<sup>48</sup> Beller, *Vienna and the Jews*, 190-192.

<sup>49</sup> Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 39; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 241.

<sup>50</sup> Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 246.

<sup>51</sup> Kershaw, “Drop-out,” 34.

<sup>52</sup> Kershaw, “Drop-out,” 35.

<sup>53</sup> Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 42; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 275. For more information on Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian Social Party, see John Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1910* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995); John Boyer, *Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna: Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981).

spewed ethnic antisemitism, Lueger's hatred of Jews was more a matter of political opportunism; he appealed to his Christian voters through religious antisemitism and utilized hatred as "a weapon of mass mobilization."<sup>54</sup> Both men exacerbated Vienna's antisemitism and shaped the social and cultural character of the city at the turn of the century.

Twice, in 1907 and 1908, a young Adolf Hitler, aspiring to be an artist, applied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; twice, he failed. Hitler's Vienna, as scholars have named it, was not the liberal bourgeois, modernist Vienna.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, following the example of the late Richard Wagner, Hitler opposed what Wagner and other antisemites referred to as "Jewish modernism." By 1909, Hitler was homeless and living in hostels, primarily in Brigittenau. Hitler's Vienna was the "other" Vienna, where personal failures fueled his resentment. His was an antisemitic Vienna, both through the political leaders that he followed and the press that he avidly read. The streets of the city, too, affirmed for him his growing racist convictions. In this Vienna, Hitler eagerly and attentively enrolled in a hateful "school of...life."<sup>56</sup>

### **From Failed Art Student to Homeless Postcard Painter, May 1906 – May 1913**

At seventeen years old, Adolf Hitler visited Vienna for the first time in May 1906 (see Appendix, Figure 2.1). Although brief, this trip kindled in him an admiration for the capital city. In four postcards to his closest friend, August Kubizek, Hitler wrote of his trips to the Court Opera to see *Tristan and Isolde* and *The Flying Dutchman*, both by his favorite composer, Richard Wagner (see Appendix, Figures 2.2 and 2.3).<sup>57</sup> Later in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler noted that he

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<sup>54</sup> Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 286; Wistrich, *Laboratory for World Destruction*, 7.

<sup>55</sup> See Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna* and Oxaal, "The Jews in Young Hitler's Vienna."

<sup>56</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Postcard from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, May 1906, in Werner Maser, *Hitler's Letters and Notes*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers Inc., 1973), 9.

spent hours during this trip marveling at the architectural style of the Opera, the Parliament, and “the whole Ring Boulevard” that surrounded the Inner City.<sup>58</sup> Hitler’s final postcard to Kubizek, however, revealed his homesickness, and he soon returned to his “beloved Linz.”<sup>59</sup>

Over a year later, Hitler had persuaded his widowed mother, Klara Hitler, to support a second trip to Vienna in September 1907 – this time, to pursue an education at the Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>60</sup> Hitler “set out with a pile of drawings, convinced that it would be child’s play to pass the examination.”<sup>61</sup> One of 112 candidates, Hitler passed the admittance exam but failed the drawing composition test. His submissions were judged as having too “few heads.”<sup>62</sup> The failure “struck [Hitler] as a bolt from the blue,” so sure was he in his talents.<sup>63</sup> An academy rector advised him to pursue architecture instead, but lacking the proper educational prerequisites, he could not apply at the School of Architecture in Vienna.<sup>64</sup> By November 1907, the ailing health of Klara Hitler called her son back to Linz once more and deferred his artistic ambitions.

Months after his mother’s death in December 1907, Hitler remained in Linz to settle her affairs. On February 10, 1908, he wrote to the Linz Revenue Office to request an orphan’s pension for himself and his younger sister, Paula; each sibling received 25 crowns monthly from this allowance.<sup>65</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler crafted an image of himself as deeply impoverished and starving during the Vienna years.<sup>66</sup> Kubizek, however, alluded to an inheritance of some 700 crowns that Hitler received from his late father’s estate, and scholars have pointed to other

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<sup>58</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 19.

<sup>59</sup> Postcard from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, May 1906, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 12.

<sup>60</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 125.

<sup>61</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 19.

<sup>62</sup> From the “Classification List of the General Painting School 1905-1911,” as quoted in Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 33.

<sup>63</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 20.

<sup>64</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 20.

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to Linz Revenue Office, February 10, 1908, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 28.

<sup>66</sup> In his manifesto, Hitler likely exaggerated the extent of his poverty to better align himself with the Nazi Party’s working-class base in the mid-1920s. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 21.

sources of income, including an inheritance set aside by his mother and an estate left to him by an aunt.<sup>67</sup> At least initially, if Hitler went hungry, it seemed to have been by choice, as Kubizek wrote, “[E]ven if he had [money], he would prefer to starve and spend it on a theatre seat.”<sup>68</sup>

Later in February 1908, Hitler embarked on his third trip to Vienna. Kubizek described this move as “a jump into the dark,” a turning point.<sup>69</sup> Back in the Austrian capital, Hitler returned to apartment No. 17 at 31 Stumpergasse in the sixth district, Mariahilf, where he had lived briefly in the autumn of 1907.<sup>70</sup> Industrialization and immigration had caused Mariahilf to become “overbuilt” with multistory tenement buildings.<sup>71</sup> Hitler’s landlady was Maria Zakreys, a small, elderly woman.<sup>72</sup> In a letter to Kubizek, Hitler noted that Zakreys “probably finds writing very hard, what with her poor German,” and while Kubizek suggested that Zakreys was Polish, scholars have since identified her as Czech, one of many nationalities living in the multiethnic capital.<sup>73</sup> Soon after his arrival, Hitler began pressuring Kubizek to join him. On February 18, he sent a postcard to remind Kubizek that Hitler was “waiting impatiently for news of [his] arrival” and that “[a]ll Vienna awaits [him].”<sup>74</sup> Four days later, Kubizek departed from Linz. The search for an apartment for Kubizek brought him and Hitler to the “other side” of the city, where they saw “[g]loomy courtyards” and “narrow, ill-lit tenements.”<sup>75</sup> Ultimately, the two moved into a larger room in the Stumpergasse building, which fared little better by Kubizek’s assessment:

“Our own damp and crumbling walls, bug-infested furniture and the unpleasant odour of paraffin

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<sup>67</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 144; Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 26.

<sup>68</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 39.

<sup>69</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 141.

<sup>70</sup> Kubizek misremembered that Hitler lived at 29 Stumpergasse, but historian Brigitte Hamann has corrected this to 31 Stumpergasse. Hamann, *Hitler’s Youth*, 56.

<sup>71</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 31.

<sup>72</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 129, 151.

<sup>73</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, 1908, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 21; Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 156; Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 30.

<sup>74</sup> Postcard from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, February 18, 1908, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 14.

<sup>75</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 152.

were typical of the surroundings in which hundreds of thousands of people in this city lived.”<sup>76</sup> Still, the new Stumpergasse room could house Kubizek’s piano. A musician, Kubizek soon applied and was admitted to the Conservatoire in Vienna.<sup>77</sup>

Unbeknownst to Kubizek at the time, Hitler intended to apply to the Academy of Fine Arts for a second time in 1908. He had secured a letter of recommendation addressed to Alfred Roller, a well-regarded stage designer and professor at the School of Applied Art in Vienna.<sup>78</sup> Hitler, however, could not find the courage to approach Roller and destroyed the letter.<sup>79</sup> In September, he took the entrance examination and failed in the first round.<sup>80</sup> It is unclear if Kubizek knew of this second failure; he only learned of the first when, during a conversation about professors at the academy, Hitler angrily revealed, “They rejected me, they threw me out, they turned me down.”<sup>81</sup> Shocked, Kubizek realized that while Hitler had seemed “ceaselessly busy...sitting for hours over books,” he had not been studying for school.<sup>82</sup> At the time, Kubizek also observed that Hitler visited the working-class district Meidling to study housing conditions there, became obsessed with politics and German nationalism, and attended the Opera often.<sup>83</sup>

During their months together, Kubizek further witnessed the exacerbation of Hitler’s antisemitism. Years earlier, Kubizek remembered Hitler pointing to a small synagogue and saying, “That doesn’t belong in Linz.”<sup>84</sup> In Vienna, Hitler became a more “radical” antisemite “after he saw how large the Jewish population was there.”<sup>85</sup> Kubizek recalled that Hitler never

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<sup>76</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 163.

<sup>77</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 153.

<sup>78</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to Madam, in Maser, 25.

<sup>79</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 60.

<sup>80</sup> Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 37.

<sup>81</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 160.

<sup>82</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 157.

<sup>83</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 163, 179, 183, 228.

<sup>84</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 94.

<sup>85</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 94.

wanted to dine with him at the Conservatoire's canteen because several Jewish students attended the university: "he hissed at me venomously, 'I don't understand how you can enjoy anything amongst such people!'"<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, Hitler was often hungry enough that he relented, and Kubizek remarked that he was "secretly pleased to see [Hitler] swinging between anti-semitism and his passion for nut cake."<sup>87</sup> This and other self-serving attempts to distance himself from Hitler's antisemitism have caused historians to question Kubizek's credibility on the subject. Furthermore, scholars have disproven Kubizek's claim that Hitler signed himself and Kubizek up for an Anti-Semitic Union, as no such league existed in Vienna in 1908.<sup>88</sup> Kubizek's memory has faltered on some dates and numbers, but his account has proven altogether reliable. While Kubizek, writing in 1953, certainly benefited from presenting himself as disapproving of Hitler's antisemitism, his account of Hitler's hatred for Jews remains valuable and cannot be disregarded.

In July 1908, Kubizek left Vienna to spend the summer in Linz before eight weeks of training with the Army Reserve. Hitler himself had not registered and proceeded to dodge the Austrian draft for several years, although he falsely claimed in a letter to the Linz Municipality that "[t]he idea of avoiding conscription never even occurred to [him]."<sup>89</sup> While Kubizek was away, Hitler wrote him and noted that "there was nothing of interest to tell."<sup>90</sup> What Hitler neglected to reveal was that he would soon abandon the Stumpergasse apartment and go into hiding. When Kubizek returned in November 1908, Zakreys informed him that Hitler had moved out and left no word.<sup>91</sup> Seemingly, Adolf Hitler had vanished somewhere in Vienna.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 155.

<sup>87</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 156.

<sup>88</sup> Kershaw, "Drop-out," 62; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 56-57.

<sup>89</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to Linz Municipality, Division II, 1914, in Maser, *Hitler's Letters*, 32.

<sup>90</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, 1908, in Maser, *Hitler's Letters*, 21.

<sup>91</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 240.

<sup>92</sup> Kubizek and Hitler reunited in 1933 after Kubizek sent a letter of congratulations to the new Reich Chancellor of Germany, Adolf Hitler. They met for the last time in 1940, and Kubizek joined the Nazi Party in

Between the autumns of 1908 and 1909, little is known about Hitler's whereabouts or activities as he dodged the Austrian authorities. In late 1909, police records reported that Hitler spent nights at the homeless shelter in the twelfth district, Meidling, an industrial center with "towering tenements where the highest rents [were] charged for light and air."<sup>93</sup> There, he met Reinhold Hanisch, a Sudeten German traveling artist. Hanisch recalled witnessing the poor and homeless wait in long lines outside the shelter. Upon admittance, each person received a ticket for five nights' lodging and underwent a disinfectant process, known as "burning-out," to sanitize their clothing. Afterward, they sat along long benches in the dining hall to eat bread and soup, then slept on cots comprised of wire springs and "brownish-colored" sheets (see Appendix, Figure 3.1). Hanisch described Hitler as being "frail," "awkward," and seemingly "helpless." Hitler's financial situation appeared to have worsened, and he followed through on Hanisch's suggestion to write his sister, Paula, for money. She sent fifty crowns shortly before Christmas.<sup>94</sup>

Soon after, Hitler and Hanisch relocated to 27 Meldenmannstraße, a remarkably modern and hygienic six-story men's hostel in the twentieth district, Brigittenau. A heavily industrialized area, Brigittenau experienced intense population growth, made up especially of young male laborers.<sup>95</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote few details about this time – only that he worked "independently as a small draftsman and painter of watercolors" and that he read voraciously.<sup>96</sup> This aligned with what he told Hanisch. The two bonded over their mutual support for German nationalism and interest in painting. By the start of 1910, Hanisch had begun peddling postcards of Viennese sites that Hitler painted. They sold these works, which Hitler copied from original

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1942. In 1945, American soldiers arrested him and held him at the Glasenbach internment camp until April 1947. Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 245, 258-260.

<sup>93</sup> Hamman, *Hitler's Vienna*, 152; Max Winter, *Meidlinger Bilder*, Vienna 1908, as quoted in Maderthaler and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 38.

<sup>94</sup> Reinhold Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: II," *The New Republic* (New York), April 12, 1939.

<sup>95</sup> Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 158.

<sup>96</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 34, 37.

postcards, to tourists and art dealers and enjoyed relative success. Quickly, however, Hanisch grew frustrated with Hitler's shoddy work ethic; he was "driven to despair by bringing in orders that [Hitler] simply wouldn't carry out."<sup>97</sup> Hitler seemed "more engaged in debate than painting" and spent considerable time leading political discussions in the hostel.<sup>98</sup> Also troubling for Hanisch, Hitler had become increasingly attached to another tenant of the men's hostel, Josef Neumann, a Jewish salesman of clothes and goods, who had begun selling paintings for Hitler, too. This relationship lasted until Neumann departed for Germany in July 1910.<sup>99</sup>

Regarding Hitler's antisemitism, Hanisch crafted a confusing portrait in his tell-all articles, published in an American newspaper, *The New Republic*, in 1939. On the one hand, Hanisch stated that Hitler was not antisemitic in Vienna and only later "incorporated anti-Semitism into his program as a powerful slogan."<sup>100</sup> As evidence, he pointed to Hitler's respect for Neumann and other Jews in the hostel. Many, including Neumann, engaged in Hitler's political debates, which featured Theodor Herzl and Zionism among other topics. Hitler also sold his watercolors almost exclusively to Jewish art dealers, including Jacob Altenberg and Samuel Morgenstern. The principal financiers of the men's hostel were Jewish, namely Baron Nathaniel Rothschild and the Gutmann family.<sup>101</sup> Hanisch claimed that Hitler found Jews to be "the most efficient business men" and "appreciated [their] charitable spirit."<sup>102</sup> Hanisch even suggested that Hitler "admired the Jews most for their resistance to all persecutions."<sup>103</sup> Allegedly, Hitler found blood libel cases to be "absolute nonsense" and protested the stereotype that wealthy Jews

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<sup>97</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I."

<sup>98</sup> Reinhold Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: III," *The New Republic* (New York), April 19, 1939.

<sup>99</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: II"; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 164.

<sup>100</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: II."

<sup>101</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I"; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 158.

<sup>102</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: II."

<sup>103</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: II."

committed usury.<sup>104</sup> Ultimately, Hanisch concluded that Hitler “didn’t care much about anti-Semitism.”<sup>105</sup>

On the other hand, Hanisch revealed that, when asked why Jews faced discrimination, Hitler responded that “it was because they were a different race. Also, he said that the Jews had a different smell.”<sup>106</sup> Hanisch did not attempt to explain away these racially antisemitic statements; rather, he revealed his own racial antisemitism by sharing that he often joked that Hitler “looked very Jewish” and “must be of Jewish blood” because he “had big feet” and “a large beard [that] rarely grows on a Christian’s chin.”<sup>107</sup> Josef Neumann had given Hitler a long coat that he wore with “an incredibly greasy derby hat” over his “long and tangled” hair, creating an appearance that Hanisch wrote resembled men living in Leopoldstadt, Vienna’s traditionally Jewish district.<sup>108</sup> Writing in the 1930s, Hanisch would likely not have faced the same pressure to renounce any personal antisemitism as Kubizek did after World War II and the Holocaust.

Furthermore, Hanisch wrote his account with the clear intent of undermining the then-Führer Adolf Hitler who led a platform of outright antisemitism. Distressed by Hitler’s laziness, Hanisch sought a new business partner in Siegfried Tausky. Hitler then charged Hanisch with misappropriating a watercolor of the Parliament worth fifty crowns. Hanisch insisted that this was a false accusation, but since he had also been accurately accused of living under a fake name, he was arrested and sentenced to a short term in jail. Hanisch admitted to having a “[d]esire for revenge.”<sup>109</sup> Among his many criticisms of Hitler’s character, Hanisch stated that the Parliament painting was “one of Hitler’s better works,” but “[m]ost of them are shoddy trash,

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<sup>104</sup> Blood libel, the ritual murder of children, and usury, the illegal practice of moneylending at high interest rates, were two historically common antisemitic charges against Jews. Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>105</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>106</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>107</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>108</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: I.”

<sup>109</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: III.”

done with very little love for work.”<sup>110</sup> At the end of his account, Hanisch insinuated that Hitler’s “love for the workers” only formed “when he needed the votes of the masses.”<sup>111</sup> Through his portrait of Hitler as friendly and respectful of Jews, Hanisch may have attempted to similarly discredit Hitler among his antisemitic base in the 1930s. Hanisch’s version of Hitler was a liar, not an antisemite. Hanisch’s motives, like Kubizek’s, must be evaluated alongside his account, which provides, perhaps without meaning to, evidence of Hitler’s racial antisemitism.

Hanisch saw Hitler for the final time in August 1913 selling paintings to Jacob Altenberg, a Jewish art shop owner; years later, he read about Hitler’s involvement with a political party in Munich.<sup>112</sup> Intent on escaping conscription into the Austrian army, a twenty-four-year-old Adolf Hitler fled from Vienna to Munich on May 24, 1913.<sup>113</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, however, Hitler cast his decision to leave Vienna as an escape from a city he had grown to hate, a city that “seemed the embodiment of racial desecration.”<sup>114</sup> Kubizek’s and Hanisch’s accounts offer complicated impressions of Adolf Hitler and his antisemitism. Studying particular social and cultural phenomena that defined Hitler’s years in Vienna will add substance and clarity to the existence and extent of his antisemitic convictions at this time.

### **Viennese Opera, Art, Architecture, and “Jewish Modernism”**

The Court Opera and, specifically, the operatic works of the late Richard Wagner held young Adolf Hitler’s fascination throughout his time in Vienna. In his second postcard to August

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<sup>110</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: III.”

<sup>111</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: III.”

<sup>112</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: III.” According to *The New Republic*, Reinhold Hanisch was arrested in Vienna in 1936 after authorities learned of his manuscript and attempts to publish it. A charge from Berlin claimed that Hanisch had falsified several of Hitler’s watercolors and sold them at a high price. Later, the public learned that Hanisch had died in prison after allegedly contracting pleurisy, an inflammation of the lungs and chest.

<sup>113</sup> Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 30.

<sup>114</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 123.

Kubizek in May 1906, Hitler praised the “majestic exterior” of the Opera, where he had recently attended two of Wagner’s dramas (see Appendix, Figure 4.1). Although he found the interior too “gaudy,” Hitler raved about “the mighty sound-waves flood[ing] through the hall and the whistling of the wind [that] makes way for the mighty roar of the tonal tides.”<sup>115</sup> The dramatic flair of this description demonstrated an early example of what *Mein Kampf* translator Ralph Manheim called Hitler’s tendency to write with “largely unintelligible flights of Wagnerian terminology.”<sup>116</sup> A music student, Kubizek shared Hitler’s appreciation for the Opera and for Wagner, but Hitler’s admiration for the composer exceeded his friend’s. Hitler read excessively about Wagner, from biographies to Wagner’s own notes, letters, and diaries. The two roommates quoted the composer and attended his operas as often as they could afford.<sup>117</sup> Hitler even attempted to write his own Wagnerian opera, *Wieland der Schmied*, with limited help from Kubizek.<sup>118</sup> Years later, Hanisch noted that Wagner remained Hitler’s “favorite subject.”<sup>119</sup> Kubizek described Wagner as “almost...a religion” for the young Hitler.<sup>120</sup>

Such a devotion to the German composer and conductor meant that Hitler certainly encountered Richard Wagner’s ideas of German nationalism and most likely his antisemitic convictions, too. Even after his death in 1883, Wagner’s operas and writings sought to define German art and history. In his 1878 essay, *What is German?*, Wagner traced a united “German spirit” to the Middle Ages, and several of his operas, such as *Lohengrin*, drew on Germanic mythology to venerate and provide roots for “the sterling German nature” (see Appendix, Figure

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<sup>115</sup> Postcard from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, May 7, 1906, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 10.

<sup>116</sup> Ralph Maheim, trans. *Mein Kampf*, xi.

<sup>117</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 185-187.

<sup>118</sup> The half-finished opera drew on Richard Wagner’s oft-used theme of Germanic legends. Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 195.

<sup>119</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>120</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 187.

4.2)<sup>121</sup> During the late nineteenth century, Wagner argued that Germans faced a serious threat: “the invasion of the German nature by an utterly alien element,” identified by him as Jews.<sup>122</sup> Wagner’s antisemitic work, *Judaism in Music*, denounced the “‘Jewification’ of modern Art.”<sup>123</sup> Elsewhere, he labeled this phenomenon “Jewish modernism” and charged it with being “something quite miserable and very dangerous, especially for us Germans.”<sup>124</sup> This ethnic antisemitism adopted racially-charged language, as Wagner characterized Jews’ appearance as being “unpleasantly incongruous” to Germans’ and mocked the “hissing, shrill-sounding Jewish speech...entirely inappropriate to our national speech.”<sup>125</sup> An avid reader and Wagner devotee, Hitler may have studied these essays and others like them while living in Vienna. Both Kubizek and Hanisch pointed to Hitler’s preoccupation with Germanic mythology and his nationalist convictions.<sup>126</sup> It seems probable that Hitler adopted the ethnic antisemitism of his hero, too.

Contemporary Viennese antisemites also attacked “Jewish modernism,” or the perceived prevalence of Jews in the city’s leading artistic movements.<sup>127</sup> Early in 1907, the Court Opera set the stage for highly publicized antisemitic sentiment when its director, Gustav Mahler, resigned. Mahler had orchestrated the Wagnerian operas that Hitler praised in May 1906, and Kubizek recalled Hitler being quite “enthusiastic” about him.<sup>128</sup> Despite Mahler’s talents, the antisemitic press cheered his resignation. The *Deutsches Volksblatt* found it “delightful” to be rid of the

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<sup>121</sup> Richard Wagner, *What is German? 1865/1878*. German History in Documents and Images. [https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=1786](https://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1786).

<sup>122</sup> Wagner, *What is German?*

<sup>123</sup> Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music (Das Judentum in der Musik): Being The Original Essay together with the later Supplement*, trans. Edwin Evans (London: William Reeves, 1910), 7.

<sup>124</sup> Richard Wagner, “The Work of Art of the Future,” as quoted in Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 78.

<sup>125</sup> Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, 9, 13.

<sup>126</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 84, 91; Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: II.”

<sup>127</sup> As noted in the introduction, recent scholars have recognized a more positive version of Jewish Modernism that has celebrated the extensive role of Jews, both as contributors and patrons, in Viennese Modernism.

<sup>128</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 230.

“egoist” Mahler.<sup>129</sup> Mahler’s replacement, Felix von Weingartner, further pleased antisemites by attempting to erase Mahler’s legacy and preventing Jews from being hired in the Opera. The *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* praised Weingartner and condemned the “Jewish trickster Gustav Mahler” and his “crooked-nosed” supporters (see Appendix, Figure 4.3).<sup>130</sup> Among Mahler’s defenders were “obviously” the *Neue Freie Presse*, which the *Deutsches Volksblatt* characterized as “the typical manifestation of everything that is closely intertwined with Jewish interests” in an article denouncing “Jewish liberalism.”<sup>131</sup> To Viennese antisemites, Mahler’s resignation represented a victory over Jewish liberals in the city’s artistic and cultural realm. Coverage of the affair continued into 1908 when fans of Richard Wagner protested cuts that Weingartner had made to Wagner’s operas.<sup>132</sup> A fan of Mahler’s “perfect Wagner interpretations,” Hitler may have sided with Mahler’s supporters against Weingartner in this conflict, despite the apparent inconsistency between Mahler’s Jewish heritage and Wagner’s rampant antisemitism.<sup>133</sup> Gustav Mahler’s case exposes the complexity of Viennese antisemitism and the gaps in our understanding of Hitler’s own beliefs. Regardless, Wagner’s condemnation of “Jewish modernism” had clearly spread to Vienna’s antisemitic press and remained relevant for the aspiring artist, Adolf Hitler.

The styles promoted by Viennese Modernism, or so-named “Jewish modernism,” were antithetical to the conservative art and architecture favored by the young Hitler. Leading modernist artists, such as Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, and Oskar Kokoschka broke from

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<sup>129</sup> Original German: “erfreulich” and “Egoist.” Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. “Theater, Kunst und Literatur: Direktor Mahler amtsmüde?” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), January 14, 1907; “Theater, Kunst und Literatur: Gustav Mahler,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), June 9, 1907.

<sup>130</sup> The *Alldeutsches Tagblatt*, as quoted in Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 65.

<sup>131</sup> Original German: “natürlich,” “Die ‘Neue Freie Presse’... ist nun einmal die typische Erscheinung für alles, was mit dem jüdischen Interesse eng verwachsen ist,” and “Judenliberalismus.” “Theater, Kunst und Literatur: Gustav Mahler,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), June 9, 1907; “National oder ‘jüdisch-freisinnig’?,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), June 9, 1907.

<sup>132</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 64.

<sup>133</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 186.

tradition and embraced an emotional Expressionist approach. They favored bold colors, abstract shapes, and themes of death, sexuality, and anxiety (see Appendix 1, Figures 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6).<sup>134</sup> All three artists, along with several contemporaries, appeared in a review of a 1909 art show by the *Deutsches Volksblatt*: “These named [artists] and all others in the exhibition represent the degenerates [*Entarteten*] of art, which...making a fool of the whole world, must be condemned with greater determination.”<sup>135</sup> Almost two decades later, Hitler drew on the same language with his *Entartete Kunst Ausstellung*, or Degenerate Art Exhibition, in 1937.<sup>136</sup> While in Vienna, Hitler exhibited a resistance to modernist art in his own watercolors. The scenes that he painted reflected a more conservative classicist artistic tradition: realistic landscapes of Viennese views with muted colors (see Appendix, Figures 4.7 and 4.8).

Moreover, Hitler’s watercolors demonstrated his interest in architecture, namely the grand, historicist architectural style of the *Ringstraße* buildings.<sup>137</sup> Along with the “majestic” Opera, these included the *Burgtheater* and Parliament (see Appendix, Figures 4.9 and 4.10). In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler recalled that “the whole Ring Boulevard seemed to [him] like an enchantment.”<sup>138</sup> After his failures at the Academy of Fine Arts, Hitler determined to study architecture, although he continued to work as a painter. Even as he clung to nineteenth-century architectural styles, modernist architects such as Adolf Loos and Otto Wagner diverged from tradition. In 1911, Adolf Loos debuted his building on the Michaelerplatz in the Inner City.

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<sup>134</sup> Deborah Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare: Art, Politics, and Hitler’s Early Years in Vienna, 1906-1913* (Williamstown, MA: Williams College Museum of Art, 2002), 14.

<sup>135</sup> Original German: “Diese genannten und alle anderen in der Ausstellung vertretenen Entarteten des Kunstschaffens, welche...die ganze Welt zum Narren halten, muß man mit größter Entschiedenheit verurteilen.” “Theater, Kunst und Literatur: Kunstschau,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), April 22, 1909.

<sup>136</sup> Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 14.

<sup>137</sup> Historicism refers to an artistic and architectural tradition of recreating or imitating past styles. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Vienna’s Court Opera and *Burgtheater* were built in the Renaissance style, the town hall in the Gothic style, and the Parliament in the Hellenic style, to provide a few examples.

<sup>138</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 19.

Controversial for the bareness of its façade, the “Looshaus” received much criticism, including a phrase that Loos reclaimed as the building’s motto: “A Monster of a House” (see Appendix, Figure 4.11).<sup>139</sup> Hitler’s disdain for the building was apparent in a sketch that he made of the Michaelerplatz, in which he ignored the Looshaus and chose to depict an eighteenth-century version of the city square instead (see Appendix, Figure 4.12). Both artistically and architecturally, Hitler’s opposed the modernist trend of the time.

Although none of the aforementioned artists or architects were Jewish, the argument provided by Richard Wagner held into the twentieth century; in the minds of antisemites, any form of Viennese Modernism was “Jewish modernism.” In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler claimed to have believed in this connection at the time and attributed “nine tenths of all literary trash, artistic filth, and theatrical idiocy” to Vienna’s Jews: “Was there any form of filth or profligacy, particularly in cultural life, without at least one Jew involved in it?”<sup>140</sup> Historian J. Sydney Jones has convincingly suggested that Hitler’s own artistic and architectural failures caused him to resent the success of modernists and fueled his hatred for “degenerate” Viennese “Jewish” culture.<sup>141</sup> Thus, through his immersion in the artistic world of Vienna, Hitler likely encountered the antisemitism weaponized by Richard Wagner and the press against Jewish and non-Jewish modernists. Hitler’s devotion to Wagner and his opposition to Viennese Modernism suggest that his anti-modernist views informed the development of his antisemitism during these years.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Original German: “Ein Scheusal von einem Haus.”

<sup>140</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 57-58.

<sup>141</sup> Jones, *Hitler in Vienna*, 10.

<sup>142</sup> The philosopher Berel Lang has further argued that Hitler’s perception of himself as an artist shaped his self-presentation and actions as the leader of the Nazi movement. Lang extended this connection to claim that the design and execution of the Final Solution indicated an imagination or “artistic consciousness” at work in Hitler and the Nazis. According to Lang, Hitler conceived of the Final Solution as an art form, which led Lang to conclude that Hitler consciously enacted evil and, or rather because, he enjoyed the inventiveness of it. For more information on Berel Lang’s explanation of Adolf Hitler, see Ron Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil* (New York: Random House, 1998), 208-220.

### Political Role Models: Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger

Both August Kubizek and Reinhold Hanisch emphasized Adolf Hitler's preoccupation with Viennese politics. Kubizek recalled occasions of Hitler "ranting at [him] as though [he] were a political power who could decide the existence or non-existence of the German people."<sup>143</sup> Years later, in the men's hostel, Hanisch witnessed several political debates in which Hitler acted as "ringleader."<sup>144</sup> Undeniably, the two figures that dominated Vienna's politics and Hitler's attention were Georg Ritter von Schönerer of the German Nationalist Party and Dr. Karl Lueger of the Christian Social Party (see Appendix, Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Together, these men shaped the foundation of Hitler's nationalism, political strategies, and above all, antisemitism.

According to *Mein Kampf*, Hitler was more than merely aware of Georg Ritter von Schönerer; when he arrived in Vienna, he aligned himself "fully and wholly" with Schönerer's Pan-German nationalism.<sup>145</sup> Prominent in the late nineteenth century, Schönerer had mostly faded from the public eye, but his ideas persisted. In 1885, Schönerer amended an earlier version of his "Linz Program," in which he advocated for the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its annexation into Germany to unify all German-speaking people. The 1885 amendment insisted that, for the Pan-German agenda to succeed, "the elimination of Jewish influence in all areas of public life is indispensable."<sup>146</sup> Schönerer voiced his ethnic antisemitism in vicious attacks on the so-called "Jewish press" and the immigration of East European Jews. In his "First Speech about the Press" in 1885, Schönerer demanded in brutal language, "Away with the press dominated by corrupt and Jewish influences! Away with the plague bulge! Away with

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<sup>143</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 225.

<sup>144</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I."

<sup>145</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 58.

<sup>146</sup> Original German: "Zur Durchführung der angestrebten Reformen ist die Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses auf allen Gebieten des öffentlichen Lebens unerlässlich." Georg Ritter von Schönerer, "Das Programm der deutschnationalen Antisemiten (Linzer Programm)," 1885, in *Zehn Reden Georg Schönerer's aus den Jahren 1882 bis 1888* (Vienna: Der "Alldeutsche Verein für die Ostmark," 1914), 123.

these strangers in our home!”<sup>147</sup> He echoed the final sentiment in an 1887 “Petition and Proposal against the Immigration of foreign Jews.”<sup>148</sup> Within the same year, he advocated for legal barriers on “people-exploiting” Jews living within the empire in a speech entitled “On the Jewish Question.”<sup>149</sup> In the 1890s, several of Schönerer’s pamphlets were converted into illustrations. An 1894 broadsheet, entitled “In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century!,” offered two versions of the future; the top half of the illustration imagined a world without Jews, while the bottom depicted a world under Jewish control (see Appendix, Figures 5.3 and 5.4). Per Schönerer’s prejudices, the upper half of the poster appeared more orderly and desirable. Disturbingly, this half of the illustration also portrayed six Jewish men hanging from gallows labeled “Jewish-Gallows.”<sup>150</sup> Long before Adolf Hitler led the Nazi movement, Georg Ritter von Schönerer had advocated for the expulsion of ethnically “other” Jews from a German Austria, the legal restriction of Jewish access to society, and the mass murder of Jews to achieve a desired future.

Although Hitler never joined any political party while in Vienna, Kubizek recalled that his friend confessed often to being “a convinced follower” of Schönerer.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler insisted that, at the time, he believed that Schönerer predicted “the inevitable end of the Austrian state more clearly and correctly than anyone else.”<sup>152</sup> While it was certainly not inevitable that history unfolded as it did, several of Hitler’s later policies, from Nazi Germany’s

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<sup>147</sup> Original German: “Hinweg mit der von korrupten und jüdischen Einflüssen beherrschten Presse! Hinweg mit dieser Pestbeule! Hinweg mit diesen Fremdlingen in unserem Heim!” Georg Ritter von Schönerer, “Erste Rede über die Presse,” 1885, in *Fünf Reden des Reichsrathausabgeordneten Georg Ritter von Schönerer* (Horn: Ferdinand Berger, 1891), 77.

<sup>148</sup> Georg Ritter von Schönerer, “Petitionen und Antrag, betreffend ein Geseß gegen die Einwanderung ausländischer Juden,” 1887, in *Fünf Reden des Reichsrathausabgeordneten Georg Ritter von Schönerer* (Horn: Ferdinand Berger, 1891), 107.

<sup>149</sup> Original German: “volksausbeutende.” Georg Ritter von Schönerer, “Zur Judenfrage,” 1887, in *Zehn Reden Georg Schönerer’s aus den Jahren 1882 bis 1888* (Vienna: Der “Alldeutsche Verein für die Ostmark,” 1914), 184.

<sup>150</sup> Original German: “Juden-Galgen.” Translation of the illustration’s title in Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 2, 12.

<sup>151</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 228.

<sup>152</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 98.

annexation of Austria in 1938 to the mass murder of European Jews in the Holocaust, strongly resembled the foundational ideas promoted by Schönerer and well-received by a young Adolf Hitler in Vienna. Despite being “the better and more profound thinker in questions of principle,” Schönerer had one major flaw in Hitler’s mind: he lacked the support of the masses.<sup>153</sup> Where Schönerer failed, Vienna’s mayor, Dr. Karl Lueger, succeeded.

Unlike his immediate attraction to Schönerer, Hitler reported being “hostile” to Lueger and the Christian Social Party upon arriving in Vienna.<sup>154</sup> Kubizek suggested that Lueger’s connection to the church discouraged Hitler’s interest.<sup>155</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler reported that he initially found Lueger too ““reactionary”” but soon came to admire the mayor and his “thorough knowledge of men.”<sup>156</sup> To court working-class voters, Lueger politicized religious antisemitism. A speech draft, dated 1891, included an accusation that the “Jewish Press...was and is the ally and accomplice of all robberies and thefts that have been committed against the Christian people.”<sup>157</sup> Simultaneously, Lueger’s antisemitism served to attack his harshest critics, liberal newspapers such as the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, while bolstering his popularity with working-class Viennese Christians by giving them permission to blame Jews for their socioeconomic misfortunes.<sup>158</sup> A jotted list in the same speech draft seemingly revealed talking points for Lueger on the subject of Jews: “Anti-Semitism...Jews, the leaders of the liberals...Capital usurers. Exploiters of property...incite the classes...incite the nations.”<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 99.

<sup>154</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55.

<sup>155</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 228.

<sup>156</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55, 99.

<sup>157</sup> Draft of a speech presented by Dr. Karl Lueger in Moravia, circa 1891, in Richard Geehr, “*I decide who is a Jew!*”: *The Papers of Dr. Karl Lueger* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 325.

<sup>158</sup> The historian John Boyer has argued that Dr. Karl Lueger was “unreasonably, even paranoically sensitive to criticism” from Vienna’s liberal newspapers. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*, 26.

<sup>159</sup> Draft of a speech presented by Dr. Karl Lueger in Moravia, circa 1891, in Geeher, “*I decide who is a Jew!*,” 328.

Whereas Schönerer based his antisemitism in ethnic hatred, Lueger opportunistically drew on familiar stereotypes of Jewish greed and liberalism for his own political gain. Historian John Boyer has described Lueger's antisemitic rhetoric as "crude, insulting, and quite often heartless" but ultimately "a preeminently political act."<sup>160</sup> Lueger's infamous statement, "I decide who is a Jew," exemplified what Hitler condemned as the "half-heartedness" of his antisemitism.<sup>161</sup> A cartoon published in the antisemitic paper, *Kikeriki*, in 1908 depicted a Jewish man offering a baptism certificate to Lueger, alongside the caption, "Protest of the Protestants" (see Appendix, Figure 5.5).<sup>162</sup> Like Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, this caricature denounced Lueger's willingness to recognize Jews who converted to Christianity and his perception of Jews as a religious group, rather than a racial or ethnic one.

Nevertheless, Hitler regarded Lueger as "the greatest German mayor of all times," and when Lueger died on March 10, 1910, Hitler attended the city-wide funeral.<sup>163</sup> The antisemitic *Deutsches Volksblatt* memorialized Lueger as a man "always on the side of the people," so "it was no wonder that he joined the antisemitic cause with his characteristic energy and drive."<sup>164</sup> Despite Lueger's long battle with the *Neue Freie Presse*, the liberal newspaper likewise mourned his loss and depicted him as "not a foe of the Jews," although "he used antisemitism, which had become a very popular, very effective catchword in elections, to swing himself up."<sup>165</sup> Even if Lueger was not antisemitic "at heart," as the *Neue Freie Presse* claimed, his platform and

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<sup>160</sup> Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*, 26.

<sup>161</sup> Geeher, "I decide who is a Jew!," 322; Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 120.

<sup>162</sup> Caption translated in Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 18.

<sup>163</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55, 121.

<sup>164</sup> Original German: "Dr. Lueger stand von jeher auf Seite des Volkes...Da war es nun kein Wunder, dass er sich mit der ihm eigenen Energie und Tatkraft der antisemitischen Sache anschloss." "Der Lebenslauf Dr. Luegers: Beginn der antisemitischen Aera," *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), March 10, 1910.

<sup>165</sup> Original German: "Also Judenfeind war Doktor Lueger nicht. Er benützte aber den Antisemitismus, der ein sehr populäres, bei Wahlen sehr wirksames Schlagwort geworden war, um sich hinaufzuschwingen." Dr. Ludwig Bolger, "Dr. Karl Lueger: Ein Nachruf von Dr. Ludwig Bolger," *Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna), March 11, 1910.

popularity contributed to the legitimization of prejudice and violence against Jews in Vienna – perhaps even more so than Schönerer, who had less of a support base.<sup>166</sup>

Hitler praised Lueger’s ability to win working-class support and to “make use of all existing institutions in his favor, drawing from these old sources of power the greatest possible profit for his own movement.”<sup>167</sup> Again, without succumbing to the fallacy of historical inevitability, the lessons in political education that Hitler accumulated in Vienna had observable connections to his later efforts to gain power in the Nazi Party and the German government by appealing to working- and middle-class Germans and infiltrating existing political frameworks. After Lueger’s death, Hanisch recalled Hitler calling for “a new party” that “should take of the best slogans from other parties to win followers.”<sup>168</sup> Hitler appeared to have learned from Lueger’s opportunism. Indeed, Hitler’s years in a Vienna seeped in the legacy of Schönerer and ruled by Lueger almost certainly ideologically and politically shaped the development of his antisemitism. While Georg Ritter von Schönerer endorsed extreme nationalistic and ethnically antisemitic thinking, Dr. Karl Lueger refined strategies that weaponized antisemitism to obtain the support of the masses and, by extension, political power.

### **The Antisemitic Press and the “Jewish Press”**

According to October 1908 circulation records for Viennese daily newspapers, the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* and *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, circulated at 65,000 and 60,000 copies, respectively, while the antisemitic *Deutsches Volksblatt* and *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* circulated at

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<sup>166</sup> Original German: “im Herzen.” Bolger, “Dr. Karl Lueger.”

<sup>167</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 100.

<sup>168</sup> Hanisch, “I Was Hitler’s Buddy: I.”

20,000 and 8,000, respectively.<sup>169</sup> In his “Translator’s Note,” Ralph Manheim contended that the style of Hitler’s writing in *Mein Kampf* demonstrated that he “was unconsciously influenced by [the Viennese press’s] literary style” and that he also “must have read popular pamphlets on history, psychology, racist biology, and political subjects.”<sup>170</sup> A 1908 letter to August Kubizek confirmed that Hitler paid marked attention to the Viennese press, as he asked, “Who was the publisher of the newspaper I sent you last time?”<sup>171</sup> By his own account, Hitler read both the “world press,” identified as the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, and antisemitic newspapers and pamphlets.<sup>172</sup> Initially, the unsatisfactory tone and dubious reputation of the antisemitic press, including the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, steered Hitler toward more liberal newspapers. Soon, however, the allegedly “flamboyant[t]” style and “artificial” content of these publications redirected him once more toward the antisemitic press.<sup>173</sup> Kubizek recalled Hitler constantly reading but observed that “even in his books he found only what suited him.”<sup>174</sup>

While Hitler and Kubizek lived at 31 Stumpergasse in the Mariahilf district, the editorial offices for the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* stood not far away at 17 Stumpergasse. Due to its proximity, historian Brigitte Hamann has suggested that this was the first Viennese newspaper Hitler read daily.<sup>175</sup> An April 1903 poster advertising the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* described it as an “incorruptible newspaper” that upheld “the interests of the German people in the Ostmark,” which included Georg Ritter von Schönerer’s “Linz Program,” a Pan-Germanic platform that

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<sup>169</sup> “Die Auflagen der Wiener Tagesblätter,” *Novitäten-Anzeiger für den Kolportage-Buchhandel* (Vienna), October 1, 1908.

<sup>170</sup> Manheim, trans. *Mein Kampf*, xi.

<sup>171</sup> Letter from Adolf Hitler to August Kubizek, 1908, in Maser, *Hitler’s Letters*, 21.

<sup>172</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 52-53.

<sup>173</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 53-54.

<sup>174</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler*, 182.

<sup>175</sup> Hamann, *Hitler’s Vienna*, 31.

advocated for the annexation of Austria by Germany.<sup>176</sup> The publication's use of "Ostmark" as a substitute name for the Austro-Hungarian Empire preceded its usage by Hitler and the Nazis to refer to the annexed Austrian state after 1938. Also on the poster, a light-haired, Germanic warrior has stabbed a dragon, alluding to the Germanic mythology venerated by Richard Wagner and other German nationalists (see Appendix, Figure 6.1). If Hitler indeed read the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt* upon moving to the Stumpergasse, its pro-Schönerer stance may have contributed to his full and immediate support for the German Nationalist politician when he arrived in Vienna.

A more widely read antisemitic newspaper, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* disseminated stereotypes and attacks against Vienna's Jewish population. At first banned from public sale, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* had such an unsavory reputation that even Dr. Karl Lueger – often praised by its journalists – indicated in an 1893 letter that he intended to distance himself from the publication.<sup>177</sup> In a 1908 article about Zionism, entitled "Jews among themselves," the newspaper deplored Jews as "parasites and scroungers" who "live one big lie, which consists of the fact that they pretend to be Germans."<sup>178</sup> Relaying popular nationalistic and antisemitic ideas of Jewish ethnic difference from Germans, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* advocated for Zionism, or the creation of a Jewish state, to remove Jews from a Germanic Austria-Hungary. A 1910 article, "Jewish banks," propagated another common antisemitic sentiment that the city's wealth was "[a]lways dominated by the little greedy Jew."<sup>179</sup> These and other vicious attacks comprised

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<sup>176</sup> Original German: "unbestechliche Zeitung" and "die Interessen des deutschen Volkes in der Ostmark." *Alldeutsches Tagblatt (Kurztitel)*, 1903, Poster. Museum of Applied Arts, Vienna, Austria. Europeana, [https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/15514/PI\\_2758](https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/15514/PI_2758).

<sup>177</sup> Jones, *Hitler in Vienna*, 111; Letter from Dr. Karl Lueger to an unknown Colonel, 1893, in Geehr, "I decide who is a Jew!," 270.

<sup>178</sup> Original German: "Parasiten und Schmarotzer" and "diese Leute leben ja nur von der großen Lüge, die darin besteht, dass sie sich als Deutsche ausgeben." "Juden unter sich," *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), February 28, 1908.

<sup>179</sup> Original German: "Immer dominierte der kleine habgierige Jude." "Judenbanken," *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), August 24, 1910.

much of Hitler's reading material while in Vienna, and by his own account, he found "food for thought" in many of the publication's arguments.<sup>180</sup> Bitterness toward his own impoverished circumstances may have made him particularly receptive to the latter's antisemitic conspiracy. Confirming Ralph Manheim's impression, Hitler's word choice in *Mein Kampf* echoed the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, as he denounced Jews' "virtuosity at lying" and characterized them as "cold-hearted, shameless, and calculating."<sup>181</sup> Hitler likely absorbed both brutal antisemitic convictions and rhetoric from this newspaper.

J. Lanz von Liebenfels' *Ostara*, one of the antisemitic pamphlets that Hitler almost certainly read while in Vienna, circulated deranged notions of race and racial biology. In 1906, Liebenfels published a pseudo-scientific tract, *Theozoology – or the Science of the Sodomite Apelings and the Divine Electron*, in which he proposed a largely incomprehensible anthropological, religious, and biological study of "ape-men," inferior races recognizable by their appearance and characterized by their lewd and dangerous sexuality.<sup>182</sup> He argued for racial purity and, in aggressively vulgar rhetoric, denounced sexual relations between German women and "Slavs and Mediterraneans," the latter of which included Jews.<sup>183</sup> Liebenfels' *Ostara* championed similar arguments about racial biology. One illustration for a 1906 issue depicted a caricatured ape as representative of the "Primitive Man and Race" (see Appendix, Figure 6.2).<sup>184</sup> Other issues, including a two-part series on *Racial Psychology and Working Life* in 1910, pitted the "blonde, heroic person" against the "dark person."<sup>185</sup> Liebenfels titled the aforementioned

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<sup>180</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55.

<sup>181</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 59.

<sup>182</sup> J. Lanz von Liebenfels, *Theozoology – or the Science of the Sodomite Apelings and the Divine Electron* (Europa-House for Biblical Studies, 1905).

<sup>183</sup> Liebenfels, *Theozoology*, 60; Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 219.

<sup>184</sup> Translation in Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 13.

<sup>185</sup> Original German: "Der blonde, heroische Mensch" and "der dunkle Mensch." J. Lanz von Liebenfels, *Rassen-Psychologie u. Erwerbslebens I: Die Berarmung der Blonden und der Reichtum der Dunklen*, *Ostara* 40,

pamphlets, *The Poverty of the Blondes and the Wealth of the Dark* and *The masked Thievery as the Dark's Acquisition Principle: an Enlightenment for Blondes*. Once again, the language of *Mein Kampf* echoed rhetoric that preceded it when Hitler wrote, “With satanic joy in his face, the black-haired Jewish youth lurks in wait for the unsuspecting girl whom he defiles with his blood, thus stealing her from her people.”<sup>186</sup> The offensive notions of race, racial purity, and theft that concerned Liebenfels resurfaced in Hitler’s own words, which suggests that a young Hitler read and approved of *Ostara*’s positions. Although unverifiable, Liebenfels himself claimed that Hitler visited him in 1909 to request missing issues of *Ostara*.<sup>187</sup> The similarities between the two men’s language indicates that, even if the account of their meeting is false, Hitler most likely adopted J. Lanz von Liebenfels’ extremist ideas of racial antisemitism while living in Vienna.

Alongside his interest in antisemitic publications in Vienna, Hitler expressed his growing disdain for the so-called “Jewish press.” In *Mein Kampf*, he described discovering that the writers of the “world press,” which he found “unbearable,” were Jewish.<sup>188</sup> Although Moritz Benedikt, the editor-in-chief of the *Neue Freie Presse*, descended from a Jewish family, the broad antisemitic conspiracy of the Jewish-controlled press mirrored the illogic of Richard Wagner’s “Jewish modernism.”<sup>189</sup> As previously discussed, both Georg Ritter von Schönerer and Dr. Karl Lueger targeted the “Jewish press” in their speeches, and the *Deutsches Volksblatt* raged often against the “Jewish liberals and their press.”<sup>190</sup> In a 1908 article, entitled “The Falsification

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1910; J. Lanz von Liebenfels, *Rassen-Psychologie u. Erwerbslebens II: Die maskierte Dieberei als Erwerbssprinzip der Dunklen: eine Aufklärung für Blonde*, *Ostara* 41, 1910.

<sup>186</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 325.

<sup>187</sup> Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 13.

<sup>188</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 58.

<sup>189</sup> As with the study of Viennese Modernism today, scholars have recognized the valuable contributions of Jewish writers and editors to the Viennese press. This recognition should not, however, be likened to the historical antisemitic conspiracy that based its notion of the “Jewish press” in prejudice, not truth. Waissenberger, *Vienna*, 47.

<sup>190</sup> Original German: “die Judenliberalen und ihre Presse.” “National oder ‘jüdisch-freisinnig’?,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), June 9, 1907.

of the Truth through the Jewish Press,” the *Deutsches Volksblatt* accused these newspapers of operating a “net of deceit and deception” and committing “the most monstrous rapes of the truth.”<sup>191</sup> A follower of both politics and the press, Hitler likely developed his own convictions about the so-called “Jewish press” while in Vienna. He echoed the sentiment of the *Deutsches Volksblatt* by denouncing “these scribblers who poison men’s souls like germ-carriers of the worse sort.”<sup>192</sup> The language of “poison” similarly appeared on a 1910 lithograph postcard, which depicted a man reading the *Neue Freie Presse* while miniature caricatured Jews injected and poured “Semitic spirit” into his head (See Appendix, Figure 6.3). The caption stated, “Out with Jewish Press – It Poisons the Spirit and Destroys German Thought!”<sup>193</sup> Although the young Hitler may not have seen this particular postcard, the antisemitic attitudes toward the “Jewish press” prevalent at the time evidently shaped the development of his hatred. By his own account, reading antisemitic literature in Vienna played the largest role in Hitler’s becoming an antisemite – an assessment that historians such as Ian Kershaw have found credible.<sup>194</sup>

### **The Streets of Vienna and *Ostjuden***

While thoughts of Viennese “Jewish” Modernism, Schönerer and Lueger, and the battle between the antisemitic and “Jewish” press seemed to have occupied the young Adolf Hitler’s mind during his years in Vienna, the streets of the city served as an everyday “visual instruction” for the antisemitic convictions he had begun gathering.<sup>195</sup> During Hitler’s first years living with August Kubizek in Mariahilf, Jews constituted approximately thirteen percent of the district’s

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<sup>191</sup> Original German: “das Netz von Lug und Trug” and “ungeheuerlichsten Vergewaltigungen der Wahrheit.” “Die Verfälschung der Wahrheit durch die jüdische Presse,” *Deutsches Volksblatt* (Vienna), September 13, 1908.

<sup>192</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 58.

<sup>193</sup> Caption translated in Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 19.

<sup>194</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 64; Kershaw, “Drop-out,” 65.

<sup>195</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55.

population. In Brigittenau, where Hitler lived in the men's hostel with Reinhold Hanisch, the ratio remained largely consistent at fourteen percent, while the neighboring Leopoldstadt's population was thirty-four percent Jewish (see Appendix, Figure 1.2). Both Brigittenau and Leopoldstadt contained a high proportion of *Ostjuden*, or East European Jews, especially those who had recently immigrated from Galicia.<sup>196</sup> In comparison to more assimilated Jews elsewhere in the city, *Ostjuden* tended to maintain their Orthodox Judaism and traditional styles of dress and appearance (see Appendix, Figure 7.1). As infamously recounted in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's alleged first impression of *Ostjuden* in Vienna confirmed in his mind that Jews were not merely religiously different from Germans but racially different, too:

Once as I was strolling through the Inner City I suddenly encountered an apparition in a black caftan and black hair locks. Is this a Jew? was my first thought. For, to be sure, they had not looked like that in Linz...Is this a German? As always in such cases, I now began to try to relieve my doubts by books. For a few hellers I bought the first anti-Semitic pamphlets of my life...I could no longer very well doubt that the objects of my study were not Germans of a special religion, but a people in themselves...Vienna appeared to me in a different light than before. Wherever I went, I began to see Jews, and the more I saw, the more sharply they became distinguished in my eyes from the rest of humanity.<sup>197</sup>

Several historians have doubted the validity of this encounter; Robert Wistrich, for example, described Hitler's story as "semi-mythical" and "somewhat forced."<sup>198</sup> Even if Hitler invented the moment entirely – a likelihood given the propagandistic nature of *Mein Kampf* – the two questions at the core of this passage, "Is this a Jew?" and "Is this a German?," echoed the same notions of Jewish racial difference put forward by Wagner, Schönerer, Liebenfels, and others. The perceived "foreignness" of *Ostjuden* often made them "the target of massive racist resentment," according to cultural historians Wolfgang Maderthaner and Lutz Musner.<sup>199</sup> Given

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<sup>196</sup> Oxaal, "The Jews of Young Hitler's Vienna," 29.

<sup>197</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 56.

<sup>198</sup> Wistrich, *Laboratory for World Destruction*, 359.

<sup>199</sup> Maderthaner and Musner, *Unruly Masses*, 147.

the antisemitic education Hitler gained in Vienna, it is unsurprising that he mirrored contemporary antisemites in this way.

According to Hanisch's account, Hitler held racially antisemitic views when they lived in Brigittenau. Once, a Bavarian foreman reportedly asked why Jews were "strangers in the nation," to which Hitler answered that "it was because they were a different race" and that they "had a different smell."<sup>200</sup> In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler reiterated that he had developed these convictions in Vienna. He described recoiling at "the smell of these caftan-wearers" and "their unclean dress and their generally unheroic appearance."<sup>201</sup> The language of an "unheroic" race heavily resembles Liebenfels' depiction of the "blonde, heroic person" and the "dark person" in the disturbed gutter pamphlet, *Ostara*.<sup>202</sup> Hanisch swiftly pointed out that the young, bearded Adolf Hitler, wearing a "greasy" derby hat and a long coat gifted to him by the Jewish Josef Neumann, had a similar appearance to the Orthodox Jews that he verbally attacked.<sup>203</sup> As previously argued, Hanisch's accusation that Hitler "looked very Jewish" at this time was likely a vengeful attempt to discredit Nazi leader Adolf Hitler among his antisemitic followers, as Hanisch was a known antisemite himself.<sup>204</sup> A young Hitler undoubtedly resented the comparison.

In Kubizek's account of Hitler's earlier years, he recalled an incident in which resentment of East European Jews prompted his friend to take legal action against a "'Handelee.'" According to Kubizek, "Handelees" were East European Jews, traditionally dressed in "caftans and boots," who peddled shoelaces, buttons, and other goods in the streets of Vienna. Kubizek and Hitler witnessed a policeman approach and arrest one such man who had been illegally

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<sup>200</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I."

<sup>201</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 57.

<sup>202</sup> Liebenfels, *Rassen-Psychologie u. Erwerbslebens I: Die Berarmung der Blonden und der Reichtum der Dunklen*.

<sup>203</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I."

<sup>204</sup> Hanisch, "I Was Hitler's Buddy: I."

begging for money and could not produce his papers. When the policeman requested witnesses, Hitler volunteered and claimed that he had seen “with his own eyes that the Handelee had 3,000 crowns in his caftan, conclusive evidence...of the exploitation of Vienna by immigrant Eastern Jews.”<sup>205</sup> Whether Kubizek remembered this event correctly, the story reflects Hitler’s apparent resentment against what he perceived as the deception of *Ostjuden*. Attempting to distance himself from his former friend’s antisemitism, Kubizek claimed to have cautioned Hitler to “not judge the Jewish question only on the strength of Handelees.”<sup>206</sup> Hitler, however, seemed to have already committed to the attitude he espoused in *Mein Kampf* – that the Jews of Vienna were “unalterably of one piece,” assimilated and recently immigrated alike, and that they were “a people in themselves.”<sup>207</sup> Consequently, his bitterness applied not only to *Ostjuden* but also to the wealthy Viennese Jewish patrons of his watercolors and of the Meidling and Brigittenau hostels. While Hanisch recalled Hitler’s gratitude, several historians have persuasively suggested that the impoverished Hitler’s personal failures fueled his hatred of those he accused of “exploiting” Viennese society.<sup>208</sup> Thus, Hitler’s hateful perception of East European Jews fed the racist antisemitic convictions he had accepted as truth while in Vienna.

Antisemitic attacks on *Ostjuden* made an impression not only on Adolf Hitler but also on a young Jewish man living in Vienna at the same time. Dr. Hans Kimmel had emigrated from eastern Galicia to Vienna in 1899, lived on the Kleine Pfarrgasse in Leopoldstadt, and studied law at the University of Vienna until 1911.<sup>209</sup> In his unpublished memoir, Kimmel remembered witnessing “very often manifestations of violent antisemitism in the streets and public places. It

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<sup>205</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew*, 230.

<sup>206</sup> Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew*, 231.

<sup>207</sup> Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 55, 57.

<sup>208</sup> Wistrich, *Laboratory for World Destruction*, 360; Jones, *Hitler in Vienna*, 54-55.

<sup>209</sup> Dr. Hans Kimmel later witnessed the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938, before fleeing to Australia in July 1939. Hans Kimmel, *Twice a New Citizen: Reminiscences 1895-1948*, Leo Baeck Institute, Center for Jewish History, ca. 1948, typed manuscript.

was the era of the Lueger-brand of Antisemitism.”<sup>210</sup> Clearly, Dr. Lueger’s vicious antisemitic rhetoric, despite its opportunistic spirit, had sinister consequences in stirring the Viennese masses to hostility and violence. Kimmel recalled observing protests on the Taborstraße in Leopoldstadt:

One could frequently see hundreds of people, among them some women, marching and shouting: ‘Nieder mit den Juden’ (Down with the Jews!) or ‘Ostjuden hinaus!’ [Eastern Jews out!] The police treated them gently in trying to disperse them wherein they sooner or later succeeded. On such occasions I often asked myself for the reasons of the anti-Jewish demonstrations and posed the question whether Jews were so much different from the other parts of the Viennese population, and why they attracted so much antipathy. Was it not known to the demonstrating groups that the Jews were not better off than the non-Jews, and that, on the contrary, they had more obstacles to overcome in their efforts to gain a hold in any position, or occupation, or profession?<sup>211</sup>

Directed at *Ostjuden* and Jews broadly, these mass demonstrations represented physical manifestations of the hate espoused by politicians and the press. The police’s leniency, as Kimmel has described it, could have stemmed from Mayor Lueger’s legitimization of antisemitism in the city. Although none of the first-hand accounts of Hitler’s years in Vienna indicated that he witnessed or participated in one of these protests, he was likely at least aware of them. Hitler and Kimmel lived in Vienna during the same years and, for a time, in neighboring districts. Despite their similar settings, Adolf Hitler and Dr. Hans Kimmel found different answers to their questions regarding Vienna’s Jews. While Hitler eagerly decided upon racial antisemitism to solve his dilemma, “Is this a German?,” Kimmel rejected the notion that Jews “were so much different” and could not comprehend the prejudice maintained by the non-Jewish population of Vienna. Further, Kimmel challenged the antisemitic conspiracy that Jews controlled the city’s wealth and power, a conspiracy that Hitler, by writing of the “exploitation,” seemed keen to believe. Not only does Dr. Kimmel’s account describe public manifestations of

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<sup>210</sup> Hans Kimmel, *Twice a New Citizen*, 13.

<sup>211</sup> Translation of “Ostjuden hinaus!” is my own. Kimmel, *Twice a New Citizen*, 13.

antisemitism on the streets of Vienna, but his words also serve as a valuable reminder that other perspectives on the city's Jewish population existed alongside the antisemitic ones that Hitler chose to adopt. It was not, therefore, inevitable that turn-of-the-century Vienna would create Adolf Hitler and his extreme antisemitism; rather, he and his hatred were of his own making.

### **Conclusion: Hitler as a Historical Possibility**

Adolf Hitler's time in Vienna, from his first visit in May 1906 to his ignominious departure in May 1913, served as the period in which he learned and developed the antisemitic convictions that, in coming years, spawned immense catastrophe for European Jews. In *Mein Kampf*, he referred to Vienna as a "school," and while he certainly received an education in prejudice, Hitler chose which teachers to follow and which reading material to consume.

A disciple of Richard Wagner, Hitler almost certainly imbibed notions of German nationalism and ethnic antisemitism present in his favorite composer's operas, which played often at the Viennese Court Opera, and writings, which Hitler allegedly read and quoted with August Kubizek. Moreover, Wagner's conspiracy of "Jewish modernism" spread amongst contemporary Viennese antisemites, who cheered at the resignation of Gustav Mahler and denounced the "degenerate" artists and architects of Viennese Modernism. Bitter at his own artistic failures, Hitler clung to conservative styles and mirrored the antisemitic press by condemning "Jewish" modernist culture in. Years later, the Nazis' 1937 Degenerate Art Exhibition harkened to language Hitler likely encountered in these early years. Thus, Hitler's anti-modernism was inextricably linked to his prejudice against Jews while living in Vienna.

Equally invested in the politics of the day, Hitler admired the principles of the ethnic antisemite Georg Ritter von Schönerer and the political strategies of the opportunistic antisemite

Dr. Karl Lueger. Schönerer's vicious attacks on Jews as an ethnic group accompanied his belief in a German-annexed Austria that excluded Jews by legal and violent means. His ideas provided inspiration, and sometimes precedent, for Hitler's own later actions, such as the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938, the Nuremberg Laws and other discriminatory policies, and the mass murder of the Jews in the Holocaust. The Pan-German nationalist's failure to gain mass support, however, turned Hitler toward Vienna's mayor, who had successfully instrumentalized antisemitism to secure working-class votes. Although Hitler criticized the superficiality of Lueger's antisemitism, the power of his position and popularity undeniably legitimized hatred and violence against Vienna's Jews. Sinister in their own ways, Hitler's political role models undoubtedly advanced his own antisemitism during this time.

Furthermore, a voracious reader, Hitler intently consumed antisemitic newspapers and pamphlets that disseminated offensive stereotypes and disturbing racist ideas about Jews and attacked the perceived "Jewish press." The Pan-Germanic dogma of the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt*, the rhetoric of Jewish deceit and greed in the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, and the deranged conceptions of race and racial biology espoused by J. Lanz von Liebenfels' *Ostara* all resurfaced in Hitler's own language in *Mein Kampf*, which suggests that reading these Viennese publications shaped his antisemitic rhetoric and convictions. Likewise, the conspiracy of the "Jewish press" received similar condemnation in both Vienna's antisemitic literature and Adolf Hitler. By his own account, Hitler's pursuit of the antisemitic press played a pivotal role in forming his prejudices.

Finally, the streets of Vienna provided the supposed proof that Hitler needed to confirm Jewish racial otherness. Hitler's and Kubizek's accounts of encounters with *Ostjuden* suggested that Hitler defined Jews as a racial group and resented them for what he perceived as their "exploitation" of Vienna – bitterness that likely stemmed from his own personal failures and

rhetoric that undoubtedly derived from contemporary antisemitic voices. Moreover, the streets of Vienna witnessed violent demonstrations against Jews that prompted a young Galician Jewish immigrant, Dr. Hans Kimmel, to doubt the origins of a hatred that Hitler so eagerly accepted.

Certainly, the accounts of Hitler's years in Vienna – his own, August Kubizek's, and Reinhold Hanisch's – demand careful attention to their motivations and exaggerations, but in the context of the rampant antisemitism pervasive in turn-of-the-century Viennese culture and society, it becomes more than probable that Hitler developed his so-called "granite foundation" during his years in the Austrian capital. The lack of documentation, however, restricts the ability to point to the Vienna years as the beginning of his antisemitism or the conception of his fully thought-out worldview. Nevertheless, Hitler's time in Vienna surely exacerbated any existing beliefs and provided the basis of extreme prejudice that led, eventually, to the Final Solution.

In his own study of Hitler's Vienna years, historian J. Sydney Jones asked, essentially, why an investigation into Hitler's antisemitism even mattered when "[t]he results are the same": the murder of over six million Jews under Adolf Hitler's leadership of Nazi Germany.<sup>212</sup> While such a study cannot change the facts of history, it can alter how we think about and discuss them. Scholars such as Joachim Fest have set a dangerous precedent by interpreting Adolf Hitler as a "product" of Viennese culture, a young man who "merely picked up" what the city and time "passed on to him."<sup>213</sup> The results remain the same, but the blame has shifted. Affixing the responsibility for Hitler's deadly hatred and its consequences onto the culture of Vienna denies Hitler's *own* responsibility and pardons him of the atrocities for which he must be held accountable. Studying Hitler as a historical possibility provides a more suitable framework of thought by rejecting the inevitability of him or his antisemitism. Wagner, Schönerer, Lueger, and

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<sup>212</sup> Jones, *Hitler in Vienna*, 120.

<sup>213</sup> Fest, "The Granite Foundation," 57.

the antisemitic press only shaped Hitler because, by own admission, he sought out, studied, and chose to believe in their malicious rhetoric and convictions. Years later, he chose to weaponize what he learned and devastated Europe's Jewish population because, as historians Lucy S. Dawidowicz and Ron Rosenbaum have argued, "he *wanted* to."<sup>214</sup> To claim the inevitability of Adolf Hitler as a product of his years in Vienna is to deny the blame that he deserves for the active role he played in forming his own education in hate and for its horrific consequences.

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<sup>214</sup> Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler*, 389.

## Appendix

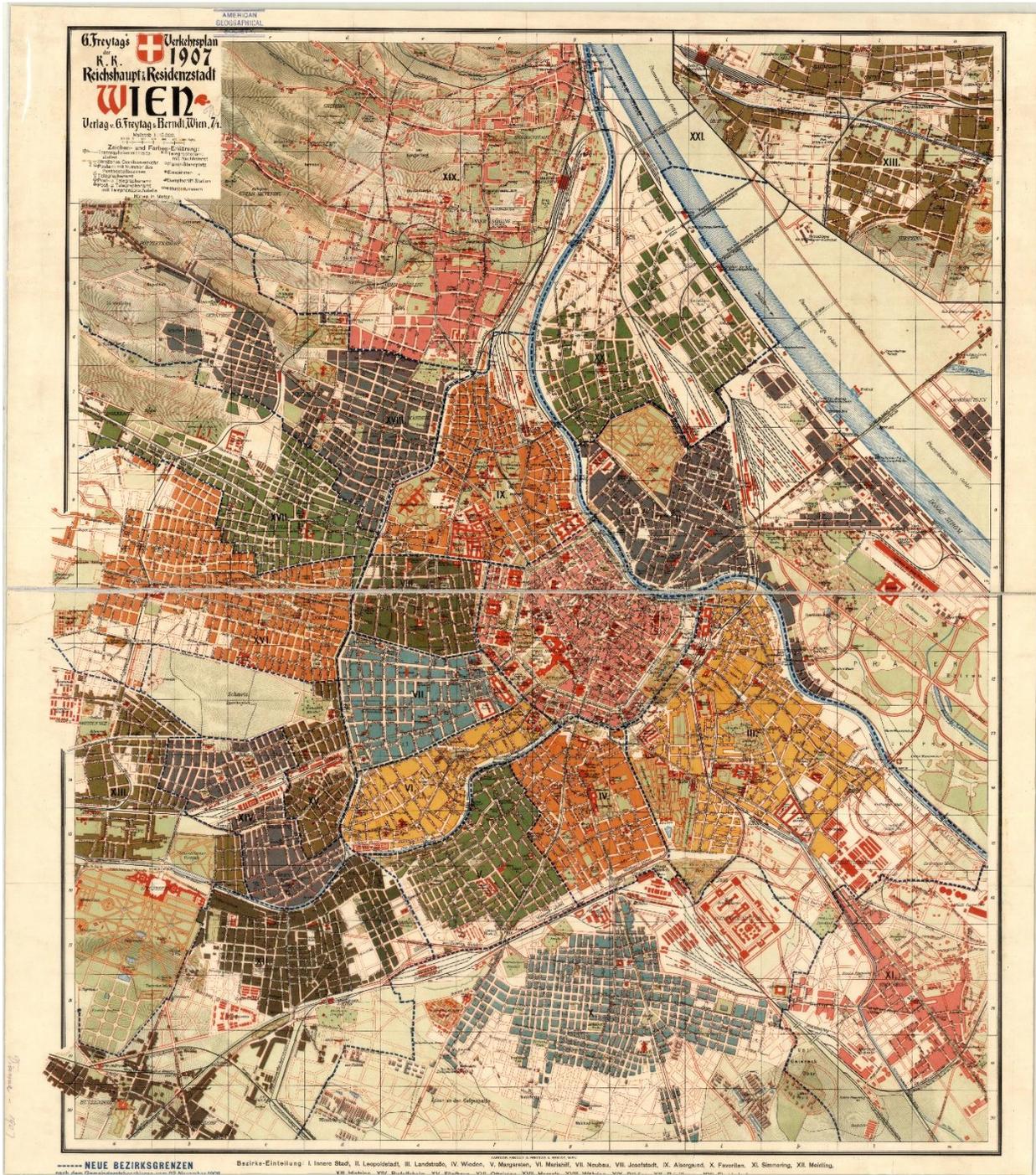


Figure 1.1. City map of Vienna in 1907. *G. Freytag's Verkehrsplan der K.K. Reichshaupt & Residenzstadt Wien / Verlag v. G. Freytag & Berndt*. Map by Freytag, Berndt und Artaria, 1907. American Geographical Society Library. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries.

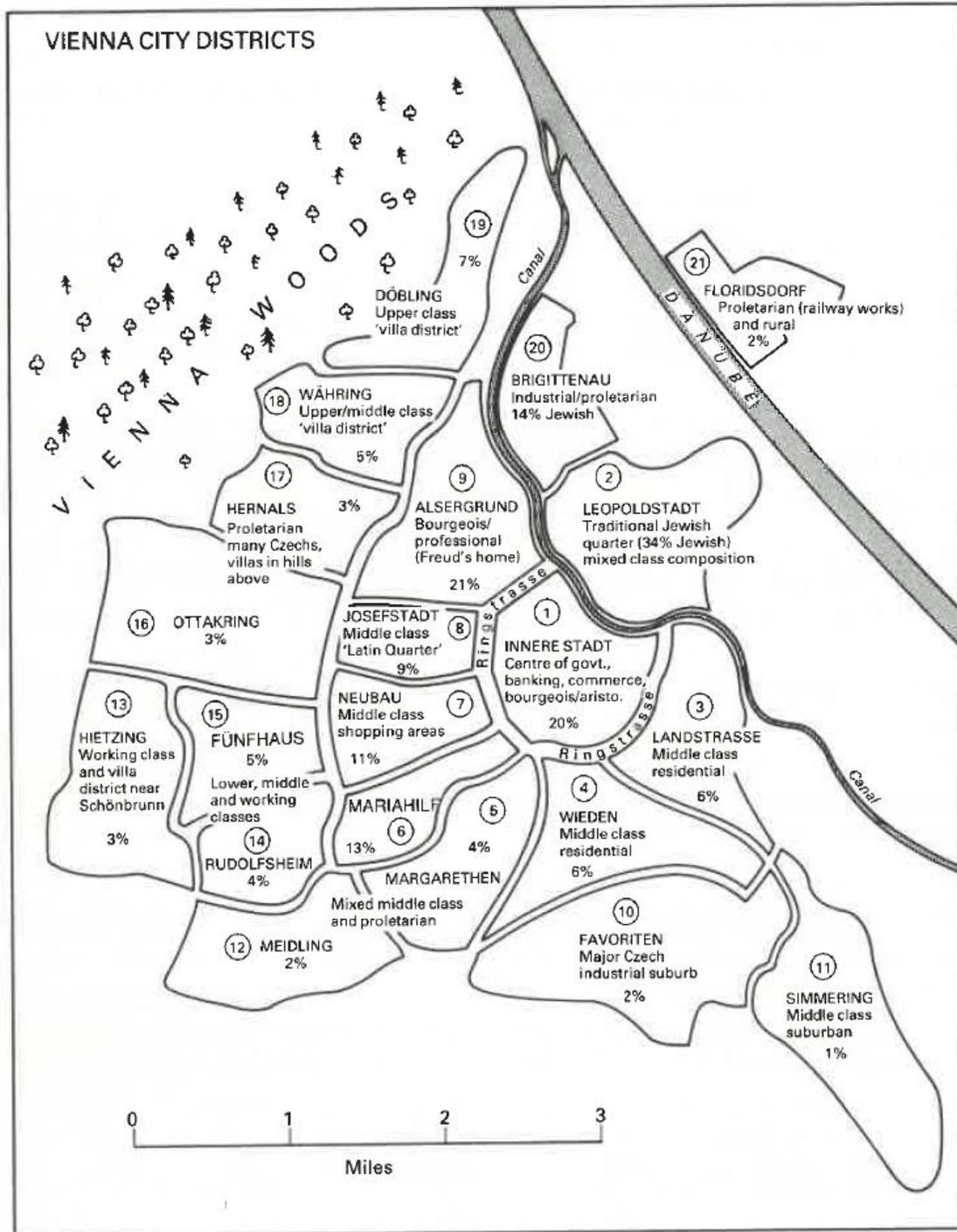


Figure 1.2. City map of Vienna annotated with socioeconomic descriptions and the proportion of Jews in the total population of each district in 1910. Map by Ivar Oxaal, 1987. "The Jews of Young Hitler's Vienna: Historical and Sociological Aspects," in *Jews, Antisemitism and Culture in Vienna*, ed. Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak, and Gerhard Botz (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 30.



Figures 2.1 and 2.2. Sketch of Adolf Hitler, sixteen years old, by fellow student in Linz (left). Photograph of August Kubizek (right). August Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew: The Definitive Inside Look at the Artist Who Became a Monster*, trans. Geoffrey Brooks (South Yorkshire: Frontline Books, 2011).



Figure 2.3. Postcard from Hitler to Kubizek with cover photograph of a segment of the Ringstraße, known as the Franzensring, featuring the Parliament (left) and Burgtheater (right). August Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew*.



Figure 3.1 Photograph of the men's dining room at the Meidling hostel. Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna A Dictator's Apprenticeship*, trans. Thomas Thornton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 153.



## Direktor Weingartner



Figure 4.3. Caricature of Director Weingartner from the *Alldeutsches Tageblatt*, June 20, 1908. Brigitte Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 65.



Figure 4.4. *Death and Life*. Painting by Gustav Klimt, 1910/11. Vienna 1900. Leopold Museum. Vienna, Austria.



Figure 4.5. *Seated Male Nude (Self-Portrait)*. Painting by Egon Schiele, 1910. Vienna 1900. Leopold Museum. Vienna, Austria.

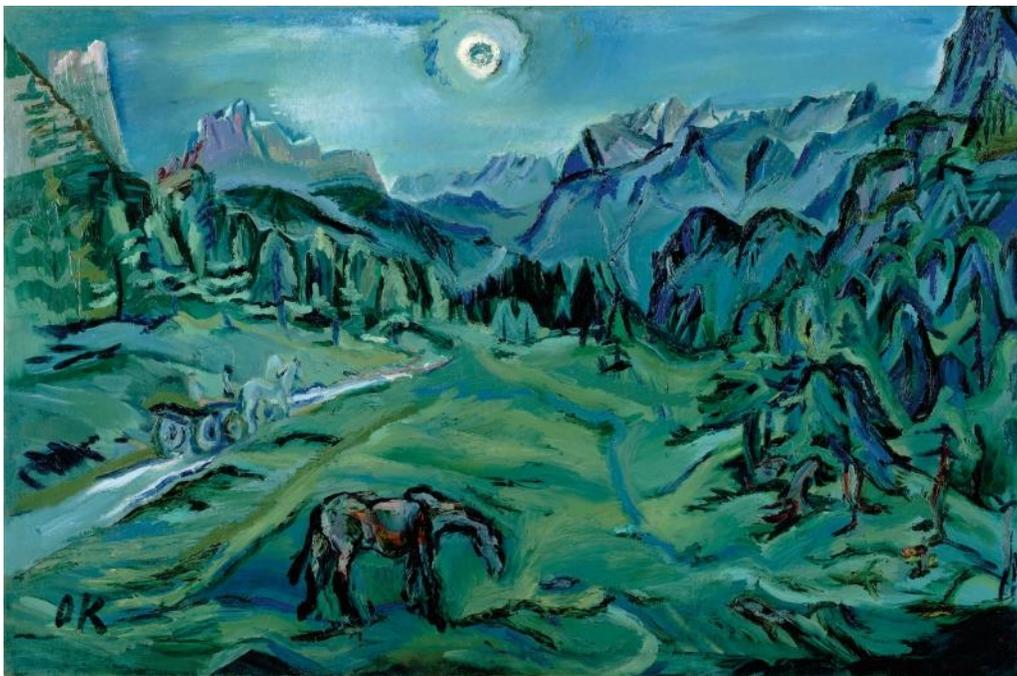


Figure 4.6. *The Croci-Dolomite Landscape*. Painting by Oskar Kokoschka, 1913. Vienna 1900. Leopold Museum. Vienna, Austria.



Figure 4.7. *Vienna New Market*. Watercolor on paper by Adolf Hitler, 1910/12. Deborah Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 7.

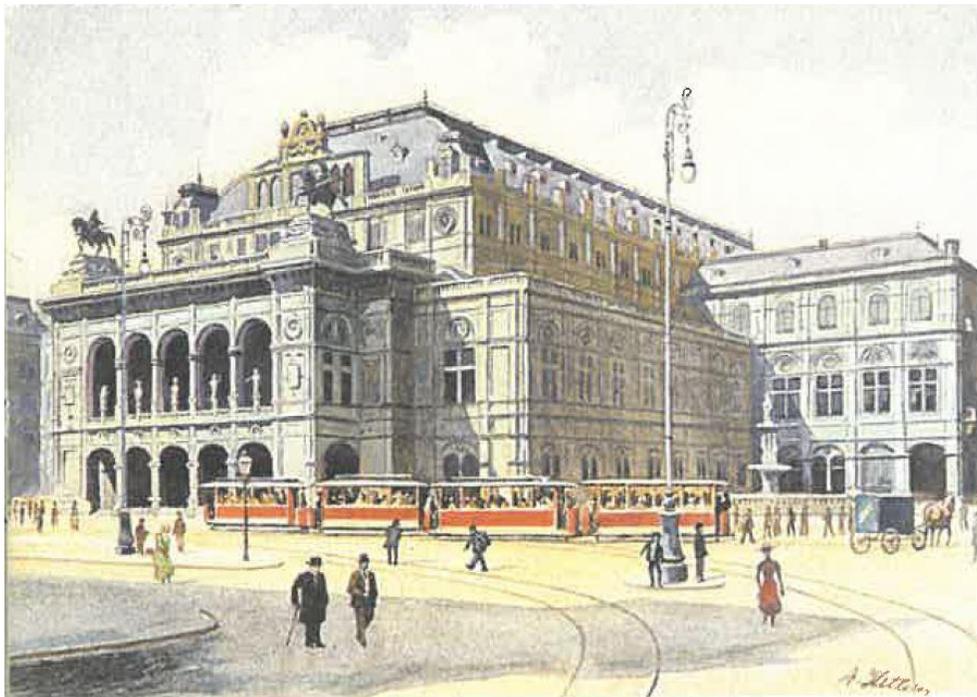


Figure 4.8. *The Opera in Vienna*. Watercolor on paper by Adolf Hitler, 1910/12. Deborah Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 9.

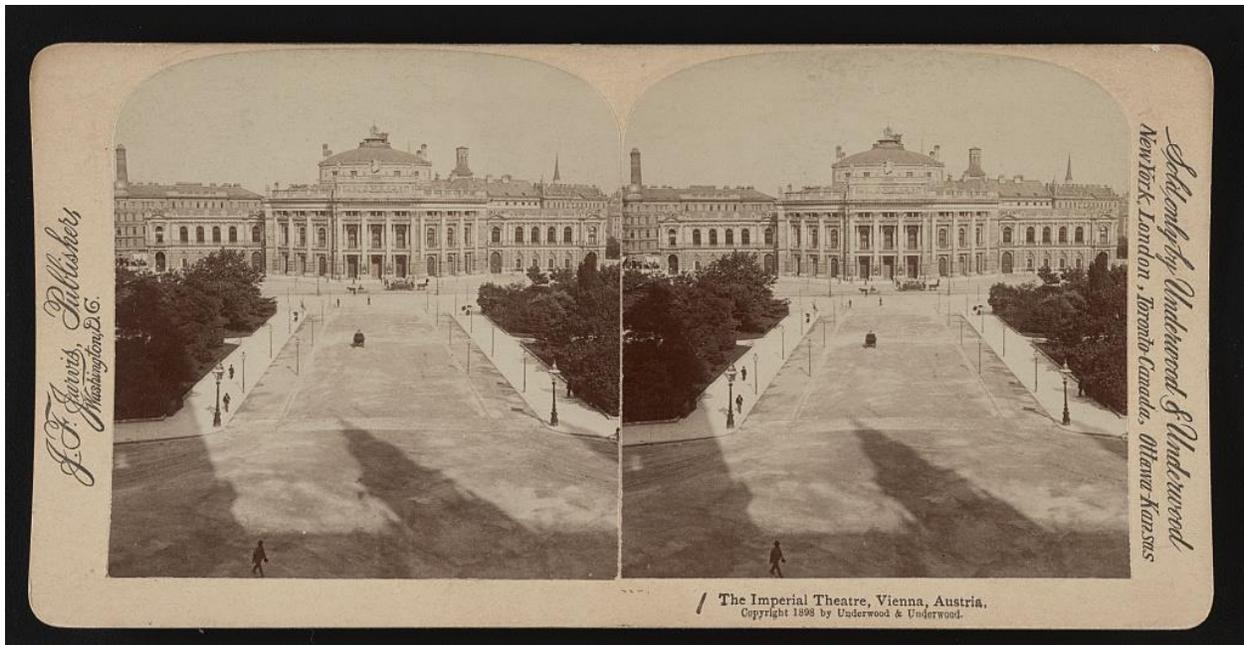


Figure 4.9. *The Imperial Theatre, Vienna, Austria*. Stereograph by Underwood & Underwood, 1898. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Washington, D.C.



Figure 4.10. *Parliament Building*. Stereograph by Keystone View Company, 1926. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Washington, D.C.



Figure 4.11. Poster for Adolf Loos's *My House on the Michaelerplatz*, 1911. Photograph by Madeleine M. Neiman, 2020. Vienna 1900. Leopold Museum. Vienna, Austria.



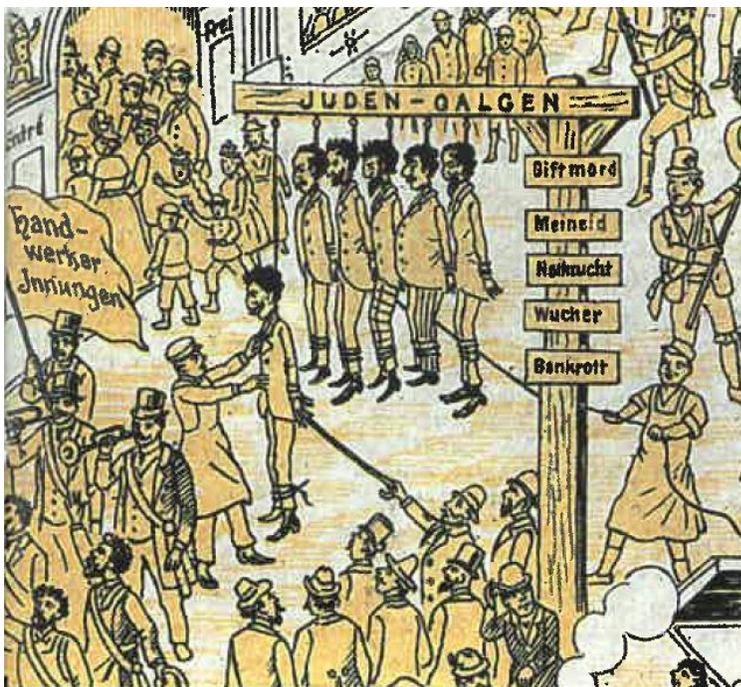
Figure 4.12. Sketch of an eighteenth-century view of the Michaelerplatz with missing Looshaus (left) by Adolf Hitler. Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 163.



Figure 5.1. Photograph of Georg Ritter von Schönerer, c. 1910. Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 238.



Figure 5.2. Photograph of Dr. Karl Lueger. Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 275.



Figures 5.3 and 5.4. *In the 20th Century!* Printed broadsheet by Georg Ritter von Schönerer, 1894 (above). Close-up of the “Jewish-Gallows” (left). Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 2-3.



Figure 5.5. *Protest of the Protestants*: Mayor Lueger spoke of the “inferior” goods – but is it perhaps “superior” goods? Cartoon in *Kikeriki*, c. 1908. Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 18.



Figure 6.1. Poster for the *Alldeutsches Tagblatt*, 1903. Museum of Applied Arts. Vienna, Austria. Europeana.

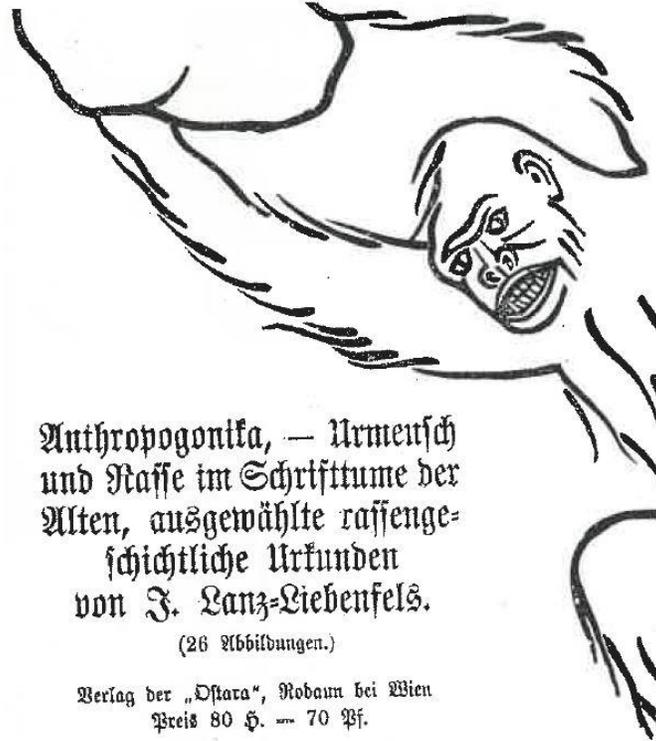


Figure 6.2. *Anthropogony – Primitive Men and Race in Literature of the Ages, Selected Racial History Documents by J. Lanz-Liebenfels.* Cover from an issue of *Ostara*, 1906. Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 13.



Figure 6.3. *Out with Jewish Press – It Poisons the Spirit and Destroys German Thought!* Lithograph postcard, 1910. Rothschild, *Prelude to a Nightmare*, 19.



Figure 7.1. Photograph of Orthodox Jews in Leopoldstadt. Hamann, *Hitler's Vienna*, 333.

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