The First Nazis, 1919 - 1922

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Brandeis University

Department of Comparative History

Rudolph Binion, Advisor

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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February 2010

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This dissertation, directed and approved by Stephen Mook's Committee, has been accepted and approved by the Faculty of Brandeis University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Acknowledgments

One cannot look up close to 3700 early Nazi Party and *Sturmabteilung* members in nearly every published and unpublished biographical source imaginable over the course of fifteen years without racking up some academic debts. Firstly, an inordinate amount of appreciation must be given to my doctoral advisor, Rudolph Binion, who not only invested a great amount of time and patience in this dissertation, but encouraged me to trudge along every step of the way. Credit must also be given to Detlef Mühlberger, who, in addition to providing insightful editorial criticism, helped clue me into some untapped biographical sources and so graciously coded my occupational data into his classification system. Other experts who offered their help along the way were Michael Kater and Paul Madden. Sabine von Mering of Brandeis University helped in some German translations. I am also indebted to Professor Eberhard Jäckel, who mentored me through my archival research in Germany. Of course, none of this would have been possible without some funding: for their financial aid, I am grateful to the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*, the German Historical Institute, and at Brandeis University, the Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry as well as those involved with the Louis, Frances and Jeffrey Sachar Awards, the Sachar Travel Grants, and the Brandeis University Summer Scholarships.

In the archives themselves, I was guided by many helpful individuals. Those most directly involved were: Herr Löffelmeier and Frau Knüttel at the *Stadtarchiv München*, Dr. Tausenpfund and Dr. Bachmann at the *Staatsarchiv München*, Dr. Fuchs and Herr

Tischler at the *Bayerisches Hauptarchiv, Kriegsarchiv*, Frau Schwarz at the *Bayerisches Hauptarchiv*, Herr Fehlauer and Herr Krüger at the *Bundesarchiv Berlin*, Frau Notzke and Frau Waibel at the *Bundesarchiv Freiburg*, the entire archival staff at the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte* in Munich, and Dr. Keller and Niels Cordes at the National Archives II.

No amount of acknowledgment would ever suffice to give thanks to my wife, Heather, who supported and encouraged me over the many years as she witnessed this dissertation evolve. Not only did she endure my endless diatribes about the early (NS)DAP, she put up patiently with my prolonged absences during the lengthy research phase of this dissertation. To her, I am eternally grateful.

Abstract

The First Nazis, 1919 - 1922

A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Brandeis
University, Waltham, Massachusetts

by Stephen A. Mook

This dissertation addresses two contentions about the Nazi Party membership: firstly that members who joined after Hitler took over on 29 July 1921 were different than the original members, and secondly that the Nazi Party membership was made up of a certain type of person or social class. Additionally, through analysis of enrollment patterns and of the reasons stated by 194 early members for joining the Nazi Party, this dissertation seeks to determine why one might join the early Nazi Party.

Using Party membership registers, I employed two different methods to help understand who belonged to the Nazi Party in its earliest days. The first of these is social composition. This method analyzes the entire group to get a sense of the characteristics of members of the early NS(DAP) and the SA. The second method is prosopography. This statistical method breaks down the data from the membership lists into clusters to ascertain the prototypical members. In conjunction, both the methodologies of social composition and the clustering of members bear out the contention that the types of early Party members before Hitler took over were different from the types who joined afterwards. Both methods also refute the theory that the Nazi Party enlisted only a certain

type of person or appealed only to members of a specific social class. In fact, the Nazi Party really was, as it claimed, a *Volkspartei*, a people's party that appealed to a broad range of Germans.

To establish why people joined the early Nazi Party, I first analyzed enrollment patterns. No internal or outside factors seem to explain the spikes in enrollment. Also, answers to the question "What caused you the enter the [Nazi] Party?" discovered in the personnel files of early members were categorized along common themes. The multitude of reasons given for having joined the Nazi Party, despite the pointedness of Nazi propaganda at the time, is further evidence that membership was not due to any single, overriding factor.

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Tables, Charts, and Graphs*

**Charts for each prosopographical prototype within text of Chapter 5 are not listed here.*

Chapter 1: Introduction and Historical Background

The huge Festhalle in Frankfort-on-Main is filled with a noisy crowd of 20,000. Grimy laborers, politically-confident students, Teutonic Babbitts with protruding beer-bellies and egg-like heads, excited women, still more excited girls, old men who have lived in better days, ex-soldiers who survived the mud and stench of the front, youngsters not yet out of their teens,--all are caught in a tremendous wave of enthusiasm. Stunned by the years of economic misery since the war, these people suddenly discover a political Moses to lead them out of the black wilderness. Germany is to be saved! *Deutschland erwache!* Triumph of the Aryan race! Down with the Jews! A united front once more against the French swine! *Heil Hitler!*[1]

Above is one of many indications of who supported Nazism. Unclear to its author in 1932, and still unclear today, is a nagging question: why did they support Nazism? Ever since Nazism became a popular movement, people have been speculating about who the typical Party member was, who voted for Hitler, who backed Hitler financially, who fought for Hitler or served in his protection squad, and why. What follows focuses on two historical debates and presents new primary evidence that helps to determine the reasons why one joined the early Nazi Party. The first of these two debates is over whether the membership of the Nazi Party changed after Hitler took over as Party leader. Without any clear evidence, Joachim Fest contends that the Party members who joined after Hitler took over were different from the earlier members and were primarily ex-military thugs who had no larger goal in life than to recreate the war front on the post-war home front.[2] Is it in fact true that the character of the party membership changed in this or any other way? The second of these historical debates concerns whether the Nazi Party appealed only to a particular sector of society. Many assertions about the social basis of the Nazi Party have been put forth, but the one that clings most tenaciously is the contention that the Nazi Party was a middle-class Party. Was the Nazi Party membership in fact made up

of a particular type of person or a particular social class? More specifically, was it a middle-class party?

To respond to these two debates, I have chosen first to analyze early Nazi Party membership registers. These begin with the very first members of the party, those who joined when the NSDAP (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*) was still simply the DAP (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*). During these early years, the *Alte Kämpfer* ("Old Guard") fought hard for their party and after 29 July 1921 for their single leader, Adolf Hitler. On 29 July 1921, Hitler won the unanimous vote of the party membership to take over as Party Dictator. After this vote, Hitler had full authority over the Nazi Party; he alone had the final say on Party policy and, just as importantly, on who was allowed Party membership. Analysis of the social composition of the Nazi Party members from 1919 to 1922 will include a comparison of the membership before and after Hitler took over.

Was the Nazi Party ever, as its full name suggests, a workers' party? Was it a class party of any kind? Or was it, as the Nazis themselves claimed, a *Volkspartei*, a people's party, drawing support from all sectors of society? Again, analysis of its social composition will show that the Nazi Party membership was not predominantly from any one social class. Additional statistical analysis which allows for the clustering of members into groups with shared biographical traits will show that there was no single prototypical member of the early Nazi Party; rather, there were eight prototypical members. The cluster analysis therefore provides further proof that the Nazi Party was indeed a diverse group.

Lastly, what reasons would one have to join a fledgling political party that had as yet little to distinguish it from other nationalist parties in Bavaria and little prospect of national appeal? Another reason to focus on these early Nazi Party members, those who joined between 1919 and 1922, is that their reasons for joining the party were likely not based in self-interest. As Hitler became more and more popular, and especially in the early 1930s, throngs of Germans climbed onto the Nazi bandwagon. To understand why these later members joined the Nazi Party, one must consider whether they did so because of an actual desire to support Hitler and the Nazis, or opportunistically, especially after Hitler took power in January 1933. As Hitler's hold over Germany strengthened, if one wanted to advance one's career or social standing, it became almost a prerequisite to be a Nazi Party member. Some of these late-joiners must have been motivated by selfish reasons. Between 1919 and 1922, however, being a Nazi Party member did not open any doors. In fact, many suffered a number of material hardships because of their membership in the (NS)DAP. Numbers of early members lost their jobs or hid their political allegiance from their employers to prevent losing their jobs.[3] With seemingly little obvious social advantage to joining the Nazi Party in its early stages, understanding why these early members joined could provide some indication of the root reasons for supporting Nazism or Hitler.

Documentation from early members gives a variety of reasons why members joined. Despite the sharp focus of Hitler's propaganda on the issue of the Jews, however, one can discern no primary motivation to join the Nazi Party. Furthermore, analysis of enrollment patterns shows no direct relationship between outside historical factors or intra-party events and spikes in party enrollment. Just as the social composition of the

Party membership was not easily categorized, the reasons for joining the early Nazi Party were multifaceted as well. Unlike other political parties at the time, the (NS)DAP did not appeal primarily to a certain type of person.[4] The makeup of its membership was broad and the reasons for joining were just as broad.

"Before Hitler Came"

Published in 1933, Rudolf von Sebottendorff's tract, *Bevor Hitler kam*, outlines the role that the Thule Society played in the founding of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (DAP). The Thule Society, led by Sebottendorff, was a small group of well-educated racists and nationalists with friends or members in high places in society, in the military, and in industry. The Thule Society generally supported murky doings for the nationalist cause, and was indeed an important player in the early history of the DAP. In fact, the Thule Society originally purchased the newspaper the *Münchener Beobachter*, which the NSDAP acquired in December 1920 and renamed the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Seemingly, the Thule Society had its hands in many of the nationalist actions of the day. Furthermore, it had a considerable number of powerful members. Both Julius Lehmann and Dietrich Eckart gave the ideas of the Thule Society more credence through their literary efforts; Lehmann was a famous nationalist with a large publishing house, and Eckart was a man of letters known mainly for his German translation of *Peer Gynt*. Add Gottfried Feder, Rudolf Hess, Alfred Rosenberg, Hans Frank, Franz Dannehl (a prominent *völkisch* leader and, in the 1930s, head of the Thule Society), Wilhelm LaForce (a prominent SA leader), Franz Ritter von Epp, and Karl Harrer, as well as many others,

and it is clear that the cross-over between Thule Society members and early DAP members was significant.[5]

The beginnings of the DAP were certainly more intricate than Hitler's own description would suggest. In fact, it was Karl Harrer who recruited Drexler into the as yet unformed *Politischer Arbeiterzirkel* (Political Workers' Circle). Harrer and Drexler would seem like strange bedfellows. Harrer was a club-footed sportswriter for the rightist *Münchner-Augsburger Abendzeitung* and Drexler was a locksmith who, found to be physically unfit for the army, had been active politically during the war and had established a "Workers' Committee for a Good Peace" in 1918. Harrer was encouraged by the Thule Society, most likely directly by Sebottendorff, to form an alliance with the working class.[6] His commanded effort of spreading the ideas of the Thule Society among the German working class was largely unsuccessful. Drexler was Harrer's best find, but Drexler fell far short of the ideal representative of the working-classes.

Although the Thule Society spearheaded the *Politischer Arbeiterzirkel*, Drexler quickly grew weary of the small focus of the group. He and a handful of other members met on occasion for a year before Drexler proposed forming a political party. On 5 January 1919, with a group of twenty-four present ("mainly railway workers") at the *Fürstenfelder Hof* in Munich, the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* was born.[7] Drexler was elected Chairman of the Munich branch and Harrer was awarded the title of Reich Chairman, a lofty title given the meager beginnings of the group. Although Drexler was keen on developing the DAP into a mass party, attendance initially was low: ten were present on 17 May 1919, thirty-eight in August 1919, and forty-one when Hitler visited for the first time on 12 September 1919.[8] The earliest official record of DAP members is from

December 1919 and lists 191 members. It is probable then that these paltry numbers from the summer of 1919 represented close to the entire membership at the time.

The political climate in Bavaria and especially Munich was extremely unstable in the months after the November Revolution in 1918. Bavaria became a battleground as Communist and right-wing *Freikorps* (Free Corps) factions waged street battles for control of the Bavarian government. Drexler, in fact, was fortunate to have avoided the very incident that swung the political pendulum permanently against the socialists: the murder of eight "counter-revolutionaries" including seven Thule Society members by the Communist government on 30 April 1919. The DAP grew very slowly, and exactly how much it was supported by the Thule Society other than financially is unclear. At the time of his visit on 12 September 1919 to scope out the DAP on orders from the *Reichswehr*, Hitler was under Captain Karl Mayr, who in turn reported to Franz Ritter von Epp.[9] Epp, an extreme nationalist who commanded various *Freikorps* battalions, was himself a member of the Thule Society.

On the face of it, it would seem strange that Epp, a Thule Society member, had commanded Mayr to snoop on the DAP, since the DAP was the brainchild of the Thule Society in the first place. However, the *Reichswehr* was busy keeping tabs on just about every political group in the Weimar period, so it was in fact unremarkable that Hitler should have visited the DAP in September 1919. When Hitler did drop in on the DAP, he was dismayed by what confronted him. Some of his own embellished account of the scene in *Mein Kampf* is no doubt accurate. He was appalled to find that the group met in back rooms of dingy pubs, that the executive committee made up almost the entire membership, that the group had no headquarters, no bureaucratic forms of any kind, and

no publicity save for handwritten or typed invitations to meetings.[10] During the open session of that meeting, Hitler spoke forcefully from the floor. While Hitler saw the DAP as somewhat depressing, Drexler was impressed and, according to Hitler, forced his tract "My Political Awakening" into Hitler's hand, hoping that he might consider joining the party.

Hitler did not expect to receive a card in the mail informing him that he had been accepted into the DAP.[11] Hitler claimed that "what they asked of [him] was presumptuous and out of the question," and that only after another visit to a yet again disheartening meeting of the DAP and "two days of agonized pondering and reflection" did he join the DAP.[12] It is likely that he was encouraged to play a larger role in the Party by Mayr. Certainly Mayr did not disallow Hitler's joining, although by *Reichswehr* regulations it was not permitted. Mayr claimed in his somewhat inflammatory and sometimes dubious words, however, that he was ordered by Ludendorff (also a member of the Thule Society) to allow Hitler to join the DAP.[13] Why Ludendorff, Germany's *de facto* military dictator during the latter half of World War I and the idol of the extreme right, would get involved is never explained. Mayr also claims that Hitler was given a small amount of money (presumably from the Reichswehr) to help foster its growth.[14] Whether Hitler was ordered by Mayr to join the DAP or whether he chose to accept the membership offered to him by Drexler, "there was no turning back" once he became a member of the DAP.[15]

After Hitler Came

There was certainly no indication when Hitler first visited the DAP that it would play such an important role in history. What he considered *Vereinsmeierei* (small-town club business) was the very center of the DAP's appeal to Hitler, who clearly did not have the organizational wherewithal to begin his own political party. What Hitler first saw in this small group, established on 5 January 1919 by Anton Drexler and Karl Harrer was a group that lacked vision, a "ridiculous little creation", where he could bring about some change.[16]

Hoping to spur that change, Hitler accepted membership into the struggling DAP, but not as the seventh member as he claimed in *Mein Kampf*; rather he was the seventh member of either the DAP's executive committee or of the *Arbeiterzirkel*, Harrer's and Drexler's initial outfit, which survived the official founding of the DAP. Hitler's official party number was 555; this would suggest quite a large number of members, but the first official party census in January 1920 actually started alphabetically with number 501. That he later erased the number 555 on his NSDAP membership card and inserted the number 7 to try to live up to his claims in *Mein Kampf* did not go over well with an incensed Drexler. In a letter to Hitler of January 1940 that he never actually sent because he was waiting for the war to be over to deliver it personally, Drexler explains his frustration with Hitler.[17] Furthermore, it should not be assumed that Hitler was the 55th member of the party, since the party census listed the first 168 members alphabetically. Despite a plethora of membership records and meeting minutes of the DAP, there is no sure way of knowing which members officially joined before Hitler.

Once on board, Hitler moved fast to oust those who stood in his way. In this period, Hitler's major political rival was Harrer. In December 1919, Hitler saw to it that

the DAP's executive committee, which was organized as a "normal parliamentary body," was given full powers and that any "'side government' by a 'circle or lodge'" would be banned.[18] Harrer, who envisioned the DAP as a small club and not as a mass movement, left the DAP forever in January of 1920. With the first Party census not conducted until early 1920, it is safe to conjecture that Harrer left before the issuance of official membership cards; this would explain his absence from the *Mitkämpfer* list, but not his absence from earlier lists.[19] Harrer's resignation was not only Hitler's doing. Further, Harrer probably did not leave just because of a disagreement about the goal of the party; indeed, many similar groups found compromise by having a small committee leadership meet with frequency and still hold larger gatherings for bigger occasions.[20] Harrer, seemingly alone in his determination to keep the group small, was simply losing his pull. Even Drexler opposed Harrer's view of the party and its place in the Bavarian political landscape. The DAP needed to distinguish itself from other nationalist parties; it could not, as Hitler would later say, become a "tea club."[21] In December 1919, therefore, Drexler and Hitler drafted policy that called for the end of the *Arbeiterzirkel* and for investing the DAP's executive committee with full authority based on the Party program. Of course, the DAP did not yet have a program, but the acceptance of this new regulation helped to change the DAP from a small club to a party seeking mass support[22] and political power.[23]

With Harrer gone, Drexler became Chairman of the DAP's executive committee. By early 1920, the DAP was still largely an assemblage of Drexler's comrades and some of Hitler's war buddies. Even though Harrer had left, based on the policy laid out by Drexler and Hitler, the DAP continued to decide policy and actions based on the

democratic desires of its members. Hitler may have had plans to increase the effectiveness of the party by ridding it of its democratic methods, but the DAP saw no reason at this time to change its organizational approach.[24] Despite Hitler's protestations, the executive committee of the DAP remained steadfast. His organizational ideas rebuffed, Hitler nonetheless carried on and focused his energy on his real talents: speaking and propaganda.

Even while Harrer was still DAP Chairman, Hitler's and Drexler's push for mass meetings led to better propaganda efforts. For their 16 October 1919 meeting, the DAP took out an advertisement in the *Münchener Beobachter*. For this gathering of 131 people, Hitler spoke ten minutes over his allotted twenty minutes – according to Hitler, his first public audience.[25] Hitler had the luxury of being paid for his political work; he was not officially discharged from the army until 31 March 1920, and although he did not draw a salary from the Party, he earned money for his speaking engagements. Unlike his fellow DAP leaders, he could devote his energies full-time to the party. Based on his success in October, he kept pressing to have more gatherings in larger venues. He lined up seven meetings that were held over a period of just a few weeks at both the *Eberlbräukeller* and the *Gasthaus zum Deutschen Reich*; by the last of these meetings, according to Hitler, he was speaking to over four hundred people.[26]

Intoxicated by the success of the these meetings, Hitler proposed, in his typical 'all or nothing' fashion, to put on the first major mass meeting of the DAP in January of 1920 at the *Bürgerbräukeller*. Of course, this type of decision was not for Hitler alone to make. Yet none of those on the DAP's working committee appear to have opposed it except, of course, Harrer, who had not yet resigned from the Party.[27] Because of a

temporary ban on public gatherings at the time, the DAP rescheduled for 24 February 1920 at the *Hofbräuhaus*. Renting out the *Festsaal* of the *Hofbräuhaus* was indeed ambitious for such a small group. Now that the event was booked, it seemed obvious that what the DAP needed was to produce a more coherent political stance. The *Arbeiterzirkel* had already set out to resolve this issue as early as May 1919 by working on a political platform. This platform was still in limbo until Drexler prepared a new draft that was ready in December. With Harrer out of the picture a month later, Hitler and Drexler set about hammering out what would become the Twenty-Five Points of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP), as the DAP began to call itself the following March.[28]

From the contents of the Twenty-Five Points, one would not think that the NSDAP's goal was to distinguish itself. Most of its program matched almost verbatim the political ideas of other nationalist and anti-Semitic groups of the time; only Gottfried Feder's ideas on the "breaking of interest slavery" differed.[29] Indeed, there was little politically about the (NS)DAP to distinguish it from the over seventy *völkisch* groups in Germany in late 1919, or the fifteen in Munich alone by 1920.[30] To be successful on 24 February, the (NS)DAP needed to stand out.

To help drum up a crowd at the *Hofbräuhaus* to hear the message of the (NS)DAP, lots of effort went into publicizing the event. The Party worked hard to make sure they had a good crowd. Since Drexler and Hitler were still public nonentities, Dr. Johannes Dingfelder, a nationalist economist who published under the pseudonym "Germanus Agricola", was hired to be the main speaker.[31] Dingfelder, however, was only approached by Drexler and Rudolf Schüssler, the DAP's new Party Secretary, on 20

February.[32] Nowhere did it indicate that Hitler was actually to speak, or that the party would be unveiling its political platform. But the publicity paid off. By the time Hitler arrived, the hall was full with around 2000 people.[33]

Upon Dingfelder's arrival, he learned that there were four hundred Reds in attendance and that Drexler had suffered a nervous breakdown and would not chair the event.[34] Playing it safe, Dingfelder delivered an unobjectionable speech and even thanked the audience for not interrupting.[35] After Dingfelder's talk, Hitler took the floor. In contrast to Dingfelder's speech, which blamed the decline of the Fatherland on the loosening of the moral and religious fiber, Hitler railed against local capitalists and the national figures involved in the 1918 Armistice and the Versailles Treaty. Even more vehemently, Hitler assailed the Jews and Jewish profiteers. His words were met with wild enthusiasm and equally wild opposition.[36] Although it would ordinarily have been Drexler's duty to deliver the NSDAP's party program, because of Drexler's condition, Hitler presented NSDAP program's Twenty-Five Points line by line. Hitler could not be heard above the yelling and fighting as leftist opponents left the hall with jeers and loud shouts against German nationalists.[37] Hitler claimed in *Mein Kampf* that he stood before an utterly enraptured audience.[38] In truth, it was hardly a scene of concord.

Again contradicting Hitler's own version of events, the NSDAP's first mass meeting drew small notice from the local press. Hitler received little mention, and most of the coverage dealt with Dingfelder's speech. As for Hitler, the *Münchener Beobachter* said only, "Herr Hitler (DAP) presented some striking political points which evoked spirited applause, but also roused the numerous already prejudiced opponents present to contradiction; and he gave a survey of the party's program, which in its basic features

comes close to that of the *Deutschsozialistische Partei*."[39] The accolades were hardly forthcoming, but Hitler never intended a political discussion. His goal was to promote the Party, not to debate fine political points. Even the *Münchener Beobachter* acknowledged the general lack of political distinction between the NSDAP and other, more established groups. What was new was how the NSDAP, with Hitler at the propaganda helm, chose to deliver its message.

Hitler's tireless propaganda caused him more and more to be the voicebox of the NSDAP. Hitler engineered Party events to draw attention; it did not matter to him how the NSDAP was portrayed, it only mattered that "they mention us, that they concern themselves with us again and again…"[40] Using red, the traditional color of the left, for the background of the Party banner drew attention from political enemies. Hitler's explosive oratory and willingness to take on the enemy ensured that NSDAP meetings would never be like the one he first stepped into only half a year earlier. Already by mid-1920, a *Saalschutz* (hall protection squad) was on hand to come to the aid of NSDAP members. While its name would indicate that the *Saalschutz* was only for defense, Nazi lore told of how its members were quick to "protect" Hitler or other Nazi members. The *Saalschutz* was the first extra-party agency and the precursor of the *Stoßtruppe Adolf Hitler* and of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), which was founded by the summer of 1921.

The (NS)DAP did not grow just because of Hitler's efforts. In fact, patrons of the salons of high society, as well as the police and the military, all helped ease its way. At this time, Hitler's main inroad to the upper classes was Dietrich Eckart, with whom Hitler was initially quite enamored. Well-known and well-off financially, Eckart had become a common sight in nationalist circles.[41] Franz Ritter von Epp, a colonel in the *Reichswehr*,

and his chief of staff, Captain Ernst Röhm, were also early supporters of the (NS)DAP. Röhm had in fact joined the DAP after hearing Hitler first address the party on 16 October 1919 and was NSDAP member 623. More than any individual in the early years of the (NS)DAP, Röhm gave the Party valuable military and financial connections. Röhm was the *Reichswehr* officer responsible for arming the civil defense units (*Einwohnerwehr*); these units took the place of a standing military force, which was disallowed as part of the World War I peace agreement. He was vital in arming the SA as it became a larger and more prominent organization.[42] Perhaps the greatest help was Ernst Pöhner, the Munich Chief of Police, who died in 1925. Pöhner's contribution was the tacit permission he allowed Hitler and the Nazis in conducting their affairs. While Epp helped enable the NSDAP to purchase the *Völkischer Beobachter* and Röhm helped supply the NSDAP with more members and more munitions, Pöhner sided with nationalist groups when there were violent political disruptions between extremist parties. Had the political climate not so favored the nationalist right, the (NS)DAP would probably have experienced more significant limitations on its growth; Pöhner was instrumental in creating an open atmosphere for the (NS)DAP's illegal actions.

As the (NS)DAP grew, its leaders faced the difficult task of coping with an expanding base over which they had less and less power. While the Party was still centered in Munich, by 1921 the NSDAP had established several other new chapters (*Ortsgruppen*). Already by March of 1920, Rosenheim had become the (NS)DAP's second chapter, and by early 1921 it had already established several others in southern Bavaria. Its expansion led to the increasing slippage of power from the old party members. The normal course of action for the establishment of a new chapter began with

a member of the party visiting interested potential charter members. In these early years of the (NS)DAP, the visiting member was usually either Hitler or Hermann Esser. Esser, one of Hitler's early cronies, like Hitler, was a very influential speaker. As the party expanded into new territory, it was Hitler's inner circle, therefore, that was the first face of the party and, in the public's eyes, the (NS)DAP's real leadership.

At the same time, Hitler continued to electrify large audiences. He also continued to be everywhere. In addition to speaking in the small, internal meetings, Hitler had addressed over thirty mass gatherings by the end of 1920.[43] His constant efforts certainly impacted the party's membership. In a year, party membership had grown almost tenfold: from 208 by the end of 1919 to 1977 members by the end of 1920.[44] Although asked to be Chairman a number of times, Hitler always refused.[45] With no head for bureaucratic details, Hitler was more comfortable directing the Party through his propaganda efforts.

Hitler opportunistically jumped at a last-minute chance to book the *Circus Krone* on 3 February 1921. He rightly guessed that the charged political atmosphere stemming from the Paris Peace Conference, which had begun on January 24th, would overcome the lack of advance publicity. Again, the (NS)DAP dove headfirst into the possibility of a large, empty hall. Before the largest audience to date for Hitler or the (NS)DAP, Hitler spoke to 6,000 on the injustice (the "slavery") of the war reparations and condemned Germany's government for agreeing to them.[46] With his success at the *Circus Krone* and despite a less enthusiastic crowd of 20,000 outdoors at the Odeonsplatz as the third speaker, Hitler's star continued to rise. So did his propaganda output. Between January and June of 1921, he spoke at forty major party gatherings within Bavaria and wrote thirty-nine articles for the *Völkischer Beobachter*.[47]

From day one, Hitler was rarely willing to team up against a common foe, and as the (NS)DAP grew in membership and importance, Hitler became even more steadfastly opposed to working with other political parties. Despite Hitler's outlook, already by the summer of 1920, talks of mergers with similar groups were initiated by other Party leaders. At an August meeting in Salzburg, it was proposed that the like-minded *Deutschsozialistische Partei* (DSP) and the NSDAP join forces. At the time, the DSP was far more prominent, and the NSDAP's leadership saw Hitler as mainly a Bavarian phenomenon whose power would decline if deprived of its local base. The NSDAP, which was still only Munich-centered and still quite small, had much to gain by joining forces with the DSP, a national party with a stronghold in northern Germany. The DSP continued to make offers until the spring of 1921. By March, Drexler was ready to commit to a merger. At a meeting in Zeitz (Thuringia), Drexler agreed to start talks regarding a merger and even to move the Party headquarters to Berlin.[48] "Hitler responded with fury to Drexler's concessions, threatened to resign from the party, and succeeded 'amid unbelievable anger' in reversing the agreement reached at Zeitz."[49] By mid-April, back on his home turf in Munich, Hitler caused all negotiations between the NSDAP and the DSP to fail. Despite Hitler's claims that the DSP did not have solid local branches, that it was "everywhere and nowhere", and that it was not a revolutionary movement, he did not win over the entire NSDAP membership against the merger.[50] Not all of the Party members agreed with his singular focus on propaganda, and to some, his objections to a merger were seen as a thinly veiled effort to hide his own concern over losing power within the party.

The failure of the NSDAP and the DSP to merge in the spring of 1921 set the stage for the crisis of the Party in July of that same year. Despite the complaints of a few members, Hitler knew that the NSDAP as a whole needed him. By threatening to leave the Party, Hitler had shown, but not yet played, his trump card. The breakdown of merger talks exposed the differences of opinion between Hitler and the executive committee, the actual governing body of the NSDAP, about how to continue to expand its membership base. A majority of the executive committee opposed Hitler's propaganda-only approach.[51] Gottfried Feder, who only two years earlier had found Hitler so enlightening, protested his use of crude propaganda and Drexler's kowtowing to him.[52] Drexler continued, however, to side with Hitler.

The disagreements within the Party in the spring of 1921 only foreshadowed the real crisis about to take place. Dr. Otto Dickel, the founder of the *Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft* in Augsburg, was asked to speak at the *Festsaal* of the *Hofbräuhaus*. Dickel had made a name for himself within nationalist and *völkisch* circles as a mystical philosopher and author, and although many of Dickel's ideas were similar to those of the (NS)DAP (and the DSP for that matter), Dickel's beliefs had met with Hitler's disdain.[53] The *Völkischer Beobachter*, however, had praised Dickel's new book, *The Resurrection of the Western World*. Dickel's talk was a success, and the leadership of the NSDAP had found another 'outstanding speaker with a popular touch'.[54]

At the time of Dickel's successful entrance into Munich politics, Hitler was in fact in Berlin with Dietrich Eckart drumming up financial support for the party.[55] He did not return to Bavaria until 11 July. He had already missed a meeting with a DSP representative on 1 July; only after he became aware that the NSDAP had scheduled talks

with Dickel and the Augsburg and Nuremberg branches of the *Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft* did Hitler rush home.[56] Before NSDAP delegates could arrive, Hitler unleashed his considerable anger upon the Augsburg and Nuremberg representatives and insisted that he would prevent any mergers. When the NSDAP delegates did arrive, however, Hitler initially sat in brooding silence. Once Dickel began speaking and over the course of the next three hours, Hitler often interrupted. After three hours of Dickel recommending that the NSDAP update its party program and create a confederation of similarly-minded political groups, Hitler got fed up and stormed out of the meeting.[57] Rather than side with their flustered propagandist, the NSDAP delegates were in fact extremely embarrassed by Hitler's behavior and bad form; furthermore, Dickel's suggestions struck a responsive chord.[58] It was agreed that Dickel's proposals would be presented to the entire executive committee.[59]

To Hitler, the NSDAP was trying to reduce his power and was leaving the Party and its program in bad hands. Based on his childish behavior, both in April and July, the majority of the executive committee was no doubt feeling that the NSDAP would be better off without him. The most obvious means to expand the party was to reduce the redundancy of the many nationalist and *völkisch* inspired parties and agree to work as a unit. Hitler, as was typical for him throughout his life, looked at the situation as an 'all or nothing' option; either the Party would decide in his favor or he would quit the NSDAP. Disgusted by what he viewed as the transparent machinations of the NSDAP's old guard to diminish his role as head rabble-rouser and propaganda leader, Hitler finally played his trump card and withdrew from the Party on 12 July. It was a trump card he had played

before when he withdrew from the Party's executive committee back in December 1920, and he had also threatened to resign after the Zeitz conference.[60]

Hitler drafted a letter to the executive committee of the NSDAP in which he accused it of misleading the Party by handing it over to a man "whose ideas were incompatible with those of the NSDAP."[61] Hitler also dictated the concessions it would take for him to remain in the party. At the same time, he drew up a blueprint for the power structure within the NSDAP and his own place within it. He demanded that he be First Chairman with dictatorial powers; in turn he was to oversee a three-person *Aktionsausschuss* which was to decide basic policy. Additionally, party headquarters were to remain in Munich and all merger attempts would cease.[62] Further, Hitler required that all members of the party adhere to this structure or withdraw.[63] Hitler's opponents in the NSDAP reacted poorly to his unexpected withdrawal. One result was a rather inept political tract by some of the members of the party leadership intent on ruining Hitler's reputation.[64] This pamphlet, entitled "Adolf Hitler, Verräter?" ("Adolf Hitler, Traitor?"), quite rightly alleged that Hitler wanted to be a dictator over the Party and that his lifestyle was Bohemian; it also falsely accused Hitler of being the puppet of Jewish profiteers and a monarchist.[65] The mixed bag therefore read like a slander piece written by Hitler's political enemies.[66]

In response to Hitler's demands, only one day later the NSDAP leadership completely folded; their only victory was in delaying Hitler's proposed voting date from 20 July to 29 July. The most likely reason for its utter capitulation was that Anton Drexler, one of the two original founders of the DAP, understood that the Nazi Party would never be a mass political party without Hitler. Drexler could see that the

factionalism within the NSDAP would result in a fractured party if the executive committee stuck to its guns and decided to throw in their lot with Dickel. Once it was clear that Drexler was taking Hitler's side, Hitler's party enemies knew their cause was lost. Hitler rejoined the party on 26 July 1921. In minor retaliation for Hitler's effrontery, Hermann Esser and Oskar Körner, two Hitler cronies, were expelled from the party.[67]

Hitler had essentially already defeated his party enemies before 29 July 1921. He had already spoken to a packed hall at the *Circus Krone* on 20 July, and at the extraordinary members' meeting in the *Festsaal* of the *Hofbräuhaus* on 29 July, he defended his actions and those of Esser and Körner.[68] After making his case, he was unanimously awarded dictatorial powers over and within the Nazi Party and was elected chairman by a vote of 553 to 1.[69] Henceforth, the NSDAP was officially Hitler's party. Legally, however, the Party was obligated to elect a governing body, and Hitler's structure was put into place. The three members of the action committee were appointed by Hitler, but the committee was essentially meaningless. However, six subcommittees were implemented to decide party policy. The chairmen of these committees (propaganda, finance, youth organization, sports and athletics, investigation, and mediation) were all appointed by Hitler except the mediation subcommittee, which Drexler headed up.[70] While the chairmen of five of these committees were left to decide their members, Hitler took the opportunity to appoint all of the members of the investigation subcommittee.[71]

Of the old guard of the (NS)DAP, only Drexler was left with any real power. As honorary chairman of the NSDAP for life, Drexler had the power to call a special Party meeting should the First Chairman overstep his authority.[72] No doubt Hitler was repaying

Drexler for helping him achieve his position. Furthermore, Drexler was a good choice for the Chairman of the mediation subcommittee; always concerned about party unity, Drexler had showed in the past that he was willing to do much to keep the party intact.

That Hitler focused on the investigation subcommittee was no accident. This subcommittee was the party's policing agent and was ultimately responsible for accepting or rejecting new membership applications or expelling current members. Having stacked the investigation subcommittee, Hitler now had the power to mold the NSDAP in his liking. With his hands in all the right cookie jars and with his dictatorial powers secured, Hitler took over a promising political party which at this time boasted 3207 members.[73] After 29 July 1921, the Nazi Party truly became Hitler's party.

Party Dictator

Hitler got to work busily turning his blueprint for power into a reality. The new subcommittees began to grow their own agencies. The sports and athletics subcommittee soon became the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) and boasted 239 members in October, only three months later. The finance committee was assigned to Max Amann, who had served as a Sergeant in Hitler's regiment in World War I. Amann was not even a Party member at the time he was given his new role, but he quickly grew the Party's bureaucracy.[74] By November of 1921, the Party moved into its newer and larger offices at Corneliusstraße 12, the site of a former restaurant. Hitler's plan to expand the Party was coming to fruition.

Although he spearheaded the expansion of the Party bureaucracy to one capable of handling the demands of a growing political party, Hitler was oddly quiet in the

months after the 29 July meeting. In the immediate aftermath, he enacted no new general orders and made no attempts to discipline or tighten up the Party.[75] There were meetings of the Munich branches of the Party in mid-August to inform the membership of the new organizational changes, but Hitler did not himself speak until a week later.[76] The goal of these meetings was seemingly to shore up the approval of the new Party leadership; given the lack of disapproval, it would seem that Hitler and his guest speakers had quieted any discontent within the Munich branches of the Party.

It was not until mid-September that Hitler issued his first command. Always concerned about propaganda and branding, Hitler ordered Party locals to obtain the proper Party flags and insignia. Additionally, locals should submit to Party headquarters "all resolutions passed by [them] and inform the party leadership of the names of members serving on local committees."[77] The Party chapters were in no hurry to comply. Connections between Party headquarters and the locals outside of Munich were never tight; it took time to tighten up the NSDAP's loose structure. By the end of the year, the locals were still acting with a high degree of independence.[78] Locals would remain relatively autonomous until 30 January 1922. That evening, party bylaws were amended to allow the expulsion of entire party locals, not just members, by the Party's first chairman, Hitler.[79] From then on, the Party became slowly more centralized and party locals found their freedom diminished. Membership expanded quickly between 1922 and late 1923, especially after the Ruhr crisis. Moreover, these newer members seemed to believe that Hitler was the NSDAP; the old structure of a loose union of Party locals here and there was fading.

Hitler was not just shoring up the Party. He was also busy expanding the Party's impact through its *Sturmabteilung*, which was announced through the *Völkischer Beobachter* in mid-August.[80] By 25 October 1921, the first SA squadron led Emil Maurice boasted some 239 members, of which 105 were also Party members. The members of this nascent paramilitary band were bolstered significantly by bringing in a number of men from the *Ehrhardt Brigade*, a *Freikorps* group that had seen lots of action in only a few short years.[81] Organizationally, SA units were matched up with Party locals; unlike other political parties at the time, the NSDAP was never too distanced from its own paramilitary wing. The connection between the Party and its paramilitary off-shoot was maintained in these very early years; tension between the two would mount, however, as both the Party and the SA swelled with new members in the late 1920s.

Meanwhile, Hitler was creating chaos on the Bavarian political scene. In September, he and several members of the Party's Sports Section intruded on a gathering of the *Bayernbund*, a political rival. A fight ensued and Otto Ballerstedt, the *Bayernbund*'s founder, was wounded. He pressed charges, and Hitler served a little over a month of a three-month prison sentence.[82] Hitler also planned several other disruptions of the meetings of his political opponents in the latter half of 1921; these included a Social Democratic meeting in October led by Erhard Auer. Additionally, there was chaos on the streets; Nazis and SA members were constantly engaging in fisticuffs with political opponents and generally causing politically-inspired mayhem. The same day that Hitler was imprisoned, 24 June 1922, foreign minister Walter Rathenau was assassinated. Confidence in the German economy sank. On the eve of Rathenau's murder, 350 German marks were valued at one American dollar; by the end of the day of his murder, it rose to

670 marks.[83] The value of the mark plummeted quickly from then on out; from 50,000 marks to one American dollar by the end of January 1923, to 1 million marks in August of the same year, to a ridiculous 4.2 trillion marks on 16 November 1923.[84] The instability of the economy spurred instability in all aspects of society.

All the while, the Nazi Party continued to take in members. By late September 1922, the Party had at least some 7200 members.[85] Nazi lore had also begun to take hold. In November 1921, the NSDAP held a gathering at the Hofbräuhaus at which Hitler and his SA were attacked by leftist opponents; the newly formed SA stood firm even though it was outnumbered. This was the meeting that Hitler heralded in *Mein Kampf* as the 'Baptism of Fire' for the nascent SA. Less than a year later, the Nazis achieved an even greater success at the Coburg German Day celebration. After arriving by train, Hitler and 800 SA men marched through the town on 14 October. On their march, they were spat on and harassed by working-class hecklers. A full-scale melee ensued and the Nazis came out on top.[86] The taking of the hostile town marked another in a series of myth-building events for Hitler, the Nazis, and the SA. In fact, it became enough of a watershed moment in Nazi lore that those who participated in the *Coburger Tag* received special recognition from the Nazi Party.

Not even myth-building defeats of working-class enemies in Coburg could quite match what happened only a few days later to boost membership. Julius Streicher, a formidable force on the nationalist scene and a rabid anti-Semite, handed his entire following from the *Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft* over to the NSDAP; the "transfer took place on 20 October."[87] This sizable attainment was made possible by a falling out between Streicher and Dr. Dickel, the same Dickel of all the NSDAP merger talks back

in July of 1921. This gift from Streicher boosted membership perhaps nearly two-fold and it gave the NSDAP a strong base of followers outside of Munich.[88] Political power on the national stage could be within Hitler's grasp. With an ever-expanding Party base, a national economy that was sinking fast, and a loyal group of paramilitary thugs helping to intrude on the gatherings of others and to protect their leader, Hitler and the Nazi Party were on their way to being a force to contend with in the national political arena.

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[1] Louis Leo Snyder (pseudonym: Nordicus), *Hitlerism: The Iron Fist in Germany* (USA: Van Rees Press, 1932), 1.
[2] Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 144.
[3] See the personnel file of Thomas Rietzler at the *Stadtarchiv München* #19364; Rietzler explains the difficulty of both supporting the NS(DAP) in the early years and working on the police force. Rietzler claims that he acted as an inside agent on behalf of the Party. See also Hermann Anton's file, 3500xxxxxx (2 Aktz.P. 4600), which details how Anton lost his job twice because of his party affiliation in the early days of the party. As well, see the write-up of Josef Dirscherl as the Cluster post-E representative in Chapter 5. Correspondence to the party headquarters in the personal files of old members often speak of the financial burdens they bore to remain members in good standing.
[4] By contrast, the membership of both the Communist Party and the Social Democrats was over 80% working class. Richard Hunt, *German Social Democracy 1918 - 1933* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 104.
[5] See Rudolf Sebottendorff, *Bevor Hitler kam* (München: Grassinger, 1933), 221-264 for a listing of all members and guests of the Thule Society. At a minimum, 28 Thule Society members were also early (NS)DAP members. Given the small membership of the Thule Society (220 members) as stated by Sebottendorff this cross-over is substantial. Interestingly, Reginald Phelps contends that there was "little evidence of participation by Thule members in the DAP" as there were fewer than twenty members of the DAP who were also Thule members (see Reginald Phelps, "Before Hitler Came," *Journal of Modern History* (35, 1963), 258. Phelps was presumably using the two earliest official membership registers, dated December 1919 and May 1920, both of which are reproduced in the *Hauptarchiv*, reel 8 folder 171. The slight difference in the number of (NS)DAP members found in this dissertation (28) and the number Phelps finds (fewer than 20) is due to Phelps using the less extensive DAP membership lists; there could also be a difference because of misspellings in both the DAP attendance lists and Sebottendorff's unofficial list. The discrepancy between the interpretation here and Phelps' may simply be a matter of interpretation; Phelps concludes that "the mixed elements in the DAP, and the kind of political activity it pursued, had little appeal for the conspiratory gentlemen of the Thule": Reginald Phelps, "Before Hitler Came", 258. The sparse beginnings of the DAP may have had little interest for the more well-heeled members of the Thule Society, but if over 10% of Thule members were also DAP members, this seems meaningful. Additionally, even if they were not terribly important figures later on in the NSDAP, some of the first DAP officials were also Thule members: Karl Harrer, Michael Lotter, and Marc or Max Sesselmann (given as both Marc and Max in the literature and documentation) all served the DAP in its beginning stages. Later on, LaForce, Epp, Feder, Rosenberg, and Heß (all Thulists) would serve the Party or SA in meaningful ways.
[6] Phelps, "Before Hitler Came", 256. It is not entirely clear under whose auspices within the Thule Society Harrer was working. For more on the political marriage between labor and the military and industry during World War I, see Jay Hatheway, "The Pre-1920 Origins of the National Socialist German Worker's Party," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (1994), 443-461.

[7] *Hauptarchiv*, Reel 2, Folder 4. Michael Lotter 1935 lecture.
[8] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 139.
[9] Hitler claimed to have been an Educational Officer (*Bildungsoffizier* – see Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973), 235), but was in fact an Informant (*Vertrauensmann*) when he visited the DAP in September 1919. See Anton Joachimsthaler, *Hitler in München* (Frankfurt: Langern Müller, 1989), 229-230.
[10] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973), 241-243.
[11] *Ibid*., 239.
[12] *Ibid*., 244.
[13] Karl Mayr (former officer of the Reichswehr), "I was Hitler's Boss," *Current History* 3 (November 1941), 195.
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 224.
[16] Reginald Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei," *American Historical Review*, 68 (1963), 977.
[17] See Drexler's letter in Ernst Deuerlein, *Der Aufstieg der NSDAP 1919 - 1933* (Düsseldorf: Karl Rauch Verlag, 1968), 97-98.
[18] Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei", 977.
[19] Harrer is absent from the already mentioned first two official lists of the DAP; one from December 1919 and the other from May 1920. These can be found in the *Hauptarchiv*, reel 8 folder 171.
[20] Albrecht Tyrell, *Vom 'Trommler' zum 'Führer'* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975), 29-30.
[21] Dietrich Orlow, "The Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923," *Journal of Modern History* (June 1965), 210.
[22] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 3, folder 76, "Organisation des Ausschusses der Ortsgruppe München und seine Geschäftsordnung."
[23] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 2, folder 46, "Hitler Denkschriften."
[24] Orlow, "The Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923", 211. See also *Hauptarchiv*, roll 2A, folder 229 "Erstes Kassabuch der Partei: 7.1.1920 - 1921." Hitler proposed a three-man action committee that would dictate party policy and actions. Although unsigned, the organizational structure indicated by this proposal is exactly what was implemented after Hitler took over with party dictatorial powers on 29 July 1921. It is therefore assumed to have come from Hitler.
[25] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 27-28. The 16 October meeting was not, however, the first time Hitler had spoken to a group; he had previously spoken to help raise the morale of troops on Mayr's orders.
[26] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 390-393.
[27] Hitler also indicates that Harrer thought little of Hitler and his oratorical ability; Hitler returned Harrer's sentiments. See Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 390.
[28] It is not entirely clear when the DAP officially changed its name by adding the National Socialist tag. See Kershaw, *Hitler: Hubris*, 147, n. 58 for discussion on the date of this change.
[29] Phelps, "Before Hitler Came", 258 even notes that the Nazi Party's Twenty-Five point program uses the same phrase, "Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz" (public-good before self-interest), given by the *Deutschsozialistische Partei* (DSP) in its "long program".
[30] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 191, n. 53.
[31] William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1990), 40.
[32] *Hauptarchiv*, reel 52 folder 1214, "Wie es kam" in which Johannes Dingfelder describes the events leading up to and including the night of 24 February 1920.
[33] Reginald Phelps, "Hitler als Parteiredner im Jahre 1920," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 11 (1963), 292-296.
[34] *Hauptarchiv*, reel 52 folder 1214, "Wie es kam".
[35] Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei", 983.
[36] Phelps, "Hitler als Parteiredner", 294-296.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 406.
[39] Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei", 984.
[40] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 544.

[41] Eckart had been active on the *völkisch* scene at least since the start of his publication, *Auf gut Deutsch* ("In Plain German"), in December 1918. He had spoken at a DAP gathering before Hitler's first visit. Eckart was also active in the Thule Society. Initially, Hitler was very receptive to Eckart's desire to serve as a mentor; Eckart was certainly of great aid in soliciting financial donations for the Party. In fact, Eckart was the one who spearheaded the initiative to round up the remainder of the funds necessary to purchase the *Völkischer Beobachter* late in 1920. Hitler woke Eckart early from bed for his help. Epp provided 60,000 Marks from Reichswehr coffers, with Eckart's house as collateral; another 30,000 came from various sources (one of which was Dr. Gottfried Grandel, the man who footed the bill for Eckart's and Hitler's plane to Berlin during the Kapp Putsch); and 113,000 Marks from Drexler himself. Despite all the favor that Eckart showed Hitler, by 1923 the relationship had cooled. Mainly for health reasons, but nonetheless upsetting to him, Eckart was asked to leave his post as editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* in March 1923. From that point on, Eckart's involvement in the Party was scant; his poor health prevented him from participating in the Beer Hall Putsch in November 1923, and he died shortly thereafter. Regarding the purchase of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, see Tyrell, *Trommler*, 175-177.
[42] Röhm became active in paramilitary circles and in various nationalist clubs including the "Iron Fist", a club he founded for military officers. Although Röhm did have an interest in the tiny DAP, the "machine gun King of Munich" had larger investments, including the *Einwohnerwehr*, which numbered 250,000 men at this time; see Kershaw, *Hitler*, 154.
[43] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 33.
[44] Based on figures tallied from distinct entries on all known membership registers for this period. Tyrell, Phelps, and others have slightly different numbers. My analysis takes into account five members who were issued multiple cards. Estimates that do not stem directly from the source material tend to overestimate membership.
[45] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 38 and 42.
[46] Jäckel, Eberhard and Axel Kuhn, eds. *Hitler: sämtliche Aufzeichnungen, 1905-1924* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1980), 311-312.
[47] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 157 based on Jäckel and Kuhn, 279-538. As Hitler's power within the (NS)DAP grew over the course of 1920 and 1921, Hitler was also becoming the focal point of criticism for his Bohemian lifestyle and for the odd coterie surrounding him.
[48] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 103-104.
[49] Jäckel and Kuhn, 436.
[50] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 99-100.
[51] *Ibid*, 101.
[52] *Ibid*, 103. One month before the Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, Feder wrote a letter to Hitler criticizing his misuse of time and power; Feder was especially concerned with Hitler's time wasted on entertaining or being entertained by members of high society. See Oron James Hale, "Gottfried Feder calls Hitler to Order" *The Journal of Modern History*, 30, no. 4 (1958), 358-362.
[53] Jäckel and Kuhn, 437.
[54] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 119-120.
[55] *Ibid*., 117-118.
[56] George Franz-Willing, *Die Hitlerbewegung*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: R.v. Decker's Verlag G. Schenck, 1962), 110.
[57] Jäckel and Kuhn, 437-438.
[58] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 120-122.
[59] *Ibid*.
[60] Jäckel and Kuhn, 436.
[61] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 3, folder 79, Hitler to the NSDAP Parteileitung, 14 July 1921.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] *Ibid*.
[64] Jäckel and Kuhn, 446-447. According to Werner Maser, *Die Frühgeschichte der NSDAP: Hitlers Weg bis 1924* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1965), 270, the pamphlet was authored by Ernst Ehrensperger, member 923.
[65] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 2, folder 45, "Adolf Hitler, Verräter?".
[66] Orlow, *Nazi Party*, 28.

[67] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 3, folder 97, "Rundschreiben Nr. 3," 21 July 1921.
[68] Tyrell, *Trommler*, 129.
[69] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 3, folder 79, "Protokoll über die ausserordentliche Mitgliederversammlung am Freitag, den 29. Juli 1921 in Hofbräu-Festsaal zu München," July 30, 1921.
[70] Orlow, "Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923," 219.
[71] *Ibid*., 220.
[72] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 3, folder 79, "Satzungen des national-sozialistischen deutschen Arbeiter-Vereins," July 1921.
[73] The figure of 3200 comes from the highest membership number as of July 28, 1921, Walburga Stich, who joined as member 3707, minus the initial pad of 500.
[74] Albert Krebs, *Tendenzen und Gestalten der NSDAP* (Stuttgart: Deutsche-Verlags Anstalt, 1959), 195-197.
[75] Orlow, "Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923," 221.
[76] *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 21, 1921, 3.
[77] *Hauptarchiv*, roll 4, folder 97, "Rundschreiben Nr. 4," September 10, 1921.
[78] Orlow, "Organizational History and Structure of the NSDAP, 1919-1923," 222.
[79] *Ibid*., 223.
[80] *Völkischer Beobachter*, August 14, 1921, 5.
[81] Kershaw, *Hitler: Hubris*, 174.
[82] *Ibid*., 176.
[83] Erich Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, trans. Harlan P. Hanson and Robert G. L. Waite (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 221.
[84] *Ibid*., 242.
[85] Rudolf Beck is the member with the highest membership number on the lists analyzed at number 7768; he joined the Landshut chapter on 20 September 1922.
[86] Kurt Lüdecke, *I Knew Hitler: the Story of a Nazi who Escaped the Blood Purge* (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1938), 85-92.
[87] Kershaw, *Hitler*, 179.
[88] Hellmuth Auerbach, "Hitlers politische Lehrjahre und die Münchener Gesellschaft: 1919 - 1925," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 25 (1977), 36, gives an approximation of some 20,000 members just before Streicher's handing over of his followers. This estimate, however, is based on the rate of growth of the membership in order for the Party to claim 50,000 members in November 1923.

Chapter 2: Historiography

Social Composition of the Nazi Party

To date, the most useful types of literature devoted to understanding the Nazi Party membership and how it changed over time have been social compositions. Social compositions take the aggregated information available on the membership and attempt to analyze one or several traits of it as a whole. They rely heavily on basic statistical analysis and tend mainly to use computed averages. Outside of generalized observations about who supposedly made up the ranks of the NSDAP or who was in the audience when Hitler was speaking, one of the first statistical analyses of the Party's social composition was conducted by the Nazi Party itself. The NSDAP cast its gaze upon itself in 1934 and published the *Parteistatistik*, an analysis of party members by age, gender, occupation, and participation in different Party organizations.[1] Some have contended that the *Parteistatistik* is a self-serving overview; however, although it has a number of flaws, the most obvious being its rough and tumble occupational categorization, it is not wholly useless. This internal census is much more reliable for information on age, gender, and participation in auxiliary organizations than it is for occupation. Another difficulty is the *Parteistatistik*'s static view of the Party. It analyzes only the up-to-date members of the Party as of January 1934. Because it does not include members of the (NS)DAP between 1919 and 1923, and its occupational classification is unusable, the *Parteistatistik* can only be used here for limited comparative purposes.[2]

It was not until 1960 that the best source material to understand the social makeup of the Nazi Party was utilized: party membership registers. Georg Franz-Willing's *Die Hitlerbewegung: Der Ursprung, 1919-1922* works from an early party list of forty-five individuals associated with the Party (Franz-Willing is not sure whether his group were members or merely visitors to a (NS)DAP meeting) and analyzes their occupational listings. Based on this small and unclear sample, Franz-Willing's results are hardly representative. Further, they are "debilitated by a strange occupational classification system" which makes them generally useless.[3] Although using a more legitimate statistical sample size, Werner Maser's group of 1400 early party members in *Der Sturm auf die Republik: Frühgeschichte der NSDAP* is cobbled together from various early party membership lists and does not conform to any accepted statistical sampling method. What makes his analysis even less rigorous is that the four lists he uses to create his 1400 person group are non-contemporaneous.

Both Jeremy Noakes and Franz Josef Heyen were more successful. In *The Nazi Party in Lower Saxony*, Noakes finds that the Party was represented mainly by the lower-middle class. Despite using the *Parteistatistik* to reach his conclusions, Noakes at least records the change in membership over time, recognizing that the social composition of the Party seemed to widen after 1925 to include representatives of the working classes. Franz Josef Heyen found a similar social composition in his analysis of Rheinland *Ortsgruppen* in 1931 in his *Nationalsozialismus im Alltag*. Heyen's results, which stem largely from police reports, should not come as a great surprise, as the Rheinland was a very industrialized area, and thus more populated by the working class than other sections of Germany. Neither Noakes' nor Heyen's works examine the Nazi Party before 1925 or

more than a few Party locals, so neither is useful for the purposes of this dissertation. It is noteworthy, however, that both Noakes and Heyen found that, based on its membership records, the Nazi Party in the later period seemed to appeal to different social classes in different places.

Although focused on the events leading up to the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923, in *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch*, Harold J. Gordon Jr. came to conclusions on the social background of 1126 Nazi Party members who had joined before 1923.[4] Unfortunately, his sample is not based on any standardized grouping; rather it is assembled from a variety of sources covering the early period of Nazi history. For this reason, it disproportionately favors those Party members who were relatively well-known. Gordon's results also suffer from an occupational coding that does not take Germany's census data into consideration; it therefore tends to be difficult to draw comparisons from them.

A more successful analysis of the early Nazi Party members utilizes the same membership list as does this dissertation. Published in 1977, Donald M. Douglas's "The Parent Cell: Some Computer Notes on the Composition of the First Nazi Party Group in Munich, 1919-1921" is in many ways a very complete analysis.[5] Douglas's raw data are also available through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.[6] Douglas's analysis is far superior to similar works previous to his. Its biggest drawback is an overly simplified occupational classification. Also, Douglas's transcriptions of the handwritten membership lists are sometimes inaccurate. Furthermore, he does not reach beyond the information already on these lists. His occupational analysis is not compared to any national or local data, so his results leave the reader wondering how early Nazi

Party members differed from Germans collectively or from members of other political parties at the time. Lastly, Douglas concludes that the Nazi Party came largely out of the *Mittelstand* and that the average member was increasingly young over the period he covers (as well as in comparison to Michael Kater's analysis of an incomplete 1923 membership roster), but he again fails to show that this was a trend unique to the Nazis.

The historians who have really set the standard for statistical research on the Nazi Party membership are Michael Kater, Paul Madden, and Detlef Mühlberger. With their work, these authors have contributed to the long historical debate that has centered around the question of whether Nazism appealed mainly to the middle-class. The middle-class basis of the Nazi following is a myth that persists tenaciously and is even still found in literature today. On the other side of this debate is the contention that the Nazi Party was in fact a *Volkspartei*, a People's Party, one that appealed to all social classes and to different types of people. Because the early Nazi Party membership lists contain occupational data, this information became the starting point for Kater, Madden, and Mühlberger to re-examine the social basis of the Nazi Party membership.

Kater's first foray into analyzing the membership data of the Nazi Party came in 1971 with "Zur Soziographie der frühen NSDAP".[7] Kater's work analyzed the 4726 members of the Party who enrolled between September and November of 1923. Unlike previous authors of statistically-based works, Kater utilized a much more sensible statistical method in his analysis of one of the most reliable early Party membership documents. Like other early Party membership lists, this one contains not only self-reported occupation, but address and birthdate as well. However, Kater relies on a class categorization that inflates the representation of the upper class and reduces the

representation of the working class. The period covered by Kater prevents comparison here. Additionally, Kater's membership register covers a time of acute political, social, and economic crisis; its critics point out that it is not representative of Party members more generally over time. However, membership in the Nazi Party fluctuated highly already before Hitler's ascension to dictatorial power; indeed the (NS)DAP always had a high rate of attrition, even after 1933. While confirming the lower-middle-class theory of the membership of the Nazi Party, Kater's results did fly in the face of many other strongly held myths about it. Kater proved that the Nazi Party was not just a youth movement and that it was not a predominantly urban and southern German phenomenon.

Paul Madden's dissertation, "The Social Composition of the Nazi Party, 1919-1930", and several related articles, were the first to look at the early membership lists with a critical eye and utilize the additional archival material at the Berlin Document Center to back up their assertions.[8] Madden was also the first to use the membership lists that cover 1919 - 1923 with real statistical sensibility. Use of the post-1925 Nazi Party membership cards in the Berlin Document Center allowed Madden to report more informatively because of the additional biographical material contained within them. Most of Madden's results, with the exception of age and occupational distribution, focus on the time after the NSDAP was refounded in 1925. Madden found that the Nazi Party was actually fairly reflective of German society and refuted the middle-class thesis, a case he made more strongly in his 1987 article, "The Social Class Origins of Nazi Party Members as Determined by Occupations, 1919-1933".[9]

Kater's 1983 work, *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders 1919-1945*, analyzes the Party over the course of its entire existence and attempts to

understand how its membership changed over time.[10] Although there is concern over Kater's occupational classifications, his main conclusions are still valid: that the leadership of the Nazi Party had less and less in common with the rank-and-file membership over time and that the Nazi Party appealed to Germans of all classes, albeit predominantly to the middle class. Kater's occupational classification tended to skew the Nazi Party membership towards the higher end of the social spectrum; his results clearly overestimate the proportion of the Nazi Party membership made up by the elite and underestimate working-class representation. Another major drawback is Kater's reliance on Maser, Franz-Willing, and Madden to provide data for the years 1919 to 1923. Unfortunately, the findings of these authors are either statistically unreliable (Maser and Franz-Willing) or do not correspond to Kater's classification system (Madden).

Detlef Mühlberger's chapter "Germany" from his compilation, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, corrected for Kater's tendency to elevate class status.[11] His occupational coding is based on the listings used in the 1925 German census returns and thus provides a more accurate picture of the social standing of the party membership than did Kater.[12] Mühlberger also used the available membership lists to provide a better understanding of the Nazi membership in the early period, a major gap in Kater's work. Mühlberger saw the Nazi Party as less of a national organization than a jumble of local groups. The lack of a distinct social base, therefore, was an advantage in boosting party membership initially. Mühlberger's focus on localism led him to the conclusion that the membership of the Nazi Party differed depending on the Party chapter being analyzed. Certainly the Munich branch drew in members from all sectors of society, but as *Ortsgruppen* popped up in areas that were less urban, members were more likely to come

predominantly from the lower and the lower-middle classes. Focus on these local groups leads Mühlberger to make conclusions based on very small groups; one has to wonder about the statistical validity of conclusions drawn from groups (six during the 1919-1922 period) with 25 or fewer members. Nonetheless, Mühlberger's understanding of the German class structure is a great improvement on Kater's *Nazi Party*. More recently, in *The Social Bases of Nazism*, Mühlberger gave a concise summary of the current state of the field for both the social composition of the membership and the Nazi Party electorate.[13] Here again, Mühlberger pointedly refuted the notion that the Nazi Party was a middle-class party and contended that it was indeed a People's Party. Unlike most other political parties at the time, in both its membership and its electorate, the Nazi Party had support from all social classes.

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[1] Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Partei-Statistik. Stand 1. Jan. 1935,* 3 vols. (Munich: 1935).
[2] Many authors have built upon or analyzed the *Parteistatistik* in attempts to better understand the social basis of the Nazi movement. For a summary of some of these works, see Paul Madden, "Some Social Characteristics of Early Nazi Party Members, 1919-1923," *Central European History* 15 (1982), 34-56; here 52.
[3] Madden, "Some Social Characteristics of Early Nazi Party Members, 1919-1923", 53.
[4] Gordon, Harold J. Jr. *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).
[5] Donald M. Douglas, "The Parent Cell: Some Computer Notes on the Composition of the First Nazi Party Group in Munich, 1919-21," *Central European History*, 10 (1977): 55-72.
[6] Douglas, Donald M. Douglas, *Nazi Party Membership in Munich, Passau, Rosenheim, Landshut, and Mannheim, 1919-1922* [Computer file], Study Number 00044. Compiled by Donald Morse Douglas, Wichita State University. ICPSR ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [producer and distributor], 1980.
[7] Michael Kater, "Zur Soziographie der frühren NSDAP," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 19 (April 1971): 124-159.
[8] Paul Madden, "The Social Composition of the Nazi Party, 1919-1930," Unpublished Dissertation. Univ. of Oklahoma, 1976. A full listing of Madden's articles is in the bibliography.
[9] Paul Madden, "The Social Class Origins of Nazi Party Members as Determined by Occupations, 1919-1933," *Social Science Quarterly*, 68 (1987): 263-279.
[10] Michael Kater, *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders 1919-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).
[11] Detlef Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements* (London: Croom Helm, 1987).
[12] Kater and Mühlberger have distinct ways of labeling their classes beyond the lower class, middle class, upper class categories used in this dissertation. To try to prevent confusion, when Kater's or Mühlberger's data or results are used, the less confusing labels of lower class, middle class, and upper class are given. The use of different labels for their class categories is very purposeful as each has a different emphasis. There is a fair amount of debate about which class should be called what, debate which will be avoided

here for reasons of space. The interested reader should, at a minimum, refer to Kater's and Mühlberger's works.

[13] Detlef Mühlberger, *The Social Bases of Nazism, 1919-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Who were the Nazis? Data Gleaned from Membership Lists

The best way to understand who made up the (NS)DAP from 1919 to 1922 is to analyze the various party membership registers. It is fortunate that the Nazi Party membership in the early years is relatively well documented; that documentation is also readily available. Of course, the membership rolls are not perfect, and since they are the foundation of most of the analysis that follows, it is important that what they contain be fully explained.

This dissertation is based on eight early membership lists. Seven of these are of Nazi Party members from various party chapters, and the last, for purposes of comparison, is a listing of the members of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) as of 25 October 1921.[1] They contain 3330 unique membership entries, most with corresponding member numbers, occupations, dates of birth, and dates of entrance into the NSDAP. The most extensive membership list is entitled *Adolf Hitlers Mitkämpfer 1919-1921: Mitgliederverzeichnis DAP – NSDAP*. This list comprises 2503 distinct members; it also includes 37 members who had their entries lined out and who later rejoined the party, as well as 13 double entries whose first membership entry is not lined out (including Hitler's own). Because of the limited scope of the party at this time, those on the *Mitkämpfer* list mainly lived in Munich. This list, compiled by Ludwig Ess, an early party member

himself, is actually a compilation of many membership rosters and was presented to Hitler as a birthday present on 10 May 1933.

The *Mitkämpfer* list should not, however, be considered absolutely complete. Surely any exhaustive list of DAP members should contain the DAP's co-founder, Karl Harrer, who broke from the party only in January 1920. Since Harrer left the party before the first systematic census of the membership, it is quite possible that Harrer simply never officially counted as a member.[2] Or was Ess attempting to please Hitler by leaving Harrer out? If so, why did Ess choose to leave Hellmuth von Mücke (member 1413) and his wife on the *Mitkämpfer* list? Mücke was another former Nazi who proved to be a thorn in Hitler's side; well before 1933, he was making speeches on the rapaciousness of the Nazis and how Hitler had sold out the movement to big business. Furthermore, Ess probably considered as members some of those on the list who may not have officially accepted membership. However, despite such minor issues, the *Mitkämpfer* list likely gives a fair account of who was a member of the DAP or NSDAP at this time.

The other six membership lists correspond to different *Ortsgruppen*: Passau, Rosenheim, Landshut, Mannheim, Hannover, and Stuttgart. Taken together, these additional six membership lists include 827 distinct members (with allowances for 4 duplicate entries and 9 who joined more than once). These six were chosen specifically because these are the only known lists with useful information on members of the Nazi Party who joined both before or after 29 July 1921.[3] The last membership register is a list of the members of the SA as of 25 October 1921. At this time, Emil Maurice was the leader of this 239 member group; 116 of these early SA members were also members of the Nazi Party. That crossover, while certainly a significant proportion, does not

invalidate this early SA membership list as a reasonable comparison group; in fact, it was always, and especially in the early years of the Nazi Party, expected, although not required, that SA members would become Party members as well.

One obvious question is whether there is a more complete source for members of the Nazi Party in this period. Unfortunately, probably not. While there are nearly 9 million Nazi Party cards (nearly 90% of the total membership) on file for the period after 1925, the original card file, which contained the 55,000 or so members of the Nazi Party prior to 1923, has only been partially recovered. Ludwig Ess (member 1716) and Ludwig Ludwig (member 929) hid the membership roster from the police after the Beer Hall Putsch in 1923, and it remained hidden until it was taken over, probably at Hitler's behest, by another old party member. After that, the card file changed hands a couple of times and is thought to have been destroyed or lost in the spring of 1933.[4] The piece of this list that does remain is of the members who joined between September and November of 1923 – this is the fragment systematically analyzed by Kater. In and of themselves, the early membership registers that are available contain a good deal of information. Occasionally members are missing one or more pieces of information, sometimes names are misspelled, dates of birth are incorrect, addresses are unverifiable, and occupations are either fallacious or too vague to be useful. These problems are not so great that they cannot be overcome; often some of the missing information can be filled in from other sources.

Because one of the major goals of this dissertation is to see if there was a difference in the membership before and after Hitler took over the Party as dictator, some other early membership lists have not been incorporated: membership lists for

Reichenhall, Ingolstadt, and Berchtesgaden either do not have any members prior to 29 July 1921 or list no decipherable names not captured elsewhere.[5] For the same reason, the last membership register from the pre-Putsch Nazi Party, the nearly five-thousand-member fragment of the Munich *Ortsgruppe* in 1923 already referred to, is also not utilized.[6] Also, because of the way that the information has been aggregated, one cannot rely on the work of other historians to make the comparison of the party membership before and after Hitler became Party dictator. Madden, Kater, nor Mühlberger address the question of a possible change in the membership after 29 July 1921.

While the seven membership lists used here and the others mentioned provide the known membership of the Nazi Party from 1919 to 1922, they do not add up to even one-fifth of the total membership on the eve of the Beer Hall Putsch in November 1923.[7] On the other hand, they make up a significant portion of the membership from 1919 to September 1922, and thus they give a fair representation of the Nazi Party membership in its very early years.

Methodological Hurdles: Party Size

One major hurdle to overcome in a statistically-based study on the Nazi Party is determining its size. Except for the very early period of the Party, when there was only the Munich branch, it is extremely difficult to obtain a precise estimate for the number of party members. While the party would later have a central membership card file, no such comprehensive list exists for the pre-Putsch Nazi Party. Furthermore, for a number of reasons, it is inexact to try to gauge the strength of the party on the basis of the highest membership number at any particular time. Firstly, the Party only rarely re-issued

membership numbers. Members who withdrew and reapplied for membership were issued new numbers. Examination of the membership registers shows a degree of re-enrollment, and membership in the NSDAP could also be rescinded. Of the 3393 members of the party covered by the seven membership documents for this dissertation, 23 are members who were issued another membership number. Secondly, the membership registers often have duplicate entries. Some members are listed twice on the same membership list, while others appear on two different membership registers. While the membership number of a member listed twice does not differ, it does argue against simply adding up all the members on a particular membership register. On the seven membership lists, 40 members are listed twice.[8] Lastly, unlike the central membership file for the post-Putsch NSDAP, the available membership registers for the early years do not account precisely for members who had failed to maintain their membership; most of the early membership lists more accurately reflect the membership of an *Ortsgruppe* at a particular moment.

These relatively minor issues mentioned above can make it tricky to ascertain the true enrollment of the Party. This dissertation only analyzes the members listed on the membership rolls themselves; at most, this is 3330 members. However, it is helpful to get a sense of the true size of the Party throughout the timespan covered by the social composition and the cluster analysis.

By the end of 1919, the number of Nazi Party members found on the membership registers totals 208, even though the highest member number distributed for the year 1919 was 1230 to Heinrich Mann (not the famous novelist).[9] By the end of 1920, the Party had grown to 2227 members[10] and to 4084 by the end of 1921.[11] Data is incomplete for the entirety of 1922, but by September, enrollment had grown to approximately 7200

members.[12] Analysis for this dissertation ends with the last members in September 1922. Based on the large membership fragment that covers September to November 1923, however, enrollment in the Nazi Party took a huge upswing and claimed approximately 55,000 members before it was officially disbanded.

Number of (NS)DAP Members 1919 - 1923				
1919	1920	1921	Sept. 1922	1923
208	*2227*	*4084*	*7200*	*55,000*

Self-Reported Occupation and Class

All social compositions of the Nazi Party which utilize the actual membership rosters determine the social class of a member from the occupation given on the list. This occupation is self-reported and therefore must be taken with caution. There is an obvious trend toward individuals trying to inflate their occupational status, toward covering up the fact that they were soldiers (joining a political party was not allowed for military personnel), or toward simply making up an occupation when a member may have actually been unemployed. Hitler's own self-reported occupation was false; he first listed himself as a painter and then changed this to writer. At the time of his party entrance, Hitler was in fact in the military. That so many young members listed themselves as a *Kaufmann* (merchant), which indicates ownership of a business, is a clear sign that the occupational data provided by the early membership lists must be closely scrutinized. Most likely, these members simply worked at, but did not own, a small business. On the other hand, occupation was often left blank, either because the individual chose not to indicate it or because it was unknown to the person taking down the information.

The main issue is that occupation, even when it is accurately stated, is not a perfect indicator of social class, especially in Weimar Germany. One reason is that

individuals who might be highly regarded socially may have been unemployed, especially in the post-World War period. Those born with their titles still carried some measure of elite status. Also, how does one gauge the social standing of the women on the early membership lists who defined themselves in terms of their husbands' or fathers' occupations? All of these uncertainties in the aggregate affect social standing. Because they make it nearly impossible to develop a perfect class framework, one is still left with the self-reported occupational data given by party members themselves. Therefore, it is best to simply use the occupational information, correct it if necessary on the basis of other primary evidence, and utilize the German census to place Party members as correctly as possible into the proper social standing as understood by statisticians at the time. Certainly, the class categorization utilized by the census is also not perfect, especially in how it places all civil servants in the middle or upper class. Yet, without using the same method of categorization as the census, it is impossible to compare meaningfully to the population as a whole. Furthermore, since the occupational listing in the census reflects the best known method at the time, it makes little sense to analyze Nazi membership data without using the same terms of reference.

With an understanding of the German class structure and a familiarity with the thousands of occupations listed on the 1925 census, one can reasonably control for the caveats mentioned above and create a reliable framework of the social classes in Germany based solely on the occupational information provided. Kater, Madden, and Mühlberger each developed his own system of class structure based on self-reported occupation, but Mühlberger's is the most precise and true for the period it covers. It is, therefore, the system that this dissertation incorporates. Mühlberger's results, as well as the

German national average and the composition of rival political groups, will serve for comparison with my own findings.

Who were the Nazis? Data Gleaned from Other Sources

With a (NS)DAP party member's name and date of birth, other characteristics can be drawn from a whole host of other primary sources. To exhaust all of the potential sources for 3453 members of the NSDAP and SA is, for all practical purposes, impossible (3330 Party members and 239 SA members of whom 116 were also Party members). However, a variety of biographical characteristics on the early Party members were gathered from numerous additional sources, both published and unpublished, that are listed in the bibliography. Used throughout the dissertation are a member's religion and date of rejoining the Nazi Party after it was refounded in 1925. Other biographical features are given when possible, most often in the prosopography section.[13] Some factors did determine whether an individual had left a paper trail and thus was likely to have more discovered about him or her than the information on the membership registers alone. Appendix 1 gives reasons why for some Party members there was more information available than for others. In the grand scheme of things, however, it is unlikely that much information was missed.

One idiosyncrasy worth noting here about the documentation from official Nazi Party records has to do with how religion was recorded. Germans concerned about their standing in the Nazi Party, and especially within the SS, would often change their religious affiliation to suit Nazi expectations. Specifically, one will often find an individual's stated religious affiliation as that of a *Gottgläuber* (believer in God); one

might also find a date when the individual left a church. Because Nazism and the SS distanced themselves from formal religion, these individuals were clearly tailoring their religious beliefs to fit those of the Party or of the SS. This raises the problem of how to treat the *Gottgläuber* result when an answer more reflective of the early years of the Nazi Party is not available; before 1925, it was very rare to find individuals reporting their religion as merely a "Believer in God". For the sake of accuracy, no attempt has been made to redefine the *Gottgläuber* when no additional information was uncovered. It could be concluded that the "Believers in God" were not closely attached to their religion since they were willing to trade religious faith for political window-dressing. But, since it would be extremely difficult to measure religious faith, it is best to leave the "Believers in God" as their own category.

Variables Analyzed

To avoid overlooking an unforeseen result, as much information as was available for each member was recorded. A great amount of this biographical information could not be used, however, in either the analysis or the interpretation of the statistical results. The table below lists the variables used in the cluster analysis and those additional variables used for the social composition analysis.

Table of Biographical Variables

Biographical Variables found on Membership Registers and used for Social Composition and Cluster Analysis	Additional Variables used in the Social Composition Analysis
Year of birth	Religion
Gender	*Education**
Class based on occupation	*Marital status**
Population of city of residence	**Analysis found in Appendix 3*
Bavarian or non-Bavarian residence	
Year of Party entrance	

To facilitate the statistical analysis, some of the above variables were coded and therefore require some elaboration. The "population of city of residence" denotes the population of the city where the member lived based on the address given on the membership list. The cities are broken down into the following population categories based on the 1925 census returns: under 2,000, 2,000-9,999, 10,000-24,999, 25,000-49,999, 50,000-99,999, and 100,000 or more. At times in the data analysis, these categories are regrouped into 9,999 or fewer residents, 10,000-49,999 residents, and 50,000 or more residents. Occasionally, a city could not be identified because its entry was illegible or because it was not provided on the membership register. The "Bavarian or non-Bavarian residence" also looks at the city field listed on the membership lists. Because of the heavy Bavarian concentration in the Nazi Party at this time and the small number of consistent returns outside of Bavaria, the data were coded so that residence was listed as simply Bavarian or non-Bavarian. While it would be nice to aggregate members by their town of residence to investigate their different characteristics from

town to town, it is unwise to draw conclusions from the small sample sizes for some towns.[14] The religion variable, in addition to the *Gottgläuber* results, is broken down into Catholic, Protestant, and other.

Information on the educational level and the marital status of early Party members is available, but small sample sizes are a concern. For that reason, it has not been included within the body of this dissertation. The analysis of this data can be found in Appendix 3.

Last comes the class variable based on occupation. The German class structure in the early 1900s was extremely complex. The results of the data analysis here are not meant to provide a total understanding of the German class structure and how the early Nazi Party members fitted that structure. Because of the data available, it is necessary and prudent to utilize the classification system developed by Detlef Mühlberger.[15]

In general, Mühlberger's system follows the occupational classifications and class distinctions developed in the German census. There are times, however, when the occupational data must be divvied up between multiple class categories; this occurs most often when the data are too vague to be properly assigned. Additional consideration must also be given to individuals who described themselves as merely students (without stating what type of school) or, as was often the case, as merchants (*Kaufmann*). Mühlberger's system also includes a "Status Unclear" category which not only captures illegible and unfound occupational entries, but includes wives who report their occupation in terms of their husbands' occupation, a practice not followed in the analysis here. There are two reasons to diverge from Mühlberger's classification system in this specific way. Firstly, for women to have a class status in Weimar Germany, it was not necessary for them to

work; most often, married women or daughters were considered as belonging to the same class as their husbands or fathers. Secondly, the statistical method used for the prosopography section of this dissertation groups people by their common traits. Members placed in the Status Unclear category could not be used. For these reasons, every effort has been made to place a member into a social class: wives and daughters who reported their husband's or father's occupations were placed into the corresponding class. This minor difference in assigning class is not cause for alarm, but it can lead to small differences when results from different historians are compared.[16]

Social Composition, Prosopography, and Clustering: Understanding the Group

As useful as social compositions are, they tend to view the group homogeneously. The group is analyzed based on the rate at which a particular biographical feature is expressed. This type of analysis highlights the shared traits of the majority of the group but largely discounts those members of the party who did not share those traits. Social compositions are very susceptible to the "fallacy of averages"; if on average the entire early Party membership was middle-class, the tendency is then to conclude that it was a middle-class Party. This conclusion ignores how the "minority" members play a role in making up the composition of the entire membership.

Because the membership of the Nazi Party was not at all homogeneous, using a social composition to understand that membership can be problematic. At a minimum, in terms of social class, it has been shown by several authors that the Nazi Party was not simply a middle-class Party, but that it was in fact a *Volkspartei*. However, there is some concern in stating that the Nazi Party was a People's Party just because the social class of

its members varied. Perhaps they shared some other shared trait which has not yet been identified. Based on overwhelming statistical evidence, Jürgen Falter contended that not only was the Nazi voter not predominantly middle-class, but that there was no such thing as a "typical" Nazi voter.[17] All attempts to date to find an overarching descriptive with which to tag the Nazi members ("marginal men", a "youth movement", a "green movement") have been discredited.

Social compositions are also guilty of placing undue emphasis on one biographical trait. Because of the debate surrounding the role of the middle class in making up the membership of the Nazi Party, most social compositions on Party members highlight the social class of those members and routinely downplay other easily examined biographical characteristics. One way to avoid the problem of labeling the entire group based on the results of a mean is to find some common trait by which to aggregate members into smaller groups. Mühlberger does just that by breaking down the early party members into their town of residence in *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*.[18] By analyzing the smaller, more local groups, Mühlberger finds that the members of the Nazi Party varied tremendously at the local level. Based on the members in each town, the Nazi Party could be described as a middle-class party in Munich but a lower-class party in Kinding. This is an important finding and clearly a valid result that informs us about the Party's membership overall. Mühlberger's method, however, is based on the assumption that party members had the most in common with their fellow townspeople. He is pre-determining what caused group members to cohere. Thus, of all of the Nazi Party members, the members from Munich had the most in common with the other members from Munich. This may not in fact be the case.

Another method used by historians and statisticians alike to understand the makeup of a group is a prosopography. In its most common use, the prosopographical method can be employed to tell the history of a group of people who share a common characteristic or a common purpose. Used in this way, a prosopographer takes the individual characteristics of each group member, aggregates all the information of the members, and relates the common history of the entire group accordingly. In this use of the method, the groups are typically already defined or are easily determined. Most often, a prosopography analyzes a relatively homogeneous group with a comprehensive source base; for instance, guilds, members of an elite class, or SS Officers.[19] A prosopographer can also break a group into smaller parts. For instance, in *Nazi Germany's New Aristocracy*, Herbert Ziegler breaks down the members of the SS into three groups based on their role (the Death's Head regiments, the armed Specialist Troops, and the political arm of the SS).[20] He then analyzes each group and creates a collective biography of both the members and the leadership corps in these three different groups within the SS.[21] Still, Ziegler's groups are separated based on their role within the SS and are therefore forced into being analyzed based on that difference.

The prosopography for this dissertation does not select its groups in advance. Instead of being selected based on a single shared characteristic, the groups are broken down into clusters based on six potentially equally important biographical traits: age, gender, social class, the size of the city of residence, the year of joining the Nazi Party, and Bavarian residency. Party members missing any one or more of these six pieces of information, including members in the Status Unclear class category, are excluded from the cluster analysis. After the clustering was completed, it was indeed found that members who

shared common characteristics were placed into the same cluster. However, not all the variables are of equal importance in creating the groups. Further statistical testing as explained in Appendix 5 indicates which variables are "stronger" than others. This method of letting the variables determine to which group a member belongs is not often used in historical analysis, although it is common practice in other fields, especially in genetics and even in market research. The cluster analysis is beneficial for two reasons: one, it allows for understanding the membership based on its prototypical members and second, prototypical members of different groups can be compared to investigate whether there was a change in the types of typical members over time. Analysis of the prototypical members can further discredit the "middle-class" thesis and it can help evaluate whether the Nazi Party was indeed a *Volkspartei*.

If the Nazi Party truly was a "class" party, the members of each cluster would have their shared class status in common. There might be more than one lower-class and upper-class cluster and potentially several middle-class clusters, but nearly each member of each cluster would have the same social class. For instance, there could be a rural middle-class group and an urban middle-class group. However, if the Nazi Party was truly a *Volkspartei*, there will be lots of different types of members and no single, underlying trait shared by all of them. Additionally, by comparing the clusters of the pre-29 July 1921 group and the post-29 July 1921 group, one can provide additional evidence to test the contention that the Nazi Party membership changed after Hitler became Party dictator. If it did change, this will be apparent in the social compositions of those two groups. However, it will be even more evident in the cluster analysis, as different clusters should occur for each group

indicating that the Nazi Party was enrolling different prototypical members at different times.

This is perhaps a new way of thinking about the memberships of groups, and so looking ahead to some of the prosopographical results may prove helpful. One of the four groups analyzed was the SA as of October 1921. Unlike the Nazi Party, the SA was, at this time, a largely homogeneous group. Only men were allowed. They all joined at the same time and they all lived in the Munich area. This reduces the number of variables from six to two: social class and age.[22] The results of the cluster analysis yield three prototypical group members. Imagine then, instead of a group of 179 SA members, a group of 3 SA men; each of these 3 members represents more SA men similar to them. The first prototypical member was born in 1879 and was not necessarily from one social class. The second prototypical member was born in 1895 and was lower-class. The third prototypical member was born in 1902 and was also not from any one social class. What separated SA members then was firstly an age distinction and then a class distinction. There were 11 members of Cluster 1, and thus all 11 members are clustered together to create a profile of the first prototypical member. There were 46 members of cluster 2; these 46 fit that profile as given by the second prototypical member. And there were 152 members in Cluster 3; these 152 members fit into the profile given by the third prototypical member. These results show that even in the relatively homogeneous SA, there were three different types of people who had joined.

For all the Nazi Party members 1919 to September 1922, clusters were generated for four groups: those who joined before 29 July 1921, those who joined after 29 July 1921, all members of the Nazi Party 1919 to September 1922, and SA members as of 10 October

1921.[23] These clusters not only reveal the type of people who joined the Nazi Party, but they can be used to track changes in group membership over time.

When the clusters are generated, they are assigned a number (Cluster 1, Cluster 2, and so forth). The label that is given to each cluster is meaningless; thus there is no relationship between Cluster 1 from the pre-dictator group and Cluster 1 from the post-dictator group. To avoid the confusion that this numbering might cause and to help highlight the similarities of the clusters between groups, the clusters have been renamed such that similar clusters were given the same letter. Thus, Cluster E from the pre-29 July 1921 group has most in common with Cluster E from the post-29 July 1921 group. There might be slight differences between the groups, but it does mean that the two prototypical members who represent Cluster E before and after 29 July 1921 have much in common. Below, one will see that the proportion of the total membership represented by Cluster E changes after 29 July 1921 from 16% to 30% of the entire group. In other words, more new members who joined after Hitler took over as Party Dictator had the characteristics of members of Cluster E. Cluster E represents non-urban, Bavarian men (age is spread out, members are mixed between lower- and middle-class, and the year they joined the Nazi Party varies). This means that proportionally to the group, more non-urban, Bavarian men joined after Hitler took over Party leadership. Such a finding makes sense given the expansion of the Party into less urban areas. As opposed to the analysis derived from social compositions which are based on single variables (that after 29 July 1921, the Party became more middle-class, or it got younger), cluster analysis gives a much better understanding of the ebb and flow of the type of Nazi Party members.

Using the clustering, differences across time for a relatively homogeneous group, or one that is easily broken into homogeneous sub-groups, can be more easily tracked. For instance, one of Ziegler's findings was that the higher an SS man ranked, the higher the level of education he had attained. Such a direct relationship is easily compared over time by computing and comparing the percentage of high-ranking SS men who had a university degree in 1929 and in 1939. In a more heterogeneous group, such direct relationships are not so easily untied. For instance, as the Nazi Party expanded outside of its base in metropolitan Munich into less populated areas in Bavaria, not only did fewer and fewer new members came from an urban center, but more of these new members tended to be working-class. Thus, the Nazi Party's expansion affected not only the urban character of the party membership, but its overall class structure as well. By comparing the different prototypical members before and after Hitler took over as Party dictator, it is possible to unravel multiple variables at one time. One can then come to a better sense of how the Party's membership changed over time through viewing the change in the prototypical members. Such a level of analysis is nearly impossible to achieve using only social composition.

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[1] These mostly handwritten membership registers of the (NS)DAP for 1919-1923 are reproduced on the Captured German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, series T581. The seven membership lists are of the Munich, Passau, Rosenheim, Landshut, Mannheim, Hannover, and Stuttgart *Ortsgruppen*, which are reproduced in the *Hauptarchiv*, reel 10, folder 215 and reel 2A, folder 230. The SA membership, led by Emil Maurice, can be found in the *Hauptarchiv*, reel 64, folder 1477.

[2] Harrer does appear on very early Party meeting lists, but not on any official membership list.

[3] Two other early Party membership lists for the period 1919-1923 exist. They give members of the (NS)DAP in December 1919 and in May 1920 respectively and have been used by other historians to determine the social composition of the early Nazi Party with varying degrees of success. However, no members on either list do not also appear on the *Mitkämpfer* list. Information on them does not change enough from one to another to merit reviewing them separately. Moreover, the two are less complete in the information they provide than the *Mitkämpfer* list. So, even though previous historians have used these two early lists to draw conclusions, there is no need to analyze them. Instead, it makes more sense to concentrate on the other seven (more complete) membership registers available. Both the December 1919 and the May 1920 list can be found in *Hauptarchiv*, reel 8, folder 171.

[4] Ludwig Ess file, *Hauptarchiv* reel 52, folder 1220. Based on the correspondence between Ess and the Munich Gau, as well as several others, the exact events surrounding the disappearance of the first membership catalog are unclear.
[5] The Berchtesgaden *Ortsgruppe* list does have a few members who joined before Hitler became dictator of the party. However, all of these members who joined before 29 July 1921 are already listed on the *Mitkämpfer* list and a good majority of the rest are illegible. The Berchtesgaden list is reproduced in the *Hauptarchiv*, reel 8, folder 175. The Reichenhall list can be found in the *Hauptarchiv* reel 8, folder 175 and the Ingolstadt list is located at the *Staatsarchiv München*, NSDAP 469.
[6] For social compositional analysis of the membership from this list, see: Michael Kater, "Zur Soziographie der frühren NSDAP", *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 19 (April 1971): 124-159. Remember, however, that Kater inflates middle- and upper-class representation, a tendency more obvious in this work than in his later publications.
[7] The last member number of the Munich branch prior to the Beer Hall Putsch is 55,787. However, because the (NS)DAP only re-issued membership numbers on very rare occasions, and in these cases only after refounding the party in 1925, it is difficult to ascertain with precision the strength of the active membership of the party at any given time.
[8] For these same membership lists, Donald Douglas found only 19 members who were reissued membership cards and only 38 duplicate entries. See Donald Douglas, "The Parent Cell: Some Computer Notes on the Composition of the First Nazi Party Group in Munich, 1919-1921," *Central European History* 10 (1977): 55-72.
[9] It is possible to presume, then, that there were actually 730 members (the numbering begins at 501). Member numbers 844, 1193, and 1230 (the last three of the 1919 member numbers) were reissued numbers for members who had dropped out temporarily but were allowed to keep their original 1919 date of entrance. The last number in a sequential series issued during 1919 is 712; two member numbers (517, 619) were not recorded on the *Mitkämpfer* list, and five members with numbers under 712 (670, 690, 696, 708, 710) were not officially enrolled until January or February of 1920.
[10] The highest membership number by the end of 1920 was 3357. While it is unlikely that there were 2857 members given the reissued memberships and defections, one could presume that there were at least somewhere near 2800 members at the end of 1920. However, since the last entry for 1920 on the membership lists (26 December 1920) is number 2727, and member 3357 above joined on 17 May 1920, a safer estimate would be 2227 (2727 - 500) members. Estimates from other authors of the strength of the party by the end of 1920 are: over 2000 (Tyrell), 2500 (Franz-Willing), 3000 (Abel, Volz, Orlow). See Madden, "The Social Composition of the Nazi Party", 34.
[11] The member with the highest member number for 1921 was member 4584 who joined 28 November 1921 through the Landshut *Ortsgruppe*. The latest joiner of 1921 joined on 18 December 1921 with member number 3157. Some other estimations of enrollment by the end of 1921: less than 1000 (Lüdecke) and around 6000 (Volz), from Madden "The Social Composition of the Nazi Party", 34.
[12] The highest member number on the *Mitkämpfer* list (7768) was issued to Rudolf Beck, who joined on 20 August 1922. If one allows for some duplicate entries and drop-outs, that leaves approximately 7200.
[13] Other important variables discovered through further research were: place of birth, father's and mother's occupation, year of each parent's death where applicable, height, number of years of military service, service on the front in World War I, military rank, military honors bestowed, *Freikorps* membership, Thule Society membership, marital status, year of birth of first child, number of children, gender of children, year of death, year of leaving the refounded NSDAP, SS and SA membership after 1925, NSDAP honors bestowed, and reasons for joining the NSDAP. Due to the high number of members missing some or all of this information, only a handful of these additional variables are useful in the aggregated data analysis.
[14] See Mühlberger, Detlef, ed. *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), tables 2.2 2.3, 2.6, 2.7 from pages 54-55, 62-68, 78-80, 91-93 respectively.
[15] Class assignment for all Nazi and SA members analyzed here are based on Detlef Mühlberger's unpublished document "Comments on the Classification System Used" sent to the author on 9 September 2003 along with some revisions from 9 November 2006. Mühlberger was kind enough to investigate all of the individuals analyzed by this dissertation and locate their place within his classification system.

[16] For more on the differences between Kater's system of class assignment and Mühlberger's, see Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 49-51, and Mühlberger, *The Social Bases of Nazism, 1919-1933*, 24-37.
[17] See Mühlberger, *Social Bases of Nazism, 1919-1933*, 75-76, for a summary of Falter's findings.
[18] Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 55-80.
[19] For an excellent use of the prosopographical method for the Nazi period, see Ruth Bettina Birn's analysis of SS Officers in her excellent work, *Die höheren SS- und Polizeiführer: Himmlers Vertreter im Reich und in den besetzten Gebieten* (Germany, Droste: 1986). Her data are taken from the SS Officer Personal Files, a very extensive and rich source. Birn is able to give an accurate picture of the SS Officers at various times, although she does not use the *k-means* cluster analysis used in this dissertation to create prosopographical prototypes.
[20] Herbert Ziegler, *Nazi Germany's New Aristocracy: the SS Leadership 1925 - 1939* (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1989).
[21] Ziegler uses discriminant analysis to determine how much of each of his eleven variables explains the groupings of SS leadership.
[22] All SA members were male (this eliminates the gender variable), all SA members lived in Munich (this eliminates the region and area of residence variables), and this is the first official listing of SA men, so all had joined at the same time (this eliminates the year of party entrance variable).
[23] For a member to be analyzed using cluster analysis, there has to be information on the Party member for each variable. Members who were missing any of the six variables were not included in the cluster analysis. Members who could not be assigned a class designation because they were placed in the Status Unclear occupational category were not analyzed. For group totals, that leaves: members who joined before 29 July 1921 (2764 members total, 2337 members analyzed), members who joined after 29 July 1921 (566 members, 470 members analyzed), all members of the Nazi Party 1919-1922 (3330 members, 2807 analyzed), and SA members as of 10 October 1921 (239 members, 179 members analyzed).

Chapter 4: Social Composition of the NSDAP

Overview

The real goal of a social composition is not only to understand what biographical traits a group has, but also to see how that group changes over time. To trace the progression of the Nazi Party, three different ways to break down the membership into more manageable groups will be used here. Firstly, the party will be analyzed in terms of year-end totals for 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1922. Secondly, those members who joined before Hitler took over as dictator of the Party will be compared with those who joined after; this will reveal concretely whether the members who joined after 29 July 1921 had different social characteristics from those who joined before. Lastly, the 196 members who joined in the month immediately after Hitler took total control of the Party will be analyzed to see how they might have reflected the way Hitler tried to reshape the membership of the Party. These 196 members will be compared to those who joined before 29 July 1921. They will also be compared to those who joined after 29 July 1921 to see how much different these first 196 members were than the whole group of members who joined after Hitler became Party dictator.

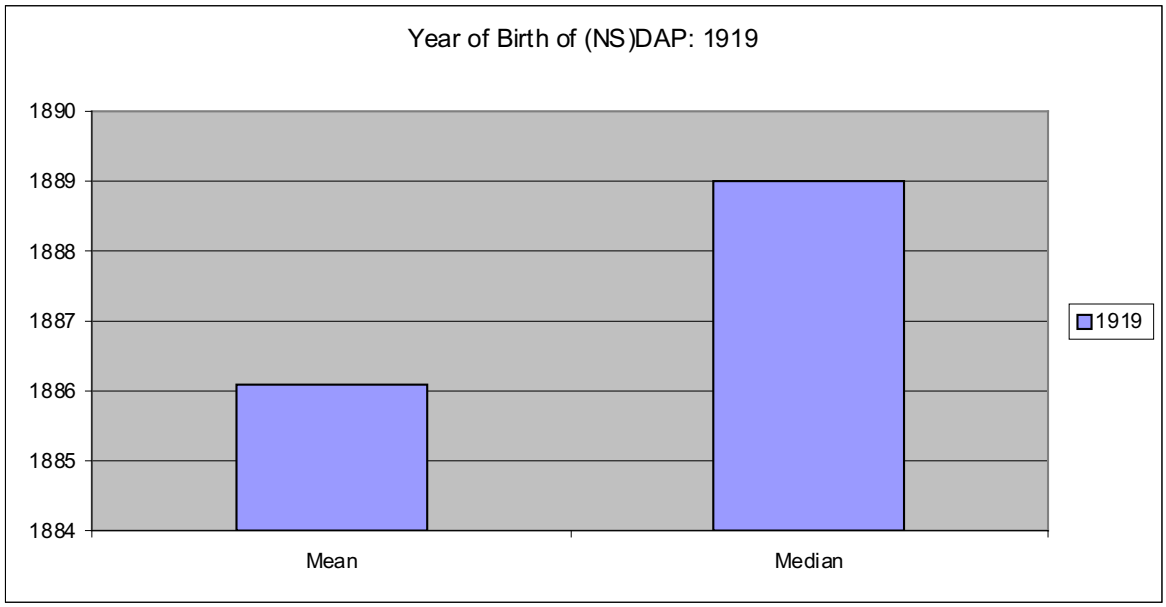
The earliest known membership roster of the SA will also be analyzed. Although nearly half of the early SA members were also (NS)DAP members, the SA had a much different social composition. The SA serves in this instance as a comparison group, to help see how the Party membership differed from that of its militant offshoot. After the

social composition analysis for each year from 1919 to 1922, the Nazi Party membership will also be compared to German nation as a whole and to the memberships of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Communist Party (KPD).

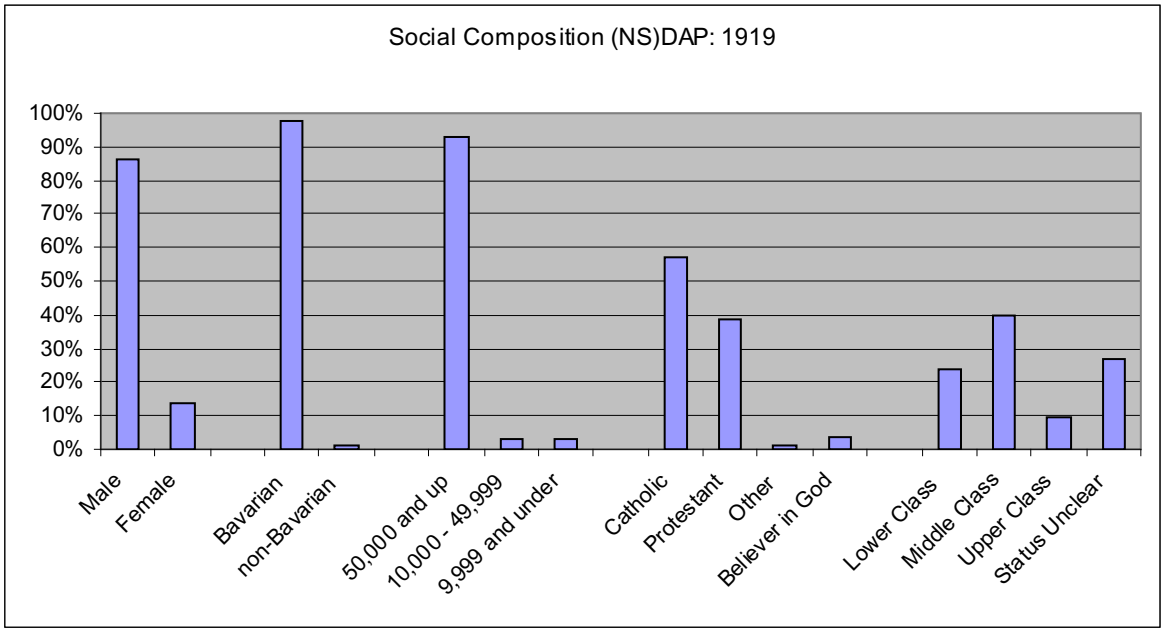
Social Composition: 1919

With only 208 members by the end of 1919, the DAP certainly did not seem a likely candidate to be the mass party that it would become a decade later. In its beginnings, the DAP was made up mainly of Anton Drexler's railway worker friends, and thus it was then just as much a workers' party as it ever would be. Unfortunately, the small number of members at this time, compounded with the general lack of additional information on them, makes it very difficult to draw valid statistical conclusions about this group. Only the age, gender, religion, and class variables can be compared to the membership in later years. Education and marital status do not have a sufficient sample size to be considered statistically valid; analysis of these two variables can be found in Appendix 3.

Looking at the age of the first members of the (NS)DAP, we see that the average birth year is 1886; for the year 1919, this means that the average age of the members was 33. Their median year of birth was 1889. In the endnotes for each of the year-end social compositions, a histogram of the Year of Birth of the members is given. For the members in 1919, it indicates that the membership is skewed in the direction of having more younger members than older members.[1] However, it should be noted that Hitler, who was born in 1889, was younger than average, but that he had the exact median age of the Party membership in general.



The Nazi Party's policy on the role of women was well-formed by the time Hitler came to power over Germany in 1933. Its stance toward women in 1919 was less obvious. At any rate, women made up less than 13.5% of the total (NS)DAP membership then. Although only a small percentage of the entire membership, female representation in 1919 was higher than in the years after 1925.[2]

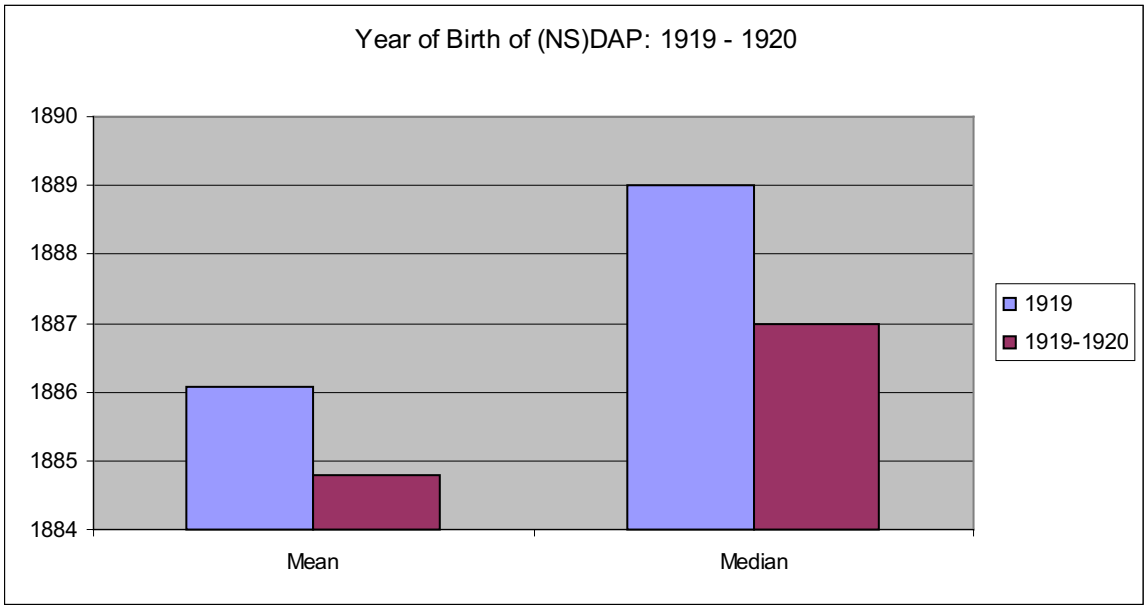


Not unexpectedly, given that the membership at this time was nearly 98% Bavarian and that Bavaria was predominantly Catholic, 57% of the early (NS)DAP was Catholic. The three "Believer in God" responses (3.5%), as mentioned above, reflect the data given at the time, and were other information available for the three individuals, it is likely that they would state that they were either Catholic or Protestant. The one "Other" religion response (1.2%) could either be an atheist, an agnostic, or some other type of religious believer.

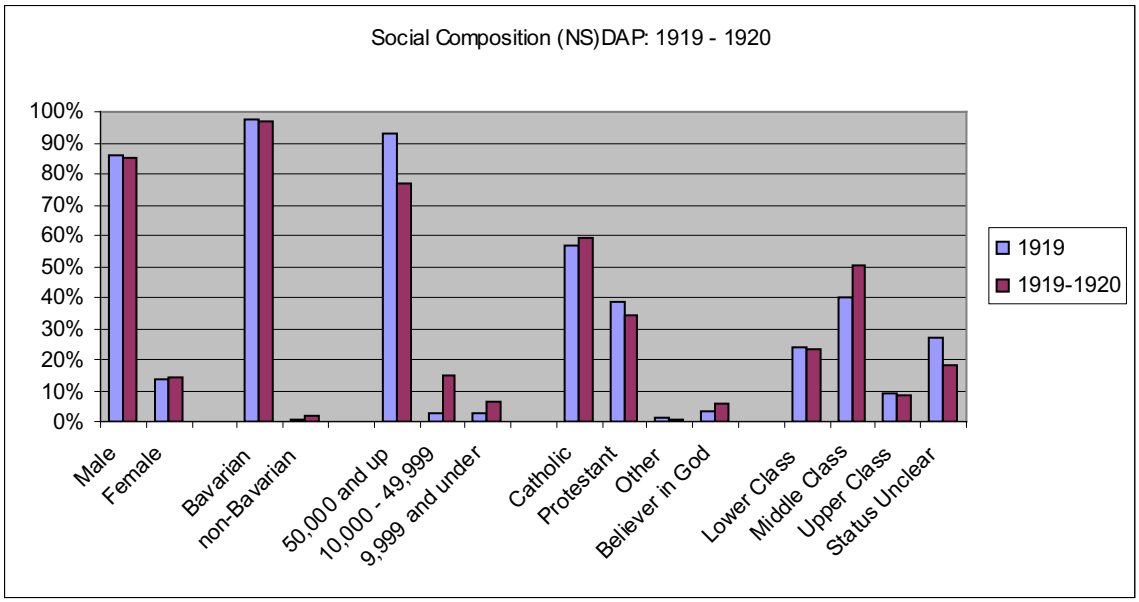
Lastly, the Nazi Party in 1919 certainly does not strike one as having a "working class" membership. Only 24% of the members came out of the lower classes (32% if the "Status Unclear" category is taken out), whereas according to the 1925 census, Munich's social structure was 41% working class.[3] We will see that the (NS)DAP's percentage of working class membership was well below that of the SPD and the KPD for all years 1919 through 1922. Forty percent of the DAP at this time was middle class, 9.3% was upper class, and 26.9% belonged to the Status Unclear group.[4] At this stage in the life of the Nazi Party, membership was still made up of a significant number of Drexler's associates. Drexler's line of work, like that of his fellow railway workers, is more easily identified with the skilled working class than it is with the middle class, but because he was a federal employee, he was deemed middle-class according to the German census classifications.[5] The relatively low working-class representation was typical of the Nazi Party throughout its existence. The Nazi Party, despite its full name, was never truly a working-class group.

Social Composition: 1920

In February of 1920, the DAP laid out the party platform, the Twenty-Five Points, and officially became the NSDAP. By the end of 1920, the NSDAP had nearly ten times as many members as in 1919. With 1977 known members, the Nazi Party was becoming a real political force in Bavarian politics. In addition, the NSDAP had launched its *Turn- und Sportabteilung* in 1920, a thinly veiled militant offshoot of the party and the precursor to the SA.[6] The NSDAP was also busy establishing new chapters outside of Munich: on 18 April in Rosenheim and on 20 September in Landshut.



Compared to 1919, the membership of the NSDAP was older. Since it was a year later, for the average age to remain the same the members need to have been born a year later. In fact, the average year of birth was 1884.8 versus 1886 one year before; this means that the average age of the membership was in fact more than two years older at an age of 35. The median year of birth was 1887 compared to 1889. Even so, the membership was still disproportionately skewed towards younger members.[7]



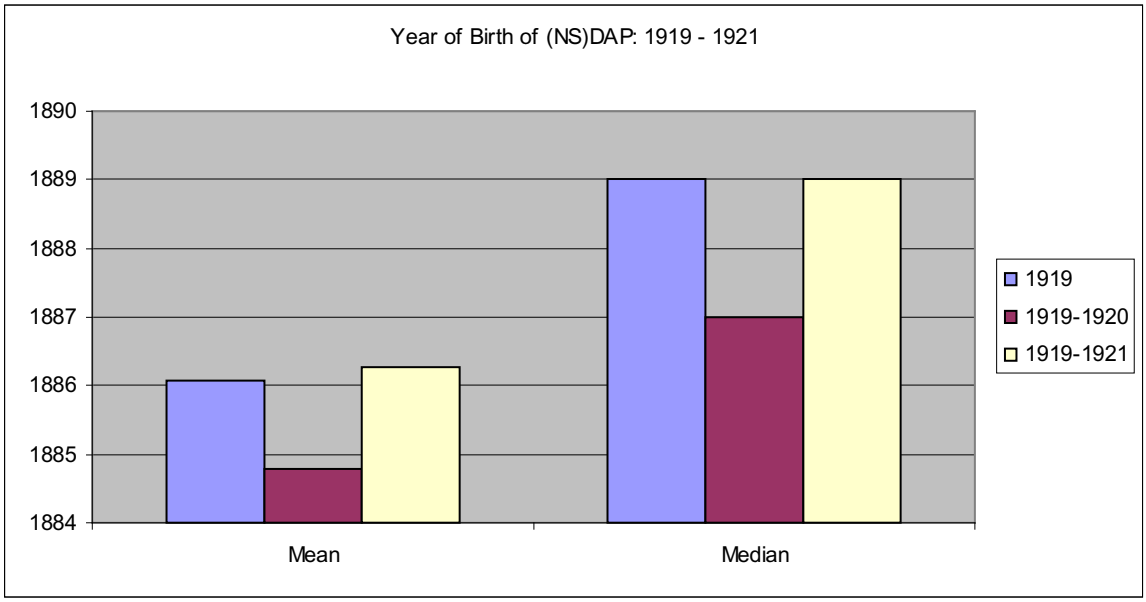
There was no great change in the percentage of female Party members; the slight rise to 14.6% of the total membership (from 13.5% in 1919) would indicate that the NSDAP was making minimal relative gains in recruiting women. The proportion of the members from large, urban areas decreased drastically. Those who resided in areas of 50,000 or more dropped from nearly 93% to 77% even as the Party expanded out of Munich and into areas like Rosenheim (10,000-24,999 residents) and Landshut (25,000-49,999 residents). Religiously, the Party was also becoming marginally more Catholic (59.2% as against 57% the year before). The 6% whose religion was stated as "Believer in God" can be ignored as an artifact of the data collection.

In terms of social class, however, the party in 1920 was much different from the year before. The middle class now made up the majority of its members: 50.1%, up from 40.5% in 1919. Except for the "Status Unclear" group which dropped from 26.9% in 1919 to 17.8% in 1920, there was little change among the other social classes, with the lower class dropping insignificantly from 23.8% in 1919 to 23.5% in 1920 and the upper class dropping from 9.3% in 1919 to 8.6% in 1920. Because a greater percentage of the

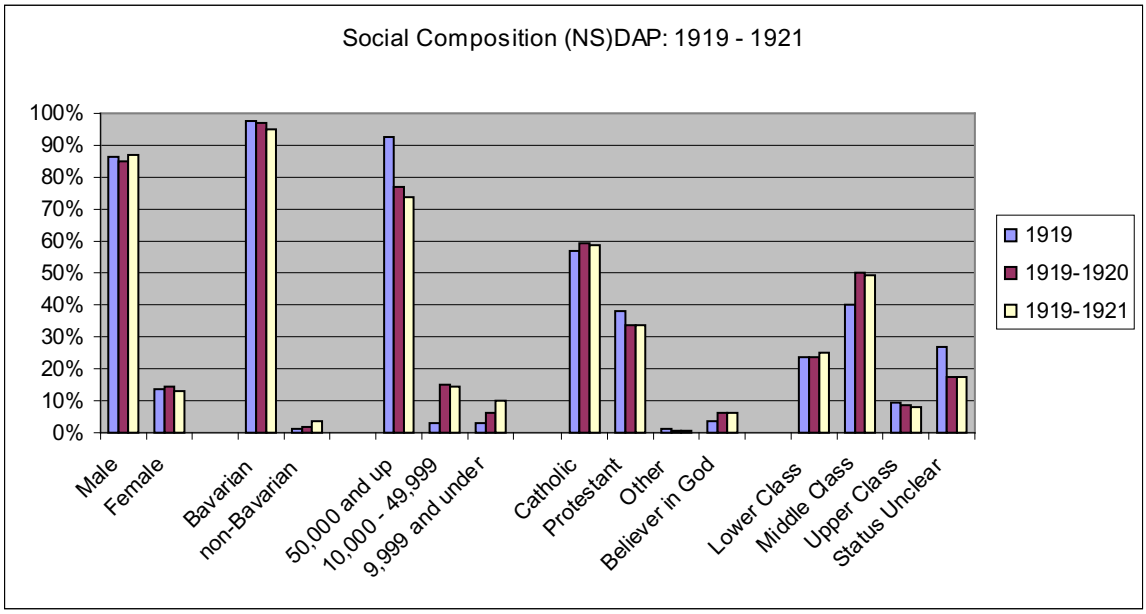
1919 members belonged to the "Status Unclear" group (meaning that their reported occupation did not fit into the parameters of the 1925 German census data), it is hard to state authoritatively that the NSDAP was becoming more middle-class, but at the very least, a greater percentage of members had clearly defined occupations that stemmed from the middle classes.

Social Composition: 1921

By the end of 1921, the Nazi Party claimed 2994 members from the seven membership lists. Although not at quite the fantastic rate of growth that it enjoyed from 1919 to 1920, the Nazi Party was becoming more and more popular and more and more active. On 29 July 1921, Hitler took over as the Party's dictator, and from then on, it was he alone who had the final word on whether incoming applications for membership would be accepted. The schism in the Party which ultimately led to Hitler's rise to power within it was based largely on whether the Party should put its future in Hitler's hands. Of course, Hitler's lifestyle did not at all jibe with the DAP's original stated purpose of elevating the status of the working people, but Hitler consistently brought in more members and made sure that the Nazi Party became a conspicuous, if not infamous, force in local Bavarian politics. In the month of August (the first full month after Hitler's takeover of the Party), the NSDAP accepted 189 new members, the most it would for any month in 1921.



As far as age went, the NSDAP's average birth year was again 1886, the same as in 1919; the average age of the members was then 35, barely younger than in 1920 and two years older than in 1919.[8]



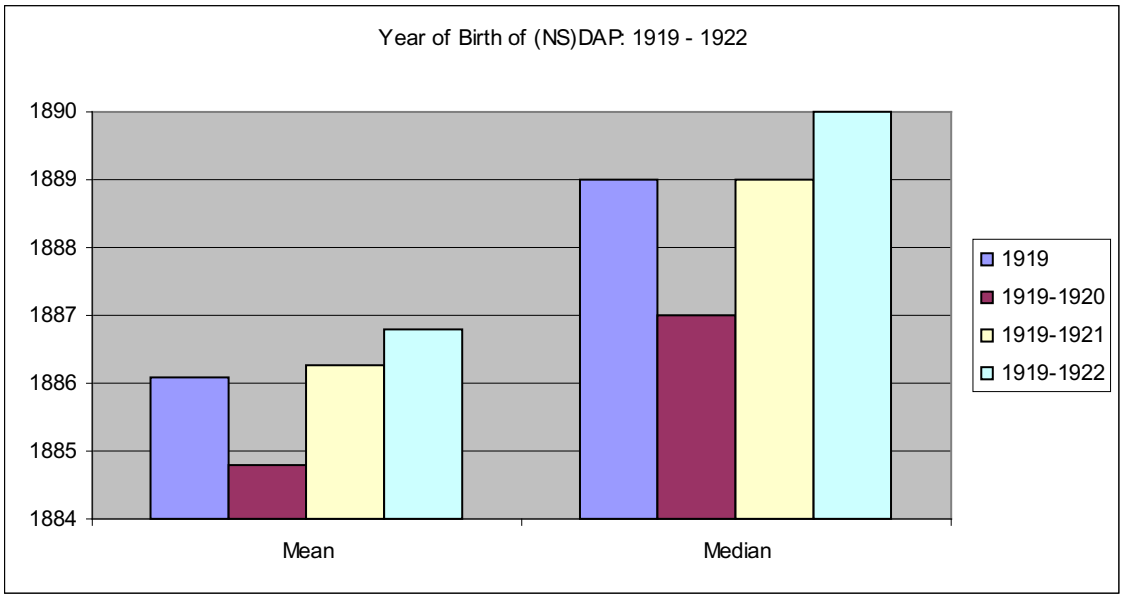
The percentage of female membership went down to 13.2% from 14.6% in 1920, but again, showed little change from 1919. The decline in the urban dwellers within the

Party membership continued; there was a large increase in the percentage of members from very small towns (from 3% in 1919 to 6% in 1920 to nearly 10% in 1921). The religion of the NSDAP's membership changed so little that no category – Catholic, Protestant, Other, or "Believer in God" – showed a change of more than one percentile.

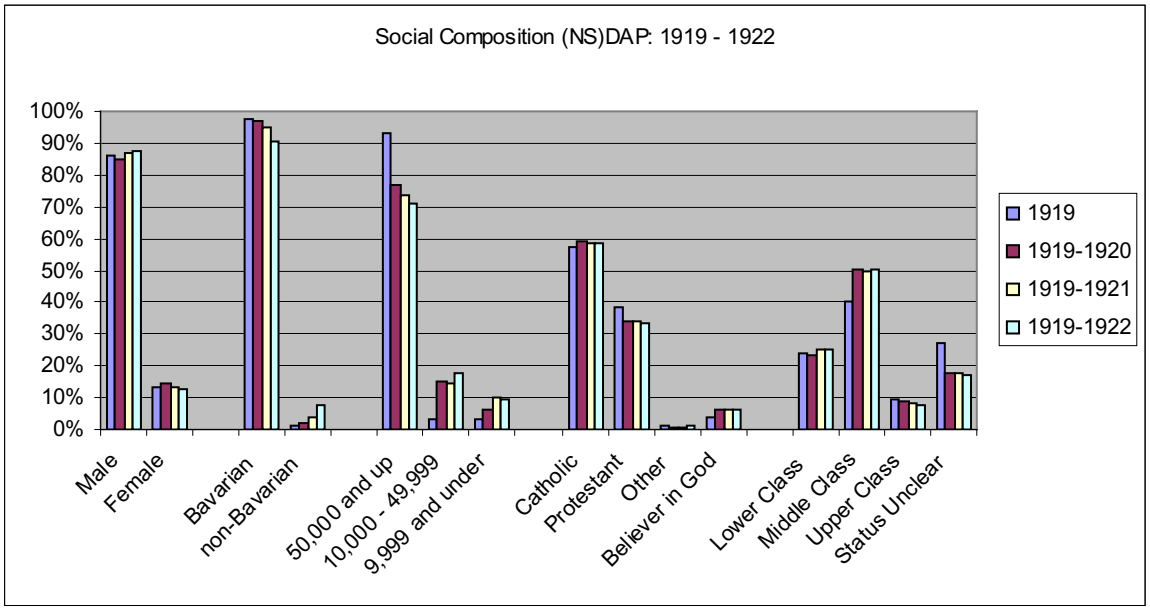
Lastly, while the "Status Unclear" group and the middle class group changed little, there was a slight decrease in the percentage of upper-class NSDAP members and a slight increase in lower-class representation from 1920 to 1921 (from 8.6% to 8% and 23.5% to 25% respectively). With the SA in its infancy, there was no clear separation between the SA and the NSDAP, and it was often the case that those who joined the SA were listed as members of the NSDAP as well. Because of this practice of enlisting SA members directly into the party, by embracing paramilitarism, the NSDAP may have been drawing in a slightly higher number of less educated, male, single, lower-class party members. Such a trend has been noted by other historians, but they have had little empirical evidence to back it up. Even though the membership itself grew by one third, the social composition of the party changed only modestly from 1920 to 1921.

Social Composition: 1922

The Nazi Party was still picking up new members; it totaled 3330 by the end of 1922.[9] Although a large gain of new members, it is hardly the 55,000 members that the party is thought to have had just prior to the Beer Hall Putsch in November 1923.



The average year of birth changed only by half a year to 1887 from the year before. While younger on average than other political parties, the Nazi Party was not so young to warrant calling it a youth movement.[10] The average age of members in 1922 was still 35.



Women made up a much smaller percentage of the group; female members in 1922 only made up 12.4% of the total membership. This was the lowest total in all four years, 1919-1922, but much larger than in 1933, when female membership was only 7.8% of the total.[11] The percentage of non-Bavarian members did decline from 1919 to 1922; however, the change was not great, and it clearly indicates that the Party struggled with recruiting outside of its Bavarian base. Overall, from 1919 to 1922, the percentage of Bavarian members decreased only from nearly 98% to just over 90%. The urban nature of the Party, however, showed a considerable change over the four years: urban dwellers represented nearly the entire membership in 1919 at almost 93%. By 1922, those living in an area of 50,000 or more residents was only 71%. The Party was still predominantly Catholic; with nearly 59% of the membership Catholic, the religion variable is one which was most constant across the years 1920-1922. Hitler's disdain for the church, which became more pronounced later, does not seem to have affected the NSDAP membership at this time. Of course, with the majority of its members still coming from the Catholic province of Bavaria, it is no surprise that the Nazi Party membership should have been mainly Catholic.

In terms of lower-class representation, the membership in 1922 did not change at all from 1921 (25%). However, both the upper class and the Status Unclear groups had slightly lower percentages (from 8% to 7.6% and from 17.4% to 16.8% respectively) with the middle class gaining a full percentage point since 1921 (from 49.6% to 50.6%). By 1922, it appears that the Nazi Party had regained its middle-class footing.[12]

Over the course of three full years, 1920 to 1922, the social composition of the membership of the (NS)DAP clearly changed. Most notably, the party membership

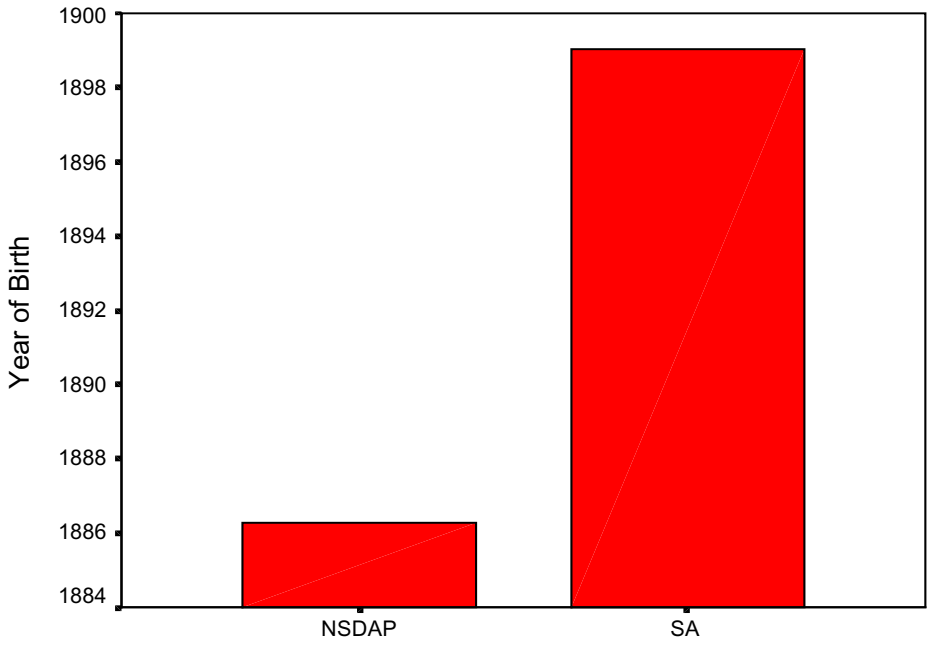
moved towards being more middle-class and towards having fewer female and fewer urban members.

SA Members as of October 1921

With only 239 members in October 1921, Emil Maurice's SA was still only the nascent form of the mass movement it would later become. It was nonetheless making itself distinct from the regular membership of the NSDAP. The SA grew out of the *Turn- und Sportabteilung* and also the *Saalschutz* of the DAP, which was established soon after Hitler came on board. It was not at all uncommon in the uncertain era of Weimar Germany for political groups to have a handful of fighters to help settle down rowdies at party rallies. Accordingly, the primary goal of the *Sturmabteilung* at this stage of its existence was to offer protection to Nazi members and leaders during raucous speaking engagements. For this reason, SA members had to be ready to take on violent opposition and, if necessary, to give their lives to the Nazi Party. Certainly, this challenge would appeal only to a particular type of person.

As early as the fall of 1920, the members of the DAP's "gymnastics section" were on hand to help settle the crowd and make sure anti-Nazi hecklers were tossed out. Their duties did not stop at merely *Saalschutz*; they also tried their best to disband the rallies of rival political groups and to beat up the opposition on the street. The early SA was aided greatly by the sympathetic Munich Police Chief, Ernst Pöhner. Being allowed to practice its mischief unimpeded was the very thing the SA needed to foster its growth. With some three hundred members, the SA proved its worth at a rally at the Hofbräuhaus on 4 November 1921. In Hitler's words, by throwing themselves on their enemies like "wolves in packs", the SA had "survived a baptism of fire despite being outnumbered."[13] By

getting a sense of who the very first members of the newly-founded SA were, one can get an idea of the type of person that Hitler and Maurice were looking for, and consequently who felt compelled to join a burgeoning group of toughs whose immediate future was fighting political opponents, beating up Jews, and being ready to get beaten up themselves. Additionally, how did SA members differ from regular NSDAP members? One must consider that 116 of the 239 members of the SA by 25 October 1921 (the date of the SA roster) were or would become members of the NSDAP by 1922. Despite this overlap, comparing the two groups can give a better understanding of the type of people that the SA was drawing in.

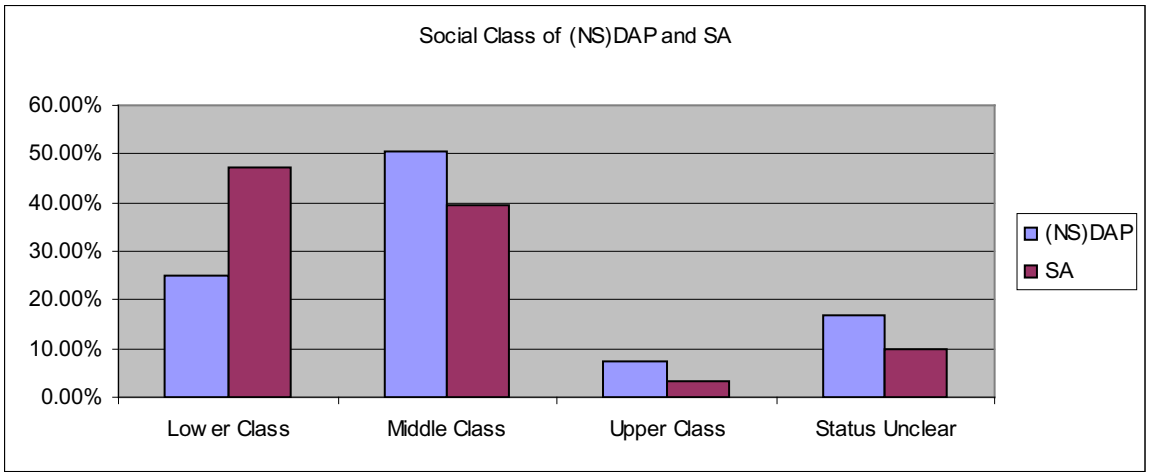


Means of Year of Birth of NSDAP and SA Members by October 1921

Firstly, SA members were significantly younger than the NSDAP members at this time. Given the duties of the SA man, youth was an important asset. SA members averaged a birth year of 1899, a full thirteen years younger than the average Party

member.[14] SA members were also more urban, another obvious requirement for SA membership. Since party headquarters, political hotspots, and speaking venues were in Munich and SA members needed to be ready for action at a moment's notice, most SA members should be expected to live in Munich; of the 239 members at this time, only 3 lived outside of Munich. Religiously, SA members did not differ significantly from their NSDAP brethren: 66% were Catholic, nearly 28% Protestant, and the remaining 6% were either a "Believer in God" or "Other".

Lastly, SA members were much more from the lower class than the NSDAP membership in general and more so than even Munich as a whole according to the 1925 census data. If members with no data in the occupation field are removed, more than 47% of the SA was lower-class; compare this to 25% of Nazi Party members and 41% of the Munich population.[15] Thirty-nine percent of SA members were from the middle class versus 49% of NSDAP members. Correspondingly, upper-class representation was much smaller in the SA: 3.4% of its members were upper-class (versus 7.8% in the NSDAP). Clearly, the SA was drawing in members from the lower social ranks. Even though the (NS)DAP touted itself as a working-class party, it was being outdone in this regard by its own paramilitary offshoot.



The Party compared with the German People, the SPD, and the KPD

Just as helpful as knowing how Nazi Party membership changed over time is how its membership compared to the German population and to membership in other political parties. Although limited in the number of comparable variables, it is possible to see whether Nazi Party members were in fact typical members of their society. Based on the 1925 German census returns, early (NS)DAP members can be compared to all Germans along the lines of their social class, their religion, the population of their area of residence, and their marital status.[16]

How the social class of the (NS)DAP membership from various *Ortsgruppen* across different periods differed from German society as a whole has been well covered most recently by Mühlberger, so only the most general of observations need be made here.[17] While there is no doubt that (NS)DAP membership reached all social class levels, it was not quite the case that Nazi Party membership was reflective of German society. While the percentage of working class Germans ranged from 45.8% in Ingolstadt to 38.1% in Landshut, (NS)DAP working class membership never reached above 34.5% in any Nazi local in the early history of the Party.[18] When one looks at all the (NS)DAP

members who joined before October 1922 according to the seven membership lists analyzed in this dissertation, working-class membership was only 30.08%, while middle-class and upper-class membership were disproportionately high at 60.78% and 9.15% respectively.[19] Although the Nazi Party in its early years was able, as Mühlberger indicates, to "transcend the class divide" by recruiting from all sectors of society, it very much struggled to bring in working-class membership. According to their own internal analysis, the *Parteistatistik*, by 1933 the Nazi Party still only had 32.1% of membership belonging to the "workers".[20] Meanwhile, within Germany as a whole, 46.3% of the people were working-class.[21] The (NS)DAP was simply never a "workers' party".

From a religious standpoint, Nazi Party members were not much different from the rest of Bavarian society. Given the relatively small numbers of Party members who lived outside of Bavaria and supplied data on religion, it is wise to look only at the Bavarian membership; furthermore, the "Believer in God" responses are not included here. Although slightly more inclined to be adherents to Protestantism, with 34.8% of Bavarian (NS)DAP members being Protestant as against 28.82% of Bavaria as a whole, the difference is not so great that one could safely draw any conclusions about Nazi Party members being out of step religiously with the rest of the population.[22] The percentage of Catholic Party members is accordingly smaller (64.09%) than the percentage of Catholic Bavarians (69.96%).

What is striking about the (NS)DAP membership is how urban it was. Of the 3006 Bavarian (NS)DAP members, only 6.22% (187 members) lived in areas with fewer than 2000 residents as compared to the 51.72% of Bavarians overall. Further evidence of the urban nature of the Nazi Party members is that 71.86% (2160 members) lived in cities

of 100,000 or more residents, while only 18.17% of the Bavarian population did.[23] Among the (NS)DAP members who lived outside of Bavaria, the percentage of urban dwellers was still very high at 71.4%, while only 4.7% lived in areas of fewer than 2000 residents.

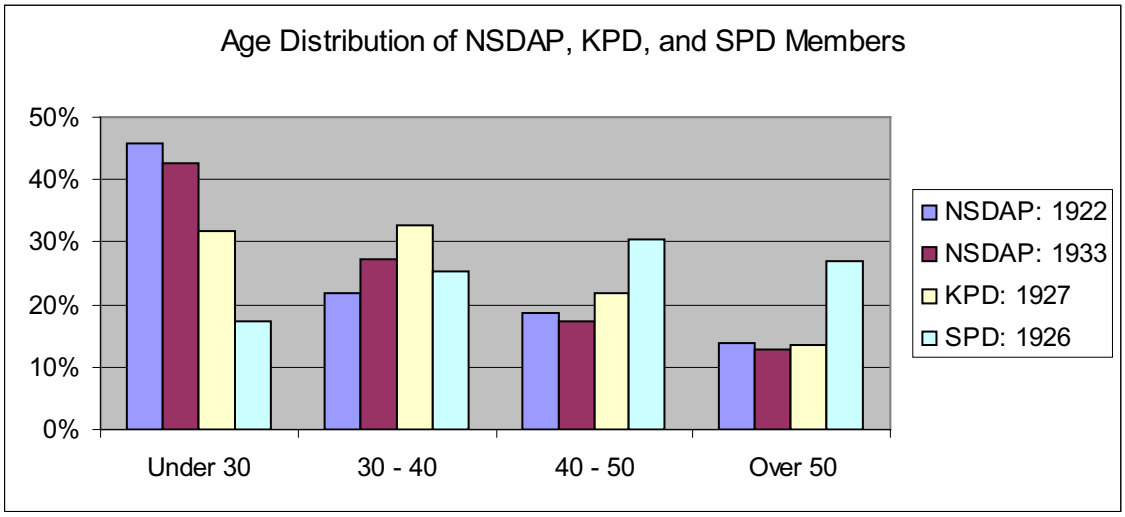
While the membership of the Nazi Party differed from the German population as whole, it was not like that of other political parties either. Given the number of political parties at the time, it is unreasonable to examine them all. Comparisons with memberships of the Communist Party (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), however, can be made based on gender, education, religion, social class, and age distribution.

The SPD was far more open to taking in female members than the (NS)DAP ever was. At its peak in 1920, the female Nazi Party membership was only 14.6%. This percentage fluctuates over time, but by 1930, a mere 5.9% of members were female.[24] Women in the SPD, on the other hand, reached 25% of its total membership in 1930.[25] In terms of religion, the (NS)DAP and the SPD and KPD had much different followings in the early 1920s. The largely Bavarian Nazi Party had a broad base of Catholic supporters, but the SPD and the KPD, which found most of their support in industrial, urban centers, did not. In 1924, the SPD only garnered support among 12.1% of Catholic voters, while the KPD drew in a meager 6.5%.[26] Meanwhile, the membership of the NSDAP in 1922 was made up of nearly 59% Catholics.

In name, if not in reality, the NSDAP was a "workers'" party, so it is fair to compare the social class of its membership to the KPD and the SPD, both of which appealed to the working class. In 1925-1926, a sample of the SPD membership showed it

to be 80.5% working class, and information available for the KPD would suggest a similar working-class percentage.[27] Meanwhile, the Nazi Party struggled to bring in working-class members; only 30% of members were working-class in 1922, and only 23% by 1930.[28] However, just as the NSDAP was not reflective of German society in general, neither was the KPD or the SDP. While the percentage of the working-class varied highly by region, in 1933 it was close to 55% for all of Germany. Clearly, both the SPD and the KPD were doing a far better job of being a workers' party than the NSDAP.

Lastly, was the Nazi Party in fact a youth movement? In comparison to the KPD and the SPD, it was undoubtedly so. Table 4 shows that while the Nazi Party membership grew slightly older from 1922 to 1933, in both years it was much younger overall than both the KPD and the SPD.[29]



In the early stages of the Nazi movement, there was a good deal of overlap between Nazi Party members and members of either the SA or the *Stosstrupp Adolf Hitler* (the precursor to the SS) – or both. The members of the SA and the *Stosstrupp* tended to be younger than the party membership in general. Nonetheless, the percentage of NSDAP members under 30 in 1922 (45.8%) and 1933 (42.7%) was much higher than

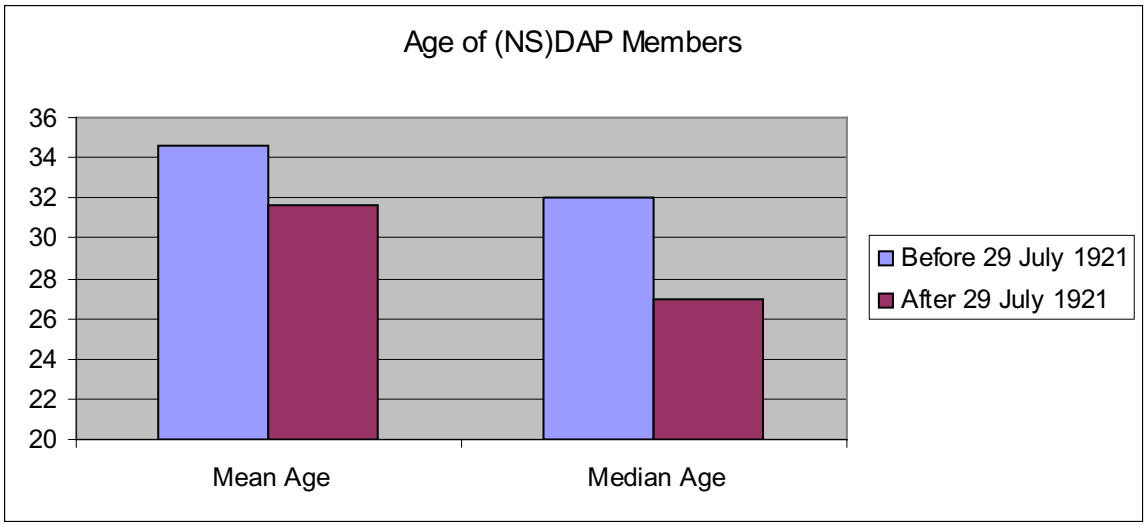
membership in the KPD (31.8%) and even more so than the SPD (17.3%). We have already seen evidence that indicates that the NSDAP was not a "youth movement"; compared to the KPD and the SPD, however, Nazi Party members were distinctly young.

Comparison of Nazi Party members before and after 29 July 1921

The membership of the (NS)DAP has been shown to differ from the membership of the SPD, KPD, and from Germans as a whole, but did the Party membership change after Hitler took over as Party dictator? By comparing the members of the Nazi Party before and after 29 July 1921, the assertion that Hitler used his power to recruit different types of members can be tested. Of particular interest are the members who joined immediately after 29 July 1921. Analysis of these 196 members who joined between 29 July and 1 September strengthens the argument that the members before and after 29 July 1921 were different. Although many historians have claimed that Hitler did indeed cash in on his new-found power to determine the types of people who would constitute the membership of the Nazi Party, there has been little statistical research beyond analysis of the age factor to prove an immediate change in its social composition.[30] Furthermore, the proof of these claims is hardly palatable statistically. Authors typically make bold assertions based on computed averages, usually without any comparison group against which to test them. Such averages can be informative, but it is left up to the reader to ascertain if such averages were out of the norm. Lastly, it is rare (for no apparent reason) that social analyses compare the Nazi Party at different periods based on more than social class and age.

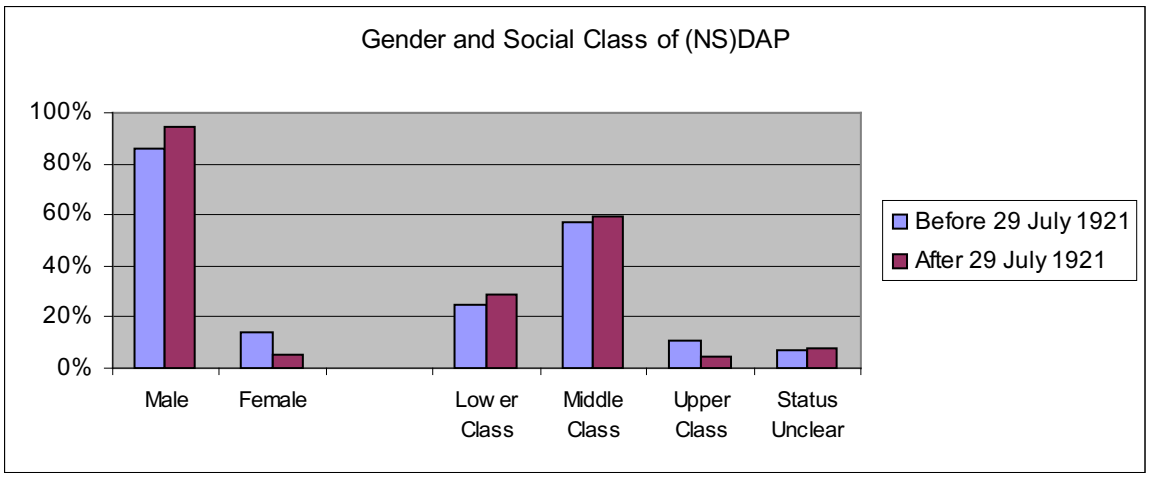
What is found is that members who joined before 29 July 1921 do not differ in religion from the members who joined after.[31] However, the two groups do differ significantly in age, gender, social class, and whether they rejoined the Nazi Party or not when it was refounded in 1925.

The average year of birth for the pre-29 July 1921 group is 1886, while the post-29 July 1921 group has an average year of birth of 1891. The median year of birth reveals an even larger difference in age; it is 1888 for the group that joined before 29 July 1921, while for the group that joined after, it is 1895. This means that those who joined after 29 July 1921 were more than five years younger.[32] That the later members are younger confirms the findings of Douglas and others that the Nazi Party in its early years got younger as it became more popular.[33]



Additionally, the often repeated contention that once Hitler gained dictatorial power over the Nazi Party its ranks swelled with ex-soldier types is also upheld by the gender differences in Party members before and after 29 July 1921. While males made up just over 86% of the party before 29 July 1921, they make up over 94% after 29 July

1921.[34] Clearly the party was recruiting a greater percentage of males as it matured. Exactly why fewer females joined is unclear, but it is tempting to state that the party's policies regarding women were becoming more obvious to its followers and that the party's militaristic tendencies were becoming more predominant. But these are only conjectures, and it is difficult to say for sure without direct evidence.



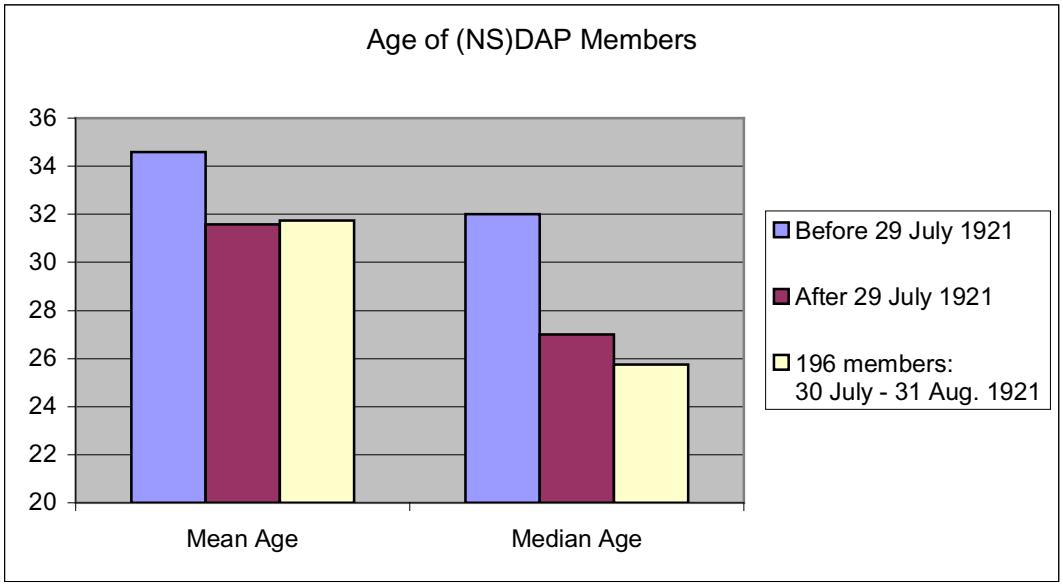
The differences in the social class of members before and after Hitler took over as dictator were also significant. The comparison of the two groupings shows a general tendency of the later group to be made up more of members from the Lower and Middle social classes. The "Status Unclear" group remained practically the same (7.2% in the pre-29 July 1921 group and 7.6% in the post-29 July 1921 group). There was, however a substantial decline in upper-class representation: from 10.64% before 29 July 1921 to 4.42% after. To some degree, the Nazi Party did indeed become more of a "worker's party" as it evolved between 1919 and 1923. While the lower class made up 25.29% of the Party before Hitler took over, it constituted 28.8% of the members who joined after 29 July 1921. To a lessor degree, it was becoming a more middle-class party as well. Middle-class members made up 56.8% before 29 July 1921 and 59.19% of those who

joined after.[35] So while the Nazi Party drew in members of all classes, it is true that it appealed predominantly to the middle class.

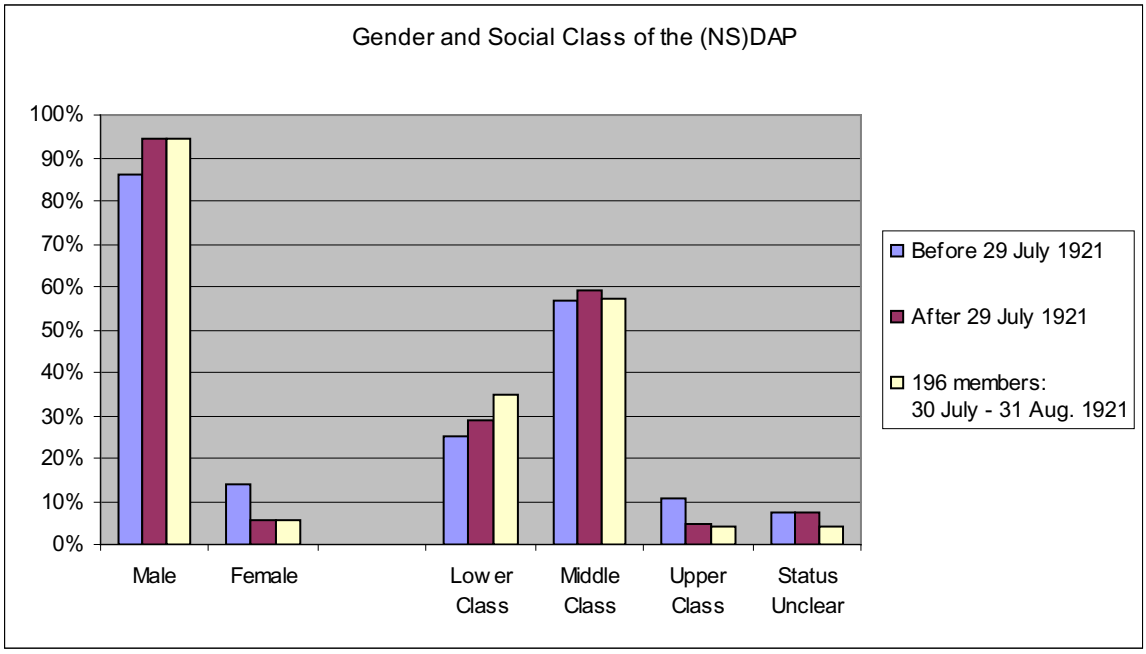
Lastly, whether members rejoined the Nazi Party after it was refounded in 1925 is the last variable which differs between the two groups.[36] Analysis of randomly selected groups reveals that, while only 40% of those who were members before 29 July 1921 rejoined the Party after 1925, those members who first joined after 29 July 1921 rejoined at a rate of 56%. While it is hard to explain this difference, there are many possible reasons to consider. Firstly, many early members were significantly older (or had already died) and perhaps felt less compelled to rejoin a revolutionary party. Secondly, there was a greater number of female members in the pre-29 July 1921 group, and they may have been reticent to rejoin after 1925 when the subordinate role of the woman in the Nazi Party was more clear. Also, although not based on any strictly quantifiable evidence, the personal files of early members often have letters addressed to the Nazi Party central office stating that they did not realize they had to rejoin the party, since they had already been members; why the uncertainty about rejoining would disproportionately affect the pre-29 July 1921 group cannot be stated, but such a trend does seem evident among very early Nazi Party members. Lastly, one must consider the possibility that the early membership was not entirely satisfied with the way the Nazi Party was headed. The attack piece ("Adolf Hitler: Verräter?") that accused Hitler of living extravagantly as the "King of Munich" while the Nazi Party itself struggled financially was clearly based on some of the opinions of Hitler at the time, even if it was expressed in writing only by a few disgruntled members. While early party members might have allowed Hitler some free rein, they may have been displeased with the course that the Party ultimately took:

attempting an ill-prepared putsch in November 1923. As well, one must consider that Hitler as dictator was drawing in more members after 29 July 1921 who envisioned the Nazi Party as he did, rather than the way it may have been envisioned when it was founded only a mere two years before. All of these reasons, and many others no doubt, help to explain why there is such disparity between the two groups in the rate at which former members rejoined the Nazi Party.

The characteristics of the 196 members who joined between 29 July and 1 September 1921 reinforce the differences already seen between the members who joined before and after 29 July 1921. Based on their age, gender, and social class, these 196 members indicate that the NSDAP was drawing in a different type of member. Firstly, they had an average birth year of 1890. This is still slightly older on average than all the members who joined after 29 July 1921, but substantially younger than the members who joined before 29 July 1921. The median birthyear, however, of these 196 members is 1896, which makes them considerably younger than both the pre- and post-29 July 1921 groups.[37]



A more drastic change is evident in the much higher percentage of the 196 members who were male: 94.4% versus 86% before 29 July 1921. This percentage of male members is even higher than the 94% overall who joined after Hitler took over as Party dictator.



Lastly, the social class of these 196 members is strong proof that the Nazi Party was appealing to a different crowd. Only 4.1% were upper-class as against 57.1% middle-class and 34.7% lower-class. While middle-class representation changed some from the members who joined before 29 July 1921 (49.5%), the reduction in upper-class representation (from 8.5%) in conjunction with the dramatic increase in lower-class representation (from 24.3%) substantiates the argument that after Hitler took the helm, the party membership swelled with a different type of member.[38] An immediate, radical shift in membership is evident in the characteristics of the first 196 members who joined

after Hitler took over as Party Dictator. This shift was clearly the beginning of a long-term process to shake up and reinvigorate the membership of the Nazi Party.

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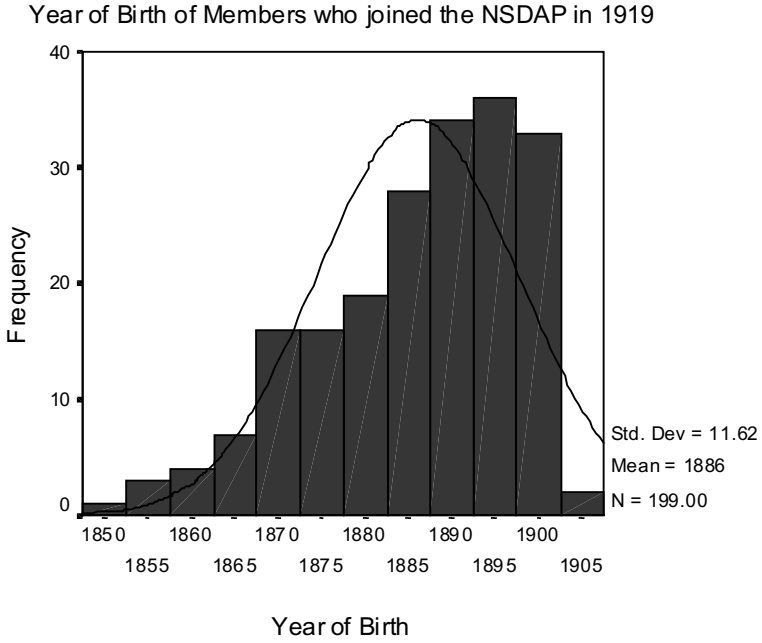
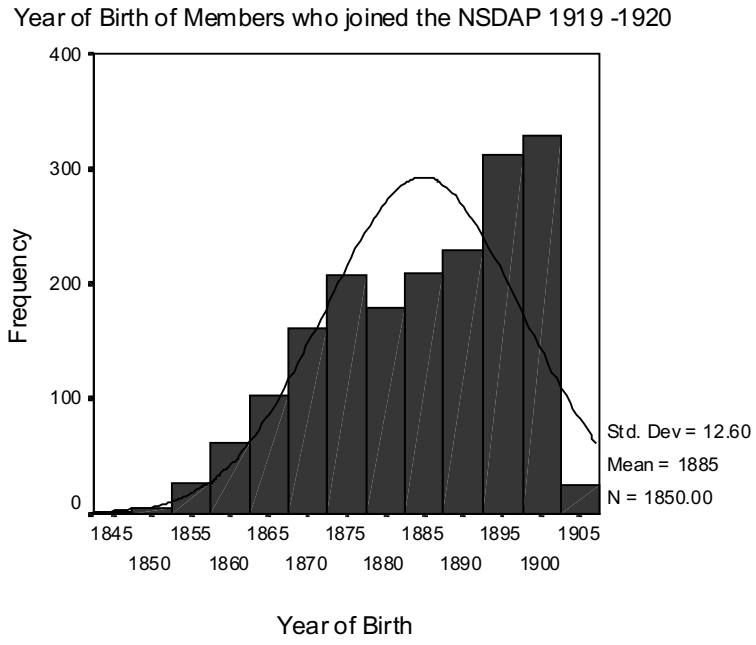
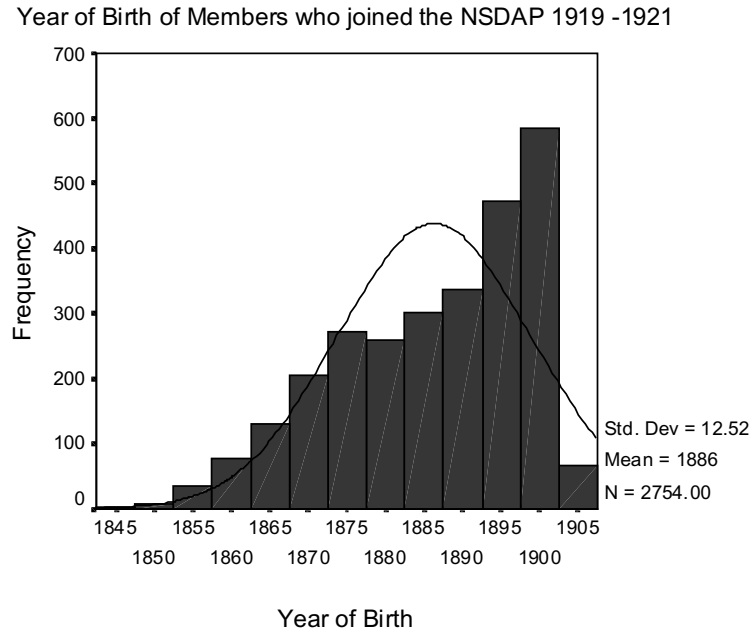
[1] The graph, Year of Birth of Members who Joined the Party in 1919, is broken into five-year blocks and displays a superimposed normal distribution curve.



[2] On the rate of female NSDAP members after 1925, see Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Partei-Statistik. Stand 1. Jan.* 1935, *Band I*, (Munich, 1935), 43.
[3] See Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 130-131, n. 48.
[4] Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements,* 54. Mühlberger removed the non-Munich residents and analyzed the 189 early 1920 DAP members living in Munich. Of these 189, he found: 23.2% lower class, 35.7% middle class (which he calls lower- and middle-middle class), 15.3% upper class (which he calls upper middle class / upper class), 25.4% Status Unclear.
[5] In general, the 1925 German census considers all public employees to be middle-class, no matter what their occupation. Tempting as it may be in the case of Drexler and his associates to change the structure of the occupational classification system to make it more reflective of their working class occupation (skilled as they may have been), a change in the occupational classification system would require accounting for a change in the German census data, and the result when comparing Nazi Party members to the rest of Munich society would be no change. Working class membership in the Nazi Party would still be highly under-represented. For more on the problems of defining the skilled working class versus the lower-middle class as well as related methodological issues, see Mühlberger, *Social Bases of Nazism*, 27-37.
[6] An early list of the *Turn- und Sportabteilung* contains forty members; see National Archives II File (SA-P: d166 1460).
[7] Year of Birth distribution graph for all members 1919 - 1920 is given below.

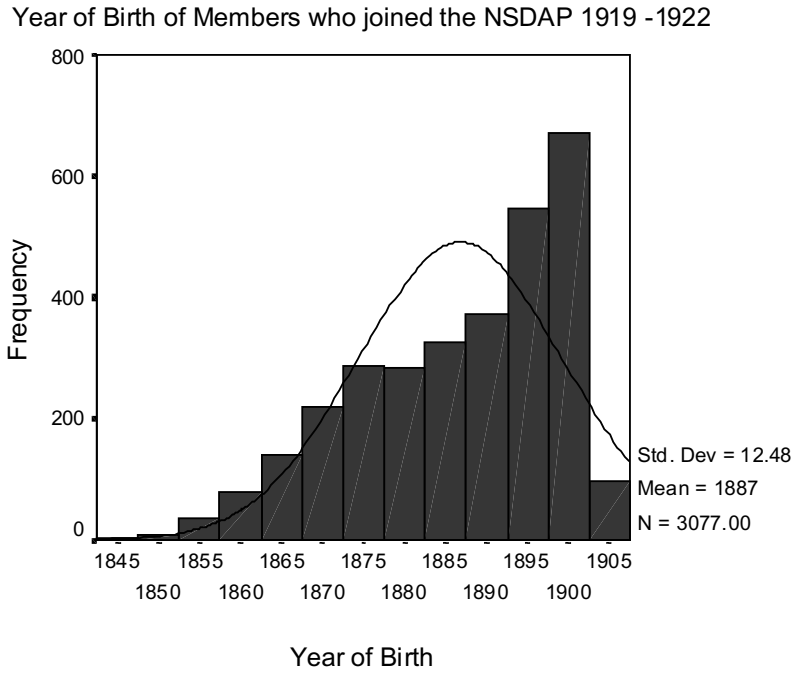


[8] Year of Birth distribution graph for all members 1919 - 1921 is given below.



[9] Member number 7768, who joined 20 September 1922, is the latest joiner on the seven membership lists analyzed. On a Berchtesgaden membership list, the member with the highest membership number in 1922 is the member with number 15,942, who joined 22 December 1922. A much different estimation for membership strength is 35,000 by Captain Truman Smith, who is clearly considering the size of the audience, not the number of Nazi Party members. See Harold J. Gordon Jr., *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 64.

[10] Compared to the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Communist Party (KPD), however, the NSDAP was indeed younger. See *The Party compared with the German People, the SPD, and the KPD* in Chapter 4. Year of Birth distribution graph for all members 1919 - 1922 is given below.



[11] Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Statische Erhebung 1935*, vol. III (Munich: 1936), 3.

[12] Compare to Mühlberger's data of the social breakdown of the NSDAP just prior to the 1923 Putsch based on the 4,786-member NSDAP membership register fragment mentioned above; Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 62-66: lower class, 33.1%; middle class (lower and middle-middle class), 51.5%, upper class (upper middle class / upper class), 5.2%, Status Unclear, 9.9%. Further comparison with Kater's results from analysis of the same membership fragment (September 1923 to November 9, 1923) yields 4,454 members (the reason for the difference in *n*-count is likely due to Kater removing members without occupational data, which Mühlberger corrects by utilizing the "Status Unclear" category) of which 35.9% came from the lower class, 52.1% from the middle class (lower middle class), and 11.9% from the upper class (elite). Both Mühlberger and Kater record an obvious upswing of lower class members who joined the party in mid to late-1923. Based on the aggregated percentages of the party membership by late 1922 on the seven membership registers used for this dissertation, Detlef Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 54-57 reports lower class, 23.84% (Mook, 25%); middle class (lower and middle-middle class), 48.66% (Mook, 50.6%); upper class (upper middle class/upper class), 9.40% (Mook, 7.6%); Status Unclear, 18.10% (Mook, 16.8%). The difference in percentage calculations between the results given in this dissertation and Mühlberger's results is not great enough to require reconciling; differences are likely attributable to a number of smaller concerns: differences in interpretation of handwritten membership registers, differences in sample size due to duplicate and re-registered (NS)DAP members, and my assigning of female members to the social class of the husband or father when given.

[13] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 567.

[14] Year of Birth distribution graph for all SA members October 1921 is given below.

[15] For the Social Class breakdown of the SA, see below:

Social Class of SA Members October 1921 Missing Data Removed					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Lower Class	87.20	47.4%	47.4%	47.4%
	Middle Class	72.55	39.4%	39.4%	86.8%
	Upper Class	6.25	3.4%	3.4%	90.2%
	Status Unclear	18.00	9.8%	9.8%	100.0%
	Total	184.00	100.0%	100.0%	

[16] A gender difference is obvious as well, but needs only a cursory examination. 12.75% of (NS)DAP members were women, whereas 51.6% of the population of the German nation were female. By 1935, female representation in the (NS)DAP had gone down to 5.5% of those aged 18 and older; women 18 and over made up 52.2% of the German population at this time. See Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Partei-Statistik*, *Band 1*, 43.

[17] See Detlef Mühlberger, *The Social Bases of Nazism, 1919-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2003).

[18] These are Mühlberger's figures. He uses the same figures to note how the Nazi Party appealed to all sections of German society, yet concedes that working class representation was low: based on the 1925 census and (NS)DAP membership data, in Munich (NS)DAP working class membership was never greater than 31.3%, yet working class membership in Munich was 41.1%; in Rosenheim the working class made up 41.3%, and 21.4% of Rosenheim (NS)DAP members were working-class; in Passau the working class made up 38.8%, and 14.7% of Passau (NS)DAP members were working-class; in Landshut the working class made up 38.1%, and 28.2% of Landshut (NS)DAP members were working-class; in Ingolstadt the working class made up 45.8%, and 34.5% of Ingolstadt (NS)DAP members were working-class. See Mühlberger, *The Social Basis of European Fascist Movements*, 131, n. 51.

[19] These percentages are calculated with the Status Unclear category taken out; if the Status Unclear category is included, the (NS)DAP did an even poorer job of recruiting working class membership: lower

class 25%, middle class 50.6%, upper class 7.6%, Status Unclear 16.8%. As two points of comparison, see Kater's calculations of Douglas's data on Munich NSDAP membership January 1920 to August 1921 (lower class 28.6%, middle class (lower middle) 51%, and upper class (elite) 20.4%) and his breakdown of the 1933 German social class structure (lower class 54.56%, middle class (lower middle) 42.65%, and upper class (elite) 2.78%). See Michael Kater, *The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders 1919-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 242 and 241 respectively.

[20] Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Parteistatistik*, vol. 1, 58.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] All Bavarian religious information taken from Statistisches Reichsamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1928* (Berlin: Verlag von Reimar Hobbing), 18.

[23] Figures for Bavarian population of residence computed from *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1928*, 8-9.

[24] Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP, *Statistische Erhebung*, vol. III, 3.

[25] Richard Hunt, *German Social Democracy 1918 - 1933* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1964), 103.

[26] Hunt, *German Social Democracy*, 104.

[27] Hunt, *German Social Democracy*, 104. KPD data are difficult to interpret due to differences in definition and the high rate of unemployed members.

[28] Figure for 1930 from *Parteistatistik*, vol. I, 70.

[29] Figures for NSDAP in 1933 taken from the *Parteistatistik* vol. I, 155-162, SPD from Hunt, *German Social Democracy*, 107, and KPD from Wienand Kaasch, "Die Sozial Struktur der KPD," *Kommunistische Internationale*, 19 (1928), 1066. See also Peter H. Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 60. For percentage values, see below:

Age Distribution of NSDAP, SPD, and KPD Members				
	NSDAP: 1922	NSDAP: 1933	SPD: 1926	KPD: 1927
Under 25	29.6%	42.7%	7.7%	12.3%
25 - 30	16.2%		9.6%	19.5%
30 - 40	21.8%	27.2%	25.3%	32.7%
40 - 50	18.6%	17.2%	30.4%	21.9%
Over 50	13.9%	12.9%	27.0%	13.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

[30] Donald M. Douglas's "The Parent Cell", 71, notes how little the party composition changed before and after Hitler took over as party dictator; the only difference Douglas found was in the average age of the members in January 1920 and in August 1921.

[31] The religion variable did not pass statistical testing of significance; the percentage results of the comparison are given below for the interested reader.

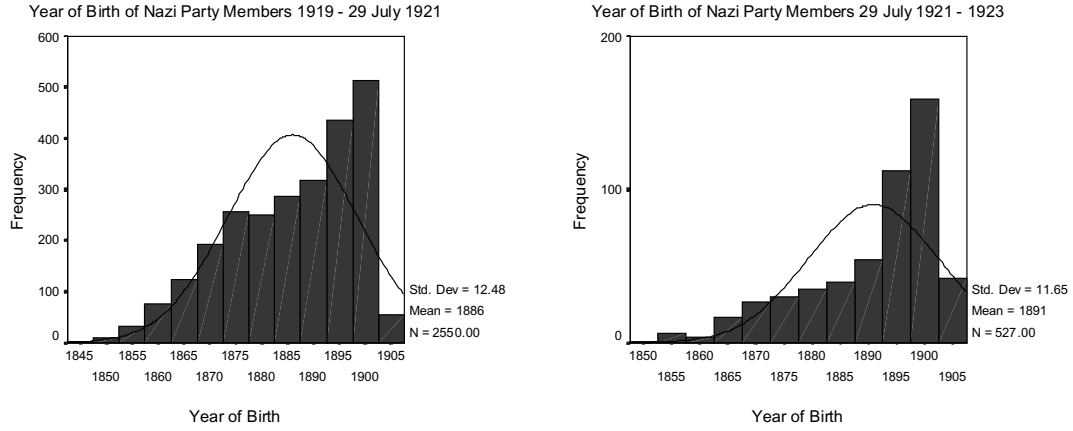
Pre 29 July 1921 versus Post 29 July 1921: Religion

			Religion				
			Catholic	Protestant	Other	Believer in God	Total
	pre 29 July 1921	Count	476	277	8	49	810
		% within 29.07.1921	58.8%	34.2%	1.0%	6.0%	100.0%
	post 29 July 1921	Count	58	29	2	11	100
		% within 29.07.1921	58.0%	29.0%	2.0%	11.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	534	306	10	60	910
		% within 29.07.1921	58.7%	33.6%	1.1%	6.6%	100.0%

[32] The two groups are being measured at different times, so a median birthyear of 1888 and another of 1895 does not make a seven year difference in age. If one selects July 1920 as the median month and year for those members who joined between 1919 and 29 July 1921 and January 1922 as the median of those who joined between 29 July 1921 and August 1922, we find that the members who joined after Hitler took over

as Party dictator were on average 3 years and 7 months younger. The median birthyear shows a difference of 5 years and 7 months.

[33] A comparison of the birthyear distribution of the members who joined before 29 July 1921 versus those who joined after clearly shows that the latter were skewed more towards an earlier year of birth.



[34] For the percentage values of male and female Party members, see below:

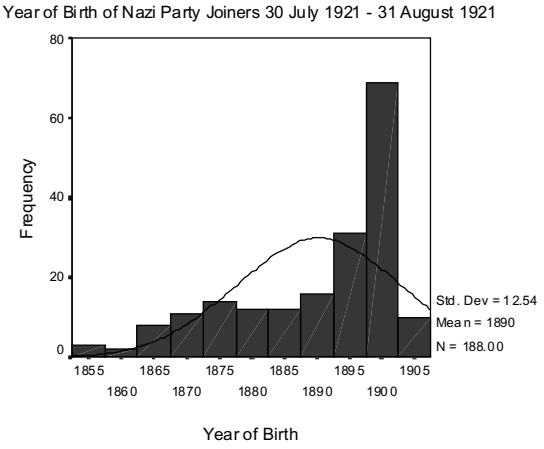
Pre 29 July 1921 versus Post 29 July 1921: Gender

			Gender		
			Male	Female	Total
	pre 29 July 1921	Count	2375	380	2755
		% within 29.07.1921	86.2%	13.8%	100.0%
	post 29 July 1921	Count	540	33	573
		% within 29.07.1921	94.2%	5.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	2915	413	3328
		% within 29.07.1921	87.6%	12.4%	100.0%

[35] If one removes the Status Unclear category, there is even greater change: pre-29 July 1921 - 27.27% lower-class, 61.26% middle-class, and 11.47% upper-class; post-29 July 1921 - 31.17% lower-class, 64.05% middle-class, and 4.78% upper-class.

[36] It is difficult to assess who rejoined the Nazi Party at this point without speaking some about the sources from which this variable is derived, the *Zentralkartei* and the *Ortsgruppenkartei*, which can be found at both the Abteilung Reich und DDR and the National Archives II. Together these cardfiles are believed to cover 90% of the total Nazi Party membership. They are therefore by far the best source for determining which members rejoined the party. However, the collections are not conducive to researching large numbers of potential members. There are a great many hindrances which would compromise the data analysis should the entire list of early party members be looked up in the *Ortsgruppenkartei* and the *Zentralkartei*. Two big problems with the use of the *Zentralkartei* and the *Ortsgruppenkartei* actually have to do with the membership rosters themselves. The first problem is looking up party members whose name and birthdates are in question. The second problem is the sheer number of individuals who have very common names, and thus what other criteria does one use to establish whether a member who joined after 1925 had in fact joined earlier as well? To minimize the statistical error, therefore, a random sample of 500 members of the pre-29 July 1921 group was taken along with an equivalent percentage of members - 104 - from the post-29 July 1921 group. These members were then searched for in both the *Zentralkartei* and *Ortsgruppenkartei*. If they had a card on file in either of these two collections, they were considered to have rejoined the Nazi Party after its re-founding in 1925; otherwise they were considered to have not rejoined.

[37] Choosing August 1921 as our median date, we determine that these 196 members were 31 years and 8 months old on average; the pre-29 July 1921 group was 34 years, 7 months, and the post-29 July 1921 group was 31 years old. The median birthyear of 1896 makes these 196 members 25 years and 8 eight months old; the median age of the pre-29 July 1921 was 32 years 7 months, and the post-29 July 1921 group had a median age of 27 years. For the age distribution of these 196 members, see below:



[38] It is worth wondering whether this influx of younger, more lower-class, more militant men was all Hitler's doing. In fact, Hitler's former World War I Sergeant, Max Amann, who was installed as Party Manager on 1 August 1921, was likely just as responsible for the immediate influx which resulted in an overall change in the Party membership. Nonetheless, Amann was acting on Hitler's behalf and worked hard to recruit their ex-soldier comrades.

Chapter 5: Cluster Analysis

Explanation of k-means cluster analysis and interpretation of cluster results

The use of cluster analysis in studying history is an innovative way to understand the changing dynamic of a group. It is used in this dissertation to help support the results of the social composition, but also on its own as a way to view how the membership of a historical group changes (or does not change) over time. By defining the prototypical early Nazi Party members and comparing prototypes from different periods against one another, one can get a true understanding of how the membership in the (NS)DAP was changing. Comparisons of the social compositions at different historical junctures are also revealing, but not as fully developed as comparisons of the clusters can be.

Each of the same four groups which were analyzed for the social composition of the early Nazi Party (members who joined before 29 July 1921, members who joined after 29 July 1921, all early Party members, and members of the early SA) were also analyzed through the cluster analysis. In turn, each group was broken down into clusters based on only the variables given on the membership lists. The cluster analysis will throw out a member entirely if there is any incomplete information; thus, the best results are obtained by analyzing the groups using the variables with the least missing information.[1]

The cluster analysis takes the information from the variables and breaks each group down into clusters. In general, the cluster analysis puts the Nazi Party members who share similar traits into the same clusters while trying to maximize the differences

between the clusters. For this dissertation, a *k-means* cluster analysis was used. This method takes the mean values of the variables analyzed (in this case six variables) and places individual members into groups that share similar traits. The *k-means* analysis does not select in advance how many clusters there should be for each group. Further, because the data are different for each set that is analyzed, it is not necessarily true that the number of clusters that is the best fit for one set is the best fit for all sets. That there are eight clusters for all early Nazi Party members (Group 3: 3330 members) does not mean that there should be eight clusters for the SA members (Group 4: 239 members). That there are actually only three distinct clusters of SA members indicates that, based upon the data available, there are fewer differences among SA members than among Nazi Party members.

To determine the number of clusters within each group, various statistical tests and graphical interpretations of the data can be helpful.[2] Nonetheless, determining the number of clusters for the four groups still depends on how many clusters fit the data; in general, one should stop adding clusters when there is little gain in variance explained by adding another cluster. After a varied number of clusters was pre-selected and the average distance of each from the group center was measured, each group was assigned a certain number of clusters that fit the results of the data analysis. In other words, while one could force the SA members to have fewer than 3 clusters, based on the results of the *k-means* analysis, one would be forcing people unlike one another (according to the variables analyzed) into the same cluster. Conversely, if one chooses too many clusters, very small clusters result.

After the clusters have been determined, additional statistical testing in the form of discriminant analysis can indicate the importance of each variable in determining the clusters. Thus, one can determine how important gender is in comparison to social class in forming the clusters. A discriminant analysis test was run for each of the four groups after clusters were decided; the bulk of these results is located in the endnotes. Important findings, using less statistical jargon, are given within the text itself.

To help explain how the *k-means* cluster analysis works, it is best to give a preview of some of the results. Group 4 (SA members as of 10 October 1921, 239 members) will be used as an example. Because of its small size and because only the age and class (through occupation) are considered in the analysis (all of the members come from the Munich area, there are no varied entrance dates, and all members of the group are male), Group 4 is the most convenient for the purposes of explanation. The members of this group do not, however, have the most complete membership data. Because many of the members are missing information on their age, only 209 of a possible 239 members are used in the *k-means* analysis. Furthermore, a fair number of members are missing information on their occupation; instead of tossing out all of these members as well, for this group only, the occupation variable was coded so that the illegible and unfound occupations are included as well in a "Status Unclear" category. As data are more available for the Party membership, the "Status Unclear" category is not utilized when analyzing these three Party groups.

From this group of 239 SA members, the following two tables display the results:

SA Members in each Cluster: October 1921			
Cluster	Number	Percentage	Prototype
1	11	5.26%	Older, Munich Man, Social Status mixed
2	46	22.01%	Younger, Munich Man, lower- and middle- class
3	152	72.73%	Younger, Munich Man, Social Status mixed
Valid	209	100.00%	
Missing	30	12.55%	

Final Cluster Centers - SA Members October 1921

	Cluster		
	1	2	3
Social Class	.83092	-.81462	-.07627
Year of Birth	-3.15701	-.62439	.41743

Out of the *SA Members in each Cluster* table, it is determined that there are three clusters and that these are populated by 11, 46, and 152 members respectively, not including the 30 members mentioned above with missing information. From the *Final Cluster Centers: SA Members October 1921* table, one can gather what distinguished the clusters from one another. The cluster centers refer to the averages of the variables analyzed. Before explaining the results, it is necessary to note that the variables have been transformed into standardized z-scores. Only by analyzing the z-scores of the variables can it be certain that each variable is given an equal chance to help determine the clusters; otherwise, variables with larger variances would have a disproportionate effect on the results.[3] Because the Final Cluster Centers charts are overwhelming to unravel, only the written analysis is included in the body of the dissertation. An example of a typical Final Cluster Centers chart (all early Nazi Party members) and the analysis that stems from it can be found in Appendix 4.

By equating the z-scores with their original values and by looking at percentage returns within each variable, the typical cluster member can be determined. Thus, cluster 1, with 11 members, is a group of SA members that had an average year of birth of 1879 and a range from 1865 to 1889. As far as their social standing is concerned, 1 member was lower-class, 3 were middle-class, 1 was upper-class, and 6 were from the Status Unclear category. Cluster 2 is made up of 46 SA members whose years of birth range from 1895 to 1900, of which 37 belong to the lower class and 9 to the middle class. The average birth year was 1895. The 152 members of Cluster 3 have a birth year range of 1894 to 1906 and averaged being born in August 1901. Class-wise, there are 48 lower-class members, 73 middle-class members, 7 upper-class members, and 24 from the Status Unclear category. Because two of the three clusters contain members from all social classes, it is easy to conclude that what separates these three clusters is an age difference. However, since year of birth is closer in Clusters 2 and 3, these are also separated by a class difference. One could surmise that, were the number of "Status Unclear" members smaller, many of those in Cluster 3 actually might fit better into Cluster 2. Overall, it is certainly fair to say that the SA members generally cohered well as a group. As there were only 11 members who made up Cluster 1 and as the size of Cluster 3 is attributable in part to the number of members with missing occupational data, one can say that most of the members of the SA were similar in age and in class.

The great advantage of this type of prosopographical analysis is that it explains the members of the groups in more than one dimension. Most social compositions attempt to understand a group in terms of the frequency of a result from a particular variable. For instance, to analyze the same group of 239 SA members, a social

composition would give us the following information: the average year of birth for the group is 1899, 36.8% are from the lower class, 30.5% from the middle class, 3% from the upper class, and 29.7% of the group's class is from the "Status Unclear" category. These results would be compared with those from another group (or perhaps the same group at a later date to see how new recruits changed the original group membership) or with the general population. From a comparison with the German population as a whole in 1925, one could determine how typical the members of the SA were to German society. Results can be broken down by a certain range within the variable; for instance, what social class the men born before 1899 came from. Overall, however, this does not paint a very precise picture.

What a social composition cannot explain, but a cluster analysis can, is that the SA membership at this time could be broken into a small group of older members and a much larger group of young men who were from either the lower or middle classes of society. The social composition would likely highlight the differences between the social class of the members, whereas the prosopographical analysis highlights the similarity between the members in Cluster 2, who are not split into lower-class and middle-class. Because the cluster analysis is based on the averages of the analyzed data, members are not forced into a group where they do not comfortably belong. Follow-up discriminant analysis indicates that of the two variables analyzed, year of birth is more important than social class in determining the clusters. These results confirm what was already established from the interpretation of the z-scores.[4] Thus, already the prosopographical analysis has given a much better picture of the group membership than a social composition could, and only two variables have been analyzed. As one adds the other

four variables, the pictures of the typical early Nazi Party member prior to 29 July 1921, after 29 July 1921, and from 1919 to 1922 become much clearer.

The additional tool of a biographical vignette for each prototype is utilized to help convey the abstract statistical work of each cluster through a real example. For each cluster, one member is chosen to help illustrate the type of early Nazi members he or she represents. Except for the six biographical features used in the cluster analysis, one should not think that the background of each member of the cluster is identical. The biographical vignette is meant to help give a face to the prototype; quite naturally however, each Party member has his or her own unique history.

An understanding of the clusters within each group will reveal how the members of each of the four groups were made up of different types of people, despite their all belonging to the same political group. It will be seen that the Nazi Party was not simply a middle-class party. Furthermore, it will be evident that the members of the Nazi Party are difficult to pigeon-hole. The Nazi Party truly was a *Volkspartei*. As well, how the prototypical members changed over time will be examined, providing further proof of the change in the Nazi Party membership before and after Hitler took over as Party dictator.

Prosopography: 1919 - 1922

Cluster analysis reveals eight prototypes for all members who joined the Nazi Party from 1919 to 1922. The table below, *Members of each Cluster, 1919 - September 1922* gives the results of the cluster analysis. Notice that there are eight distinct clusters; the number of members in each cluster is indicated. For example, clusters *A* and *B* are small, made up only of 46 and 40 members respectively (1.64% and 1.43% of the entire group). *J* is also small at 107 members; it represents only 3.81% of the entire group of 2807 members. Five hundred and twenty-three members did not have all six variables and are therefore not included in the cluster analysis. Unlike for the clustering of SA members, those Party members without occupational data are not included in the cluster analysis. While there are eight prototypical members for the Nazi Party members who joined from 1919 to 1922, there are only seven for those who joined before 29 July 1921 and only six for those who joined after 29 July 1921. It does make sense that the larger the group that is analyzed, the more prototypical members are found, so long as expansion of membership also diversifies that membership. The eight prototypical members of the early Nazi Party, a brief summary of that prototypical member, as well as an actual example of each prototype follow.

Members in each Cluster: 1919 - September 1922

Cluster	Number	Percentage	Prototype
A	46	1.64%	Non-Bavarian, non-urban man
B	40	1.43%	Non-Bavarian, urban older man
C	495	17.63%	Bavarian, urban, later-joining, middle- and upper-class man
D	784	27.93%	Bavarian, urban, earlier-joining, lower- and middle-class man
E	468	16.67%	Bavarian, non-urban man
F	589	20.98%	Bavarian, urban, older man
G	278	9.90%	Bavarian, urban woman
J	107	3.81%	Non-Bavarian, urban, younger man
Valid	2807	100.00%	
Missing	523	15.71%	

Cluster A: The non-Bavarian, non-urban man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster A - 46 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1893	M	*97.83%*	Bavarian	*0.00%*	9,999 and under	*41.30%*	Lower	*34.78%*	1919	*2.17%*
	F	*2.17%*	n-Bav.	*100.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*39.13%*	Middle	*50.00%*	1920	*19.57%*
					50,000 and up	*19.57%*	Upper	*15.22%*	1921	*50.00%*
									1922	*28.26%*

Cluster *A* is small with only 46 members, of which 45 are male. The one female member represents 2.17% of this group, which is predominantly non-urban (80.43% are not from an urban center). What distinguishes *A* from the similar clusters *B* and *J* is the non-urban character of its members. The 9 members (nearly 20%) who did come from an urban center, however, do not fit well into Cluster *J* because of how early they joined the Party or into Cluster *B* because of how much younger they are than the members of that cluster.

A Prototype: Hermann Behrend

When Hermann Behrend signed on with the Munich branch of the NSDAP on 7 May 1921, he was a student who listed were he lived as Perleberg, Brandenburg. In World

War II, he would become a high-ranking officer. At the time of his Party enrollment, Behrend was listed as a student, and thus was placed into the middle class because of his potential occupation. Behrend was born on 25 August 1898 in Perleberg, a town of 10,000 to 24,999 residents. Behrend volunteered to fight in the war on 1 June 1915 and served until 1920 obtaining the rank of Lieutenant. He received two Iron Crosses for his war efforts. He belonged to the 43rd Bavarian Infantry regiment from January to November 1919; this was Franz von Epp's *Freikorps* group. He was also a member of the *Stahlhelm* from the fall of 1920 to December 1921. After the First World War, Behrend studied *Volkswirtschaft* (the study of government economic policy) in Munich. He joined the SA in early 1923 and took part in the November 1923 putsch, for which he spent two days in jail. In 1924, Behrend rejoined the *Reichswehr* and served all the way through World War II and ultimately reached the rank of Major General. Behrend married Hildegard Wirth on 26 June 1929 and had three children. He rejoined the Nazi Party only in 1937 and then joined the SS in 1938 as member 310,248. Behrend was 1.72 meters tall. According to his SS personnel file, he was originally evangelical (Protestant), but he left the church in December 1936 and remained only a *Gottgläubiger* and a follower of the Ludendorff religious movement (a pagan, racist, and Aryan supremacist movement started by General Erich Ludendorff and his second wife, Mathilde, that attacked the Jewish roots of Christianity). In February of 1939, the SS released Behrend because he had joined the *Wehrmacht*. He led his 154th Grenadier-Regiment in the northern part of Russia and took part in the bloody battle for Leningrad. Afterwards, Behrend was transferred to the Western front and soon promoted to Major General. In 1945, his men

were overrun by American troops. After the war, Behrend spent two years in a British jail. He died on 19 June 1987.[5]

Cluster B: The non-Bavarian, urban older man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster B - 40 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1876	M	*97.50%*	Bavarian	*0.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*32.50%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*2.50%*	n-Bav.	*100.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*5.00%*	Middle	*60.00%*	1920	*22.50%*
					50,000 and up	*95.00%*	Upper	*7.50%*	1921	*32.50%*
									1922	*45.00%*

The 40 members of Cluster *B* are very similar to the prototypical member of Cluster *J* (the non-Bavarian, urban, younger man) except that they are 21 years older on average. There is one female in this cluster who represents 2.5% of the group. None had joined the Party in 1920, but thereafter *B* members joined the Party earlier than *J* members. The lower class was not well represented at 32.5%; meanwhile, the 7.5% upper class representation was higher than that of Cluster *J*.

B Prototype: Ludwig Preuss

Ludwig Preuss joined the Nazi Party on 8 August 1921 through the Hannover chapter. His member number is not listed on the roster. Preuss was a postal worker and thus belonged to the middle class. As a Hannover (Saxony) resident, Preuss lived in a non-Bavarian, metropolitan center of 100,000 or more residents. He was born on 20 November 1873 in Linden by Hannover and was still single and without children as of 1926. His father and mother died relatively young in 1905 and 1906 respectively; his father, a master locksmith, died in an accident (*Unglückfall*). Preuss had four siblings,

attended a half year of postal school, and was of evangelical Lutheran faith. He never served in the military, but he was a member of the paramilitary *Schutz- und Trutzbund* and the *Deutschsozialistische Partei* (DSP – the same party with which Hitler vehemently blocked talks of a NSDAP merger in the spring of 1921) until 30 July 1921. Preuss rejoined the Party after its 1925 refounding on 22 February 1926 as member 30,792.[6]

Cluster C: The Bavarian, urban, later-joining, middle- and upper-class man and

Cluster D: The Bavarian, urban, earlier-joining, lower- and middle-class man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster C - 495 members

Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1892	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*0.00%*	1919	*2.83%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*11.92%*	Middle	*61.82%*	1920	*21.41%*
					50,000 and up	*88.08%*	Upper	*38.18%*	1921	*63.64%*
									1922	*12.12%*

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster D - 784 members

Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1893	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*48.21%*	1919	*12.88%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*2.17%*	Middle	*51.79%*	1920	*70.92%*
					50,000 and up	*97.83%*	Upper	*0.00%*	1921	*15.82%*
									1922	*0.38%*

The 495 members of *C* are somewhat difficult to distinguish from the 784 members of *D*. Members of both clusters are all male, all Bavarian, and are nearly all urban (88.08% Cluster *C*, 97.83% Cluster *D*). The age structure of both clusters is similar, although the members of Cluster *C* are slightly younger. What separates these two clusters is when the member joined the Party and what his social class was. Members of *D* joined earlier, most (70.92%) in 1920, while most members of *C* joined in 1921 (63.64%). What causes the greatest level of separation, however, is social class. Cluster *D* has no upper-class

members and *C* has no lower-class members. *D* leads all of the clusters in working-class representation at 48.21%, while Cluster *C* has the largest percentage of upper-class representation at 38.18%. Additionally, all members of Cluster *C* who joined the Party in 1919 or 1920 are upper-class and all members of Cluster *D* who joined in 1921 or 1922 are lower-class. While social class and Party entrance date are what distinguish these two clusters, both cluster representatives are middle-class because the majority of the members of each cluster came out of the middle-class. This ability to draw from all sectors of the social spectrum again confirms the *Volkspartei* thesis regarding the Nazi Party's following. Although the Nazi Party was able to draw in members from all social classes, the Bavarian male contingent clearly comprises two different prototypical members – a working-class member and a middle- to upper-class member.

C Prototype: *Hans Werner*

Hans Werner joined the NSDAP on 19 February 1921 as member 2903; two months afterward he joined the SA. At the time of joining the Nazi Party he was listed as a *Kaufmann* and thus placed into the middle class. Werner was born on 7 May 1892 in Munich. He rejoined the Nazi Party on 30 December 1931 as member 873,721. Werner was 1.74 meters tall, of evangelical faith, and married without children. He received the Blood Order medal for participation in November 1923 putsch. He served in World War I beginning in 1914 and reached the rank of Reserve Lieutenant upon his release on 31 December 1918 due to "nervousness and nerve damage" that he sustained in 1916. In the SA, Werner reached the rank of *Truppführer* (Troop Leader). While Werner was

involved in different auxiliary organizations of the NSDAP, he had difficulty finding work and ended up as a day laborer at the employment office.[7]

D Prototype: Sebastien Baier

Sebastien Baier was born 14 April 1893 in Munich and joined the NSDAP on 1 May 1920 as member 984. Baier still resided in Munich at the time of his joining the Party. He was at that time an apprentice in law, which made him middle-class. Baier was an officer in World War I from 1914 to 1918 and received several military distinctions. After the First World War, Baier finished University, as well as becoming a member of the *Freikorps Oberland* from April 1919 until the end of 1921. Baier rejoined the Nazi Party only in 1933 as member 2,540,391. He also served in the military for less than a year beginning in late 1939. Once he rejoined the Nazi cause, however, Baier was involved in five auxiliary organizations, including the SA, in which he climbed to the level of *Obertruppführer* (Senior Troop Leader) by 1939. Baier was Catholic, married Käthe Schreieck on 17 July 1922, and went on to have five children. He retired in 1958 as a Director in the Bavarian Revenue Office in Munich. His job performance evaluations on file, most of which come from the latter part of his career, are all glowing reviews.[8]

Cluster E: The Bavarian, non-urban man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster E - 468 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1890-1891	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*48.93%*	Lower	*35.68%*	1919	*1.07%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*51.07%*	Middle	*62.18%*	1920	*45.78%*
					50,000 and up	*0.00%*	Upper	*2.14%*	1921	*36.97%*
									1922	*16.24%*

The 468 members who make up Cluster *E* are all Bavarian and are all male. None is from an urban center, and the group is split roughly in half between those who lived in rural areas (48.93%) and those who lived in suburban areas (51.07%). The prototypical member of Cluster *E* is slightly younger, more lower-class and less upper-class than the membership as a whole.

E Prototype: Josef Burkarth

Josef Burkarth, member 3498, joined the Munich branch of the NSDAP on 22 June 1921. He was born on 30 December 1890 in Freiburg. Burkarth was a teacher and was thus middle-class. He lived in Partenkirchen, a small (2,000 - 9,999 residents) town outside of Munich in Bavaria. Burkarth served on the war front from 1914 to 1919 as an Air Force Officer. After the war, Burkarth took the Prussian state teacher's examination and began working as a teacher in Berlin, and then in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. In 1921 Burkarth joined the *Freikorps Oberland*, and he took part in the November 1923 putsch. In 1926, however, Burkarth was removed from his teaching position because he had never taken the Bavarian teacher exam, though he believed it was because of his political beliefs. In fall 1926, Burkarth moved to Leverkusen to teach at the Karl Duisberg *Realgymnasium and Oberlyzeum*. Burkarth twice joined and twice left the National Socialist Teachers' Alliance. He joined initially in July 1933 and ultimately left in August 1935.[9]

Cluster F: The Bavarian, urban, older man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster F - 598 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1870-1871	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.51%*	Lower	*15.96%*	1919	*7.13%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*17.15%*	Middle	*76.06%*	1920	*75.55%*
					50,000 and up	*82.34%*	Upper	*7.98%*	1921	*15.96%*
									1922	*1.36%*

The prototypical member who represents *F* completes the representation of urban, Bavarian, male Nazi Party members. Clusters *C* and *D*, also urban, Bavarian men, are made up of members significantly younger than those of *F*. The Cluster *F* member is on average 21 to 22 years older than the Cluster *C* or *D* representative. The members of Cluster *F* have the highest percentage of middle-class membership, a product no doubt of their advanced age in comparison to the rest of the group as a whole.

F Prototype: Johann Regelein

Johann Regelein joined the NSDAP as member 1290 on 29 May 1920. Regelein lived in Munich. He ran a plumbing business and was thus a member of the middle class. Born in Rödersdorf, Mittelfranken on 1 April 1871, he served three years in the military in the motorist division. He joined the Nazi Party because the "workers and employees need to be freed from Marxism". Regelein lost his shop in 1920. He served in the SA as a troop leader until the November 1923 putsch. After the NSDAP was disbanded, Regelein stuck by Anton Drexler and stayed on with Drexler's faction of the Party, the *Völkischer Block* (one of the two factions of the NSDAP during the 1923 - 1925 ban on the Nazi Party). Regelein rejoined the Party on 24 January 1930 as member 185,027. He was married with no children.

Cluster G: The Bavarian, urban woman

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster G - 278 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1883	M	*0.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*3.96%*	Lower	*22.62%*	1919	*7.19%*
	F	*100.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*12.59%*	Middle	*63.67%*	1920	*66.91%*
					50,000 and up	*83.45%*	Upper	*9.71%*	1921	*24.82%*
									1922	*1.08%*

The 278 members of Cluster *G* are all female. Only 3 women were placed into a different cluster. What clearly typifies this cluster is the gender of its members. What is interesting to note is that the 281 female members of the 2807 Nazi Party members (more than 10% of the whole group) could only muster one prototypical member. While the members of Cluster *G* have a fair amount of variance in their attributes – the age of its group members ranges significantly, the social class of its members is fairly reflective of the group as a whole – they are still predominantly urban (83.45%) and they are all Bavarian. This indicates that the Nazi Party was not effectively drawing in female members from non-urban areas and was completely unsuccessful in appealing to non-Bavarian women. This lack of success on the part of Nazi Party recruiting does, however, leave us with a clear prototypical female member: she was Bavarian and urban.

G Prototype: Marie Panzerbieter

Maria Panzerbieter joined the NSDAP in 23 October 1920 as member 2333. Her listed occupation is that of the wife of a bank employee and she is thus considered middle class. At the time of her joining the Party, she lived in Munich. She was born Maria Ehrlicher on 8 July 1880 in Prien and was Catholic. She married in 1907 but never had any children. She rejoined the Party on 15 June 1925 as member 10,016 (because her member

number was of the first 100,000, she was awarded the Golden Party Badge). By 1939 she had joined the NS-Frauen and had moved to Tegernsee (a small town south of Munich).[10]

Cluster J: The non-Bavarian, urban, younger man

All Members 1919 - 1922: Cluster J - 107 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1897	M	*99.07%*	Bavarian	*0.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*33.64%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*0.93%*	n-Bav.	*100.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*0.93%*	Middle	*62.62%*	1920	*0.00%*
					50,000 and up	*99.06%*	Upper	*3.74%*	1921	*7.84%*
									1922	*92.52%*

The one female in the 107-member Cluster *J* represents 0.93% of this cluster. Members of this cluster were young (their average year of birth is 1897), urban (99.06%), and non-Bavarian (100%). While almost exclusively joining in 1922 (92.52%), this group's middle-class representation is similar to that of the entire group of members at 62.62%. It has greater lower-class representation at 33.64% and less upper-class representation at 3.74%.

J Prototype: Oskar Matt

Oskar Matt joined the Mannheim chapter of the NSDAP in the state of Baden-Württemberg on 5 May 1922 as member 5866. Matt lived in Mannheim, a large urban center of more than 100,000 residents at the time of his enrollment. Matt's listed occupation was *Kaufmann*, an occupation which can be difficult to classify. He was born on 14 August 1898 in Ludwigshafen on the Rhein. He attended a *Handelsschule*, a trade school, and while there specialized in the business of sales. Because of his age at the time of his joining and the clear path that he took to become a *Kaufmann*, it is clear that he

was at a higher level than simply a salesclerk and was therefore placed into the middle class. Matt was married with two children, although the date of his marriage and of the children's births is unknown. He took part in World War I, but his role is unclear. He rejoined the Nazi Party on 1 August 1931 as member 644,639. His only known religious belief is that of a *Gottgläubiger* (Believer in God).[11]

Prosopography: 1919 - 29 July 1921

The members of the Nazi Party before Hitler took over as Party dictator break down into seven clusters. The table below, *Members in each Cluster*: *1919 - 29 July 1921*, gives the breakdown of the clusters. For example, Cluster *A* has 17 members. While most of the members of the entire group are accounted for, because they were missing information in at least one of the six variables analyzed, 427 members were not included ("Missing"). A brief characterization of each cluster follows below.

Members in each Cluster: 1919 - 29 July 1921

Cluster	Number	Percentage	Prototype
A	17	0.73%	Lower- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, non-urban man
B	33	1.41%	Upper- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, urban man
C	739	31.62%	Younger, middle- or upper-class, urban, Bavarian man
D	387	16.56%	Lower-class, urban, Bavarian man
E	372	15.92%	Non-urban, Bavarian man
F	526	22.51%	Older Bavarian man
G	263	11.25%	Urban, Bavarian woman
Valid	2337	100.00%	
Missing	427	9.14%	

Cluster A: The lower- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, non-urban man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster A - 17 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1890	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*0.00%*	9,999 and under	*64.70%*	Lower	*47.06%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*100.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*35.30%*	Middle	*52.94%*	1920	*41.18%*
					50,000 and up	*0.00%*	Upper	*0.00%*	1921	*58.82%*
									1922	*0.00%*

Exclusively male and non-Bavarian, Cluster *A* is distinguished by a high percentage of rural members and a complete absence of any upper-class members. As in Cluster *B* below, the group's late-joining is due to residing outside of Bavaria. It may seem curious that the 15% of members in Cluster *B* who reside in an area of 10,000 - 24,999 people are not placed into Cluster *A*. However, the members that make up that 15% are either upper-class or too old to fit comfortably into Cluster *A*.

A Prototype: Fritz Muehlbrecht

Fritz Muehlbrecht joined the NSDAP on 30 March 1921 as member 3129. Muehlbrecht's occupation is listed as that of an artist (painter) and is thus placed into the middle class. At the time of his joining, Muehlbrecht lived in Steinebach on the Worthsee (2,000 - 9,999 residents). Muehlbrecht was born on 6 June 1880 in Berlin. He attended the Art Academy until finishing in 1905. He was a member of the *Freikorps Oberland* in 1922 and 1923 and he joined the SA in 1922. After the Party was refounded, Muehlbrecht rejoined only in November 1929 as member 800,956. He was of evangelical faith and was married to Helena Graven, Party member 966. He had two children with her (one son and one daughter). Helena (Graven) Muehlbrecht is herself a representative for Cluster *G*, the Bavarian, urban, woman. Helena's residence in an urban area is a bit of a surprise since her

husband lived in Steinebach; at the time of the membership register, Helena (Graven) Muehlbrecht is listed as living on Clemensstraße in Munich. According to the 1921 Munich addressbook, Fritz Muehlbrecht also lived at Clemensstraße, but lived at a different Munich address two years before; perhaps he was in between homes when he joined on with the NSDAP. It is difficult to tease out with real certainty the address discrepancy, but the married couple does return to Steinebach by 1939.[12]

Cluster B: The upper- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, urban man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster B - 33 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1887	M	*96.97%*	Bavarian	*0.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*12.12%*	1919	*3.03%*
	F	*3.03%*	n-Bav.	*100.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*15.15%*	Middle	*57.58%*	1920	*33.33%*
					50,000 and up	*84.85%*	Upper	*30.30%*	1921	*63.64%*
									1922	*0.00%*

Like the members of Cluster *E*, the 33 members of Cluster *B* include a small number of female members. The most striking feature of this group is that all of its members were non-Bavarian residents. They also tended to live in urban areas (84.85%). The group averaged being born in 1887 and joined the Nazi Party mainly in 1921. Their late-joining (63.64% in 1921) relative to the group as a whole is due to their non-Bavarian residence. Very high upper-class (30.30%) and a very low lower-class (12.12%) representation is evident.

B Prototype: Ernst Loens

Ernst Loens joined the Hannover chapter of the NSDAP on 2 July 1921. He was not assigned a member number on the Hannover list. His given occupation is writer and he was

considered middle-class. Hannover, a city of over 100,000 residents, is located in Saxony. Loens was born on 27 September 1886 in Münster (Westphalia). He was baptized Catholic, but left the church in 1917. Other documentation has Loens listed as evangelical Lutheran, which he may have become when he married Elsa Schulz (born 2 June 1895), herself evangelical Lutheran. Later, both Loens and his wife left the church and stated their religious affiliation as simply "Believers in God." They had two children. Loens completed *Realgymnasium* (high school plus one year), and by 1908 he had completed a two-and-a-half year apprenticeship in banking. He was active in World War I from August 1915 to 31 December 1918; he was active politically well before World War I. After the war, he joined the paramilitary *Schutz- und Trutzbund*. Additionally, until September 1920, Loens worked as a public servant in the army. From April 1921 to March 1923, he worked in Hannover as the head writer for an anti-Semitic weekly entitled "Der Sturm". After 1923, Loens worked in various literary positions, as a free-lance writer, and at a radio station in Hamburg. He rejoined the Nazi Party on 1 July 1931 as member 587,253. He also joined the SA on 22 February 1932. His experience in the SA led him to author the pamphlet, "Die braun-schwarzen Reiter der Motor-SA". Ernst was the 20-years-younger brother of the poet Hermann Loens, known for his poetry about German moors; Hermann died very soon into his voluntary service in World War I.[13]

Cluster C: The younger, middle- or upper-class, urban, Bavarian man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster C - 739 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1894	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*0.00%*	1919	*7.98%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*0.81%*	Middle	*78.08%*	1920	*59.54%*
					50,000 and up	*99.19%*	Upper	*21.92%*	1921	*32.48%*
									1922	*0.00%*

Cluster *C* is made up entirely of Bavarian men who lived almost exclusively in an urban center (99.19%). It was nine years younger than the group as a whole; only 0.81% of its members were born in 1879 or earlier. There are no lower-class party members in *C*, and consequently, the proportion of middle-class and upper-class members is especially high (78.08% and 29.92% respectively).

C Prototype: Josef Lohringer and Rudolf Hess

Josef Lohringer and Rudolf Hess are equally good representatives based on the cluster analysis. Since there are many fine biographies of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Deputy, he will not be the focus of this biographical vignette. But it is worth noting that Hess joined the NSDAP on 1 July 1920 as member 1600. He lived in Munich and listed his occupation as salesperson (middle-class). He later rejoined immediately following the refounding of the Party as member 16.[14] Josef Lohringer was also middle-class and lived in Munich. As a telegraph worker, Lohringer was a federal civil servant. He was born on 22 March 1894 in Moosburg, Bavaria. Lohringer participated in the war effort in the German army and fought in the field. He joined the NSDAP on 1 May 1920 as member 1025, but did not participate in the November 1923 putsch attempt because he was not permitted by his job. Further, he did not rejoin the Party because of his position in the German postal

service (as a telegraph worker). Lohringer married and had one child. While he joined the NSDAP because of the "peace agreement and how it treated the soldiers", Lohringer frequently mentions in his early Party questionnaire (dated in 1933) that he could not keep his job and remain a member of the NSDAP as well.[15]

Cluster D: The lower-class, urban, Bavarian man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster D - 387 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1890	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*100.00%*	1919	*10.85%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*5.43%*	Middle	*0.00%*	1920	*61.76%*
					50,000 and up	*94.57%*	Upper	*0.00%*	1921	*27.39%*
									1922	*0.00%*

Cluster *D* is the only group composed of a single social class. All of its members are male, Bavarian, and lower-class. They are also predominantly urban (94.57%). Their typical occupations were industrial working-class positions.

D Prototype: Franz Huett

Franz Huett joined the Nazi Party on 1 May 1920 along with his brother Philipp and mother Creszenz; his two sisters, Mathilde and Johanna, joined three months later on 26 August 1920. He enrolled as member 1012. Huett was born on 8 January 1890 in Freising, was Catholic, and lived in Munich with his mother and brother when they all joined the Party. Huett and his mother were women's clothiers and thus they were assigned lower-class social status. Huett served in World War I in a train regiment. Huett joined the SA along with the Party, and he participated in the November 1923 putsch with the rest of the 7th SA company. He rejoined the Party on 1 April 1933 as member

1,723,994 after having already rejoined the SA. As of July 1939, Huett was still single without children.[16]

Cluster E: The non-urban, Bavarian man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster E - 372 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1889	M	*99.46%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*50.81%*	Lower	*33.06%*	1919	*1.61%*
	F	*0.54%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*49.19%*	Middle	*63.17%*	1920	*64.25%*
					50,000 and up	*0.00%*	Upper	*3.76%*	1921	*34.14%*
									1922	*0.00%*

This cluster is made up of 372 mostly male and non-urban Bavarians who averaged being born in 1889. More than half lived in a rural area and most (64.25%) joined the Party in 1920. The social class of this cluster is mixed, with more middle-class members (63.17%) than was typical for non-urban Bavarians at this time. Compared to the rest of the whole group, fewer upper-class members belonged to Cluster *E*. Also, the members of this cluster tended to join later than the group as a whole, a consequence of their non-urban residence.

E Prototype: Wilhelm Pfaffenzeller

Wilhelm Pfaffenzeller was born on 23 August 1888 in Kaufbeuren, Bavaria. His father died in 1894. Pfaffenzeller served in the military for one year beginning in 1910 and then again from October 1914 to the end of the war; he left with the rank of *Oberleutnant der Reserve*. After the war, he was a member of the *Schutz- und Trutzbund*. He joined the Munich chapter of the NSDAP on 10 April 1920 as member 953 even though he lived in Cham, a town of 2,000 - 9,999 people in Bavaria. Pfaffenzeller's listed occupation is that of

a technical secretary; he has thus been placed in the middle class. Pfaffenzeller actually had an education and training in masonry; he had attended *Baugewerkschule* and had trained to become a master mason. Despite his training, by 1923 Pfaffenzeller was working as a fire insurance agent. Pfaffenzeller was 1.7 meters tall, was married, and had one child, a girl born on 26 July 1926. Pfaffenzeller joined the SS on 1 May 1934 and then also rejoined the NSDAP on 1 May 1935 as member 3,662,734. [17]

Cluster F: The older Bavarian man

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster F - 526 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1871	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.38%*	Lower	*8.17%*	1919	*10.46%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*13.11%*	Middle	*81.75%*	1920	*76.81%*
					50,000 and up	*86.50%*	Upper	*10.08%*	1921	*12.74%*
									1922	*0.00%*

What clearly sets the prototypical member of Cluster *F* apart from other members is his age. Nearly all of its members were born in 1879 or before (85.93%). The members of *F* are also slightly more urban, tended to join in 1920, and have a much larger middle-class contingent. The percentage of upper-class members (10.08%) is similar to that of the group as a whole (11.34%), so the greater middle-class representation comes at the expense of lower-class members. It is likely that the relatively older members of this cluster had earned their way out of the lower class.

F Prototype: Johannes Gross (tie: Johann Regelein)

Johann Regelein, whose biographical vignette was given above as the Cluster *F* representative for all NSDAP members, is equally suitable as Johannes Gross is to be the

Cluster *F* prototype for the members who joined before 29 July 1921. Since Regelein's vignette has already been given, Johannes Gross will serve as the prototype here.

Johannes Gross joined the NSDAP on 6 April 1920; he lived in Munich as a salesman. Gross spent most of his life working in the leather and tannery industries; in April 1916, Gross was transferred from Berlin to Munich. Because of his occupation as a salesperson, Gross was middle-class. He was born as a twin brother on 28 April 1871 in Calau, Brandenburg. His mother died in recovery from childbirth and his father died in 1884. He was evangelical Lutheran. Gross was a member of the *Einwohnerwehr*, the Civil Defense Unit, from 1919 until it was dissolved in 1921. Gross's second marriage was to Katharina Brune on 15 April 1936. He had one daughter, born on 9 February 1938. One of his sons died in 1925 at the age of 23 from lung illness, and his first wife died a year later. For financial reasons, Gross was unable to join the Nazi Party until 1 August 1932 as member 1,200,213.[18]

Cluster G: The urban, Bavarian woman

Members 1919 - 29 July 1921: Cluster G - 263 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1882	M	*0.00%*	Bavarian	*100.00%*	9,999 and under	*3.42%*	Lower	*26.62%*	1919	*7.60%*
	F	*100.00%*	n-Bav.	*0.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*12.17%*	Middle	*63.50%*	1920	*70.34%*
					50,000 and up	*84.41%*	Upper	*9.89%*	1921	*22.05%*
									1922	*0.00%*

Cluster *G* is the only all-female cluster. Its members are all Bavarian, predominantly urban (84.41%), and tended to join the Nazi Party in 1920 (70.34%). With an average birth year of 1882, these female members also tended to be slightly older than the entire group of members who joined before 29 July 1921 (who averaged being born in 1885). As to social

class, Cluster *G* is typical of members who joined the Nazi Party before 29 July 1921, except for a slightly lower percentage of upper-class members (9.89% versus 11.34%) and a corresponding higher percentage of lower-class members.[19]

G Prototype: Helena Muehlbrecht

Helena Muehlbrecht joined the NSDAP on 13 April 1920 as member 966. She lived in Munich and was the wife of an artist; this made her part of the middle class. She was married to Fritz Muehlbrecht, member 3129, whose biographical vignette is given above for Cluster *A*. Born Helena Graven on 12 October 1881, Helena Muehlbrecht joined the Nazi Party because of "the wish and the knowledge that Adolf Hitler would lead the Germans against Marxism." She did not take part in the November putsch attempt; rather, Muehlbrecht stated that she, "like all the female Party members" kept the "sadness of the fallen fighters in her heart." Muehlbrecht did not join any political party during the Party ban after the 1923 putsch; instead, she waited for Hitler and meanwhile attended some of the gatherings led by Hermann Esser and Julius Streicher. In 1925 Muehlbrecht was working as a language teacher and a translator; her husband at that time had no possibilities for income and was not receiving any financial assistance. She had a daughter and a son. She rejoined the Party on 1 May 1937 as member 4,074,245. Muehlbrecht was active in several Nazi auxiliary organizations, with a leadership role in both the *NS-Frauen* and the *Deutsches Frauenwerk*. By 1939, Muehlbrecht listed her occupation as a housewife. Additionally, her religion at this time is given as a "Believer in God", as against the evangelical faith that she had professed in earlier documents.[20]

Prosopography: 29 July 1921 - September 1922

The group of members analyzed here, those who joined only after Hitler became Party dictator until September 1922, is a smaller group of 566 members; of these, only 470 have information for all of the six variables analyzed. These 470 members fall into 6 clusters – one less than the members who joined before 29 July 1921. The clusters have intentionally been labeled so that similarities in clusters between groups can be quickly realized. For instance, Cluster *AB* is so labeled because its prototypical members take on the biographical features of both clusters *A* and *B* from the pre-29 July 1921 group. Cluster *CD* is also labeled as such for that same reason. The members of *E* from the post 29 July 1921 group share almost the same characteristics as cluster *E* from those who joined before. There are more members, however, of *E* after 29 July 1921 in comparison to the whole group (29.79%) than earlier (only 15.92%). Notice that there is no Cluster *G*; this means that this prototypical member did not exist after Hitler took over as Party Dictator. Compared to before 29 July 1921, the Party was taking in two new clusters of members, clusters *H* and *I*. With only six clusters, there are fewer prototypical members after 29 July 1921. The Nazi Party membership was streamlining the types of members it was drawing in and, in the case of cluster *G*, not drawing enough of those types of members to justify their own cluster.

Members in each Cluster: 29 July 1921 - September 1922

Cluster	Number	Percentage	Prototype
AB	127	27.02%	Non-Bavarian, urban man
CD	111	23.62%	Younger, Bavarian, urban man
E	140	29.79%	Non-urban, Bavarian man
F	77	16.38%	Older Bavarian man with high social standing
H	5	1.06%	Older, urban, female with high social standing
I	10	2.13%	Younger, Bavarian female
Valid	470	100.00%	
Missing	96	10.21%	

Cluster AB: The non-Bavarian, urban man

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster AB - 127 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1894-1895	M F	*100.00%* *0.00%*	Bavarian n-Bav.	*0.00%* *100.00%*	9,999 and under 10,000 - 49,999 50,000 and up	*0.00%* *7.88%* *92.12%*	Lower Middle Upper	*37.80%* *59.06%* *3.15%*	1919 1920 1921 1922	*0.00%* *0.00%* *8.66%* *91.34%*

All of the members of Cluster *AB* are male and were not Bavarian residents. Most did live in urban centers (92.12%), however. They were on average younger by a few years than the group as a whole (average birth year in 1894 to 1895 versus 1890) and the majority of its members were born in 1896 or later. Most (91.34%) joined in 1922. Upper-class representation is minimal (3.15%), with the majority of the cluster's members being middle-class (59.06%).

AB Prototype: Franz Friedrich

Franz Friedrich lived in Mannheim and joined the Mannheim chapter of the NSDAP on 5 May 1922. His occupation is listed only as a "Beamter", which generally indicates an official or civil servant; this places him into the middle class. At the time of his joining, Friedrich was in fact a bookkeeper for a coal syndicate. Born 8 October 1894 in Paplienen, East Prussia, Friedrich studied to be a teacher, but due to financial difficulties had to discontinue his studies. On 1 January 1915 he volunteered to fight in the war. He served in the field for two years and then for another two in the *Geheime Feldpolizei*, Germany's secret military police force. After the war, he served in a *Freikorps* as a Lieutenant. After the French invasion of the Ruhr in 1923, because of his political beliefs,

Friedrich fled to Berlin and joined up with the "Black" Reichswehr (the Secret Army – since Germany was limited by the Versailles Treaty to a professional military force of only 100,000 men). Once in Berlin, he was unable to continue with the NSDAP. By 1929, Friedrich had joined the SA and the NSKK (the Nazi motor corps). He rejoined the Nazi Party on 1 March 1930 as member 313,000. Friedrich floated around in various public and private financial positions until ultimately working for the city of Berlin. He was evangelical and had two brothers and two sisters. The documentation available indicates that he remained single. In his personnel file, Friedrich claimed that he joined the NSDAP in 1920 and had in his possession a membership card that showed he was the 11th member of the Mannheim chapter of the Party. [21]

Cluster CD: The younger, Bavarian, urban man

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster CD - 111 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1894-1895	M F	*100.00%* *0.00%*	Bavarian n-Bav.	*100.00%* *0.00%*	9,999 and under 10,000 - 49,999 50,000 and up	*0.00%* *6.31%* *93.69%*	Lower Middle Upper	*39.64%* *59.64%* *0.90%*	1919 1920 1921 1922	*0.00%* *0.00%* *91.89%* *8.11%*

The 111 members of Cluster *CD* are all male, all Bavarian, and nearly all urban (93.69%). Most joined the Party in 1921 (91.89%). They averaged being born between in June 1894, but the majority were born in or after 1896 (56.76%). The social standing of the members of *CD* tends towards the lower end. Only 1 member was upper-class (.9%), while 39.64% were lower-class and 59.64% middle-class.

CD Prototype: Ignaz Wittmann

Ignaz Wittmann joined the NSDAP on 15 August 1921 as member 3762. He lived in Munich and was a police sergeant, making him middle-class. He served with the Munich police from 1920 to 1933. Wittmann was born on 23 January 1895 in Salzburg, Austria. Although his learned profession was hairstylist, after 1933 he was part of the *Reichssicherheitsdienst*, an SS organization whose job it was to protect high-ranking Nazi officials in addition to being Hitler's personal bodyguard. No doubt, the fact that Wittmann was a regimental comrade of Hitler's in the 16th Bavarian Infantry Regiment helped secure his position. Wittmann married Franziska Karl on 10 May 1921, but had no children. He left the Catholic Church on 17 October 1941 and, like so many SS men, gave his religious affiliation thereafter as a "Believer in God". Wittman was a member of the SA, joined the SS on 1 June 1934, and rejoined the Party very soon after its refounding: he was given his old member number of 3762.[22]

Cluster E: The non-urban, Bavarian man

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster E - 140 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1894	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*94.29%*	9,999 and under	*33.57%*	Lower	*32.14%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*5.71%*	10,000 - 49,999	*66.43%*	Middle	*67.86%*	1920	*0.00%*
					50,000 and up	*0.00%*	Upper	*0.00%*	1921	*27.86%*
									1922	*72.14%*

Like Cluster *AB*, all 140 members of *E* are male. Unlike *AB*, none lived in an urban setting; 66.43% lived in an area of 10,000 to 49,999 people and 33.57% lived in a rural area. The majority of members were born in or after 1896 (53.57%), but their average year of birth is

1894. Most only joined the Nazi Party in 1922 (72.14%). There is no upper-class representation; 32.14% were from the lower class and 67.86% were from the middle class.

E Prototype: Josef Dirscherl

Josef Dirscherl joined the Passau chapter of the NSDAP on 18 June 1922 as member 6345. He lived in Passau, a town of 10,000 - 24,999 residents in Bavaria. As a postal worker, Dirscherl was middle-class. He was born on 23 November 1895 in Rescheln by Passau. He was Catholic. Dirscherl began studying agriculture and economics but eventually undertook schooling to become a teacher. He volunteered for service in the war in August of 1915 and soon served on the front lines. On 21 August 1918, he was severely wounded and spent almost a year and a half recovering in an infirmary. When he joined the NSDAP in 1922, he also joined the SA. Because of his political activity, he was dismissed from his postal position. He took a job as bookkeeper for a textile manufacturer. He rejoined the Party on 1 January 1926 as member 28,093 and wore the Golden Party Badge. The SS was founded in Passau on 5 August 1926 and Dirscherl promptly signed up as SS member 548. Dirscherl continued to be promoted within the SS; once again, because of his political activity, he lost his job in April 1931. In late 1933, Dirscherl was given a position in the local government in which he continued to rise over the next few years. He married on 20 April 1934 and had four children. He reached the level of *Obersturmbannführer* (First Lieutenant) on 20 April 1942.[23]

Cluster F: The older Bavarian man with high social standing

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster F - 77 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1873	M	*100.00%*	Bavarian	*92.21%*	9,999 and under	*5.19%*	Lower	*3.90%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*0.00%*	n-Bav.	*7.79%*	10,000 - 49,999	*48.05%*	Middle	*75.32%*	1920	*0.00%*
					50,000 and up	*46.75%*	Upper	*20.78%*	1921	*36.36%*
									1922	*63.64%*

Like the members of Cluster *H* below, the 77 members of *F* averaged being born in 1873, although some members of the group were born later (20.78% were born between 1879 and 1896 and 2.6% were born in or after 1896). Over 92% were Bavarian, and the group is mostly split between those who lived in an urban area (46.75%) and those who lived in an area of 10,000 to 49,999 people (48.05%). Also like the members of *H*, the group had a social standing much higher than was normal for Germany at this time; only 3.9% were lower-class, with 20.78% belonging to the upper class and 75.32% middle-class. The older age of this group no doubt elevates the social standing of its members; unlike younger members of the Party, the members of this cluster had the opportunity to establish themselves.

F Prototype: Georg Rahm

George Rahm joined the Landshut chapter of the NSDAP on 15 April 1922 as member 5444. Rahm was a postal employee and thus middle-class. Rahm also lived in Landshut, a town of 25,000 to 49,999 residents in Bavaria. There was no documentation on Rahm stemming from NSDAP records; the information that is available is limited to his pre-Party life. He was born on 9 July 1875 in Marktsteinach by Schweinfurt, Bavaria. He was Catholic, married, and had five children. By 1916, both of his parents had died. Rahm was

first active in the German army on 16 October 1895; he remained in a reserve infantry regiment until 10 August 1908. He received his promotion to a Staff Sergeant (*Vizefeldwebel*), a non-commissioned officer, on 1 November 1916. During this service, Rahm was inflicted with a chronic gastroenteritis and a sickness of both inner ears. Rahm re-enlisted for service on 13 November 1914 and was placed with the 15th Bavarian Infantry Reserve. He was called into action on the Western front. At Verdun, Rahm was taken as a French prisoner of war; he was released on 16 March 1920.[24]

Cluster H: The older, urban, female with high social standing

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster H - 5 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1873	M	*0.00%*	Bavarian	*80.00%*	9,999 and under	*0.00%*	Lower	*0.00%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*100.00%*	n-Bav.	*20.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*0.00%*	Middle	*80.00%*	1920	*0.00%*
					50,000 and up	*100.00%*	Upper	*20.00%*	1921	*60.00%*
									1922	*40.00%*

The five members of Cluster *H* were all female and all lived in an urban area. Four of the five (80%) lived in Bavaria. All were born by 1879 and averaged being born in 1873. Three of the five joined the Nazi Party in 1921. Compared to the larger group of 470, they have elevated class status; four were middle-class and one was upper-class.

H Prototype: Therese Brubacher

Therese Brubacher joined the NSDAP on 2 August 1921 as member 3734; her husband, Dr. Heinrich Brubacher, joined on the same day. The Brubachers lived in Geiselgasteig, a region of Munich. Because of her husband's occupation as a doctor, Therese was considered upper-class. She was born on 17 August 1868; her husband was nearly seven

years older. She had a daughter born in 1890 and a son born in 1894. The only religious information that can be found for her gives her as a Believer in God; in one of many official Party documents, her son, however, gives his religion as Catholic. On her 1939 Party census questionnaire, she lists herself as a widow. She rejoined the Party on 28 March 1925 as member 1649. Because of her early membership in the refounded Party, she was awarded the Golden Party Badge. Among other Nazi auxiliary organizations, she belonged to the *NS Frauenschaft* as member 109,015 since 8 December 1932. She later moved to Feldafing, a suburb of Munich. Her *Gauleiter* there wrote that she was "one of the oldest and truest National Socialists in the Starnberg region. She remains an old Party fighter. Despite her advanced age, she is to be found in every [Party] gathering. Many Party comrades could take example from her fanatical belief of final victory." Her son, a medical student at the time, joined the Party on 25 June 1920 as member 1532. He proved to be a dedicated Nazi. He rejoined the Party the same day as his mother. As a doctor, he achieved importance in the SS.[25]

Cluster I: The younger, Bavarian female

Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922: Cluster I - 10 members										
Mean Year of Birth		Gender		Region		City of Residence		Social Class		Year of Party Entrance
1898	M	*0.00%*	Bavarian	*90.00%*	9,999 and under	*10.00%*	Lower	*30.00%*	1919	*0.00%*
	F	*100.00%*	n-Bav.	*10.00%*	10,000 - 49,999	*20.00%*	Middle	*70.00%*	1920	*0.00%*
					50,000 and up	*70.00%*	Upper	*0.00%*	1921	*70.00%*
									1922	*30.00%*

The 10 members of Cluster *I*, all of whom are female, lived mainly in Bavaria (90%) and in urban settings (70%). What separates this group from Cluster *H* is an age difference; their average birth dates are 25 years apart. Only two members of Cluster *I* were not born in

1896 or after. Another difference between the members of *I* and *H* is their social standing. While the difference in middle-class representation is not so great (70% versus 80%), 30% of *I* was lower-class and *H* contains no lower-class members.

I Prototype: Hermine Gysin

Hermine Gysin, a student in Munich, joined the NSDAP on 15 July 1921. She was born 8 January 1900 in Munich, but her nationality was Swiss. Because of her age at enrollment, Gysin must have been seeking an education beyond high school. From 1920 to 1925, she attended the *Akademie der Tonkunst* in Munich. From 1925 to 1928, Gysin was busy giving music lessons and performing in concerts. Even though she was only a student with no real income and social status of her own, her educational level places her in the middle class. Her religious affiliation was evangelical Lutheran, but she withdrew from the church in 1938 and stated thereafter that she was a Believer in God; however, this information comes from an application form for marriage to an SS Officer. When she joined the Party, she was living in Munich with her younger brother and older sister, both of whom were also Party members. Hermine, however, withdrew from active participation in the Party by 1923 because of her intensive music studies and because "it served no purpose for a Swiss to be in a German Party." "With her beliefs and with her heart," however, Gysin stated that she "remained with the ideas of the Führer."[26]

Prosopography: SA Members October 1921

The SA group was used above to help explain the method of cluster analysis. Recall that there were three different prototypical members: the first was born in 1879 and was from all social classes (11 members), the second was born in 1895 and was generally from the lower class (46 members), and the third prototypical member was born in August 1901 and was also from all different social classes, although most typically from the lower or middle class. Since the biographical breakdown of these three clusters has been already given in detail above, all that remains is to provide the biographical vignettes for each of these three clusters.

Prototype 1: The older Munich man of mixed social status

Hans Sippel

Hans Sippel was born on 11 July 1880 in Brückenau, Unterfranken. He lived in Munich and was of independent means; however, Munich's 1921 addressbook lists him as a Photographer and Chemist. While a member of the SA, Sippel had also joined the NSDAP on 1 May 1920 as member 1054. Sippel stated that he joined the Party (and presumably the SA) because of his "nationalist beliefs and his great hatred of separatism, communism, and Judaism." Sippel volunteered for service in the medical corps in World War I. Before joining the Nazi movement, Sippel was a member of the *Schutz- und Trutzbund*. He was active in many of the events in the early Party, including the SA march in Coburg. He also participated in the November 1923 putsch attempt; for this he was jailed but never convicted. After the Party was dissolved, Sippel remained a "true follower of Adolf Hitler and of Gauleiter [Adolf] Wagner." As well, Sippel joined the *Großdeutsche*

Volksgemeinschaft, one of the two parties that served as a cover for the Nazi Party after it was banned because of the 1923 putsch. Sippel rejoined the Party on 1 October 1931, as member 637,192. He took that long to rejoin the Party because of a "loss of [his] fortune (destitution), as well as a lengthy physical breakdown." On his early Party member questionnaire, Sippel's occupation is unlisted for 1925 and 1926, but in 1927 he was a proprietor of a magazine business. By 1931, however, he was jobless. As of 1933, he survived on a small pension and state support. He never married and had no children.[27]

Prototype 2: The younger Munich man of the lower- and middle- class

Emil Maurice: Oberster SA-Führer

Like his fellow SA member Hans Sippel, Emil Maurice, the SA Leader, was also a member of the early NSDAP, having joined in 1919 as member 594. Other members of this cluster would be a slightly more representative pick than Maurice. But Maurice has enough additional documentation for a new biographical vignette. He was a significant figure in Nazi Party. He was an early associate of Hitler's, helped in the early years as a great Party

speaker, founded what became the SS, and served in numerous roles in the Party and the SS.

Maurice was born on 19 January 1897 in Westermoor, Schleswig-Holstein. He lived in Munich and was a watchmaker, which made him a member of the lower class. He served in the army, but never in combat, from 1917 to 1919. In addition, he was a member of the *Freikorps Oberland* from May 1919 to 1921. In his own words, Maurice joined the Nazi Party to "find a Party that opposed the treason of November 1918 and … because of [my] hatred for the Red Revolution." He helped Hitler launch not only the SA, but also the *Stosstrupp Adolf Hitler*, Hitler's personal bodyguard, which later became the SS. Maurice was an SS-Führer and was issued SS member number 2 (Hitler was number 1). Additionally, Maurice was Hitler's chauffeur for many years. As an SA leader in the early days, he took part in the Coburger Day and in the failed 1923 putsch. For his efforts in the putsch attempt, Maurice served time in the same jail as Hitler. Maurice was the 39th member of the refounded Party in 1925. Hitler and Maurice had a falling out in 1927 because Hitler suspected Maurice of having a role in the suicide of his niece, Geli Raubal. There is little to indicate that Hitler's suspicions were justified. Maurice and Hitler eventually reconciled. Based on the material provided in his marriage request, Heinrich Himmler suspected Maurice's racial background: "Without question, SS-Standartenführer Emil Maurice is, according to his ancestral table, not of Ayran descent."[28] Maurice married on 11 May 1935 and he had a daughter and a son. His religion was evangelical. He received a host of Nazi Party recognitions and even became a Reichstag member in 1936.[29]

Prototype 3: The younger Munich man of mixed social status

Richard Wiborg

Richard Wiborg was not listed as a member of the early NSDAP on any of the membership lists analyzed for this dissertation. In a September 1923 police interrogation for burning a communist flag at a labor union house, Wiborg stated that he had been a member of the Party since 1919. In fact, he did not join until 20 June 1938 as member 4,458,852. He was, however, an active SA member at least since October 1921. As a store clerk, he was considered middle-class; he most likely worked for his parents, who were listed as salespeople both in Munich's 1923 addressbook and on Richard Wiborg's 1927 police file. He never served in the military. He and his twin brother Johann were born on 9 February 1902 in Munich. Richard lived in Munich with his parents. His religious affiliation in 1927 is given as Catholic, but his NSDAP personnel file lists him as a "Believer in God". The only given marital status lists him as single. Wiborg died 7 January 1941.[30]

Prosopography: Comparison of Nazi Party members before and after 29 July 1921

A comparison of the clustered members before and after Hitler became Party dictator does two things: it provides supporting evidence for what was discovered in the social composition and it informs us in even greater detail about shifts in Nazi Party membership. Firstly, the comparison of the two groups of clusters confirms the findings of the social composition section: the party membership became less urban, it became younger with more male members, and it became more working-class. As the Party began to expand, it expanded out of Bavaria and also into less urban areas. While 97.86% of

clustered members who joined before 29 July 1921 lived in Bavaria, only 69.57% of those who joined after 29 July 1921 did. Meanwhile the members who lived in urban areas fell from 77.19% to 57.23% and those who lived in small-town areas of 10,000 - 49,999 people went up from 13.78% to 31.92%. There was also a small relative increase in those who lived in rural areas (9.03% to 10.85%). These findings indicate that the Party was expanding out of its urban base, but had not greatly improved on its penetration into rural areas. More striking is the change in other aspects of the party membership. In the comparison of the pre- and post-29 July 1921 groups in the social composition section above, it was found that the members who joined after 29 July 1921 were younger, more likely to be male, and of lower social standing than the members who joined before. Analysis of the members who were placed into clusters reinforces these conclusions. The post-29 July 1921 group is five years younger, males joined the party at a much higher rate (97% - up from 89%), and the level of upper-class representation is much lower after 29 July 1921 (4.68% versus 11.34%).

What can be understood only through the cluster analysis is how the Party was both drawing in very different types of members and drawing in the same types in different proportions than before. The chart that follows, *Prototypes of Nazi Party Members*, gives a clear representation of which of the three groups analyzed contain which prototypical members. As well, the layout allows one to see which clusters after Hitler's takeover of the Party carried over from before, which clusters were new for after 29 July 1921, and which clusters were merged or split.

Prototypes of Nazi Party Members

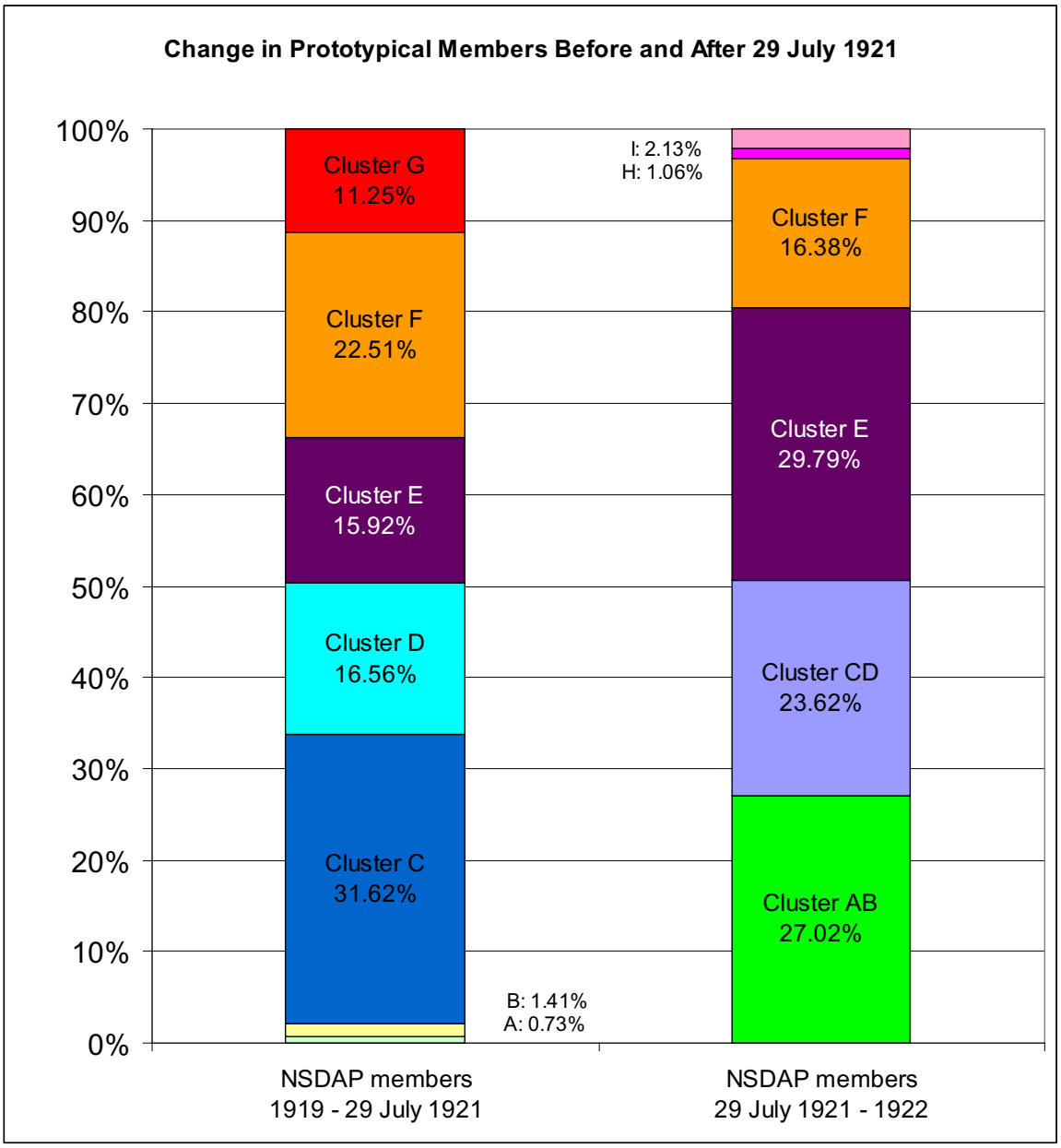
Cluster	*All NSDAP Members 1919 - 1922*
A	Non-Bavarian, non-urban man
B	Non-Bavarian, urban older man
C	Bavarian, urban, later-joining, middle- and upper-class man
D	Bavarian, urban, earlier-joining, lower- and middle-class man
E	Non-urban, Bavarian man
F	Older, urban, Bavarian man
G	Urban, Bavarian woman
H	X
I	X
J	Non-Bavarian, urban, younger man

Cluster	*NSDAP Members 1919 - 29 July 1921*
A	Lower- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, non-urban man
B	Upper- and middle-class, non-Bavarian, urban man
C	Younger, middle- or upper-class, urban, Bavarian man
D	Lower-class, urban, Bavarian man
E	Non-urban, Bavarian man
F	Older, Bavarian man
G	Urban, Bavarian woman
H	X
I	X
J	X

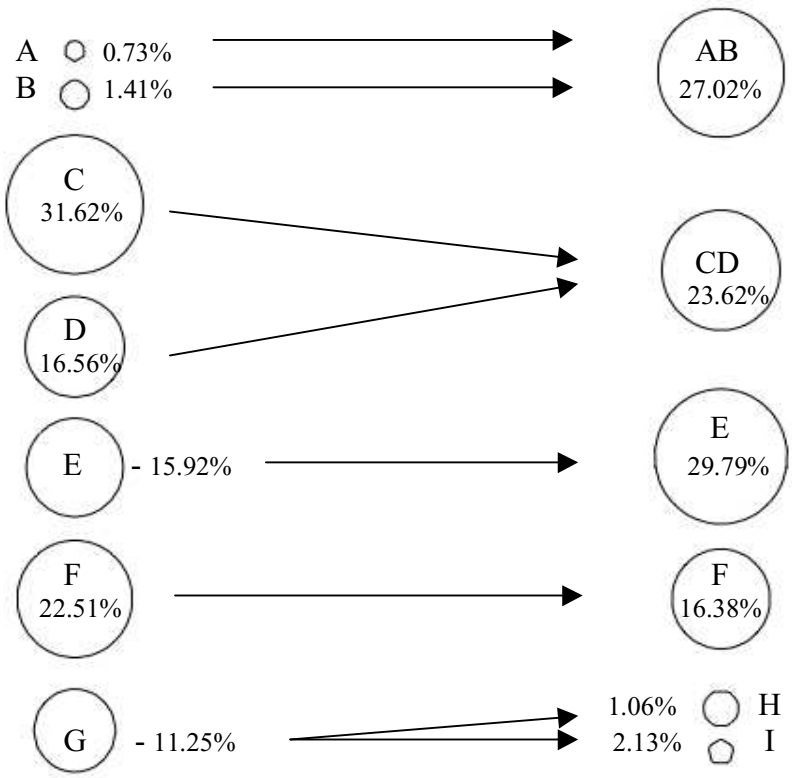
Cluster	*NSDAP Members 29 July 1921 - September 1922*
AB	Non-Bavarian, urban man
CD	Younger, Bavarian, urban man
E	Non-urban, Bavarian man
F	Older, Bavarian man with high social standing
G	X
H	Older, urban, female with high social standing
I	Younger, Bavarian female
J	X

In addition to the prototypes chart, the two graphs below, *Change in Prototypical Members Before and After 29 July 1921* and *Circle Charts of Change in Prototypical Members Before and After 29 July 1921*, each show how large a difference there was in the Party member prototypes after 29 July 1921. The first is a stacked bar graph where the percentage of the Party membership represented by each cluster is given not only by the size of the bar, but also in text within each bar. The second graph gives the same

information, but gives the percentage of the membership represented by each cluster in terms of the area of the corresponding circle. Presenting the same information in two different ways visually will hopefully help the reader to understand how much the clusters changed after Hitler took over as Party dictator.



Circle Charts of Change in Prototypical Members Before and After 29 July 1921



Firstly one notices that there were seven prototypical members before Hitler became Party dictator and only six after. The Nazi Party after 29 July 1921 was appealing to a narrower range of people. The number of clusters made up predominantly by men goes down from six to four. There was less variation in the Party men after 29 July 1921. The opposite was true of the women. The one female cluster of members who joined before 29 July 1921 (cluster *G*) is separated into two much smaller clusters (*H* and *I*) because of age and social standing. Before 29 July 1921, the men who joined the Nazi Party were a much more heterogeneous group than those who joined later.

While some of the predominantly male clusters see a huge increase in the percentage of the whole group they represent, others see equally large decreases. The one cluster which is essentially the same before and after Hitler took over as Party dictator is the cluster made up of non-urban, Bavarian men (cluster *E* for both groups). This prototypical member does not change much except that his percentage of the whole group goes up from 15.92% to 29.79%. The expansion of the party membership outside of urban, Bavarian centers led to this large increase in this type of member. The other clear relationship between the prototypical members before and after 29 July 1921 occurs among the older Bavarian men (Cluster *F* for both groups). The pre-29 July 1921 group is more urban (86.5% compared to 46.75%) and is less upper-class (10.08% versus 20.78%). Again, the loss of the urban nature of this group is a result of the Party's expansion into the non-urban centers of Bavaria. As a prototypical member, the older Bavarian male, despite being a lower percentage in the post-29 July 1921 group (16.38% versus 22.51% before 29 July 1921), is a fixture. The expansion of the Party caused a tremendous increase after 29 July 1921in the percentage of members who were non-Bavarian. While pre-clusters *A* and *B*, the only non-Bavarian clusters, make up a very small percentage (just over 2%) of the entire group of members from 1919 to 29 July 1921, *AB*, the only non-Bavarian group of members who joined after Hitler became Party dictator, makes up over 27% of the group. As a type of person who joined the Nazi Party after 29 July 1921, the non-Bavarian urban male was much more prevalent. That cluster *AB* is so strongly urban shows that the Nazi Party was having a difficult time making inroads to potential members outside of Bavaria except in urban centers. Cluster *A* for

members who joined before 29 July 1921 contained some rural members; after 29 July 1921, the combined *AB* contains no rural members at all.

Whereas the clustered female members represented over 11% of the 1919 to 29 July 1921 membership, female members who joined after 29 July 1921 made up just over 3% of new members during this time. Furthermore, the female members who joined after 29 July 1921 split along an age line: they were either established older women (with high social status) or much younger women. The older women were on average 25 years older than the younger members. Whereas female members who joined between 1919 and 29 July 1921 were grouped together mainly because of their gender, the types of female members that joined the Nazi Party later on became more distinct. Lastly, the class difference that separated clusters pre-*C* and pre-*D* is eliminated, and the two combine to form *CD*. The portion of the group that clusters pre-*C* and pre-*D* represent - over 47% combined - is reduced greatly after 29 July 1921 to less than 24%.

The clusters to which the studied 196 members belong, those who joined the NSDAP immediately after 29 July 1921, provide further evidence that the membership as a whole was moving in the direction of younger men from the working class. Over 56% (96 members of the 170 valid cases) were placed into the post-29 July 1921 Cluster *CD* (young, Bavarian, urban men from the middle and lower classes). Another 16.5% (28 members) were from Cluster *E* (non-urban, Bavarian men from the middle- and lower-class). These two clusters alone represent 73% of the 170 valid members clustered who joined between 29 July 1921 and 1 September 1921. That 73% of these members were coming almost exclusively out of the lower and middle classes and tended to be younger

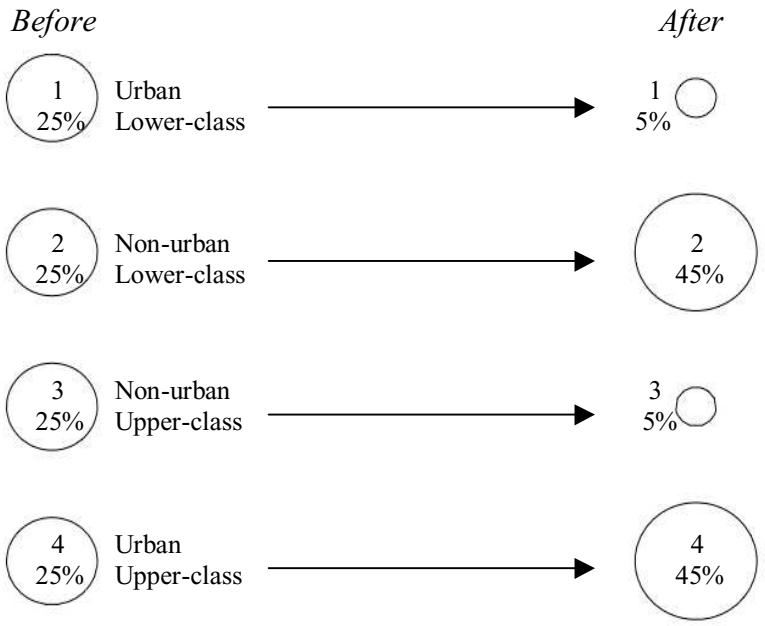
(average birth year was 1894 for Cluster *E* and 1895 for Cluster *CD*) is unmistakable proof that the prototypical members of the Nazi Party changed after 29 July 1921.

The types of people that joined the Nazi Party before 29 July 1921 and after are undoubtedly different. Certain types increased or decreased tremendously as a percentage of the group. The number of prototypical males joining the party decreased from six to four, and the prototypical females split into two different prototypes. This change in the types of members who joined the party before and after Hitler took over as party dictator is further proof of the change in party membership around this event. Nothing more clearly indicates that the Nazi Party after 29 July 1921 went through a radical shift in the types of members it was drawing. Hitler had taken over a small political party with members that initially came from nearly all walks of life. As his hold on the Party became stronger, that membership became more and more uniform.

Why Cluster? The Case for Breaking Out of the Social Class Model

We have seen that the general results of the cluster analysis support the findings of the social composition analysis. Why then does one need cluster analysis? Firstly, there is the issue of how social compositions are determined based on the computed averages of a single trait. Although it was found by both the cluster analysis and the social composition that the (NS)DAP membership became more working-class after 29 July 1921, imagine a scenario where the social composition found no change in the overall social class of the membership before and after Hitler took over as Party dictator. While the cluster analysis in aggregate would agree, one might find that one cluster (the urban lower-class) shrank significantly in terms of the proportion of the total membership and another (the non-urban lower-class) grew equivalently. Because the social composition is based on the overall average of the members of each social class, it would find no change. However, the cluster analysis would indicate a clear shift in the recruitment of new members; what one would find is that the Party was doing a great job of recruiting lower-class members in non-urban areas, but was having trouble recruiting lower-class members from urban areas. Such a change is a significant shift; one that would go unnoticed if using only social composition. A simplified circle chart like the one used above will help visualize the difference between the results of a social composition and those of a cluster analysis.

Circle Chart Example of no Change in Social Composition where Cluster Analysis Shows Significant Change



Social Composition Analysis:

Lower-class:	50%	(Cluster 1 + Cluster 2)	Lower-class:	50%
Upper-class:	50%	(Cluster 3 + Cluster 4)	Upper-class:	50%
Urban:	50%	(Cluster 1 + Cluster 4)	Urban:	50%
non-Urban:	50%	(Cluster 2 + Cluster 3)	non-Urban:	50%

Cluster Analysis:

Cluster 1:	25%	*urban, lower-class members*	Cluster 1:	5%
Cluster 2:	25%	*non-urban, lower-class members*	Cluster 2:	45%
Cluster 3:	25%	*non-urban, upper-class members*	Cluster 3:	5%
Cluster 4:	25%	*urban, upper-class members*	Cluster 4:	45%
Total:	100%		Total:	100%

The circle chart above shows an example in which the lower-class representation and the upper-class representation, as well as urban and non-urban residence, before and after remain the same. This is a clear example of how social compositions can fall victim to the fallacy of averages. In the simplified example of the four-cluster group, it would appear that the membership showed no change in its social composition from before to

after. In fact, there is a huge shift in the makeup of that membership. The cluster analysis can put two or more biographical traits together, thus revealing that, in fact, the leadership of this party has to wonder why they are not appealing to the lower class in the cities and the upper class outside of the cities. Of course, the cluster analysis for the Nazi Party members is more complex than the simplified example given above, but the underlying concept is the same. The types of members before 29 July 1921 were different in many ways from new members after 29 July 1921. Some clusters showed large increases: non-urban, Bavarian men (Cluster *E*) and non-Bavarian, urban men (Cluster *AB*). Others showed decreases: young, Bavarian, urban men from the middle and lower classes (Cluster *CD*), and older, Bavarian men (Cluster *F*). The result is a much more complete understanding of how the membership changed after Hitler took over as Party dictator.

When there are changes in the membership noticed by a social composition, cluster analysis provides a greater degree of specificity about the changes in the overall Nazi Party membership than does the social composition alone. Let us go back to the quotation that opened this dissertation:

> The huge Festhalle in Frankfort-on-Main is filled with a noisy crowd of 20,000. Grimy laborers, politically-confident students, Teutonic Babbitts with protruding beer-bellies and egg-like heads, excited women, still more excited girls, old men who have lived in better days, ex-soldiers who survived the mud and stench of the front, youngsters not yet out of their teens,--all are caught in a tremendous wave of enthusiasm.[31]

When one looks closer at this quotation, one finds that its author is identifying eight types of Nazi Party audience members: laborers, students, Teutonic Babbitts, women, girls, old men, ex-soldiers, and youngsters. While the types identified here do not match the eight types found in the cluster analysis, certainly they are more descriptive than what a social composition can provide. As well, one is left with a true sense of diversity in the crowd.

Social composition analysis, both in this dissertation and in the works of other authors, has indeed shown that the Nazi Party membership was a diverse lot; the focus of this diversity in the social compositions, however, is generally social class. Is it fair to call the Nazi Party a *Volkspartei*, a people's party, if the main proof that has been given is that it was representative of all social classes? If it was truly a people's party, would not the Nazi Party, in the same proportions as the population at large, have members nearly equally from both genders, from all age groups, who lived in all different types of locations and towns? Social class is only one feature of the Nazi Party membership.

Furthermore, step-wise discriminant analysis of the clusters shows that social class was in fact the least important variable in determining the clusters. Information in greater detail on the results of the discriminant analysis is given in Appendix 5. More significant differences between the members were created based on their place of residence, gender, year of birth, and date of party entrance. Once in the Party, the social class of (NS)DAP members was nearly insignificant in creating distinctions between members. This finding alone challenges more than half a century of scholarship dedicated to understanding the importance of social class as an underlying motivation to join the Nazi Party.

The insignificance of social class once having joined the Nazi Party also invalidates the logic of breaking down the membership into different social classes in attempts to understand the social basis of the Nazi movement. Given what has been discovered about how the Nazi Party membership breaks down into the clusters of members that it does, one is better served to look at gender or region or some other biographical trait first. Social class was simply unimportant in creating differences

between members in this early period of the Nazi Party. The Nazis' own goal of creating a *Volksgemeinschaft*, a people's community within the Party membership, was in fact achieved, at least to the extent of abolishing class struggle.

The Nazis themselves, however, were concerned about the under-representation of the working classes in the NSDAP. For all the concern clearly expressed in the *Parteistatistik*, the Nazi Party was indeed a *Volkspartei*, at least in terms of the social class of its members. Yet the (NS)DAP in its infancy was certainly not a *Volkspartei* in any way other than social class. Membership by 1922 was still heavily skewed to Bavaria, it was still largely an urban phenomenon, and it was still, as it would always be, a party of men. Using a very strict interpretation, the Nazi Party was not really a *Volkspartei*. Of course, the Nazis had not really expanded out of Bavaria nor out of the cities quite yet, and the program of the Party never truly intended equal roles for women. Once one takes these limitations into consideration and looks deeper into the types of members, one does indeed find diversity in the Nazi Party membership.

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[1] Despite a greater accuracy because more members can be analyzed, determining the groups by basing the distinctions on only the variables supplied by the membership lists leaves the question of whether it is fair to lump potentially very different people into the same group based on the fact that they have the same gender, approximate age, type of occupation, date of Party entrance, and city of residence. The more the distinctions that can be made between members, the more informative the prosopographical groups are; the more variables considered, however, due to the increased number of missing values, the less reliable is the statistical testing. It is best, therefore, to consider where along this spectrum one begins to trade accuracy for completeness and choose the variables accordingly.

[2] See SPSS Inc., *SPSS Base 8.0, Applications Guide* (U.S.A., 1998), 296-308. Space limits reviewing all of the possibilities here, but one of the simplest and easiest is to select a small, random sample of the larger group and subject this smaller group to a *hierarchical* cluster analysis, which will reveal the suggested number of clusters. *Hierarchical* cluster analyses performed on large groups are difficult to read and interpret, but because they recommend the number of clusters within the group (unlike the *k-means* test), they can be useful guides.

[3] Year of birth, for example, upon which age is based, varies from 1843 to 1906, while occupation only varies from 1 (lower class) to 4 (Status Unclear). Standardizing variables using z-scores gives each of the variables a range based on the difference from the mean.

[4] See Appendix 5 for an explanation of step-wise discriminant analysis and the importance of each variable in determining the clusters.
[5] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 6400002350 (SSO 52). Walther-Peer Fellgiebel, *Die Träger des Ritterkreuzes des Eisernen Kreuzes 1939-1945* (Friedburg, Germany: Podzun-Pallas, 2000), 29.
[6] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1090038940 (j0193 1273), 3500xxxxxx (75 Aktz. P. 2093); National Archives II: MFOK (r 24 2782).
[7] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1200008168 (t 38 2393); Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Kriegsarchiv, München: Offiziere Personalakten, Hans Werner born 7 May 1892.
[8] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1000037673 (a 171 2829); Staatsarchiv München, Personalakten #21493.
[9] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 330xxxxxxx (a34 1252), 3330001575 (d7 2249).
[10] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1080076362 (i 369 1063), Stadtarchiv München: Polizeimeldungen: 1919 - 1928, Eduard Konrad Panzerbieter (husband) born 3 February 1868.
[11] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1070083340 (h 409 2581).
[12] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1080032115 (i0155 1625) and 2402004411 (m 20 353).
[13] Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1070039367 (h 186 1653), 2100024812 (b 119 2709), and 2703015013 (RKK-N).
[14] Substantial documentation is available for Hess. That primary documentation that most directly concerns his biographical background can be found in: Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1040013055 (e 63 1379), 6400016934 (a 94 201), and 8120000099 (a195 1505); Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Kriegsarchiv, München, Offiziere Personalakte: 16883; Staatsarchiv München: Amtsgerichte München, 69209.
[15] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1070041850 (h 198 2643).
[16] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1050017676 (f 81 1357).
[17] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1090012098 (j 60 701) and 4000xxxxxx (b98 1264); Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Kriegsarchiv, München, Offiziere Personalakte: 6877; Hauptarchiv Reel 66 Folder 1486.
[18] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1030041065 (d 188 2487).
[19] The two female members of Cluster *E* do not quite fit into Cluster *G* because of a combination of variables that were outside the norm for Cluster *G*. Both members came from rural areas. This result alone is not enough to disqualify them; however, one member was also very young and another member was from the lower class. In aggregate, these different combinations of variables placed them into Cluster *E*.
[20] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1080032118 (i0155 1643).
[21] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1020065506 (c 306 839), 0119xxxxxx (154 826), and 4000xxxxxx (155 814). While Friedrich may have been the 11th member of the Mannheim chapter, he was not the 11th member of the Party, since numbering for the pre-putsch NSDAP started at 501 in any case.
[22] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 6400050339 (c 2 1207).
[23] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 6005015835 (a5516 1467) and 6400007493 (SSO 154 1092); Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Kriegsarchiv, München, Offiziere Personalakte: 57673.
[24] Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Kriegsarchiv, München, Offiziere Personalakte: 22871.
[25] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1010020038 (b 89 1983). Son Heinrich Brubacher born 23 August 1894: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 6005006362 (a5216 1787), 6400005175 (SSO 109 781)
[26] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 60xxxxxxxx (a 5216 2420) file for Max Bruch.
[27] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1110059685 (l 297 2375); Handelskammer München, *Adreßbuch für München und Umgebung 1921* (München: Handelskammer München Verlag, 1920).
[28] Charles Hamilton, *Leaders and Personalities of the Third Reich* (San Jose, CA: R. James Benden Publishing, 1984), 161.

[29] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1070086446 (h 425 2753) and 6400028557 (SSO). Erich Stockhorst, *5000 Köpfe. Wer war was im 3. Reich* (1967), 525. Charles Hamilton, 160-161. Reichstag, *Der Grossdeutsche Reichstag: IV Wahlperiode* (Berlin: R.v. Decker's Verlag, 1943), 298. Maurice's *Rasse- und Siedlungs-Hauptamt* file 6035012339 (d5413 1967), which would contain great amounts of biographical information including Maurice's ethnic and racial background, contains only an empty folder, with a handwritten, "Akte ohne Inhalt" (file without contents) written on the folder. This missing file is certainly strange, especially given Heinrich Himmler's claim from the information in that file that Maurice was not of Ayran descent. However, a missing folder is not in and of itself evidence that Maurice had a mixed ancestry; it may simply have been stolen from the archives. Picture: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 6400028557 (a301, Frame 1008).
[30] Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: 1200013057 (t 60 2843); Staatsarchiv München: Amtsgerichte München, 69282; Hauptarchiv: reel 66, folder 1487.
[31] Louis Leo Snyder (pseudonym: Nordicus), *Hitlerism: The Iron Fist in Germany* (USA: Van Rees Press, 1932), 1.

Chapter 6: Why Support Hitler and the Nazis?

Enrollment

One way to try to understand why people would join a political party is to analyze enrollment patterns. One might find that enrollment jumps up after important events. For instance, historians have often concluded that Germany's financial abyss beginning in 1930 helped bolster support for the Nazi Party. Throughout the history of the Nazi Party, Hitler was highly opportunistic in using current events to try to build support for the Nazi cause.

Although granted over the entire calendar year, Party memberships were in a general way issued semiannually. A large number of memberships from 1920 to 1922 were issued in May and August or September. Twenty-two percent of all memberships issued for the lists analyzed in this dissertation occured in May; another 20.6% were given out in August or September. Unfortunately, deeper analysis of enrollment throughout the calendar year is not possible. The membership lists stop in September of 1922, so comparing the months of October, November, and December to previous years is not possible. Furthermore, after an initial boost of memberships given out in August of 1921, there is an obvious decline in memberships given out in late 1921. In September of 1921, Hitler and several other Nazi Party and SA members were arrested for disturbing the peace at a meeting of the *Bayernbund*; its leader, Otto Ballerstedt pressed charges after being injured in the brawl. For his actions in this event, Hitler was jailed in June of

1922 and released on 27 July 1922. This event clearly slowed the acceptance of new members; only 38 of the 1017 members who joined in 1921 were taken in after August. Thus, a comparison of enrollment in the last months of 1921 to those same months in 1920 is not feasible.

(NS)DAP Member Enrollment

			Year of Party Entrance				
			1919	1920	1921	1922	Total
Month of Party Entrance	January	Count		5	125	12	142
		% within Year		.3%	12.3%	3.6%	4.5%
	February	Count	2	111	142	9	264
		% within Year	22.2%	6.3%	14.0%	2.7%	8.4%
	March	Count		108	152		260
		% within Year		6.1%	14.9%		8.3%
	April	Count		77	81	28	186
		% within Year		4.4%	8.0%	8.3%	5.9%
	May	Count		382	115	201	698
		% within Year		21.6%	11.3%	59.8%	22.3%
	June	Count		192	67	19	278
		% within Year		10.9%	6.6%	5.7%	8.9%
	July	Count		133	112	21	266
		% within Year		7.5%	11.0%	6.3%	8.5%
	August	Count	1	144	185	36	366
		% within Year	11.1%	8.2%	18.2%	10.7%	11.7%
	September	Count	1	260	8	10	279
		% within Year	11.1%	14.7%	.8%	3.0%	8.9%
	October	Count	4	162	5		171
		% within Year	44.4%	9.2%	.5%		5.5%
	November	Count	1	88	22		111
		% within Year	11.1%	5.0%	2.2%		3.5%
	December	Count		103	3		106
		% within Year		5.8%	.3%		3.4%
Total		Count	9	1765	1017	336	3127
		% within Year	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

While month-to-month analysis of Nazi Party enrollment is not possible except on the very basic level, one can look for trends in enrollment by day. Hitler's jailing following the Ballerstedt incident clearly led to a decline in the issuing of Party memberships. Enrollment analysis within each month can allow for conclusions about

whether major current events that were not Party-related affected enrollment. Unfortunately, the date of the membership application is not available; only the date the Party issued membership is. Thus, if there was a lag between the date of the application and when the membership was granted, this makes it more difficult to connect enrollment to a specific event. Nonetheless, picking certain events that would seem likely to boost interest in the Nazi Party and analyzing enrollment after these events could inform us in some measure whether membership in the Party was affected by these events. Members who were enrolled up to five days after each noteworthy event are included as we examine the historical events of note from 1920 to late 1922.

Effect of national and local events on (NS)DAP Membership

Date	Event	Members Enrolled	Percentage of Enrollment for the year
1920: 13 Mar.	Kapp Putsch - Prussian government overthrown for four days	5	0.29%
1920: 03 April	Communist uprising in the Ruhr put down by *Freikorps*	24	1.40%
1920: 10 May	Dr. Josef Wirth and Walter Rathenau announce the "Policy of Fulfillment"	7	0.41%
1920: 11 Aug.	National Disarmament Law takes effect - civil guards disbanded	1	0.06%
1921: 03 May	Polish forces invade Silesia. May 3rd and 4th only	2*	0.20%*
1921: 05 May	London Ultimatum sets the total war indemnity to 132 billion marks	39	3.82%
1921: 23 May	*Freikorps* defeat Polish forces at St. Annaberg	35	3.43%
1921: 24 May	Alled pressure forces all *Freikorps* units to be outlawed		
1921: 14 Sept.	Ballerstedt incident; Hitler and other Nazis arrested and later convicted of battery	2	0.20%
1922: 12 Jan.	Hitler sentenced to three months jail time for Ballerstedt battery incident	3	0.90%
1922: 24 June	Hitler jailed June 24th for Ballerstedt incident	0	0.00%
1922: 24 June	Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau murdered in Berlin		
1922: 24 June	On news of Rathenau's murder, value of currrency falls		
1922: 27 July	Hitler released from jail	0	0.00%
Total: 1920-1922		118	3.84%

**only enrollment for May 3rd and 4th considered*

With less than 4% of new recruits for that year possibly joining the Nazi Party because of events of the times, it is difficult to make the case that non-Party events had much impact on the enrollment of new members. The only events that seem to have had

any part in encouraging new recruits were the events of early and mid-May 1921: the London Ultimatum and the banning of the *Freikorps* groups, which were followed by 39 and 35 new members respectively. As was seen above, however, the Party had a habit of issuing new memberships in May in any case, so it is even difficult to state flatly that these 39 and 35 new members were due to these events and not some other cause.

While current events of the day do not seem to cause spikes in enrollment, perhaps swells of memberships occur after large party gatherings. It is little surprise that the Party took in 50 new members on 25 February 1920 (almost 3% of its enrollment for the whole year), the day after the first mass meeting at which the Party's political platform, the Twenty-Five Points, was announced (see Appendix 6 for day-to-day enrollment). In 1920, 40 new members joined after a 5 February rally, 49 the day of a 4 March rally, 22 the day of a 6 April rally, 56 the day of an 11 June rally, 47 the day after a 7 October rally, and 38 combined for the day of and the day after a 22 September rally.[1] Enrollment in 1921 similarly had its spikes, but with less consistency. Yet for all the gains that seem attributable to Party gatherings and public events, there are just as many rallies and meetings that show few or no members joining afterward. Donald M. Douglas analyzed the dates of public Nazi Party events and smaller gatherings in 1920 and 1921 and found no correlation between these events and new memberships issued immediately afterward. Similarly, he found no relationship between the size of the audience, who the main speaker was, nor even the general topic of Hitler's speeches at these events.[2] One major flaw in Douglas's logic is that he is assuming that membership was being issued with some regularity; given the "lumps" of memberships issued on the same day, such consistency was clearly not the case. While there was no correlation between Party events

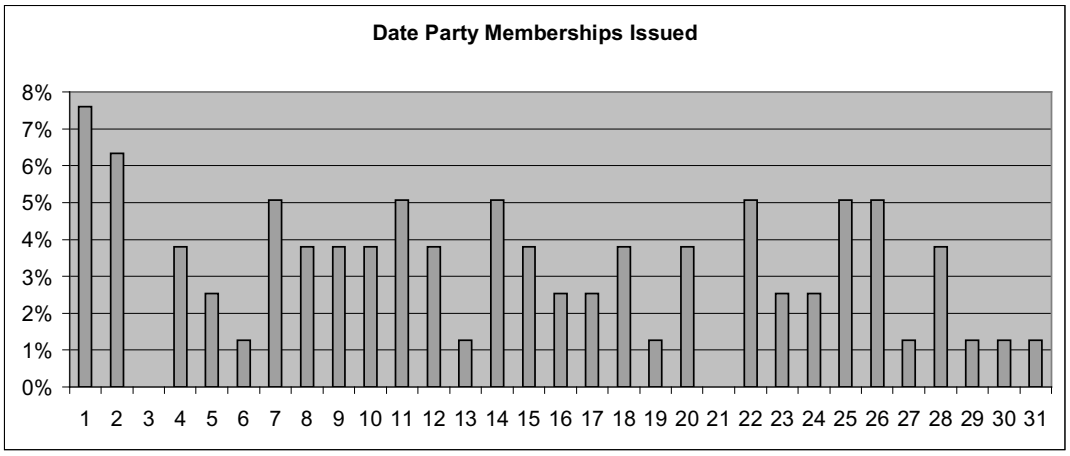
and enrollment on a daily basis, Douglas did find a direct relationship between the number of events held and membership on a monthly basis; for every one event between 1920 and 29 July 1921, twenty new members joined.[3]

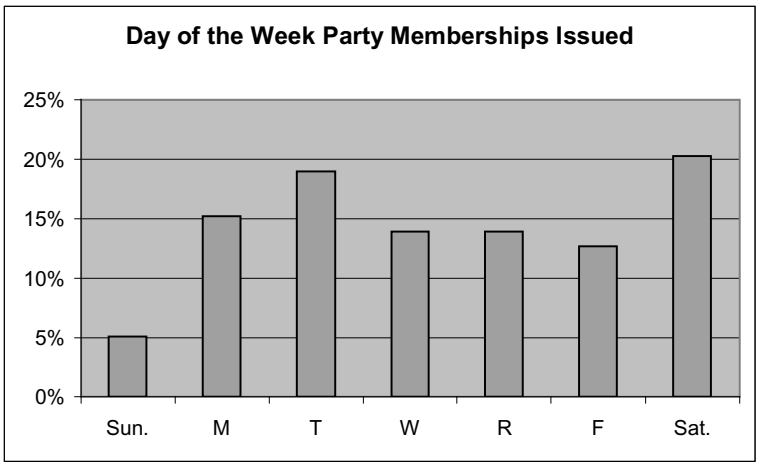
Party headquarters often issued membership in large chunks, but seemingly not around important historical events and not with predictability around large Party gatherings. Rather, it appears that memberships were issued mainly when it was convenient for the responsible officials. While memberships were issued right along, batches were issued on some days and few or no memberships were issued for days in between. Specific dates of entrance are not documented until 1920, so analyzing enrollment trends by day for 1919 is not possible. In 1920, more than 10% of enrollment for the entire year took place on 1 May 1920. Few memberships were given out in mid- to late April, no doubt because the Party was very active that month.[4] May 1st was not a day of any significance at that time to the Nazi Party. Rather, it was Labor Day, a public holiday. The holiday provided the Party functionaries responsible for issuing memberships the opportunity to catch up; at this time they appear to have been Anton Drexler and Rudolf Schüssler. Except for Hitler, most or all Party officials had full-time jobs outside the Party.[5]

Nearly 14% of enrollment in 1921 occurred on 15 August. The 141 new members accepted on this day marks the highest total of any one day from 1920 to 1922. Hitler had just taken over the Party on 29 July and this large number of new members could suggest that he was trying to bolster the party with specific types of members, including possibly ex-soldiers. However, the sheer variety within these 141 members would seem to counter this argument. The members of this group of 141 taken on 15 August came from twenty-

one different towns of residence, over one-third were born in 1900 or after, and they had 80 different occupations. Rather than Hitler using his new-found power to bring in an influx of a certain type of member, it appears much more likely that these members were accepted *en masse* because it was a convenient day to do so. August 15th was a public holiday in Bavaria (the Assumption of Mary). Again, party functionaries were likely using the time off from work to catch up on Party business.

Other than a slight preference for the first or the second of the month, the date on which memberships were issued does not follow any discernible pattern.[6] As well, except that most memberships were issued on Saturdays (over 20%) and very few on Sundays (just over 5%), there was no set day of the week when they were issued.





Certainly, from 1919 to 1922, there was no consistent system in place for issuing cards on a regular basis. It may have simply come down to the person responsible at that time for issuing new memberships and what was convenient for him. This would explain why Douglas found a relationship between Party events and membership on a monthly, but not a daily, basis. However, one cannot extrapolate Douglas's findings much beyond the period he chose. Since according to Douglas there were 139 rallies or gatherings from 1920 to 29 July 1921, it is not possible to reach 55,000 members by November 1923 if there was only a 20 member gain for each event.[7] To a large degree because of the inconsistent manner in which the NSDAP issued membership cards, analyzing enrollment patterns unfortunately provides little insight into the reasons for joining the Nazi Party.

Abel's Essays: Why Germans supported Hitler and the Nazis

There are a number of hurdles to overcome in understanding who joined the Nazi Party. Understanding why is even more difficult. To understand who supported Hitler, historians have drawn inferences mainly on voting records, membership records, or simply anecdotal evidence. Methodologies attempting to discover why Hitler and the Nazis had such broad appeal are much more numerous than those looking at who supported them. In the latter years of its brief existence, the Nazi Party tried to maintain its revolutionary élan by restricting membership and by keeping a close watch on existing members. Due to its extensive membership documentation and to the fact that a large proportion of Party

records is readily available to the researcher (at least today), membership analyses in the last twenty years have generally been rather rigorous, especially statistically. These studies cannot, however, dig very deep in unearthing why members of the Nazi Party joined in the first place.

This does not mean that the use of social composition and of cluster analysis is not fruitful. Quite the contrary, the more we know about Nazi Party members, the more we can zero in on who was drawn to Nazism, and therefore the closer we are to understanding why members joined in the first place. One of the main reasons that it is so difficult to figure out why Germans supported the Nazis is the lack of any overwhelming primary evidence. Of course, many former Nazis wrote memoirs about their conversion to Nazism, and the defendants at the Nuremberg Trials all spoke to why they followed Hitler. Despite these glimpses into the motives for joining the Nazi Party of certain individuals, the best evidence that has been collected for meaningful statistical analysis is Theodor Abel's essays.

In 1934, Abel published the results of his study of a sample of 687 entries in an essay contest for Nazi Party members or sympathizers in *The Nazi Movement: Why Hitler Came to Power*. Those who submitted essays wrote their life story in hopes of winning a cash prize. Abel's work has not stood up against historical criticism, which has mainly centered in his use of an unrepresentative sample. Abel threw out 83 of the entries, including all 48 by female authors. He advertised in the Party press and by way of bulletins at local party headquarters for "The Best Personal Life History of an Adherent of the Hitler Movement"; the best essays would receive cash prizes.[8] Because the essays were submitted voluntarily, Abel's sample is not a random one; furthermore, because he

was offering a cash prize, it is likely that the authors of the 687 essays wrote what they thought would earn them the award. Nonetheless, Abel's *The Nazi Movement* and Peter Merkl's *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, which uses Abel's essays, are still the only works which try to examine on the basis of aggregated data analysis why members joined the Nazi Party. They are, therefore, the best basis of comparison to this dissertation's analysis.

To determine why members joined the Nazi Party, this dissertation instead draws on 194 questionnaires filled out by early Party members. This questionnaire, "Fragebogen für die ersten Mitglieder der NSDAP (DAP)", distributed in 1933, was intended for the very first members of the NSDAP or DAP.[9] The most important question for understanding *why* one would join the (NS)DAP is found on the very first page of the questionnaire: "What caused you to join the [Nazi] Party?" (*Was veranlaßte Sie damals in die Partei einzutreten*?). Just like Abel's sample, this one is also not representative. In fact, there are a number of reasons why this material and the interpretations that stem from it must be used cautiously. Firstly, the sample is based simply on the available information. With a small pool from which to work, even though it represents all of the known, completed questionnaires of early (NS)DAP members, one has to be careful about basing bold assertions on the answers of a few respondents. Also, the sample is unrepresentative because it is based on the answers of individuals who took the time and trouble to fill out the questionnaire, to which there was no intrinsic reward attached. However, the questionnaire does contain questions directed at the financial well-being of the respondent, and it also contains a free-answer section immediately following. As many of those who

responded in the free answer section asked for a specific type of aid, it must be recognized that answers were probably fashioned in the hopes of getting financial help from the Party.

One clear indication that some answers were tailored to their supposed audience is the large number of respondents who indicated that their sole reason for joining the Party was Hitler's politics and not their own. No doubt, many did join the Party due to Hitler's personal appeal, especially because of his oratorical prowess. On the other hand, one member even claimed that his sole reason for joining the DAP was Hitler even though he had joined before Hitler did!

Furthermore, the simplification of the answers given by these early Party members so as to make them comparable both to those of other members and to Abel's results makes it difficult to unearth the respondents' true motives. In fact, their true motives for having joined the (NS)DAP might not even be known to the respondents themselves, especially since they gave their supposed reasons for joining more than ten years after the fact. Nonetheless, the answers given on these questionnaires in aggregate are germane to understanding why early members joined the (NS)DAP. At the time of their joining, they had a number of much larger and more successful political parties to choose from, parties which showed more promise than the (NS)DAP. Real answers to the question, "What caused you to join the [Nazi] Party?", despite the qualifications that have to be made, are by all odds more indicative of the true reasons for joining than those available in other source materials.

Such evidence as there is in Abel's essays as to why people joined the Party was never aggregated by the author in a manner suitable for direct comparison. Abel saw these reasons as multi-determined and impossible to understand apart from the world and

times in which the essay writers lived.[10] Rather, Peter Merkl uses Abel's essays to categorize the reasons why SA and SS members and leaders and NSDAP members joined the Nazi movement. The analysis of the 194 questionnaires used in this dissertation for the reasons for joining the Nazi Party is thus broadly comparable with Merkl's results.

Although those who responded to the question, "What caused you to enter the [Nazi] Party?" gave a variety of reasons for joining the (NS)DAP, these answers are easily categorized along common themes. If a respondent gave more than one reason for joining the Party, each reason was tallied. The responses to this question have been assigned to one of ten categories listed below.

1) Hitler as leader, orator
2) Hitler for personal reasons
3) Other (NS)DAP members as leaders
4) Other (NS)DAP members for personal reasons
5) Anti-Semitism
6) Nationalism, interest of soldiers
7) Socialism, interest of workers
8) November Revolution, betrayal by government leaders, anti-Bolshevism, anti-Marxism
9) Party platform, "conviction" in the party, visit to a party meeting or gathering
10) Other

To help give a sense of some responses and how they were categorized, examples of reasons given and to which category they were assigned are included in Appendix 7.

Was veranlaßte Sie damals in die Partei einzutreten?

Two-hundred and two Party members filled out the "Fragebogen für die ersten Mitglieder der NSDAP (DAP)"; of these 202 questionnaires, only 194 had legible responses to why they joined the (NS)DAP. While the biographical characteristics of this group of 194 members is of interest, the main concern here are the reasons given by these

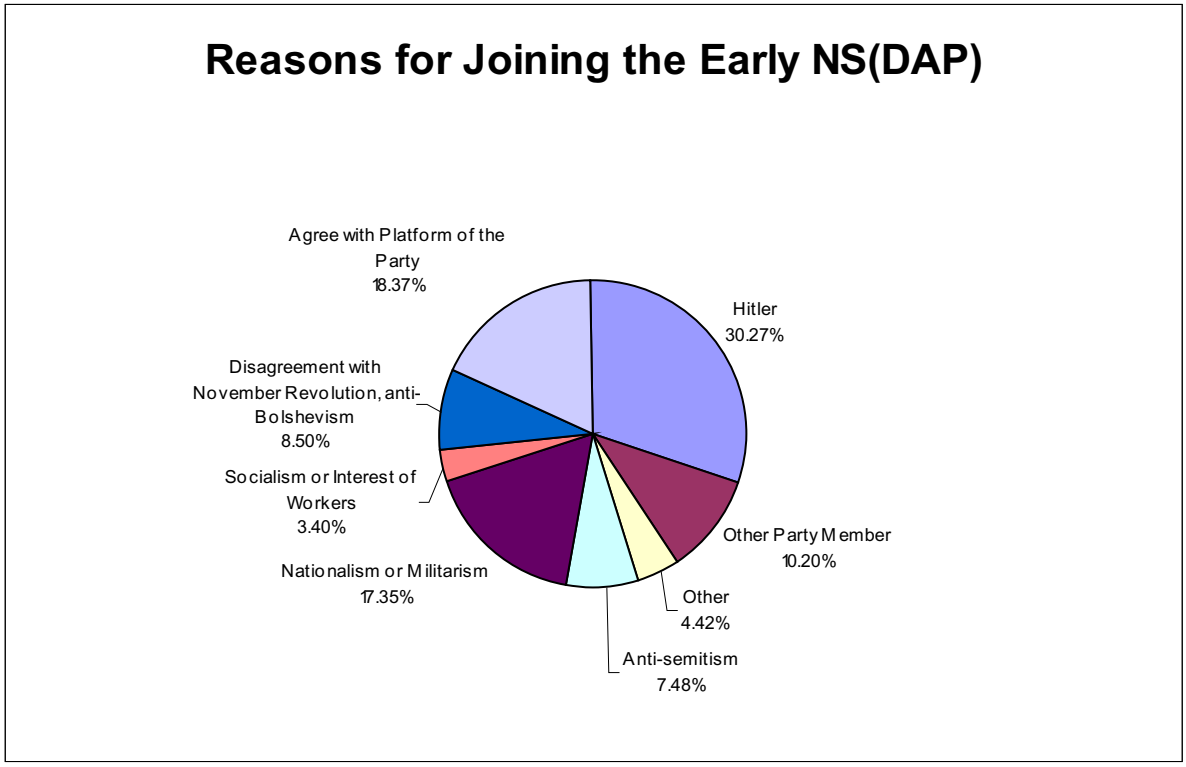
194 members for why they joined the (NS)DAP. An analysis of the biographical characteristics of these 194 members is given in Appendix 8.

In the 194 questionnaires analyzed, 294 overall reasons were given. Of these, 25.51% indicated that Hitler's leadership or his skill as a speaker was a reason for joining the Party; an additional 4.76% of these members joined because they knew Hitler personally. Overall, then, 30.27% of the reasons given for joining the (NS)DAP are attributable to Hitler directly. For the rest, 10.2% of the total reasons for joining were because of other members or people associated with the (NS)DAP: 2.38% because of leadership or speaking skills of these people and 7.82% because they knew them personally.[11]

Of the 294 reasons for joining the Party, 55.1% were associated with political or personal beliefs: 7.48% with anti-Semitism; 17.35% with nationalism and the military; 3.4% with socialism and interest of the workers; 8.5% with the November Revolution, betrayal of Weimar leaders, anti-Bolshevism, or anti-Marxism, and 18.37% simply expressed a general agreement with the political platform of the party. The remaining 4.42% of the reasons given was for other reasons not captured by the other nine categories.

What is of interest here is the sheer variety of political reasons given for joining the (NS)DAP. The Twenty-Five Points delivered by Hitler in February 1920 is the only complete political platform ever issued by the NSDAP. It covers all of these political stances, but it was nearly identical to the programs of many other nationalist groups at the time. This broad range of political reasons for joining the (NS)DAP actually fits right into the speeches delivered by Hitler at the time, despite that he continually pounded on the

same themes. In fact there was so little variation in his speeches in the early 1920's that Rudolph Binion found that, "For eleven years he reworded the same message continually without ever changing it."[12] Binion found three themes that Hitler repeatedly focused on over his political career: the Removal of the Jews, National Unity, and the Conquest of Land. Although seemingly an extensive list of political reasons to join the Nazi Party, these reasons given by the early members (anti-Semitism, nationalism or militarism, socialism or interest of workers, disagreement with the November Revolution or anti-Bolshevism, or just a general agreement with the Party platform) are all either pre-conditions for or thematically akin to the topics recycled by Hitler "a hundred times over."[13]



Although these political reasons all fit neatly under the Nazi umbrella, what is most surprising is that only 7% of the reasons given had to do with anti-Semitic beliefs. Hitler's speeches in the early 1920's were nearly exclusively about getting rid of the

Jews. In Hitler's own words, "That is why the Jewish question is the core question for us National Socialists. The question cannot be solved with tenderness, but … only by brute force."[14] This seeming contradiction only makes sense when one remembers that although the reasons given by the members for joining were supposed to be their motives from the early 1920s, the questionnaires were being filled out in 1933. By this time, Hitler had de-emphasized the anti-Jewish message. Members may have de-emphasized their own anti-Semitic beliefs on the questionnaires to be in line with the current rhetoric; or, after more than a decade, members may have simply forgotten their true motives for joining in the first place. Lastly, early (NS)DAP members may have joined less because of Hitler's message of anti-Semitism than what he attached to it: creating national unity through eastward expansion. At any rate, at a time when Hitler's speeches consistently harped on getting rid of the Jews, one would expect more responses in line with Hitler's rhetoric.

Comparing to Merkl's Data

The reasons given by these 194 members can be compared to the data gathered by Abel and later revised by Merkl. It is not, however, an easy fit. Merkl's categorization of the responses to Abel's essays is different from the categories for the questionnaires analyzed here. To make them comparable, the reasons given by the 194 early members have been assigned to four very broad categories:

A) Hitler as reason for joining (NS)DAP
B) Other Leader or Member as reason for joining (NS)DAP
C) Joined for political, personal beliefs
D) Other reason for joining (NS)DAP

While a perfect comparison is not possible given the different categories that this dissertation and Merkl have assigned to the responses by Party members, with these revisions, a more general comparison can be made. Merkl assigned the essayists' reasons to one of seven reasons that, "according to their own statements, drove the Abel Nazis into the party."[15] Five of these seven reasons are too specific to Abel's sample and can only be usefully compared by assigning them into an "Other" category and comparing it with both the "Other reason" and "Other Members or Individuals" categories from the *Fragebogen*. Two reasons from the Abel sample match fairly well with two of main reasons the given by the 194 respondents. What Merkl assigns to "Dynamic impression of Hitler movement" can be compared with "Hitler as reason for joining", and what he calls "Ideological fervor, anti-Semitism" can be compared with "Joined for political, personal beliefs".

From Abel's sample, 31.2% of those who followed Nazism did so because of a "dynamic impression of the Hitler movement", while 35.1% of early Party members who joined did so because of Hitler. As well, 45.5% of Abel's essayists were Nazi adherents due to "ideological fervor, anti-Semitism", and 52.6% of early Party members joined out of their political or personal beliefs. Lastly, 23.3% of Abel's Nazi Party members joined for other reasons versus 12.4% of early (NS)DAP members. When broadly compared in this manner, the two samples show some similarity. What is remarkably similar is the percentage of members who joined because of Hitler. This finding is surprising given how much the *Führer* cult had been built up since the NSDAP was refounded in 1925; one would expect more Party members writing in 1933 to give Hitler as their reason for joining the movement. Based on this (admittedly rough) comparison, one could speculate

that the very broad reasons members joined the Nazi Party did not really change from 1919 to 1933. Events that transpired since 1919 may have simply made Hitler's message more palatable. Germans may have reacted to the French occupation of the Ruhr, to economic depression in 1930s, and to the string German Chancellors from 1930 to 1933, by embracing Hitler and the NSDAP.[16]

Connecting who and why: are there biographical characteristics affiliated with certain reasons for joining the (NS)DAP?

Just as important as understanding the reasons why members joined the Nazi Party is to see if there is any relationship between the biographical features of these 194 members and their stated reasons for joining. Similar types of members may have given similar reasons for joining. This very connection is what historians have tried to make by showing (incorrectly) that the Nazi Party appealed to a particular sector of society, whether it be members of the middle class, the youth, or even marginal men. Unfortunately, not only have such studies proven to be wrong from a statistical and social stand-point; all lack the evidence necessary to make conclusions about why members joined the Nazi Party. Since the 194 members who answered the questionnaires used in this dissertation directly state their reasons for joining the Nazi Party, there is the potential to determine whether there is a correlation between the social characteristics of a Party member and his or her reason for joining the Nazi Party.

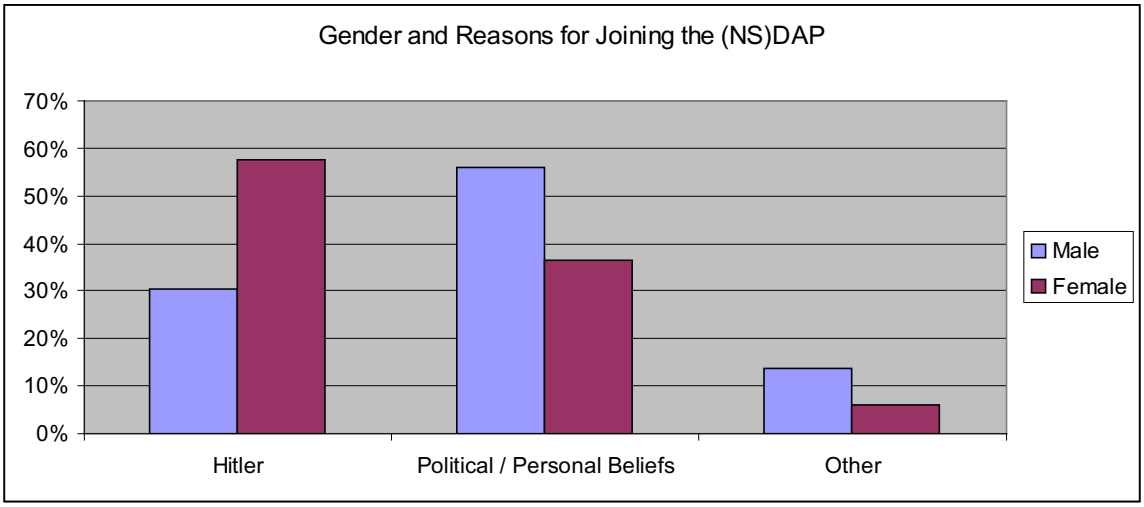
Some simplification of the biographical traits of these 194 members was necessary to avoid errors due to small sample size.[17] With minimal modification, marital status, religion, education, social class, year of birth, whether a member ever had

children, World War I fighting experience, *Freikorps* membership, whether a member rejoined the NSDAP, gender, date of party entrance, and cluster membership can all be analyzed to see if members with specific biographical traits joined the Nazi Party for similar reasons. Additionally, the reasons that Nazi members gave for joining had to be reduced to "Hitler as the reason for joining", "Political or Personal Beliefs as reason for joining", or "Other".

Despite the twelve characteristics considered, only one, gender, shows large enough differences to be statistically significant.[18] Year of Party entrance also yielded statistical significance, but only when the "Other" category of reasons for joining is included. If "Other" is removed from analysis, there is not a significant difference.[19] Thus, for all of the other ten different biographical traits, there was no relationship between these ten variables and why a member chose to join the Party. In fact, there is remarkable agreement in the reasons why members joined despite their differences. Of particular note is the high degree of agreement that members of different social classes had for joining the (NS)DAP. Between 23% to 36% of members, whether they were lower-, middle-, or upper-class, gave Hitler alone as the reason they joined the (NS)DAP. Meanwhile, between 52% and 59% gave Personal or Political reasons for joining the Party. Such agreement between members of different social classes, different religions, different ages, and more is quite a striking result. Very different people, while still members of the Nazi Party, gave the same basic reasons for having joined.

The one clear difference lies in the gender of the Party members. The graph below, *Gender and Reasons for Joining the (NS)*DAP, shows that male respondents were much more likely to give a reason based on a political or personal belief (55.9%), than to

cite Hitler alone as the reason they joined (30.4%). The female members of the (NS)DAP gave practically the reverse of these results: 57.6% gave Hitler alone as the reason they joined the (NS)DAP, while only 36.4% cited a political or personal belief.[20]



There are two likely reasons for this gender difference. Firstly, it was still not common at this time in German culture for women to be as politically-minded as men; politics was still considered largely a men's realm. Additionally, the politics of the Nazi Party did not favor political women. It is no surprise that the female Nazi Party members would agree to be non-political. The Nazi Party's stance on the role of women had not yet been clearly articulated by the time the respondents joined the party, but its appeal to nationalism hearkened backwards, not forwards. Secondly, hero-worship is evident among some of the female respondents. Hitler's charisma, especially with women, is something that should not be underestimated even at this early stage. That female (NS)DAP members so frequently listed Hitler alone as their reason for joining the Nazi Party must be due in some part to his well-crafted appeal to women.

Evidence of Hitler hero-worship among female Party members is apparent not just in what they write about, but also in the tone of their responses. Luise Haslreiter asserted her "absolute belief in the Führer," while Martha Lammers expressed her relief when "…I came to one of the first Hitler gatherings, we were hardly forty listeners, and in that moment I was so glad to finally have found a man to lead us...". Lastly, Käthe Haymann ascribed to Hitler the role of Messianic savior: "…this chaos, out of which only Adolf Hitler can deliver us…".[21] These responses and others from the female members of the early Nazi Party validate the findings of the statistical analysis. Female Party members were more likely to personalize their politics; in this case, they focused on Hitler and his role within the Nazi Party. Meanwhile, men downplayed the role of the individual and tended to join because they supported the policies espoused by the Party. While a finding of interest, it may not be an earth-shattering surprise that women and men joined the Nazi Party for different reasons, especially given the Nazi Party policies regarding the role of women. It does, however, give us a place to start parsing the different stated reasons for which members may have joined in the first place. It is true that it is difficult to get to the real reasons why members joined the Nazi Party. When filling out the questionnaires, members may not have remembered the real reasons why they joined the Nazi Party, they might have altered the truth to seek favor with the Party, or they might not even be aware of why they joined at all. However, the clear difference between the reasons for joining the (NS)DAP given by men as opposed to women is a far better connection, and one based on actual evidence and analysis, than to give the false blanket statement that since the Nazi Party appealed to the middle class, or to youth, or to marginal men, members joined simply because they matched those descriptives. Not a

single member stated that the reason he joined the Nazi Party was because he was middle-class.

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[1] Public meetings and gatherings and the membership that followed from them comes from Donald M. Douglas, "The Evangelist's Apprenticeship," *Wichita State University Bulletin*, 98, 4 - 6.
[2] Douglas, "The Evangelist's Apprenticeship," 4 - 14.
[3] See Douglas, "The Evangelist's Apprenticeship," 12.
[4] Using four main sources, Donald M. Douglas compiled a list of dates of public Party events and smaller gatherings (*Sprechabende*) for the years 1920 up to 29 July 1921. In April 1920, there were nine such events held as against ten combined for the three months previous. A list of these events can be found in Douglas, "The Evangelist's Apprenticeship, " 4 - 6.
[5] Rudolf Schüssler, the Party's first office manager, began work in January 1920 but was not paid regularly until June or July of that year. See Tyrell, *Vom Trommler zum Führer*, n. 158, 204.
[6] Of the days in which more than 1% of memberships were issued, the first of the month accounts for nearly 8% of all dates and the second of the month accounts for just over 6%.
[7] Number of events taken from Douglas, "The Evangelist's Apprenticeship," 4-6.
[8] Theodore Abel, *The Nazi Movement: Why Hitler Came to Power* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 3.
[9] A random sample of 605 early Party members revealed that an estimated 40% rejoined the Nazi Party after it was refounded in 1925 and were still members by 1933. If one takes the sample of 3330 members, that would indicate that 1332 rejoined and remained members of the party until 1933. If the *Fragebogen für die ersten Mitglieder der NSDAP (DAP)* was distributed to every member listed on the seven membership rosters examined by this dissertation, less than 15% of the early membership returned it.
[10] Abel sees the ability of the Nazi Party to recruit members as due to four factors - discontent, ideology, tactics and strategy, and charismatic leadership - none of which was sufficient on its own. He distinguished between political opposition to something (anti-Semitism, for instance) and support for a political idea (*Volksgemeinschaft* for example). He argued that those who submitted essays to his contest expressed both types of political sentiment; although they would express satisfaction with the Nazi ideology, they would also attack the 1918 Revolution and the political leaders who either helped make it happen or whom it brought to power. How Hitler dressed up Nazi Party speeches and meetings to make them into events rather than a tedious recital of Party platitudes was also an important factor of attraction to the (NS)DAP. Lastly, Hitler's charismatic leadership helped bring in future party members. Theodore Abel, *The Nazi Movement: Why Hitler Came to Power*, 166, 183-184.
[11] The individuals other than Hitler mentioned as reasons for joining the (NS)DAP: Anton Drexler, co-founder of DAP, member 526, mentioned 9 times; Dietrich Eckart, according to the membership registers never an actual member of the NSDAP but a good friend of the party and to whom *Mein Kampf* is dedicated, mentioned 7 times; Elenore Baur, alias Schwester Pia, member 506, mentioned twice; Josef Berchtold, member 776, mentioned twice; Else Bauer, member 970, Frieda Dorenberg member 525, Hermann Esser member 881, Richard Etbauer member 945, Gottfried Feder member 531, Hans Klatt member 575, Oskar Körner member 743, Adolf Vogl member 940, all mentioned once; Franz Ritter von Epp, not yet a member, Hermann Erhardt, leader of the Ehrhardt Brigade, one of the most nefarious of the *Freikorps* movements, von Ponsels, not a member but a leader of the *Deustschvölkische Schutz- und Trutzbund*, Karl Harrer, co-founder of the DAP and never an official member of the NSDAP, who removed himself from DAP business by January 1920 due to disagreements over the DAP's future, all mentioned once.
[12] Binion, Rudolph. *Soundings: Psychohistorical and Psycholiterary* (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1981), 108.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*; Bundesarchiv Koblenz NS26/51/18-19 (speech of April 17, 1921).
[15] The ten reasons Merkl assigned to Abel's essay writers were: "Friction with French occupation; unemployment, agricultural revolt; Repression by police, government; Rough opposition by KPD, etc. (including threat of red revolution); Comradeship among stormtroopers, NSDAP; Dynamic impression of Hitler movement; Ideological fervor, antisemitism." Merkl, *Stormtrooper*, 245.

[16] In *The Logic of Evil*, William Brustein makes the assertion that in the period from 1925 to 1933, the reason that Germans chose Nazism was due mainly to the appeal of the Party to an individual's self-interest, especially during the period of the Depression. Brustein utilizes rational-choice theory and comes to the conclusion that in the minds of many Germans, the benefits of supporting Nazism outweighed the drawbacks. According to Brustein, Nazism appealed to Germans because it offered the best economic and social solutions to the problems of the times. William Brustein, *The Logic of Evil* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 180. In the questionnaires answered by the early Nazis, no such clear rational logic is present. While Brustein concedes that Germans would not necessarily voice logically their reasons for joining the Nazi Party, based on the results of the questionnaires, the most that one could allot to an economic rational choice are those who gave either, "Agree with the Platform of the Party" (18.37%) or less convincely, "Socialism or Interest of Workers" (3.4%). Combined, this results in less than 22% of the reasons given by the early members. Brustein's conclusions are not based on any primary evidence; rather, they come out of (an admittedly very complete) analysis of the Nazi Party membership. Interestingly, the only instance in which Brustein utilizes direct evidence is when he uses Abel's essays to explain the *disincentives* to join the Nazi Party. Brustein, *The Logic of Evil*, 167-169.

[17] The following changes to the data categorization were made in order to decrease mistakes in statistical testing. The reasons for joining the Nazi Party were limited to only three: Hitler, Political or Personal Beliefs, or Other. To establish a possible relationship between a type of member and a typical response, each member was assigned only one reason for joining. Those who gave multiple answers were assigned to the category which seemed the primary emphasis of the response. Biographically, only 2 of the 194 respondents were non-Bavarian and only 10 lived in an area of fewer than 100,000 residents; therefore we cannot use place of residence as an indicator of a particular reason for joining the (NS)DAP. Other variables were also simplified: marital status of members was coded into single or married, religion into Catholic or Protestant, and education into less than university or university and higher.

[18] The null hypothesis for gender is that men and women would, within acceptable limits for error, give the same reasons for joining the (NS)DAP. Because a Pearson Chi-square test for significance yields $p = .011$, this hypothesis is rejected.

[19] The null hypothesis for year of party entrance (that members, whether they joined in 1919, 1920, or 1921, would give the same reasons for joining) is rejected with $p = .017$. The year a member joined the Party also shows a significant difference among the reasons for joining. The importance of Hitler alone as the reason for joining the (NS)DAP goes up from 27.7% in 1919 to 35.7% in 1920. Both "Political or Personal" and "Other" reasons fall during this same period. However, Hitler's rise as the reason for joining the Nazi Party is not necessarily due to an increased connection between Hitler and newer members. When one considers only the Hitler and the Political and Personal responses, nearly identical percentage of members joined for these reasons from 1919 to 1920. This mixed result due to the "Other" response can be difficult to interpret. It certainly does not overwhelmingly indicate that Hitler was "mesmerizing" new members into the Party in this very early period. What it does recognize is that Hitler was more the face of the Party by 1920 and that by a year later, other members who had been effective in bringing in members in the past were losing their influence. The *Führer* cult had not been sufficiently built up in 1920 to suggest that Hitler was bringing in members singularly devoted to him.

Main reason joined (NS)DAP - Crosstabulation of Party Entrance Year including Other Reason

			Year of Party Entrance		
			1919	1920	Total
Main Reason why Joined (NS)DAP	Hitler	Count	13	46	59
		% within Year of Party Entrance	27.7%	35.7%	33.5%
	Political/personal beliefs	Count	22	73	95
		% within Year of Party Entrance	46.8%	56.6%	54.0%
	Other reason	Count	12	10	22
		% within Year of Party Entrance	25.5%	7.8%	12.5%
Total		Count	47	129	176
		% within Year of Party Entrance	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Main Reason Joined (NS)DAP - Crosstabulation of Party Entrance Year not including Other

			Year of Party Entrance		
			1919	1920	Total
Main Reason why Joined (NS)DAP	Hitler	Count	13	46	59
		% within Year of Party Entrance	37.1%	38.7%	38.3%
	Political/personal beliefs	Count	22	73	95
		% within Year of Party Entrance	62.9%	61.3%	61.7%
Total		Count	35	119	154
		% within Year of Party Entrance	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

[20] See below for percentage and frequency values:

Main Reason Respondent Joined (NS)DAP - Crosstabulation of Gender

			Gender		
			Male	Female	Total
Main reason why Joined (NS)DAP	Hitler	Count	49	19	68
		% within Gender	30.4%	57.6%	35.1%
	Political/personal beliefs	Count	90	12	102
		% within Gender	55.9%	36.4%	52.6%
	Other reason	Count	22	2	24
		% within Gender	13.7%	6.1%	12.4%
Total		Count	161	33	194
		% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If only Hitler and political or personal beliefs are considered (and the "Other" variables is left out): Hitler: 35.3% male, 61.3% female; Political or personal beliefs: 64.7% male, 38.7% female. Again, the null hypothesis is that there would be no difference in the responses between the men and women. The null hypothesis is rejected, with Fisher's test of significance yielding p=.009.

[21] Haymann, Haslreiter, and Lammers: all Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II: Haymann, 1030071255 (d0329 2807); Haslreiter, 1040001967 (e 10 1298); Lammers, 1070001158 (h 6 1015).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This dissertation has two overriding goals. The first is to understand who the early Nazi Party members were and to see whether, and if so how, the composition of party membership changed after Hitler took over as its dictator on 29 July 1921. The second is to know why these early members joined.

From the analysis of the social composition of the (NS)DAP from 1919 to 1922, it has been shown that the membership was not perfectly reflective of German society as a whole, nor was it similar to the membership of the KPD or the SPD. While Nazi Party membership tended to be middle-class, it was far from being exclusively middle-class. Unlike the KPD and the SPD, which were overwhelmingly lower-class, the (NS)DAP tended to draw in members from all sectors of German society, albeit more from the middle class and the upper class than their fair share for Germany in 1925. Additionally, even with the percentage of female members at its peak in the early years of the Party, female representation was very low in comparison to the SPD. Also, because it was still largely limited to the Bavarian province, Catholics were over-represented in the Party membership compared to Germany as a whole, yet under-represented if only Bavaria is considered. In its infancy, the Nazi Party was still largely confined to metropolitan centers, with more than 71%, compared to just over 18% of the Bavarian population as a whole, of its members residing in a city of 100,000 inhabitants or more. Lastly, in comparison to the KPD and especially the SPD, Nazism was a youth movement.

The composition of the (NS)DAP began to change, however, after Hitler took over as its dictator. Members before and after 29 July 1921 were found to be significantly different in terms of age, gender, social class, and whether they would rejoin the Party after 1925. Analysis of the 196 members who joined immediately after Hitler became Party dictator clearly shows a trend toward younger, more lower-class men enrolling. Additional proof of this shift in the overall (NS)DAP membership is given by the high rate of membership in select prosopographical clusters dominated by these 196 members – clusters from the 29 July 1921 - 1922 group that were made up of young, male, lower-class types.

Analysis of enrollment patterns gives no evidence of a major influx of members due to any external historical factor. There is also no evidence that internal or Party events led to any rush of new members. Indeed, issuing new memberships does not appear to be based on any consistent system; it would seem that membership was issued when it was convenient for those who did the issuing. Enrollment patterns, then, do little to help discern why one would join the NSDAP.

For understanding the reasons for joining the early Nazi Party, we must turn to the answers of 194 early Nazi Party members to the question, "What caused you to enter the [Nazi] Party?" found on questionnaires distributed by the Party in 1933. In comparing the answers from these questionnaires to those given on the essays collected by Theodor Abel in 1933, one finds only minor differences between the two samples. The responses in both samples generally fall into two categories in roughly the same proportions: "Joined because of Hitler" (Abel 31.2%, Mook 35.1%) and "Joined for Personal/Political Belief" (Abel 45.5%, Mook 52.6%). The similarity of these findings would indicate that

those very general reasons why one joined the Nazi Party between 1919 and 1922 did not change much by 1933. Hitler personally was just as important in the early years as he was in 1933.

More important was the sheer variety of reasons for joining the Party that were placed into the "Joined for Personal/ Political Belief" category for both the sample of 194 early joiners and Abel's essay writers. Although the Twenty-Five Points program declared on 24 February 1920 constituted the NSDAP's political platform, it was vague and hardly distinctive, and once it had been proclaimed it was generally ignored. The diversity of reasons to join to the Nazi Party contradicts the message given by Party officials and particularly Hitler in those early years of the Party. Hitler was dogmatically stuck on his message of anti-Semitism in those years. That members stated such disparate reasons for joining the Party in the face of such single-minded rhetoric and especially that they so infrequently indicated anti-Semitic reasons affirms Rudolph Binion's findings that Germans were attaching their own meaning to Hitler's well-crafted message. If Nazi Party members did not join just because of Hitler, they joined for a variety of ambiguous reasons dependent on their own personal beliefs (such as anti-Semitism, nationalism, or the desire for comradeship) or on outside events (like the November Revolution, government betrayal, French occupation, or police or government repression).[1] Members found Hitler's message, despite its single-mindedness, compatible with their beliefs.

(NS)DAP members joined the Party for reasons just as varied as the members themselves. Unlike the SPD or the KPD, which drew in members of a particular type (working-class Protestants from industrial areas), the NSDAP in its early years drew in members who were not so easily categorized. The prosopographical clusters of members

within each of the four groups analyzed show a variety of types of people. The entire group of early Party members during 1919 to 1922 yielded eight different prototypical members. The SA meanwhile showed relative homogeneity with only three prototypical members. Unlike the Nazi Party, the SA mainly drew in young, urban, working-class men. That there were so many prototypes of early Party members, however, indicates that it truly was a *Volkspartei* (a people's party), a party that catered to people not only of all social classes, but also from all walks of life.

There was less diversity, however, in the types of members who joined after Hitler became Party dictator. Before 29 July 1921, there were seven different prototypical members and only six after. Women, who were lumped together before 29 July 1921, are after 29 July 1921 split by age into two different prototypes; women therefore produced two different clusters, but had less diversity within each cluster. Prototypical early Party men, however, were especially streamlined; six prototypical Party men were reduced to only four with little diversity within each cluster. The cluster analysis here adds to the social composition analysis, which also found less diversity amongst members after 29 July 1921. While the early Nazi Party was indeed in many ways a people's party, it became less so after Hitler's takeover. Party members after 29 July 1921 tended more often to be male, young, less urban, and from the working classes.

While the new members who joined after Hitler took over as Party dictator tended to come more from the working classes, the clusters themselves were rarely separated by class status. In fact, region of residence, gender, age, population of residence, and party entrance date distinguished the clusters from one another much more than social class did. The lack of importance of social class in determining the clusters points to its

insignificance within the membership itself. One cannot state that it was not important within the minds of the Party members; however, based on their biographical characteristics, social class does not create differences amongst party members. This finding speaks to the *Volkspartei* nature of the Party: a people's party that was above class differences. It also opens up the possibility that the Nazi Party did indeed create a *Volksgemeinschaft* within its own membership. In this case, it was not a *Volksgemeinschaft* where everybody was the same or even equal, but where social class was unimportant. Based on the prosopographical analysis, no single characteristic, especially not class, can be used to describe the typical Nazi Party member.

(NS)DAP membership, therefore, was not simply middle class, not simply Catholic, predominantly but not only urban, and even though it was relatively young, it was not mainly a youth party. The Nazi Party did not cater to any one group, even if it was not perfectly reflective of German society as a whole. While social class did little to create differences amongst party members, this does not mean that Party officials were not still concerned about trying to mirror the German social structure; thus the obvious uneasiness expressed in 1933 in the *Parteistatistik* about the low level of working-class membership.

The findings in the social composition, in the prosopographical analysis, and in the reasons for joining the early (NS)DAP, resonate with recent studies on the Nazi Party electorate. Putting to rest a debate about the social basis of Nazi Party voters, Jürgen Falter found that the Nazi vote was not based on class, religion, gender, age, or any single compositional factor; there simply "was no such thing as a 'typical' Nazi voter."[2] Rather, the mass appeal of the Nazi Party in the early 1930s was the same as its appeal to the

members in the early 1920s. The overwhelming evidence found within this dissertation, in addition to the recent works on the social composition of the Nazi Party by Detlef Mühlberger, as well as that found in recent literature on Nazi Party voters, must quash the idea that the Nazi Party appealed disproportionately to a certain type of person with a certain background. The draw of the Party was not due to characteristics shared by the voters and members themselves; rather the Nazi Party was a hodgepodge of all different types of members from all different backgrounds.

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[1] Reasons for joining which fall into the "Joined for Personal/Political Belief" not given above (French occupation, repression by police or government, desire for comradeship) come from Merkl's interpretations of Abel's essays. See Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 245.
[2] Mühlberger, *The Social Bases of Nazism*, 75.

Appendix 1
Reasons for additional primary documentation or its absence

The various archives utilized for the research component of this dissertation, as well as many more not utilized, contain vast biographical documentation for Nazi Party members – so much, in fact, that searching for information on just one Party member can be overwhelming and misleading. Without a member's full name and birth date, it is difficult to find additional source material beyond the membership records themselves.

The importance of the original seven membership registers that were the foundation to the research for this dissertation, especially their accuracy and legibility, cannot be overstated. Often, additional research revealed that names on the membership registers were misspelled or birth dates were incorrect. Also, it was often difficult to come to solid conclusions about the usefulness of additional documentation for members with very common names, lest this documentation actually be about another identically named individual; in these cases, name and birth date did not necessarily suffice to make a final decision. Secondly, a great amount of additional source information is available depending on an individual's occupation, his military experience, and his or her residence. Germans who worked for the state or local government in some capacity very often had personnel files in the city and state archives. Germans who achieved officer status in the *Reichswehr* consistently had extraordinarily detailed documentation in the military archives. Because so many early Party members had served in World War I, many had detailed military records which provided general biographical information. Furthermore, a great deal of source material is contained at the local level, as all Germans are required to register their residential address with the local police. Due to archival

policy, it was difficult to obtain much information from these registrations, but they often contained important information about individuals who had no historical documentation elsewhere. Because the early Nazi Party was so concentrated in the Munich area, investigating these documents was extremely fruitful.

Much of the biographical information not readily available from published sources, however, stemmed from official NSDAP party records.[1] As there are thousands of reels of microfilm devoted to various biographical files on NSDAP members, it stands to reason that most of the early members who rejoined the party after 1925 left some trace. If the member was also active in the SS, the SA, or other various auxiliary organizations, there is a greater chance that additional documentation is available.

At a minimum, it is expected that most would have a membership card, which was kept in duplicate on file at Party Headquarters in two different card files: one was a central, alphabetical list (the *Zentralkartei*) and the other was organized geographically by *Gau* (the *Ortsgruppenkartei*). These two card files cross-referenced each other. Taken together, the two card files contain some 10.7 million membership cards and are considered to represent 90% of the total Party membership.[2] Immediately after the refounding of the Party in 1925, the task of organizing and maintaining the membership records fell initially to Philipp Bouhler, the Party's Executive Secretary, and to Franz Xaver Schwarz, Party Treasurer. Only Schwarz and Hitler could officially sign the membership cards in the early years of the Party.[3] Again after 1935, *Reichsschatzmeister* (National Treasurer) Schwarz, along with a staff of nearly 150 workers, was responsible for keeping the membership cards up to date, as dues was an important source of income for the Party.[4] Hitler's Deputy, Rudolf Hess (member 1600 of the pre-Putsch Nazi Party),

who oversaw most administrative aspects of the NSDAP until his flight to England in May 1941, wrote in a letter dated March 1927 to Walter Hewel (another early Party member) of his great satisfaction in the membership card file maintained by the Party; "Our central card file is perfect. Any day one can determine the current membership of the whole organization and each subsection with one motion."[5] The two card files do provide an extraordinarily vast amount of information; looking up large numbers of people is a time-consuming process.

In March 1945, Party Secretary Martin Bormann (who succeeded Hess) and Franz Xaver Schwarz ordered the destruction of financial records, all personnel files, and other records held by the Party. A large majority of the personnel files were recovered from a paper mill, and as noted above, around 90% of the membership cards were still intact. The same cannot be said for the Party card file from before the November 1923 Putsch attempt. This was lost or destroyed after the Party Secretary, Ludwig Ess, first hid the card file and then handed it over to another early Party member. Its whereabouts and its condition after Ess handed it to Party member Singer are unclear.

Because the post-1925 Nazi Party records are so fruitful, the individuals who found their way into these collections had the best biographical coverage. Former early Nazi Party members who did not rejoin the party, did not have a role to play in the Nazi Party after 1925, did not work for the local or state government, or did not rise to officer status in the military are quite understandably under-represented in the data analysis. Hence many early party members have little or no additional biographical information about them beyond the information provided by the membership registers themselves. Ideally, information for all of the biographical variables should be available for all of the

members; however, because the information must be gathered from a variety of sources (instead of one source, as is typical for prosopographies), such an ideal occurrence is unrealistic.

Appendix 2
Additional variables used only for the Biographical Vignettes

Because of the lack of complete information on all members, very useful biographical information which was found on many members could not be used in the statistical testing. This did not, however, preclude its use in the biographical vignettes of the cluster representatives. These vignettes are meant to give as much information about these members as possible, but are not intended to imply that all the members of the cluster had exactly the same history. Rather, the vignettes should give the reader a glimpse into the life of a member who, based on his or her residence, gender, age, party entrance date, and social status, represents an entire cluster of members.

Explanation of the biographical characteristics of the cluster representatives used only in these vignettes is therefore necessary. A member's military rank is based on his last rank attained, even though this rank could have been given well after the September 1922 cut-off of the membership registers. Membership status in the refounded Nazi Party is given when available; it indicates whether a member rejoined the Party after 1925 and if so, when. SA and SS membership information is also tracked for members who joined either organization after 1925. Educational level attained is given when available and it follows the educational tracking used in the German educational system. When known, the date a Party member's mother and father died is provided. Marital status, including whether a member was divorced, separated, or widowed is often given. A member's marital status can be difficult to pinpoint, since it can change without being reflected in the documentation available. Lastly, a member may have distinguished him- or herself within the Party. Some typical honors that were bestowed were the *Coburger Abzeichen* (for participation in the bloody melee between Communists and the (NS)DAP and SA on

14-15 October 1922 in Coburg), the *Blutorden* (the Blood Order, also known as the *Ehrenzeichen vom 9. November 1923*, for participation in the 9 November 1923 Putsch attempt), or the *Goldenes Parteiabzeichen* (Golden Party Badge, for having a membership number under 100,000 in the refounded Nazi Party).

Appendix 3
Education and Marital Status: 1919-1922

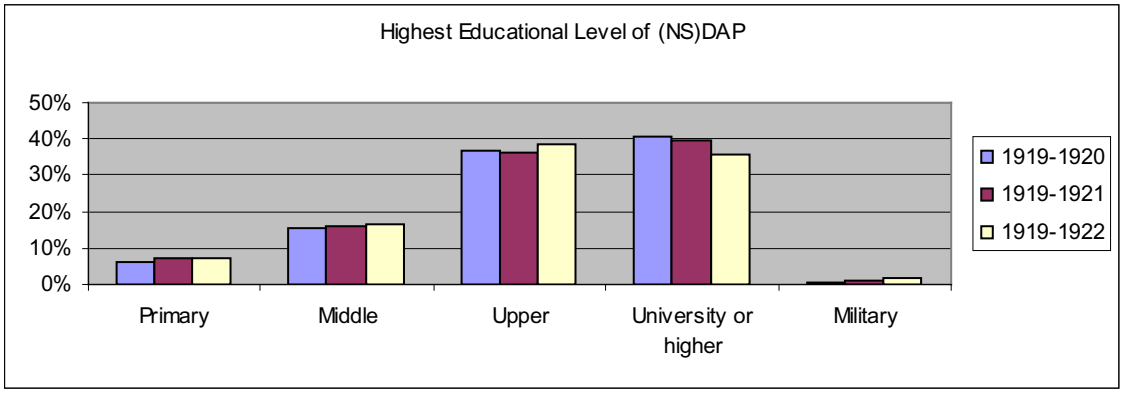
There is simply not enough information on the educational level and the marital status of the early Nazi Party members to come to any rigorous statistical conclusions. Information for educational level never exceeds 12% of the membership, while information for marital status is never greater than 16%. With the data available, however, some minimal insight into the education and the martial status can be given. Due to the small proportion of members with data on educational level and marital status, the results that are given should not be considered as hard truths; rather they are merely suggestive of trends based on the information at hand.

A Party member's educational attainment follows the German educational structure and is separated into the following categories: primary, middle, upper, university or higher, military, and other. Marital status is broken down into single, married, divorced or separated, widowed, and remarried. It is fair to conjecture that the level of education is artificially elevated. Those with higher levels of education were simply more likely to report them.

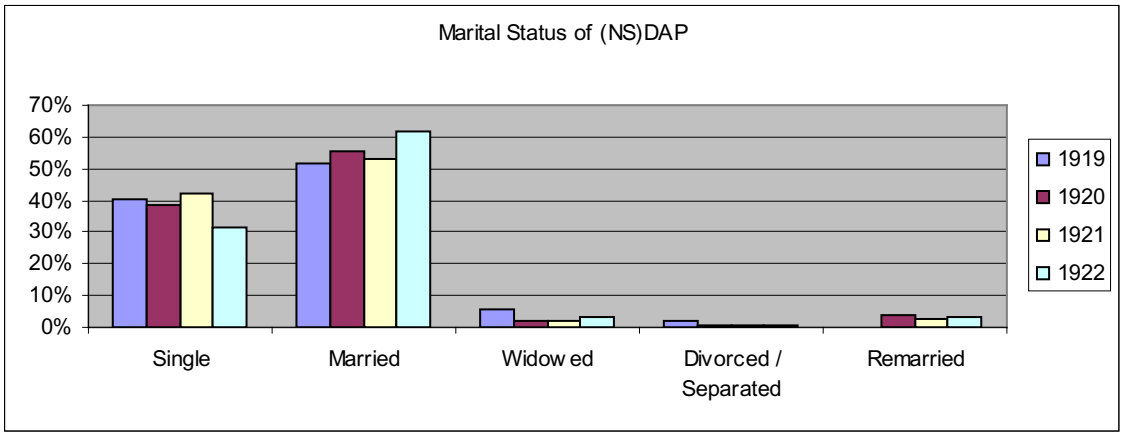
A comparison of the educational level of members before and after Hitler took over as Party dictator cannot be made. There are simply not enough members with educational data to make safe comparisons. The same is true for the education of members of the SA. With caution, one can, however, compare the level of education of the Party members over time. In 1920, nearly 41% of NSDAP members had attended University and another nearly 37% had finished an upper level schooling (the equivalent of high school). Educationally, there was little change by 1921. The changes of note are that the percentage of members with only a primary level education rose from 6.3% to

7.4% and the percentage of members in the university or higher category went down from 40.9% to 39.4%. The percentage of members who attended university dropped again by 1922 to 35.8%. Overall, from 1920 to 1922, the level of educational attainment of Nazi Party members decreased, but only minimally.

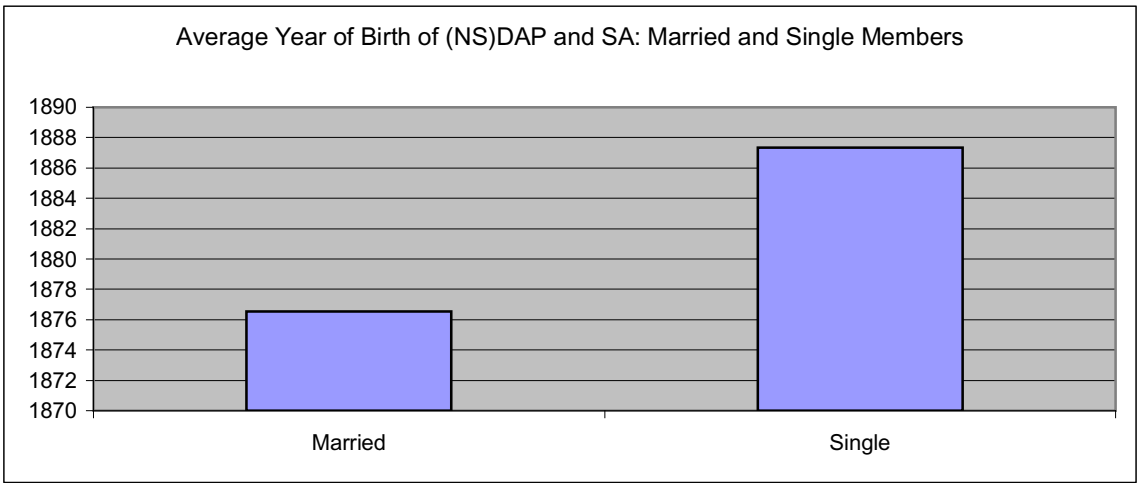
While there is considerable risk in making comparisons based on the level of education of Nazi Party members due to over-reporting of highly educated members, the educational level of Nazi Party members is so glaringly different from that of KPD members that it requires noting. For the KPD membership as of 1927, 95% had received only a primary school education, 4% some secondary school education, and only 1% had received an *Abitur* or attended University. KPD leadership was somewhat more educated: 75% attended only a primary school, 2% had some secondary schooling, and 23% received an *Abitur* or attended University.[6] Based on the data available, nearly 36% of Nazi Party members attended University and only 7.4% had attended only primary school. It is unlikely that such a vast difference could be explained simply by the fact that less than 12% of Nazi Party members have information on their educational attainment. Based on the information available, it would seem that members of the early Nazi Party were decidedly more educated than their Communist or Socialist counterparts.



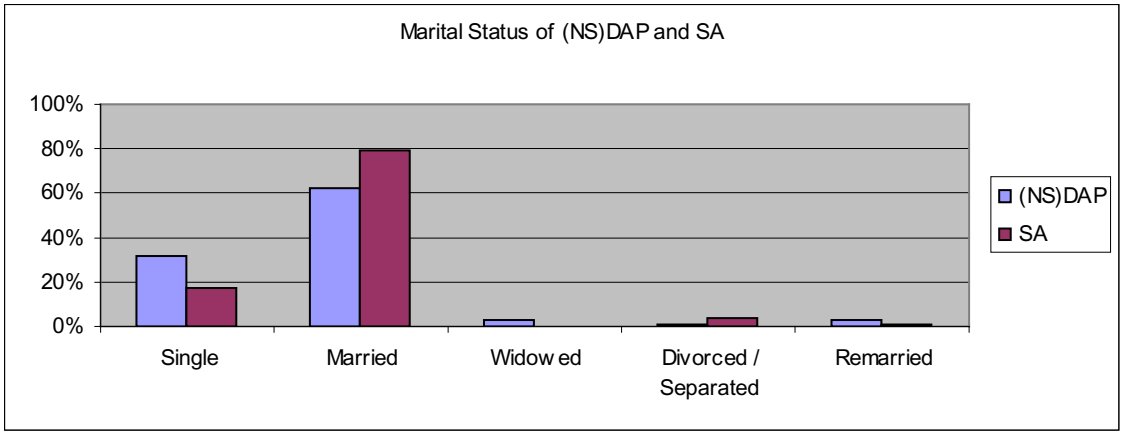
What information there is on the marital status of the early Party members must also be used very cautiously. Martial status was very difficult to track; only rarely in the documentation was there evidence of the dates on which a member's marital status changed. Thus, the researcher might find that a Party member was married, but not know the date of the marriage. Furthermore, one often found different sources indicating different marital situations for the same member. Lastly, with the exception of the members of the SA, the percentage of early Party members with data on marital status hovers around only 15%. Thus, the results that are given are not statistically rigorous.



As of 29 July 1921, just over 38% of Nazi Party members were single and 55.5% were married. Married members were 10 years older than the single members. Also, members who had joined by 1921 were also more likely to be single than those who joined by 1920: 42.3% were single versus 38.2%. This indicates that the Party was taking in more married members as it grew. This result is a little surprising, since it was clear from the social composition and cluster analysis that members who joined after 29 July 1921 were younger than the very early Party members.



Better information is available on the marital status of SA members. Over 37% of SA members had a known marital status; even though this is only 90 members, there is enough information for some basic conclusions. Nearly 79% of SA members were eventually married. This is a counterintuitive finding for a rudimentary paramilitary start-up; since the SA's sole purpose was to protect Nazi Party leaders and instigate fights with other political parties, one might expect a much higher rate of unmarried members. In these beginning years of the SA, it had not yet established itself and was thus relying on Nazi Party members to help fill its roster. As the Party and the SA grew, the SA began to forge its own identity, and the characteristics of its members may have changed.



An even more surprising finding is that the female Nazi Party members were much more likely than their male counterparts to be unmarried; while 83.65% of (NS)DAP men were married versus 65.61% of the German adult population, only 39.58% of (NS)DAP women were married versus 58.62% of German women.[7] The number of married men in the Nazi Party could be explained by assuming that single men may not join political groups of any kind as frequently as married men. With nearly 79% of SA members being married, one cannot conjecture that single men might be more inclined to join adventurous political groups and paramilitary outfits. The high rate of unmarried women can be explained as evidence of a cultural norm that expected married women to be inactive politically. As well, some credence must again be given to the idea that Hitler had special appeal to women; certainly he drew in a number of doting female supporters, many of whom were unmarried.

Appendix 4
Final Cluster Centers Charts

Final Cluster Centers: 1919 - 29 July 1921							
	Cluster						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	E	*B*	*A*	*G*	*F*	*C*	*D*
Year of Birth	0.25867	0.08281	0.32568	-0.30269	-1.19208	0.62045	0.30932
Year of Party Entrance	0.20591	0.70524	0.67354	-0.11558	-0.33195	0.06303	-0.07843
Region of Residence	-0.18059	5.53533	5.53533	-0.18059	-0.18059	-0.18059	-0.18059
Size of Area of Residence	1.91523	-0.17991	2.00178	-0.20301	-0.30561	-0.51905	-0.45897
Gender	-0.38434	-0.31206	-0.39993	2.49955	-0.39993	-0.39993	-0.39993
Class	-0.22418	0.56435	-0.51907	-0.01541	0.29399	0.62646	-1.39825

Converting such a chart to meaningful analysis can be problematic. For this reason, the Cluster Center charts, despite the amount of information they can provide, were not included within the text of this dissertation. However, without even knowing how the z-scores correspond to the actual information within each variable, some initial investigation of the final cluster centers can reveal insights into how the clusters are chosen. The clusters given here are the seven clusters for the before 29 July 1921 group. Their letter names (*A* - *G*) are indicated below each cluster number; the cluster numbers, it will be recalled, are randomly assigned and have no bearing on the results of the cluster analysis.

The clusters are clearly broken down by where the members resided. Clusters 2 (*B*) and 3 (*A*) have an identical score for their region; Clusters 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7 (*E*, *G*, *F*, *C*, and *D*) likewise all have the same score for their region. Those members in clusters 2 and 3 (*B* and *A*) resided outside of Bavaria, while those in the other clusters were all Bavarian residents. The other variable that can immediately yield information is gender. We find that Clusters 3, 5, 6, and 7 (*A*, *F*, *C*, *D*) are made up entirely of male Party members and Cluster 4 (*G*) is entirely female. Clusters 1 and 2 (*E* and *B*) are mixed but mostly male. From investigating just the region and gender variables, we find that Cluster 4 (*G*) is made up of Bavarian women.

Unlike region and gender, the rest of the variables (year of birth, year of Party entrance, size of area of residence, and social class) have more mixed results within the clusters. Within each cluster, the average rate for each variable is given. This requires comparing the original data with that same data converted to z-scores; from there, one can determine what the average value within each cluster looks like. Rather than go through each of the five remaining variables, social class will be used here as an example. From the Final Cluster Centers chart above, one will see that for Cluster 1 (*E*), the social class category returns a -0.224 value; this z-score corresponds to a social class that is in between lower class (-1.399) and middle class (0.264), yet closer to latter. In fact, cluster 1 (*E*) contains members of all classes, so the small upper-class contingent (3.76%) helps pull the average away from the lower-class (33.06%) and even closer to the middle-class (63.17%). Thus, even though Cluster 1 (*E*) contains mainly male and non-Bavarian Party members, the social class of this cluster is mixed. This indicates that what causes these members to be grouped together is not what social class they came from, but rather the fact that they were men who resided outside of Bavaria.

Appendix 5
Discriminant Analysis Results of the Clusters

Step-wise discriminant analysis of the grouped clusters is helpful for understanding the importance of each variable in creating the clusters. In the pre-29 July 1921 group, because the region variable is constant within all clusters (all clusters are either 100% Bavarian or 100% not Bavarian), it is not considered in the step-wise selection of variables. It produces maximum variance in determining the groups; if it were considered, it would not be possible to see the weight of the other variables. The "Variables in the Analysis" table of the Summary table results of step-wise discriminant analysis of the 7 clusters of the pre-29 July 1921 group (not reproduced here) gives the importance of the variables in determining the clusters as follows in order from most important to least important: gender, population of area of residence, year of birth, social class, and year of party entrance. Step 0 of Variables *not* in the analysis gives the Wilks' Lamba score; this score, the proportion of the variance that is not explained by the differences between the groups, is the best tool for measuring the importance of each variable in determining the clusters. The smaller the number, the more important the variable in creating differences between clusters. For the pre-29 July 1921 group, these scores respectively for gender, population of area of residence, year of birth, social class, and year of party entrance are: .013, .234, .513, .515, .955. The groups are correctly classified in 84.6% of the cases (because there are 7 clusters, chance alone would yield just over a 14% rate of correct classification, so 84.6% signifies a high degree of success).

For the post-29 July 1921 group, gender is constant within all groups and is therefore the most important variable in creating these clusters. After gender, region, population of area of residence, year of birth, year of party entrance, and lastly social class help to categorize each member into the correct cluster (Wilks' Lamba scores: .149, .318, .506, .597, .862). Members were classified correctly in 83.6% of all cases; since there are 6 clusters, chance alone would yield correct placement in 16.67% of all cases. For the entire group of Nazi Party members, from 1919 to September 1922, 82.8% of all cases are correctly classified where chance alone would yield a 12.5% rate of success. Region is constant within all the clusters and thus is the most powerful variable. After region in order from most to least important are: gender, population of area of residence, year of birth, year of party entrance, and lastly social class (Wilks' Lamba: .012, .278, .463, .632, .748). For all SA members in October 1921, only two variables could be analyzed: year of birth and social class. Of these variables, year of birth was far more important in determining the groups than was social class (Wilks' Lamba: .259, .804). 94.3% of all cases were correctly classified; since there are three clusters, chance alone would yield 33.3% correctly classified.

Social class is found to be the least important variable in two of the three groups of Nazi Party members and the second least important in the before 29 July 1921 group. Of the two variables analyzed for the SA members, it was less important for determining the clusters. Social class was simply not an important factor in categorizing the Party membership. Also, year of Party entrance is relatively unimportant in determining the clusters. These findings thus reveal a Party membership that was divided more by gender and place of residence than on when one joined the Party and one's social class.

Appendix 6
Party Enrollment

Day of Party Entrance and Month of Party Entrance Crosstabulation: 1920

			Month of Party Entrance													
			January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	20	Total
Day of Party Entrance	1	Count			4		174	57	4		17	13	1	28		298
		% of Total			.2%		10.2%	3.3%	.2%		1.0%	.8%	.1%	1.6%		17.4%
	2	Count				1	26	19			4		8			58
		% of Total				.1%	1.5%	1.1%			.2%		.5%			3.4%
	3	Count		1			10		6		3	1	1			22
		% of Total		.1%			.6%		.4%		.2%	.1%	.1%			1.3%
	4	Count		6	52		1		1		16	17				93
		% of Total		.4%	3.0%		.1%		.1%		.9%	1.0%				5.4%
	5	Count		41			2			5		4	16			68
		% of Total		2.4%			.1%			.3%		.2%	.9%			4.0%
	6	Count			1	24	4				4	14				47
		% of Total			.1%	1.4%	.2%				.2%	.8%				2.7%
	7	Count			4		4	1	1		59	4				73
		% of Total			.2%		.2%	.1%	.1%		3.4%	.2%				4.3%
	8	Count			11		12		51		1	48	3			126
		% of Total			.6%		.7%		3.0%		.1%	2.8%	.2%			7.4%
	9	Count		7			2			3	2	2	2			18
		% of Total		.4%			.1%			.2%	.1%	.1%	.1%			1.1%
	10	Count				20	4	3			23	1				51
		% of Total				1.2%	.2%	.2%			1.3%	.1%				3.0%
	11	Count			30		1	58								89
		% of Total			1.8%		.1%	3.4%								5.2%
	12	Count		1	1		2		3	1			1	1		10
		% of Total		.1%	.1%		.1%		.2%	.1%			.1%	.1%		.6%
	13	Count				3			1		7					11
		% of Total				.2%			.1%		.4%					.6%
	14	Count		3					1		13	13	1	27		58
		% of Total		.2%					.1%		.8%	.8%	.1%	1.6%		3.4%
	15	Count		2			3	1	1		1	2	1			11
		% of Total		.1%			.2%	.1%	.1%		.1%	.1%	.1%			.6%
	16	Count						2	7		3		7			19
		% of Total						.1%	.4%		.2%		.4%			1.1%
	17	Count					8		14	29	12					63
		% of Total					.5%		.8%	1.7%	.7%					3.7%
	18	Count				11	1	1		14	1	5	3	43		79
		% of Total				.6%	.1%	.1%		.8%	.1%	.3%	.2%	2.5%		4.6%
	19	Count				11	2	7	4		1		9	1		35
		% of Total				.6%	.1%	.4%	.2%		.1%		.5%	.1%		2.0%
	20	Count			5	2	2	7	4	5	5	1				31
		% of Total			.3%	.1%	.1%	.4%	.2%	.3%	.3%	.1%				1.8%
	21	Count				3	1	7	4	12						27
		% of Total				.2%	.1%	.4%	.2%	.7%						1.6%
	22	Count					1	7			12	1	19	1		41
		% of Total					.1%	.4%			.7%	.1%	1.1%	.1%		2.4%
	23	Count						3		9	28	7				47
		% of Total						.2%		.5%	1.6%	.4%				2.7%
	24	Count					1		1		2	1	15	1		21
		% of Total					.1%		.1%		.1%	.1%	.9%	.1%		1.2%
	25	Count	3	50			78	5		1		1				138
		% of Total	.2%	2.9%			4.6%	.3%		.1%		.1%				8.1%
	26	Count						11	1	8		2		1		23
		% of Total						.6%	.1%	.5%		.1%		.1%		1.3%
	27	Count								2	1	1				4
		% of Total								.1%	.1%	.1%				.2%
	28	Count						3		1	46	6				56
		% of Total						.2%		.1%	2.7%	.4%				3.3%
	29	Count	2				42		1		1	14				60
		% of Total	.1%				2.5%		.1%		.1%	.8%				3.5%
	30	Count				1	1		1			3	1		1	8
		% of Total				.1%	.1%		.1%			.2%	.1%		.1%	.5%
	31	Count							1	25						26
		% of Total							.1%	1.5%						1.5%
Total		Count	5	111	108	76	382	192	107	115	262	161	88	103	1	1711
		% of Total	.3%	6.5%	6.3%	4.4%	22.3%	11.2%	6.3%	6.7%	15.3%	9.4%	5.1%	6.0%	.1%	100.0%

Day of Party Entrance and Month of Party Entrance Crosstabulation: 1921

			Month of Party Entrance												
			January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Total
Day of Party Entrance	1	Count	1		42	4	1	6	1		1	1			57
		% of Total	.1%		4.1%	.4%	.1%	.6%	.1%		.1%	.1%			5.6%
	2	Count				5	2	3	15	36					61
		% of Total				.5%	.2%	.3%	1.5%	3.5%					6.0%
	3	Count		1	1			1							3
		% of Total		.1%	.1%			.1%							.3%
	4	Count		6			2	1	8						17
		% of Total		.6%			.2%	.1%	.8%						1.7%
	5	Count							2		2				4
		% of Total							.2%		.2%				.4%
	6	Count			2										2
		% of Total			.2%										.2%
	7	Count			55	6	39			1					101
		% of Total			5.4%	.6%	3.8%			.1%					9.9%
	8	Count	32					5	7	1		2			47
		% of Total	3.1%					.5%	.7%	.1%		.2%			4.6%
	9	Count		17	8	20		1		2					48
		% of Total		1.7%	.8%	2.0%		.1%		.2%					4.7%
	10	Count	3	1				1			1				6
		% of Total	.3%	.1%				.1%			.1%				.6%
	11	Count		1	2	1		1	1	1					7
		% of Total		.1%	.2%	.1%		.1%	.1%	.1%					.7%
	12	Count	1	10	22				3						36
		% of Total	.1%	1.0%	2.2%				.3%						3.5%
	13	Count	14					4	1						19
		% of Total	1.4%					.4%	.1%						1.9%
	14	Count		46	2	3		6	10						67
		% of Total		4.5%	.2%	.3%		.6%	1.0%						6.6%
	15	Count					1			141				1	143
		% of Total					.1%			13.8%				.1%	14.0%
	16	Count		17				4	2						23
		% of Total		1.7%				.4%	.2%						2.3%
	17	Count	1				19		2		1				23
		% of Total	.1%				1.9%		.2%		.1%				2.3%
	18	Count	22	8				3	9		1		1	2	46
		% of Total	2.2%	.8%				.3%	.9%		.1%		.1%	.2%	4.5%
	19	Count	9	23		9	1	1		2		1			46
		% of Total	.9%	2.3%		.9%	.1%	.1%		.2%		.1%			4.5%
	20	Count		2			14	4	23	2	1				46
		% of Total		.2%			1.4%	.4%	2.3%	.2%	.1%				4.5%
	21	Count		5	3	8		2							18
		% of Total		.5%	.3%	.8%		.2%							1.8%
	22	Count	11		2			6							19
		% of Total	1.1%		.2%			.6%							1.9%
	23	Count					14	1		1					16
		% of Total					1.4%	.1%		.1%					1.6%
	24	Count			1	1	1	18					11		32
		% of Total			.1%	.1%	.1%	1.8%					1.1%		3.1%
	25	Count	1	6	5	22			3	1					38
		% of Total	.1%	.6%	.5%	2.2%			.3%	.1%					3.7%
	26	Count	15		1				17		1				34
		% of Total	1.5%		.1%				1.7%		.1%				3.3%
	27	Count					5					1	1		7
		% of Total					.5%					.1%	.1%		.7%
	28	Count	8				15		4				9		36
		% of Total	.8%				1.5%		.4%				.9%		3.5%
	29	Count										1			1
		% of Total										.1%			.1%
	30	Count			4	1			7						12
		% of Total			.4%	.1%			.7%						1.2%
	31	Count	1		2		1			1					5
		% of Total	.1%		.2%		.1%			.1%					.5%
Total		Count	119	143	152	80	115	68	115	189	8	6	22	3	1020
		% of Total	11.7%	14.0%	14.9%	7.8%	11.3%	6.7%	11.3%	18.5%	.8%	.6%	2.2%	.3%	100.0%

Day of Party Entrance and Month of Party Entrance Crosstabulation: 1922

			Month of Party Entrance								
			January	February	April	May	June	July	August	September	Total
Day of Party Entrance	1	Count				8					8
		% of Total				2.3%					2.3%
	2	Count				8			3		11
		% of Total				2.3%			.9%		3.2%
	4	Count				5					5
		% of Total				1.5%					1.5%
	5	Count				109					109
		% of Total				31.8%					31.8%
	7	Count				7					7
		% of Total				2.0%					2.0%
	8	Count							2		2
		% of Total							.6%		.6%
	9	Count					4				4
		% of Total					1.2%				1.2%
	10	Count							8		8
		% of Total							2.3%		2.3%
	11	Count		6		7			3		16
		% of Total		1.7%		2.0%			.9%		4.7%
	12	Count						4			4
		% of Total						1.2%			1.2%
	13	Count			3					1	4
		% of Total			.9%					.3%	1.2%
	14	Count	3					11			14
		% of Total	.9%					3.2%			4.1%
	15	Count			11	18					29
		% of Total			3.2%	5.2%					8.5%
	16	Count					9				9
		% of Total					2.6%				2.6%
	18	Count					4				4
		% of Total					1.2%				1.2%
	19	Count					1				1
		% of Total					.3%				.3%
	20	Count								9	9
		% of Total								2.6%	2.6%
	22	Count				35	1	6			42
		% of Total				10.2%	.3%	1.7%			12.2%
	23	Count		3					1		4
		% of Total		.9%					.3%		1.2%
	25	Count			8						8
		% of Total			2.3%						2.3%
	26	Count			6	10					16
		% of Total			1.7%	2.9%					4.7%
	27	Count							8		8
		% of Total							2.3%		2.3%
	28	Count				1			11		12
		% of Total				.3%			3.2%		3.5%
	30	Count	9								9
		% of Total	2.6%								2.6%
Total		Count	12	9	28	208	19	21	36	10	343
		% of Total	3.5%	2.6%	8.2%	60.6%	5.5%	6.1%	10.5%	2.9%	100.0%

Appendix 7
Examples of Questionnaire Responses and How They Were Categorized

1) Hitler as leader, orator:
   Joseph Fuess, "*die Ehrlichkeit und Aufrichtigkeit in den Worten Adolf Hitlers.*"

2) Hitler for personal reasons:
   Rosa Schüssler, "*Adolf Hitler persönlich, welcher die Gastfreundschaft bei uns genossen hatte und ein Regimentskamerad von meinem Manne war*."

3) Other (NS)DAP members as leaders:
   Michael Lotter, "*Überzeugt durch den Ausgang des Weltkrieges und Aussprüche mit dem Gründer der DAP, Anton Drexler*."

4) Other (NS)DAP members for personal reasons:
   George Ashton, "*Dietrich Eckarts Zeitschrift "Auf Gut Deutsch" und dessen persönliche Bekanntschaft*."

5) Anti-Semitism:
   Josef Lantzinger, "*Zur Bekämpfung des Judentums*"

6) Nationalism, interest of soldiers:
   Max Allwein, "*Vaterländische Gesinnung*"

7) Socialism, interest of workers:
   Hans Jacob, "*Ich kam verbittert aus der Gefangenschaft über den Verrat am deutschen Arbeiter und Vaterland…"* (also coded for nationalism, 6)

8) November Revolution, betrayal by government leaders, anti-Bolshevism, anti-Marxism:
   Ernst Wagner, "*der bedingungslose Kampf gegen die Novemberverbrecher*."

9) Party platform, "conviction" in the party, visit to a party meeting or gathering:
   Hanns Leiskow, "*die Idee des Nationalsozialismus*."
   Josef Zauner, "*Überzeugung*."
   Anton Neuhaeusler, "*das ausgezeichnete Programm und insbesondere die Verehrung des Führers Adolf Hitler sowie persönliche Bekanntschaft*." (also coded for Hitler personally, 2)

10) Other reason:
   Antonie Stoetzel, "*Die politischen Zustände*."
   Emil Gansser, "*begrüsste sie [die Partei] als schärfste Gegnerin des Gesamtsystems*."

Appendix 8
Analysis of the Characteristics of the 194 Members Who Answered the Early (NS)DAP Questionnaire

Of the 194 legible answers to the question asking their reasons for entering the Nazi Party on the questionnaire, only three had joined after 29 July 1921. Since there are only three responses, it is impossible to compare the differences in the reasons for joining the Nazi Party between members who joined before and after 29 July 1921. It is, however, worthwhile to look at the demographics of this group of 194.

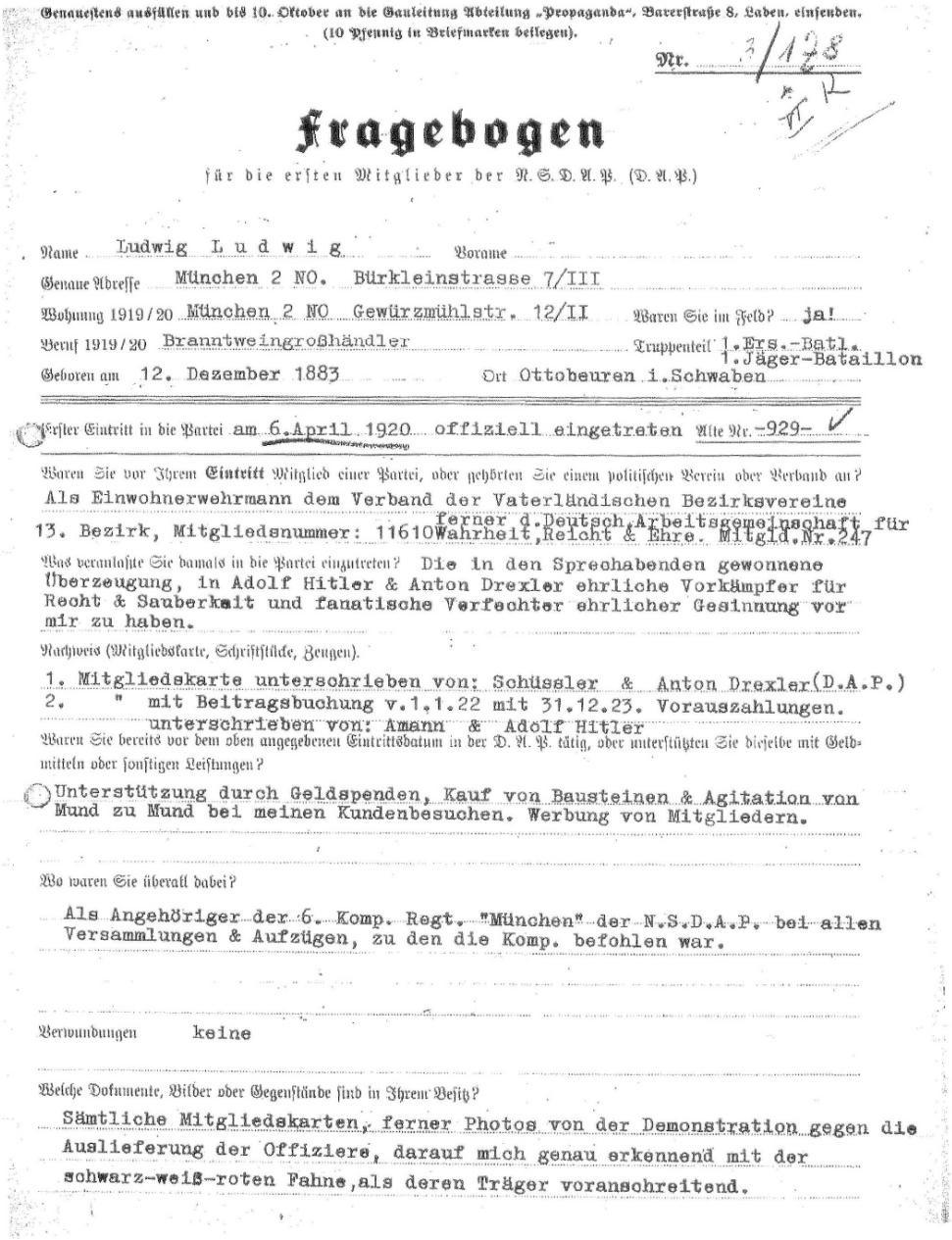
One-hundred-and-ninety-two of the 194 respondents lived in Bavaria; the other two lived in the large cities (100,000 or more residents) of Cologne and Berlin. As to the population of the areas in which they lived when they joined, one lived in an area that was unidentified, three in areas of under 2,000 residents, two in areas of 2,000 - 9,999, four in towns of 10,000 - 24,999, and the remaining 184 in a large urban setting of 100,000 or more residents (181 in Munich, 1 in Nuremberg, 1 in Berlin, 1 in Cologne). Thirty-three of the respondents were female and 161 male. Thirty-eight (19.6%) came from the lower class, 104 (53.6%) from the middle class, 17 (8.76%) from the upper class, and 35 (18%) from the Status Unclear grouping. Their years of birth ranged from 1852 to 1905.

Since all but two members of the 194 respondents came from Bavaria, it is hardly surprising that 58% were Catholic.[8] Additionally, 71.6% ultimately had children, 47.2% of men had fought in World War I, and 92% later rejoined the Nazi Party.[9] Although not a variable that has been considered elsewhere in this dissertation, only 35.7% did not join a political party in the interim between the dissolution of the NSDAP after the November Putsch and the official reestablishment of the NSDAP in February 1925.[10] Based on the

comparable information for the entire early Nazi Party membership, the 194 members who responded to this questionnaire are fairly reflective of the early Party membership as a whole. Those who answered tended to have joined the Party earlier: 24% joined in 1919, 66% in 1920, and 9% in 1921. Lastly, women answered in a higher proportion (17%) than they represented in the party (never more than 14.6%). Overall, however, other than that their motives for joining the (NS)DAP are given on their *Fragebogen*, there is seemingly little that is different about them.

Appendix 9
Sample of Fragebogen für die ersten Mitglieder der NSDAP (DAP)

Generally, the questionnaires had handwritten responses. However, to give a general sense of what the *Fragebogen* included, an extraordinarily neat and typewritten copy is provided here; that of Ludwig Ludwig, the same member who collected the information for the *Mitkämpfer* list.



Genauestens ausfüllen und bis 10. Oktober an die Gauleitung Abteilung „Propaganda", Barerstraße 8, Laden, einsenden.
(10 Pfennig in Briefmarken beilegen).

Nr. 3/128

Fragebogen

für die ersten Mitglieder der N. S. D. A. P. (D. A. P.)

Name Ludwig L u d w i g Vorname

Genaue Adresse München 2 NO. Bürkleinstrasse 7/III

Wohnung 1919/20 München 2 NO Gewürzmühlstr. 12/II Waren Sie im Feld? ja!

Beruf 1919/20 Branntweingroßhändler Truppenteil 1.Ers.-Batl. 1.Jäger-Bataillon

Geboren am 12. Dezember 1883 Ort Ottobeuren i.Schwaben

Erster Eintritt in die Partei am 6.April 1920 offiziell eingetreten Alte Nr. -929-

Waren Sie vor Ihrem **Eintritt** Mitglied einer Partei, oder gehörten Sie einem politischen Verein oder Verband an?
Als Einwohnerwehrmann dem Verband der Vaterländischen Bezirksvereine ferner d.Deutsch.Arbeitsgemeinschaft für 13. Bezirk, Mitgliedsnummer: 11610 Wahrheit, Recht & Ehre. Mitgld.Nr.247

Was veranlaßte Sie damals in die Partei einzutreten? Die in den Sprechabenden gewonnene Überzeugung, in Adolf Hitler & Anton Drexler ehrliche Vorkämpfer für Recht & Sauberkeit und fanatische Verfechter ehrlicher Gesinnung vor mir zu haben.

Nachweis (Mitgliedskarte, Schriftstücke, Zeugen).
1. Mitgliedskarte unterschrieben von: Schüssler & Anton Drexler(D.A.P.)
2. " mit Beitragsbuchung v.1.1.22 mit 31.12.23. Vorauszahlungen. unterschrieben von: Amann & Adolf Hitler

Waren Sie bereits vor dem oben angegebenen Eintrittsdatum in der D. A. P. tätig, oder unterstützten Sie dieselbe mit Geldmitteln oder sonstigen Leistungen?
Unterstützung durch Geldspenden, Kauf von Bausteinen & Agitation von Mund zu Mund bei meinen Kundenbesuchen. Werbung von Mitgliedern.

Wo waren Sie überall dabei?
Als Angehöriger der 6. Komp. Regt. "München" der N.S.D.A.P. bei allen Versammlungen & Aufzügen, zu den die Komp. befohlen war.

Verwundungen keine

Welche Dokumente, Bilder oder Gegenstände sind in Ihrem Besitz?
Sämtliche Mitgliedskarten, ferner Photos von der Demonstration gegen die Auslieferung der Offiziere, darauf mich genau erkennend mit der schwarz-weiß-roten Fahne, als deren Träger voranschreitend.

Wo waren Sie am 9. November 1923 dabei?

bei der 6. Komp. unter der Gruppe Bauriedl auf dem Marsch zur Feldherrnhalle. Führer Leutnant Greyer. (Hallenstraße Frauenstraße)

Was taten Sie nach dem 9. November 1923?

Ich verbarg die mir von den Pgg. ES, Steinbach & Frey überbrachte Mitgliederkarthothek & Correspondenz ca. 60 000 Karten in meinem damaligen Geschäftskeller Frauenstraße 38.

Wurden Sie verhaftet? nein

verurteilt? nein

bestraft? nein

Tätigkeit nach dem Verbot der Partei?

Ich agitierte beim Kundenbesuch nach wie vor für Adolf Hitler & seine Bewegung.

Waren Sie während des Verbotes in einer Ersatzorganisation?

Mitglied Nr. 166 bei der Nationalsozialistischen Freiheitsbewegung Großdeutschlands, Landesverband Bayern = Ortsgruppe München = Mitgliedskarte unterschrieben von: Gerum, Gregor Straßer.

Eintritt nach der Neugründung? 1.8.1930 Neue Mitgl.-Nr. 285203

Gehörten Sie bis zu Ihrem Wiedereintritt irgend einer Partei oder einem politischen Verein oder Verband an?

n e i n !

Gründe die den Wiedereintritt verzögerten, bezw. verhinderten?

Ich verlangte 1. meine frühere Mitgliedsnummer, die mir verweigert wurde (siehe Brief Esser) 2. war ich verärgert, weil mir Pg. Singer die von mir zur Aufbewahrung der Kartei & Correspondenz verwendeten Kisten & Körbe nicht wieder zurückbringen ließ.
3. meine dauernde Abwesenheit als Reisevertreter der National - Registrier Kassen Gesellschaft m.b.H. Berlin.

Leistungen und Tätigkeit für die Bewegung, bezw. als Parteigenosse?

Ich rechne mir die Bergung der Mitgliederkartei & Correspondenz der Bewegung vor dem Zugriff der Börden, trotz dem ergangenen Verbot der damaligen Regierung, irgend etwas zur Fortführung der Bewegung zu unterstützen, als Verdienst an. -- Ferner das ununterbrochene von Mund zu Mund werben bei meinen Vertreterbesuchen in Württemberg, Baden & Hohenzollern.

1925 als Vertreter auf Reisen
1926 } für die National Registrier
1927 } Kassen Gesellschaft m.b.H.
1928 } Berlin – Neukölln
dauernd als kaufm. Vertreter

1929 } in Württemberg, Baden &
1930 } Hohenzollern & Oberbayern
1931 } auf der Reise

1932 seit 1.9.192 erwerbslos.

Wie sind heute Ihre wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse?

Vollständig vermögenslos & oft kaum das Notwendigste zum leben. Ich versteuerte bereits ein Vermögen von 130 000.– GM & verlor dasselbe durch die unreelle Geschäftsgebahrung der Bayer. Vereinsbank München im Jahre 1923 restlos & die gegen dieses Institut angestrengten Prozeße endeten für mich negativ unter Überbürdung der gesamten Kosten, weil die Richter an das Gesetz gebunden waren. Für Gerichts- & Anwaltskosten mußte ich andauernd Pfändungen über mich ergehen laßen. Was ich mir in den Jahren 1925–1932 verdiente, mußte ich wieder restlos zusetzen, weil mich ein jüdischer Hausherr durch betrügerische Machinationen um ca. 1200.– M brachte.

Sind Sie selbständig? Ich war selbständig.

Sind Sie heute in Stellung, Beruf oder Arbeit? seit 18.9.33 für 2 ½ Monate als Vertrags-Angestellter beim Landesfinanzamt mit kleinem Gehalt.

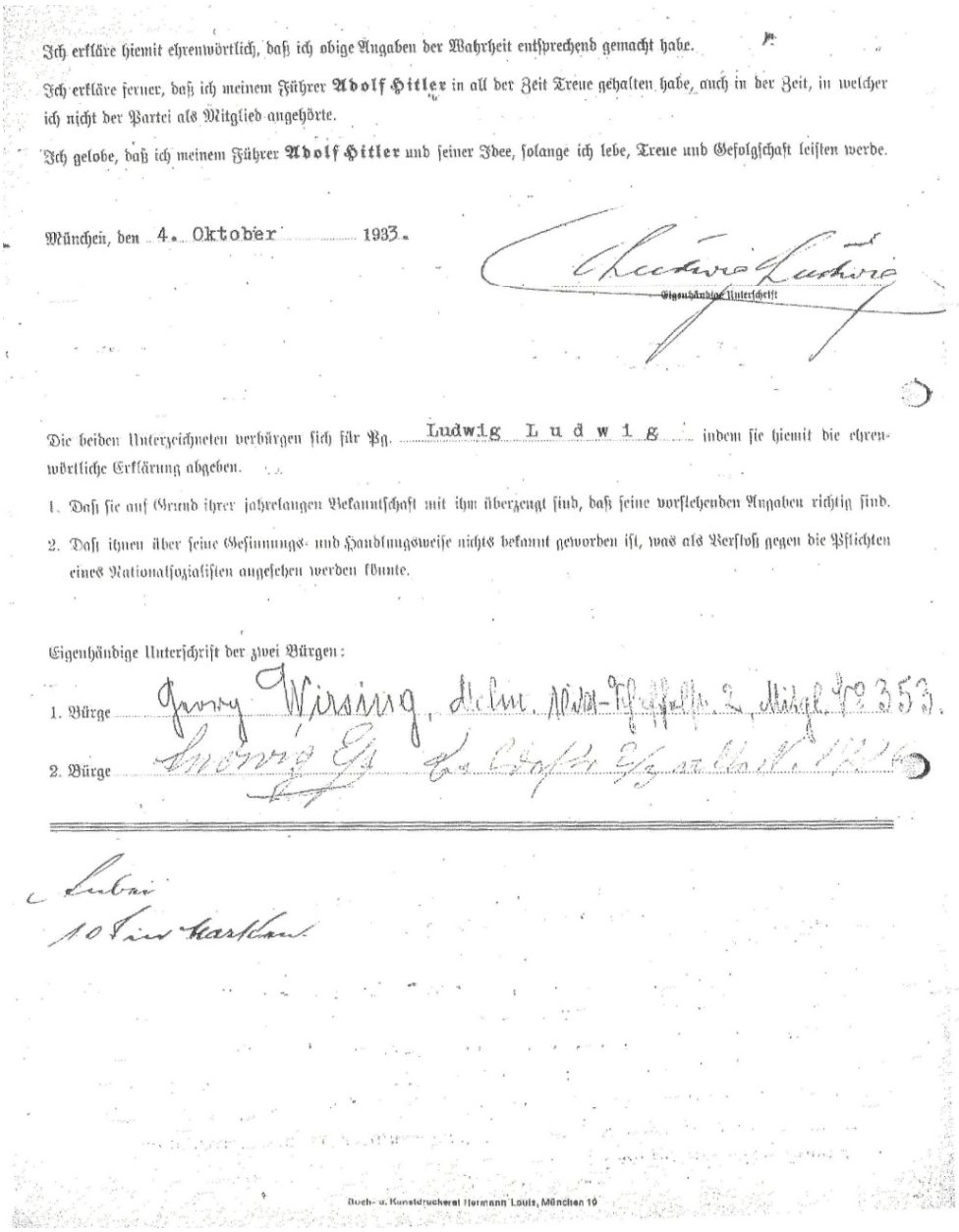
~~ledig~~ – verheiratet – ~~verwitwet~~? Anzahl der Kinder? 1 Tochter mit 13 Jahren.

Sind Ihre Kinder versorgt? nein.

Besondere Bemerkungen:

Seit dem Jahre 1920 bin ich im 329. Stimmbezirk ehrenamtlich tätig als Wahlvorsteher, bin stellvertretendes Wohlfahrtsausschußmitglied & wäre nicht minder stolz darauf, gelegentlich als ehrenamtlicher Stadtrat in Vorschlag gebracht zu werden. --- Schon mit Beginn der Regierungsübernahme durch die N.S.D.A.P. leitete ich dem Büro des Reichskanzlers einen Entwurf zu, betitelt: "Wie kann sich das Reich eine bedeutende nieversiegende Einnahmequelle verschaffen!" Bis zur Stunde bin ich aber noch ohne Empfangsbestätigung bezw. Nachricht über das weitere Schicksal dieser Arbeit.

Wenden!



Ich erkläre hiemit ehrenwörtlich, daß ich obige Angaben der Wahrheit entsprechend gemacht habe.

Ich erkläre ferner, daß ich meinem Führer **Adolf Hitler** in all der Zeit Treue gehalten habe, auch in der Zeit, in welcher ich nicht der Partei als Mitglied angehörte.

Ich gelobe, daß ich meinem Führer **Adolf Hitler** und seiner Idee, solange ich lebe, Treue und Gefolgschaft leisten werde.

München, den 4. Oktober 1933.

Eigenhändige Unterschrift

Die beiden Unterzeichneten verbürgen sich für Pg. Ludwig L u d w i g indem sie hiemit die ehrenwörtliche Erklärung abgeben.

1. Daß sie auf Grund ihrer jahrelangen Bekanntschaft mit ihm überzeugt sind, daß seine vorstehenden Angaben richtig sind.
2. Daß ihnen über seine Gesinnungs- und Handlungsweise nichts bekannt geworden ist, was als Verstoß gegen die Pflichten eines Nationalsozialisten angesehen werden könnte.

Eigenhändige Unterschrift der zwei Bürgen:

1. Bürge
2. Bürge

Buch- u. Kunstdruckerei Hermann Louis, München 19

Source: Abteilung Reich und DDR and National Archives II:1070047150 (h 225 77)

Appendix 10
Main Reason why Member Joined the (NS)DAP Along Different Biographical Characteristics

Why Joined (NS)DAP				
		Hitler	Political/ Personal Beliefs	Other reason
Main Reason why joined (NS)DAP	*Last Marital Status*			
	Single	41.3%	47.8%	10.9%
	Married	31.2%	56.0%	12.8%
	Religion			
	Catholic	33.3%	54.4%	12.3%
	Protestant	22.2%	55.6%	22.2%
	Education			
	Less than University	40.9%	50.0%	9.1%
	University or Higher	38.5%	30.8%	30.8%
	Social Class			
	Lower Class	31.6%	52.6%	15.8%
	Middle Class	35.6%	54.8%	9.6%
	Upper Class	23.5%	58.8%	17.6%
	Status Unclear	42.9%	42.9%	14.3%
	Year of Birth			
	1869 or Earlier	39.1%	43.5%	17.4%
	1870 - 1889	38.0%	49.1%	13.0%
	1890 - 1909	28.6%	61.9%	9.5%
	Member ever had Children			
	No Children	36.0%	50.0%	14.0%
	Children	32.5%	56.3%	11.1%
	Fought in WWI	32.9%	55.3%	11.8%
	Freikorps member	33.3%	51.5%	15.2%
	Rejoined NSDAP	36.2%	51.7%	12.1%

[1] All of the Captured German documents which were biographical in nature were centralized at the Berlin Document Center. These documents have since been relocated to the *Bundesarchiv* in Berlin. Before being transported, however, microfilm copies were made and are housed at the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland. For more on the contents of the former BDC files, see George Leaman, *The Holdings of the Berlin Document Center: A Guide to the Collections* (Berlin: The Berlin Document Center, 1994).
[2] George Browder, "Problems and Potentials of the Berlin Document Center," *Central European History*, vol. 5 (December 1972), 366. William Brustein estimates the number of unique cards for German members at 7.2 million. Brustein, *The Logic of Evil*, 15.
[3] Orlow, *The History of the Nazi Party*, 59-60.
[4] *Bundesarchiv Berlin*. (2004, May 11). Retrieved 20 July 2009, from http://www.bundesarchiv.de/aktuelles/aus_dem_archiv/galerie/00067/index.html?index=0&id=1&nr=5

[5] Gerhard L. Weinberg, "National Socialist Organization and Foreign Policy Aims in 1927," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol,. 36 (December 1964), 432.
[6] Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 156.
[7] All German statistics on marital status computed from figures on pages 16 and 17 of *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1928*.
[8] 27.6% Protestant, 4.1% other, 10.2% "Believer in God", *n*= 98.
[9] No children: 28.4%, *n*=176; didn't fight in WWI:16.5%, *n*=91; did not rejoin party: 13, *n*=162 (although the questionnaire asked whether an early member had rejoined the NSDAP after 1925, the date of the questionnaire (1933) leaves out early party members who rejoined after 1933). Additionally, 70.2% ultimately got and stayed married, while 15.8% remained single, and 10.5% were or became widowers.
[10] *Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft* 39.9%, *Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei* 0.7%, *Völkischer Block* 8.4%, other political party 11.2%, more than one political party 4.2%, *n*=143. The information for this variable was extracted mainly from the "Fragebogen für die ersten Mitglieder der NSDAP (DAP)" in any case, so the overall number of members with information for this variable (201) was certainly not usable for the prosopography portion of this dissertation. It was not useful for the social composition section either as only 2 of the returned questionnaires came from members who joined the Party after 29 July 1921, only 18 from members who joined in 1921, and none from 1922. Thus neither the comparison on this point before and after Hitler became Party dictator nor the change over the four years could be calculated.

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Inspektion der Infantrie
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NS 1: Schumacher Collection
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Notes
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Archiv Walter Hammer
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National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.
MFKL: NSDAP Zentralkartei
MFOK: NSDAP Ortsgruppenkartei
PC: NSDAP Party Census
SA Kartei: SA, SA-P, SA SL, NSKK, SA Feldherrnhalle, SA Warnkartei
see also *Bundesarchiv: Abteilung Reich und DDR, Berlin* above
Staatsarchiv München.
Amtsgerichte München
NSDAP- u. Gestapo- Leitstelle München
Personalakten
Polizei Direktion München Personenakte 1, NSDAP
Polizei Direktion München Sachakten 1, NSDAP
Spruchkammerakten
Stadtarchiv München.
Personalakten
Polizeimeldungen

BDC Bar Codes to Bundesarchiv Berlin / National Archives II Collections

Numbers below represent the first four leading numbers of a 10- digit bar code. These four numbers indicate from which collection information is drawn.

0119	SA Kartei
1xxx	Parteikorrespondenz
2003	Personalvorgänge von Beschäftigten aller Kammern
2100	RSK I, Personal- und Sachakten, A - Z
2101	RSK II, Personal- und Sachakten, A - Z
2102	RSK, Div. Personalakten, B - V
2112	Div. Korr. betr. im Buchhandel tätige Personen, A - Weis, Mischprovinenz
2120	Korr. u.a. Überwiegend d. Fritz Handwerk, Buchhändler u. Gauvolksbildungswart
2200	Korr. u.a. Überwiegend der RTHK
2201	Akten der Spende "Künstlerdank", betr. Angehörige der RTHK, A - Z
2300	Personalakten der RMK, u. a. Institutionen, A - Z
2302	Korrespondenz u. a. betr. Musiker
2341	Spende "Künstlerdank": Personalvorgänge von Musikern, A - Z
2400	Personalakten der Landesltg. Berlin, A - Z
2401	Personalvorgänge betr. bildene Künstler, A - Z, Mischprovinenz
2402	Spende "Künstlerdank": Personalvorgänge betr. bildene Künstler, A - Z
2500	Personalvorgänge (Überw. d. RRG) betr. Runfunkangehörige, A - Z
2600	Fachschaft Film: Personal der RFK, A - Z
2618	Fachschaft Film/Aussenstelle München: Ausgeschlossene, A - Z
2625	Fachschaft Film/Aussenstelle München: Filmstatisten und Komparsen, A - Z
2633	Fachschaft Film/Aussenstelle Wien: Allgemeine Korrespondenz
2657	Filmnachweis: Div. Schriftwechsel, A - Z
2671	Filmnachweis: Filmbesetzungsvorschläge, A - Z
2672	Filmnachweis: Angebotsschreiben, C, Mo - Mu, Sa - Z
2673	Filmnachweis: Beschäftigungsnachweise, A - Z
2701	"VIP's", Entnazifizierungsunterlagen, A -Z
2703	"Certificates", A - Z, Entnazifizierungsunterlagen
33xx	NSLB Kartei
340x	OPG
3701	Warnungskartei
4000	SA
4001	SA-P
4002	SA SL
4003	NSKK
4004	SA Feldherrnhalle
4005	SA Warnkartei
50xx	EWZ-UdSSR
51xx	EWZ-Rumänien
52xx	EWZ-Polen
53xx	EWZ-Baltikum
58xx	Stammblätter
60xx	RuSHA
62xx	SSEM
63xx	SS-Frauen
64xx	SSO
65xx	SS-Listen
7xxx	Frauenschaft/Frauenwerk
8000	Reicherziehungsministerium
8030	Wehrmacht
8060	Gestapo Würzburg
8070	Marinebau
8120	Amtsgericht München

8130 Schutzhaft
8200 Wissenschaftler
8230 Reichstatthalter in Bayern
8240 Geschädigte Juden
8260 Ahnenerbe
8270 Hauptarchiv
8290 RWM Bergämter
8300 OT
8310 Reichsnährstand
8441 Ärzte
8450 Polizei Ärzte
8460 Speer Ministerium
8461 Speer Listen

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