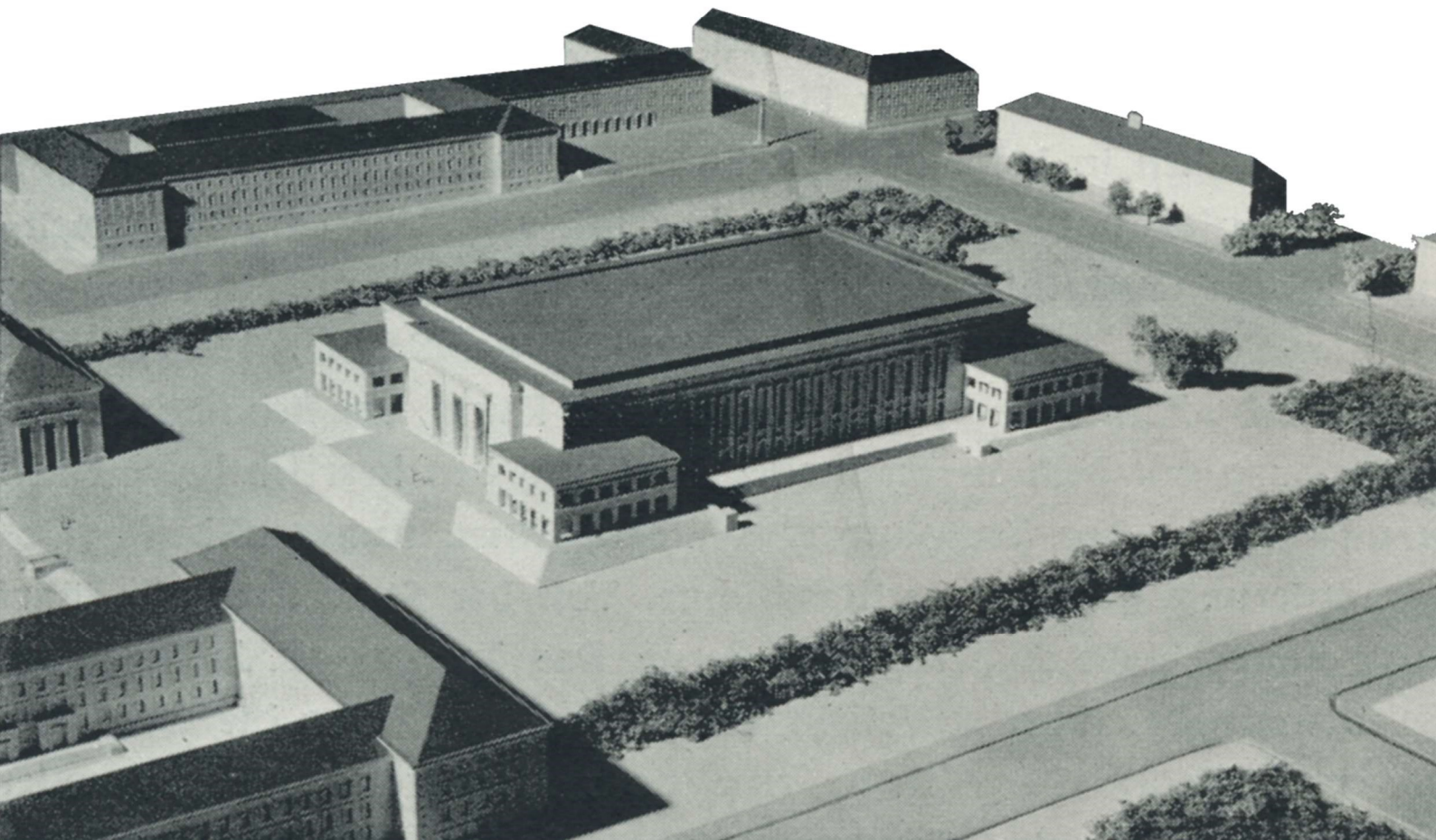


Plans for Redesigning the Gau Capital Münster

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Introduction

The National Socialist "redesign cities",¹ *Neugestaltungsstädte*, initiative is not usually associated with Münster, instead with Berlin, Nuremberg or Linz. However, the former provincial capital of Westphalia was also personally designated by Hitler as one of the chosen cities. These cities appeared important to the NSDAP as they would include buildings constructed specifically for the Party and affiliated organisations, predominantly as large complexes comprising residential areas within. In Münster, this National Socialist project was promoted in particular by the architect Hermann Bartels and several of the plans for this urban development redesign have been preserved. These redesign cities, personally selected by Hitler, were of considerable significance, as they allowed for the construction of large Party and secular buildings with adjacent parade grounds. Hitler appointed a commissioner for each city and facilitated the expropriation of land as part of these redevelopment plans.² The sites planned for the National Socialist Party were intended to replace the traditional city centres, according to Jochen Thies.³ The *Gauleiters*, the heads of the administrative districts, were eager to have their plans to be drawn in "Hitlerian Style", a phrase coined by Albert Speer; this goal reflected Hitler's enthusiasm for the project and his wish to find highly committed architects, although in meetings he frequently supplemented their plans with his own sketches.⁴ However, it was soon realised that carrying out these plans would only been possible by exploiting forced labour from concentration camps and prisoners from occupied territories as part of the concept of "extermination through labour".⁵ Therefore, Heinrich Himmler utilised prisoners from the concentration camps for the alteration of Wewelsburg Castle, the prisoners were commanded

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

² Reichsgesetzblatt 1937, p. 1055: *Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte. Vom 4. Oktober 1937* (Law on the Redesign of German Cities of 4 October 1937) §10 and §11.

³ Jochen Thies, *Architekt der Weltherrschaft. "Die Endziele" Hitlers*, Düsseldorf 1976, 78: "The party buildings along with the large assembly hall, the square and the wide street used for parades were to replace the church building."

⁴ Albert Speer, *Erinnerungen*, Frankfurt a. M. 1993, 157. Adolf Hitler, quoted after Albert Speer: "Why not even a medal for those who have made a contribution to art?" Albert Speer said, regarding the designs by the *Gauleiter's* and Hitler's arrangements: "Numerous designs in other cities were the result of the Berlin planning. From now on, every *Gauleiter* wanted to immortalize himself in his city. [...] Hitler tirelessly drew his own sketches when discussing the plans."

⁵ Because of the high demand for building materials anticipated in regard to the construction of the "*Führerbauten*" and other urban redesign projects the *Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH (DEST)*, German Earth- and Stoneworks' Ltd., was founded. This additional form of procurement of building materials was used to carry out the projects, particularly because of Hitler and Speer's desire to use natural stone for the buildings. The idea of using concentration camp inmates as part of the "extermination through labour" concept, which may have come from Hitler himself, was at least approved by him. See also Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS*, Stuttgart 1963, 42-43.

by the architect responsible for the plans in Münster, Hermann Bartels.⁶ Granite or shell limestone were often used as construction materials to enhance the aesthetic value of the buildings and to make them more durable.⁷ The size and the materials chosen for the buildings were intended to impress and intimidate,⁸ and consequently the buildings were an important means of directing society. As Hitler explains in "Mein Kampf"⁹, the architectural structures' purpose was to both express Germanic superiority and to function as key places to support the Nazi movement.¹⁰ In addition, the organisation of National Socialist events, marches and sports games was aided by Party and sports facilities and the consequent creation of a "meaningful sphere of action" as a direct programme to counter the events held by churches and external, non-party associations.¹¹ As a consequence of this political function of architecture, urban planning was not merely regarded as of municipal or regional importance but also as an essential part of the Reich's politics.¹² It was also a political tool that had the objective of quickly re-establishing full employment in the construction industry.¹³ However, this form of "propaganda through architecture" ended with the outbreak of war, the shortage of workers in the armaments industry and eventually the destruction of German cities by Allies' aeroplanes.¹⁴ The largest National Socialist construction plans have been thoroughly investigated, whilst smaller projects are still overshadowed by them,¹⁵ so that only one unpublished master thesis on the subject of medieval and modern history can be found in relation to the redesign plans in Münster;¹⁶ additional files are available in various archives.¹⁷

⁶ Karl Hüser, *Wewelsburg 1933-1945. Stellung und Bedeutung der Burg und des Konzentrationslagers Niederhagen für Himmlers SS-Orden*, 2nd ed., Paderborn 1987, 58 and 89-96. Hermann Bartels was an architect, NSDAP party member and reached the rank of a SS major (see Appendix A).

⁷ Joachim Petsch, *Architektur als Weltanschauung. Die Staats- und Parteiarchitektur im Nationalsozialismus*, in: Bernd Ogan und Wolfgang W. Weiß, *Faszination und Gewalt. Zur politischen Ästhetik des Nationalsozialismus*, Nürnberg 1992, 197-204, here 201.

⁸ Petsch, *Architektur als Weltanschauung*, 202.

⁹ Christian Hartmann et al., *Hitler. Mein Kampf. Eine kritische Edition*, vol. 1, 4th ed., München and Berlin 2016, 897-898. In 1923 Hitler wrote in his book "*Mein Kampf*" (published as "My Struggle" in Britain): "Only the existence of such a seat or centre, around which a magic charm such as that of Mecca or Rome is woven, can supply a movement with that permanent driving force which has its sources in the internal unity of the movement and the recognition of one head as representing this unity."

¹⁰ Petsch, *Architektur als Weltanschauung*, 202.

¹¹ Petsch, *Architektur als Weltanschauung*, 202.

¹² Jost Dülffer, Jochen Thies and Josef Henke, *Hitlers Städte. Baupolitik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation*, Köln 1978, 4.

¹³ Dülffer/Thies, *Hitlers Städte*, 8.

¹⁴ Dülffer/Thies, *Hitlers Städte*, 12.

¹⁵ Anscar Jansen, *Studien über die Pläne zur Umgestaltung Münsters im "Dritten Reich"*, Marburg 1996, 92-93. This is an unpublished Master thesis in the field of modern history from the University of Marburg.

¹⁶ Anscar Jansen's thesis from 1996 does not deal with the basic ideas of architecture, but with the administrative work and the planning apparatus that is behind the redesign plans in Münster.

¹⁷ Files regarding the subject are available in Münster's City Archive, the State Archives of North Rhine-Westphalia Dept. Westphalia in Münster, the LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, the German Federal

1. History and Development

1.1. Location and Preconditions in Münster

The redesign of Münster, historically a Catholic city, was a challenge for two opposing reasons: destroying the existing urban structures, as was planned in the majority of the redesign cities, would probably have met resistance from the population, but there was a noticeable housing shortage in Münster in the 1930s owing to large increases in population and the low level of housing units available. In 1925, Münster had a population of 106,418, but by the time Hitler rose to power in 1933, this had increased to 122,200 and when the war began in 1939, the population had reached 141,059.¹⁸ Only 5,818 apartments were built between 1933 and 1940, according to Kuropka,¹⁹ and even the "Aryanisation of Jewish residential space" did not relieve the housing shortage.²⁰ The redesign plans would have provided a solution to the traffic problem, but, more importantly they could have eliminated the housing shortage with extensive construction of new homes. The designation as Gau Capital, the Nazi term for a Regional Capital, also inferred the construction of Party and administrative buildings, in addition to buildings for the *Wehrmacht*. The planned completion of the large redesign cities was 1950,²¹ among them Berlin, which Albert Speer wanted to develop as the capital of the world, and call it Germania, Munich was to be the National Socialist movement's headquarters and Linz *to be the Führercity, Führerstadt*, the city in which Hitler had spent his youth and which was to become his retirement home. In contrast, Hamburg was to be transformed into the capital of German shipping by Konstanty Gutschow and Nuremberg, the site of the Nuremberg Rallies, was designated to host the Annual Nazi Party Congress. The buildings in Münster were given an estimated completion date of around 1960, on the basis of some sources written by Albert Speer. However, Speer demanded that the new design concept should be ready early so that

Archives, and the Moscow Special Archives of the former KGB. While materials are available in the latter those weren't accessible to me.

¹⁸ Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Eingemeindungen, in: Franz-Josef Jakobi, ed., Geschichte der Stadt Münster. Das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (bis 1945), Münster 1994, 219-284, here 333.

¹⁹ Joachim Kuropka, Münster in der nationalsozialistischen Zeit, in: Franz-Josef Jakobi, ed., Geschichte der Stadt Münster. Das 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (bis 1945), Münster 1994, 285-330, here 318.

²⁰ Applying the "*Gesetz über die Mietverhältnisse mit Juden*", the law on tenancy agreements with Jews, which came into effect on 30 April 1939 and permitted the landlord to terminate the lease, led to the circumstance that in the summer of 1939 all approximately 205 Jews from Münster were merged into 14 Jewish houses. See also Simone Midwer and Sascha Kremer, Kiepenkerl und Judensterne. Die Judenverfolgung in Münster – Eine Dokumentation, Münster 1995, 192-199.

²¹ Dülffer/Thies, Hitlers Städte, 36. Speer wrote to the head of the Reich Chancellery Schwarz on 25 June 1940: "Berlin has to get its architectural redesign [...] in the shortest possible time. I expect it to be completed by 1950. The same also applies to [...] Munich, Linz, Hamburg and Nuremberg".

after the "final victory", the "*Endsieg*", the reconstruction of the redesign cities could commence without the need for a lengthy planning phase.

1.2. Emergence of the Lake Aasee and Preceding Development Plans

In 1914, Lake Aasee was dug out due to the fact that the river frequently flooded the historic city centre however, the outbreak of the First World War curtailed these operations. In 1925, these operations resumed and the first part of the current Lake Aasee facing the city centre, was completed in 1934 and enabled the development of the Aa valley, which had previously been impossible owing to the damp subsoil. Additionally, there had been plans for the extensive development of Lake Aasee well before the seizure of power; and by 1931, Theodor Suhnel had presented his plans for the construction of a university town to the university's Vice Chancellor. The university town was to be located in the area between Lake Aasee and the university hospital,²² and the plans already anticipated some vital elements of the later Gau capital project, such as the location and the orientation of the main axis. The plan included an extension of Lake Aasee to the east and a large bridge was to connect the north and south shores, although the lake was far from completed at that time. A large avenue was proposed, lined with the Zoological Institute, the Dental Hospital, the Ear Hospital, the Technical Institute and Administrative buildings, which would lead to the university hospital. A large housing estate with sports grounds was planned to the east of the large avenue. The design of the buildings was similar to the Bauhaus style and, although the plans included construction on both sides of Lake Aasee, with identical width to the east and west direction, the north to south axis was considerably shorter than in Bartels' plans.

1.3. Examples of Plans and Hitler's Role

The plans for the Gau Capital Münster were presented to Hitler and Speer several times as well as to Himmler;²³ Albert Meyer as *Gauleiter* forwarded the plans for Münster and Detmold, another construction project, to Hitler on 13 January 1938 and received his approval.²⁴ Hitler was interested in all urban development projects including Münster; he also knew about the

²² Theodor Suhnel, Das Universitäts-Forum am Aasee (Das schöne Münster 23 (3)), Münster 1931, 353-365, here 353.

²³ Schröder, Mit der Partei, 440-441: "13 January 1938: *Gauleiter* Dr Meyer presents the *Führer* inside of the Reich Chancellery with plans to erect a party forum in Münster. The *Führer* approves the project on the upper Aasee shore. The *Führer* also gives his approval to the plans for the development project on Hiddeser Berg near Detmold."

²⁴ Schröder, Mit der Partei, 440-441: See above.

unusual incorporation into the expanded Münster cityscape.²⁵ It is impossible to determine which plans were submitted to him and whether they were influenced by him but the final plans were presented to Hitler by Meyer at a meeting in Bayreuth in 1939.²⁶ A letter, which Bartels sent to Meyer, and a number of other documents reveal that Hitler and Speer were pleased with his plans;²⁷ Bartels managed to personally present the plans for Detmold to Hitler.²⁸ Moreover, it is unlikely that Hitler was only provided with simple sketches when the plans were first approved in 1938. Bartels found inspiration for his concept in Münster's architectural history, in the works of other National Socialist architects and in the Weimar Republic's architecture but Albert Speer's plans for Germania in Berlin received greater attention than the conceptions for Münster.²⁹ In this context, the idea of a north to south axis and an east to west axis could have been based on Speer's plans for Berlin.

1.4. Developments in Münster

The redesign plans for Münster are said to have commenced in 1933³⁰ but have not been preserved and must have been rather vague,³¹ instead their initiation is attributed to 1935.³² In February 1938, the City Planning Office, *Stadtplanungsamt*, developed a first plan, thus Hermann Bartels must have already been involved since he was able to present the initial project design during a meeting on 7 March. In a letter dated November 1938, Bartels describes the plans in Münster as his biggest project,³³ but it was not until 31 March 1939, 14 months after

²⁵ Münsterscher Anzeiger/Westfälischer Merkur, № 162 (87), p. 1, Evening edition from 6. April 1938: "The *Gauleiter*, whose tireless initiative resulted in the party's major building projects in the *Gau* Westphalia-North region, subsequently announced the large-scale building projects in the *Gaucapital* of Münster, which he had recently submitted to the *Führer* and Professor Speer for approval. The *Führer*, who showed great interest in the insertion of the planned party forum into the expanded cityscape, gave his approval to the generous project, based on the drafts submitted, because Münster should subsequently remain the *Gaucapital*."

²⁶ Schröder, Westfalen-Nord, 44: "*Gauleiter* Dr Meyer [...] only recently had the opportunity in Bayreuth to present the final plans for the redesign of the city of Münster to the *Führer* using clear sketches and drafts."

²⁷ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132 / K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels vol. 2, 140), Bartels writes in a letter to *Gauleiter* Albert Meyer: "It should not be left unsaid that our projects and plans were always met with approval by the *Führer* himself as well as his architect Prof Speer."

²⁸ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 907 / 10, p. 169, Bartels writes in a letter to the leader of the *Gauamt* Curt Beyer: "Then came the Detmold construction project, which I was allowed to present to the *Führer* myself."

²⁹ The idea of a gigantomaniac construction concept is not something that is based on an idea of Hitler or Speer, but was practiced before and also after the National Socialist Movement in and outside of Germany. An example can be Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin from 1925.

³⁰ Wilfried Beer, Luftverteidigung und Luftschutz, Hilfs-, Versorgungs- und Instandsetzungsmaßnahmen nach Bombenangriffen im Raum Münster. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Stadt Münster 1939-1945, Münster 1988, 185.

³¹ Münster City Archive, Amt 23, № 4-5.

³² Münster City Archive, Amt 23, № 4-5.

³³ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 907 / 10, p. 169, Bartels writes in a letter to the leader of the *Gauamt* Curt Beyer: "The last and largest project is the party forum of the city of Münster, which was also approved with special recognition by the *Führer* and Professor Speer."

Hitler's approval, that Münster was declared a redesign city.³⁴ Subsequently, Alfred Meyer was commissioned to carry out the project.³⁵ Peter Poelzig, a City Planning Office employee, was promoted to Head of the Office for implementing the Gau Capital redesign plans and a letter by Speer reveals that Hermann Bartels became the Lead Architect for the project.³⁶ In December 1942, Hermann Bartels submitted drawings for the Gau building, *Gauhaus*, and for the House of Divisions, *Haus der Gliederungen*, to the Nazi Party's National Treasurer, although these records no longer exist.³⁷ Planning was most intensive between 1938 and 1940 and the architects continued steadfastly even during the war. However, activities conducted in the City Planning Office were quite different because, whilst it could consider general development plans and Bartels' ideas before the war, it was later focused on war damage and planning air raid shelters.³⁸ The first bombing raids occurred on 16 May 1940³⁹ and Münster was totally destroyed as a consequence of further large scale attacks, so that the focus of those responsible was mainly on reconstruction. After the one hundred and second air raid on 25 March 1945⁴⁰, the last major attack on Münster,⁴¹ 32,000 explosive bombs and 650,000 incendiary bombs⁴² had destroyed 91% of Münster's historic city centre and 63% of the municipal area.⁴³ Once the Army High Command capitulated on 8 May 1945, Münster had to dispose of approximately 2.5 million tons of rubble.⁴⁴

³⁴ Reichsgesetzblatt 1939, Part 1 (Interior), p. 697: "Decree of the *Führer* and Chancellor on urban development measures in the city of Münster (Westphalia) from 31 March 1939. For the city of Münster (Westphalia) I order the implementation of the special urban planning measures that I have determined. I instruct the NSDAP *Gauleiter* of the *Gau* Westphalia-North, Alfred Meyer, to take the measures mentioned in §1, §2 and §3 of the Law on the Redesign of German Cities of 4 October 1937 (Reichsgesetzblatt 1937, p. 1054). Berlin, 31 March 1939. The *Führer* and Chancellor Adolf Hitler".

³⁵ Reichsgesetzblatt 1939, Part 1 (Interior), p. 697. See above.

³⁶ Speer wrote to Schwarz on 19 February 1941: "Dear *Reichsschatzmeister*, as agreed, I will now give you an overview of the status of urban planning in the *Gaucapitals* [...] 15. Münster: The urban planning has been completed and is approved by the *Führer*. In contrast to most cities, the party buildings will be incorporated in a newly founded district. The architect Bartels was commissioned by the *Gauleiter* for the design of the city centre and probably also the party buildings, whom I think is capable of carrying out the task. [...] Heil Hitler signed Speer".

³⁷ German Federal Archive in Berlin, NS 1/187.

³⁸ Beer, *Luftverteidigung und Luftschutz*, 186-189.

³⁹ Niels Gutschow and Regina Stierner, *Dokumentation Wiederaufbau Münster*. Materialsammlung, Münster 1980, 22.

⁴⁰ Gutschow/Stierner, *Dokumentation Wiederaufbau*, 25.

⁴¹ Gutschow/Stierner, *Dokumentation Wiederaufbau*, 23.

⁴² Extract from the "*statistischen Sonderbericht der Provinzialhauptstadt Münster*", the statistical special report of the provincial capital of Münster regarding the WWII Air raids on Münster, included in: Gutschow/Stierner, *Dokumentation Wiederaufbau*, 25.

⁴³ Helmut Weihsmann, *Bauen unterm Hakenkreuz*. Architektur des Untergangs, Wien 1998, 686.

⁴⁴ Gutschow/Stierner, *Dokumentation Wiederaufbau*, 27.

2. Basic Planning

2.1. Plan Development Stages

A range of plans for Münster's redesign have been preserved, for instance, those made by the Municipal Planning and Building Office, *Stadtbauamt*, and by architect Hermann Bartels. However, many of the early plans were in the first stages of development and were most likely merely illustrations of different building concepts; most of the plans and models were not sorted or numbered and will consequently be attributed with letters here. The plans shown in figures 1 and 2, Plan A and Plan B respectively⁴⁵, facilitate the analysis of the extensive redesign of Münster not merely the Party Forum. Plan A was drawn in the City Planning Office in February 1938, whilst plan B, also from 1938, is a conceptual plan adapted from the topographical map produced in 1928. The plans show the *Reichsautobahn*, the motorway built during the Third Reich period, which was intended to be located to the east of Münster, but was instead located to the west of the city, where it could have been connected to the better developed road network there.⁴⁶ The central station is located to the south east of the city, and viewed from the inner city area it would have been behind Lake Aasee and near to the newly planned city centre. At that time, the zoo was situated between the central cemetery and the historic centre at *Himmelreichallee* but it would be relocated to a large area at *Kanalstraße* between the present districts of Kinderhaus and Coerde in the north of the city, in order to allow the construction of the huge avenue intended for military parades into the city centre. Additional hospitals were planned to the south of the military hospital,⁴⁷ a large sports stadium in the east of the city and the university would have added further buildings as an extension of the planned Forum. The Dortmund-Ems Canal, built between 1892 and 1898,⁴⁸ ran significantly farther away from the city centre in an easterly direction according to these plans, but a large harbour comprising one main basin and three secondary basins and a train connection was to be constructed to manage the substantial growth in goods transfer that had begun in the 1930s.⁴⁹ A large industrial area was to emerge to the north of the new harbour and further changes in Münster's structure are

⁴⁵ Jansen, *Umgestaltung Münster*, 41. Depicted in Niels Gutschow and Niels Wolf, *Historische Entwicklungen und Perspektiven der Stadtplanung in Münster*, in: Peter Weber und Karl-Friedrich Schreiber, ed., *Westfalen und angrenzende Regionen. Festschrift zum 44. Deutschen Geografentag in Münster 1983*, vol. 1, Paderborn 1983, 213.

⁴⁶ *Reichsstraße 51, Reichsstraße 54 and Reichsstraße 219* run here.

⁴⁷ The military hospital, built in 1936 by Hans Ostermann, is used as the university's dermatological clinic today.

⁴⁸ Barbara Rommé, ed., *Der Hafen von Münster. 100 Jahre Dortmund-Ems-Kanal*, Münster 1999, 16.

⁴⁹ Rommé, *Hafen*, 23.

evident in plan B⁵⁰ but useful analysis of the Party buildings and those of the university is not possible owing to the vague, constantly revised sketches of the basic concept.

Two further plans of the Party Forum have been preserved, Plan C drawn by Hermann Bartels and Plan D by Franz Winter; Plan C, figure 3, is dated by Durth/Gutschow as being drawn circa 1940, but most likely originates from spring 1938 and is a simplified version with People's Hall, four other buildings and a sports stadium. Plan C is a blueprint for model A, which is described in a newspaper article from 1938 as "generous planning for the development of the city of Münster".⁵¹ The article states that there were definite projects for several buildings here: a house for the divisions and one for the Gau leadership, a DAF building⁵², a RAD⁵³ and a police building.⁵⁴ The construction of a large sports stadium, a youth hostel and a large open air swimming pool were also planned adjacent to the new Lake Aasee shore,⁵⁵ and the article also describes a residential area and an administrative district, extending to the military hospital but this is not included in the existing sketch. However, no description is given of a bridge connection to the southern shore where the sports stadium extended to, indicating that it does not constitute model B. Plan C shows no connection between the two Lake Aasee banks at Forum level and does not contain any residential buildings. Therefore, the date of the article is envisaged as terminus ante quem for model A, which has not been preserved, so that Plan C, is evidently an earlier plan that must have been created well before April 1938.

Plan D, figure 4, drawn by Franz Winter and dated March 1938 by Durth/Gutschow, includes many additional buildings arranged in a chessboard type network as well as the People's Hall, the Party buildings and the sports stadium. This design concept is also a rudimentary plan of the redesign city and the planning approach suggests it was probably simply a record of some ideas rather than a plan. Consequently, the date attributed, March 1938, may be very late but

⁵⁰ There were plans to convert Münster's First World War POW Camp, Haus Spital, into a huge foot-drill training facility. The Loddenheide airfield was to be massively expanded and better connected to the air force signals intelligence service station in Gremmendorf, which was built in 1936 (it today houses the refugees-camp York barracks). Additional barracks were to be built on the opposite side of the former Mariental Abbey on Grevenstrasse (*Reichsstrasse* 219), north of what is today known as York Ring.

⁵¹ *Münsterscher Anzeiger/Westfälischer Merkur*, № 162 (87), p. 1, Evening edition from 6 April 1938.

⁵² *Deutsche Arbeitsfront*, German Labour Front: The NS term denoted a public corporation with compulsory membership for all employers and workers.

⁵³ *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, Reich Labour Service.

⁵⁴ *Münsterscher Anzeiger/Westfälischer Merkur*, № 162 (87), p. 1, Evening edition from 6 April 1938: "The square is surrounded by the *Gaubuildung* (*Gauhaus*), the house of the divisions and the building of the German Labour Front. The house of the Reich Labour Service is planned in direct connection to the forum; in addition, the construction of the police headquarters is also proposed there."

⁵⁵ *Münsterscher Anzeiger/Westfälischer Merkur*, № 162 (87), p. 1, Evening edition from 6 April 1938: "[...] for the new part of the Aasee a large swimming spot and a spacious youth hostel are intended".

not improbable and, therefore, Plan C could also be dated no later; Bartels refers to plan C and D as sketches.⁵⁶

Any knowledge of the development of further plans is solely associated with Bartels and quickly develops with greater precision; several of these plans have been preserved, for instance Plan E, dated 15 March 1939, figure 5, is signed by the Municipal Surveying Office, *Stadtvermessungsamt*, but totally reflects Bartels' drawings. Plan E is only slightly different from the final plans, which appear to comprise Plan F, figure 6, and model B, figure 7; these can also be seen in a photograph of Himmler taken at the meeting of the Old Guard⁵⁷ from 15 to 17 June 1939.⁵⁸

Another model has been preserved to us by several photographs. This is the much more elaborate model C, which will serve here to reveal the architectural design. Three photographs are in the city archive, figures 8, 9 and 10, and others have been printed in publications and newspaper reports of that time, figures 11, 12 and 13. It is not known from which year model C originates.⁵⁹

2.2. Conception of Plan F

Bartels wrote about his plans in 1941, when they were completed utilising model C:

"The Forum with the buildings for the Party and its divisions, for the DAF and the large People's Hall will be relocated to an area close to the Lake Aasee to the southwest. The 60m high bell tower located adjacent to the water, will be visible from afar as the Forum landmark. Two bridges will lead to the Lake's southern shore, connecting the southern Münster traffic with the Party Forum's sports facilities, and providing a good traffic connection between the new buildings on the southern shore of the lake and the Forum. A new administrative and residential

⁵⁶ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, p. 1: "As a result of the cooperation between the *Gauleitung* and the city administration, the first sketches and drafts were created."

⁵⁷ The Old Guard corps consisted of NSDAP members that had already been members of the party or its fighting organisations before 1923 and/or had participated in Hitler's attempted putsch in 1923.

⁵⁸ Another photo shows model B in the Province Building on 16 January 1941 for the opening of the exhibition "Buildings of the Nazi Party". (figure 14) The picture shows *Gauleiter* Alfred Meyer next to the manager of the municipal planning and building office Peter Poelzig as well as numerous other people. Münster City Archive, Stadt-Dok-53.1/1941 Kriegschronik Hans Wiemers: "At midday, there are many cars in front of the province building. The exhibition of artists from North Westphalia has just opened there. There is also a large model in the exhibition, which shows the plans for the party buildings on the Aasee shore. *Baurat* Poelzig, from the municipal planning and building office, gave the architectural explanations for the model during the tour with the *Gauleiter*, which is already lively talked about and discussed in Münster today. During the tour the former mayor Dr Sperlich was seen in his captain's uniform with his snow-white beard [not in the picture]. He remains humble in the background and is the first to leave the state museum after the tour."

⁵⁹ Photographs of model c are already depicted in Otto Hillebrand, Münster. Die nationalsozialistische Stadt, (Das schöne Münster 6 (11)), Münster 1939.

quarter will be developed behind the existing university hospitals and its central axis will lead to the People's Hall, the most dominant structure of the Forum. This 'new Münster' will be connected to the old town by a wide street, which ends in the city centre."⁶⁰

The People's Hall forms the centre of the *Gauforum*, to the south it is bordered by the House of Divisions to the west and by the German Labour Front building to the east.⁶¹ The Gau leadership building is located to the north of Lake Aasee shore, another Gau building is situated to the south, nestled in the shores of Lake Aasee. The People's Hall is surrounded by the RAD building to the west and by police and *Reichsnährstand*⁶² buildings to the east,⁶³ with additional administrative and residential buildings located to the north of the People's Hall. A wide avenue runs in an east to west direction from the central cemetery to a representative building in the west. From the east side of the People's Hall to the old town there is another parade boulevard 32 metres wide⁶⁴ lined with large columns, which passes through a monumental roundabout. To the north of the People's Hall, two lateral marching streets are supplemented by a central boulevard, which ends at another representative building in the north. The bell tower is situated on the eastern shore of Lake Aasee, on an east to west axis to the Party buildings,⁶⁵ at the other end, the construction of a semi-circular building is intended, possibly a monument or *Thingstätte*.⁶⁶ The administrative and residential buildings in the north are characterised by their spacious courtyards incorporating fountains and lawns. In the north and west, the redesign adjoins the forest area, whilst Lake Aasee and the new town border the redesign in the south and the old town in the east.

2.3. The Model C Architecture

Hermann Bartels described the exterior architecture of the buildings as follows:

⁶⁰ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, p. 2.

⁶¹ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4 photograph № 1, old lettering on the back (Beware! The new lettering is wrong.).

⁶² The term *Nährstand* denotes the rural Third Estate members as part of the three estates of the social hierarchy in Europe during the medieval period to early modern times. In NS Germany, the *Reichsnährstand* was intended as statutory corporation of farmers but quickly developed into a regulatory government agency regarding agricultural products.

⁶³ Münster City Archive, Amt 23, № 797.

⁶⁴ Jansen, *Umgestaltung Münsters*, 27.

⁶⁵ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4 photograph № 1, old lettering on the back (Beware! The new lettering is wrong.).

⁶⁶ *Thingstätte* is an open air-theatre for the *Thingspiel* movement, a part of the early Nazi-Cult.

"The exterior architecture of the Forum buildings and their surroundings are adapted from 17th and 18th century architecture typical of Münster, which can still be seen today in countless old aristocratic courts; red brick combined with ashlar for cornices, pilasters and window frames."⁶⁷

This construction method with brick seems to be highly unusual and is a novelty in the National Socialist urban Planning because granite was used predominantly for representative buildings. In the final planning the People's Hall is a high rectangular building with deeper square annexes at all four corners, at the north and south sides of the Hall, at the avant-corps centre there are three high portals with profiled reveals, square overdoors and canopies resting on consoles; they are reminiscent of Tetrastyles. Each of the two storey annexes has an enclosing colonnade of pillars on the ground floor and a circumferential open loggia on the upper floor, the long side of the hall is adorned with a high row of canopied windows and both the hall and the annexes have a flat roof and an eaves-cornice with frieze below. The sloping terrain necessitated that the south side of the hall had axially aligned perron staircases, consequently the building appears to be raised on a platform. The other buildings visible in the photographs are the three storey Gau Leadership building⁶⁸ with a hipped roof, two axisymmetric buildings,⁶⁹ one for the divisions and one for the DAF, another building on the south shore⁷⁰ and the bell tower.⁷¹ The only preserved descriptions of the proposed usage of the rooms are those for the Gau Leadership building;⁷² for example, the planned functions of the basement in this building are: storerooms, garages, archives, an air raid shelter, a sports hall and a kitchen.⁷³ The plans suggested 180 offices on the ground floor, 189 on the first floor and 165 on the second floor in addition to a

⁶⁷ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, p. 2.

⁶⁸ The three-storey building of the *Gauleitung* on the north bank of the Aasee has a central risalit with an overlying frontispiece. The eight-axis front is structured with pilasters in colossal order, in which there are doors on the ground floor and windows on the middle floor, whereas the upper floor is composed as a loggia. Like all other buildings of the model, the building has a hipped roof.

⁶⁹ The buildings of the DAF and the building of the divisions are four-storeys high towards the "*Volkshalle*", otherwise they are three-storeys high. The outer long side of the building is accessible through five rectangular portals, which are lined to the left and right by statues standing on pedestals, which lead into the inner courtyard. From there, another staircase opens up access to three square frame portals that are spanned by a large imperial eagle in the central axis. The long side on the inside consists of a three-storey window front with three balconies. The front facing the party forum has an arbor in the middle, which rests on three arched portals on the ground floor and a window front on the second floor.

⁷⁰ The building on the southern shore of the Aasee has an eight-axis portico with eight pillars and two wider wall pillars on the outside. The portals are also square and have a profiled door reveal. Over the portals there is a relief in an indefinable form. A staircase with massive cheeks leads up to the portals. Behind the portico is a broad, three-storey building with a hipped roof, which springs back twice, only to create a small lead on both sides for other portals.

⁷¹ The bell tower, which should be around 60 meters high, has a rectangular ground plan and is opened at the top by large inlets.

⁷² Jansen, *Umgestaltung Münsters*, 36 and German Federal Archive in Berlin, NS 1/87.

⁷³ German Federal Archive in Berlin, NS 1/87.

two storey ceremonial hall.⁷⁴ In total, the Gau Leadership building was planned to comprise 323,387.79m³ and 619 rooms and its costs were estimated at 25,871,023 Reichsmark.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ German Federal Archive in Berlin, NS 1/87.

⁷⁵ German Federal Archive in Berlin, NS 1/87.

Conclusion

Joachim Kuroпка's essay on Münster under National Socialist ruling concludes that,

"according to the architects' description, Münster's historic centre was characterised by churches, aristocratic courts and town houses. In contrast, the 'new' Münster was intended to constitute the National Socialist counter programme enacted in stone. However, those involved did not realise that by incorporating the bell tower and the People's Hall, they offered a mere copy of a church building."⁷⁶

This conclusion is incorrect, there was neither the intention to create an alternative to the existing building stock, nor was Bartels unaware of the imitation of existing buildings. One of the main intentions of the plan was to integrate it into the cityscape and to adopt the existing architectural elements, as is evident in Bartels' description of his designs. Bartels proposed red brick and ashlar for pilasters and cornices, creating associations with the palace, i. e. the Prince Bishop's residence, with the baroque *Erbdrostenhof* mansion or with the administrative buildings in the cathedral square, *Domplatz*, including the government building. Consequently, Bartels' plans would have seamlessly integrated into the prevalent city architecture. The *Oberpostdirektion*, the Higher Postal Authority building erected in 1925, and the *Oberfinanzdirektion*,⁷⁷ the neo-baroque Higher Financial Authority building erected between 1912 and 1914, also display the mentioned characteristics and are evidence that the revival of the Prussian 18th century neoclassical architectural forms did not originate in the Third Reich. Instead, it was a "widespread conservative counter position to modern architecture"⁷⁸ already present in the Wilhelmine Era⁷⁹ and in the Weimar Republic, especially for representative buildings of governmental agencies. The un-plastered brick architecture planned for Münster was not equivalent to the common style of other National Socialist representative buildings, inferring that there was no mandatory uniform National Socialist architectural style for representative buildings throughout the country. In fact, some aspects of older projects were adopted in Münster and complemented the architecture and urban planning concepts prevalent in the city and a total redesign of the city was not intended; another particularity of Münster

⁷⁶ Kuroпка, Münster, 319.

⁷⁷ The *Oberzolldirektion*, higher customs authority building, erected 1925, and the neo-baroque building of the *Oberfinanzdirektion*, the higher financial authority, erected between 1912 and 1914, as a representative state building of the Wilhelmine era also displays the stated characteristics.

⁷⁸ Karl Arndt, *Baustelle Reichsparteitagelände 1938/39*, Göttingen 1973, 25.

⁷⁹ The Wilhelmine Era is the period in German history between 1890 and 1918, encompassing the reign of Emperor Wilhelm II from the year when Chancellor Bismarck had resigned until the end of World War I and the Emperor's abdication.

similar only to the plans for Frankfurt (Oder).⁸⁰ The new quarter planned would have preserved the majority of the city centre in its medieval form and would not have necessitated compulsory expropriations and orders to demolish buildings as was the case in Berlin. In addition, the concept of a Forum at Lake Aasee was merely an adaptation of existing ideas and cannot be traced to the National Socialists or to Hermann Bartels. As indicated, the tendency toward gigantism was a characteristic of National Socialist neo-classicist forms in accordance with Speer's ideas but this is not manifested in Münster and with regard to other projects, gigantism cannot be considered the unique feature of National Socialist neo-classicist styles.

⁸⁰ The second known exception can be found in Frankfurt a. O., where a new party and administrative centre was planned, although Frankfurt a. O. was not a *Gaue* capital, the administrative centre was directly adjacent to the city centre. See Christiane Wolf, *Gaueforen. Zentren der Macht*, Berlin 1999, 60-61.

Appendix

A. Biographies

A.1. Hermann Bartels

Hermann Bartels was born in Minden on 14 April 1900, the son of a *Provinzialsekretär*, an administrative official for the province of Westphalia.⁸¹ He attended the school of construction trades (*Baugewerkschule*) in Münster,⁸² between October 1916 and 21 August 1920, interrupted by military service in the 25th Infantry Brigade in Münster between 16 October 1918 and 1 April 1919.⁸³ Bartels was employed as a structural engineer at the University of Münster Office for New Buildings, *Neubauamt*,⁸⁴ between 1 October 1919 and 31 October 1919 and subsequently as a technician with the university's Geological Institute until 22 April 1920;⁸⁵ from 4 September 1920 onwards, he worked for the Provincial Administration.⁸⁶ During the 1920s, Bartels was occupied with the inventory of Münster's architectural and artistic historical monuments,⁸⁷ and in this position, he conducted structural documentations of Münster's heritage sites for the Province's Monument Conservator, *Provinzialkonservator*.⁸⁸ On 1 August 1928, Bartels was appointed Senior Technical State Secretary,⁸⁹ *Landesobersekretär*, he supervised the restoration works at Raesfeld Castle and Beverungen Castle.⁹⁰ Then, on 1 September 1932, Bartels joined the NSDAP.⁹¹ Heinrich Himmler visited Wewelsburg Castle on 3 November 1933 and Bartels' recorded account states that Himmler nominated him as the architect in charge of remodelling the castle immediately afterwards.⁹² He was appointed

⁸¹ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), see the verdict of the de-Nazification Court Bielefeld from 12 February 1949, p. 2.

⁸² LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 3, p. 177.

⁸³ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 1, p. 3.

⁸⁴ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 2, p. 141.

⁸⁵ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels).

⁸⁶ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels).

⁸⁷ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), see the verdict of the de-Nazification Court Bielefeld from 12 February 1949.

⁸⁸ Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern. Planungen zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte im Westen Deutschlands 1940-1950*, Städte, Braunschweig 1988, 943. Some of these recordings are preserved in the city archives of Münster.

⁸⁹ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels).

⁹⁰ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 159.

⁹¹ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 2, p. 151b.

⁹² Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 20.

NSDAP cultural coordinator for the Gau Westphalia-North, *Gaukulturwart*, on 2 December 1933,⁹³ and in this position and as leader of the local district of the Reich cartel of fine arts, *Bezirksgruppenführer*, opened their exhibition in the Westphalian State Museum in 1933.⁹⁴ Bartels was also concerned about environmental issues.⁹⁵ Following political pressure, Bartels was promoted to the position of Senior Architect at the Westphalian Administration, *Landesbaumeister*, on 1 September 1934.⁹⁶ He had previously sent draft plans for the conversion of Wewelsburg Castle into an SS Leadership School managed by the SS Race Office, *Reichsschule des SS-Rasseamts*, on 21 December 1933 and was granted leave to complete this task from May 1936 onwards.⁹⁷ On 20 April 1938, Bartels became a member of the SS with the rank of Major, *Sturmbannführer*; his membership number was 293737.⁹⁸ Although a mere formality, the signing of the contract for Münster's redesign plan did not take place until 20 July 1940.⁹⁹ As a result of ongoing political pressure, on 1 June 1941, Bartels was appointed the role of *Provinzialbaurat* for the Provincial Building Office.¹⁰⁰ On 21 June 1942, he was elevated to the rank of SS Colonel, *SS-Standartenführer*, the highest rank he achieved in his military career.¹⁰¹ On the morning of 12 May 1945, Bartels was taken into custody¹⁰² and remained there until 22 July 1947;¹⁰³ during these two years, he had already served the four month prison term to which he was finally sentenced in 1947.¹⁰⁴ After his release, Bartels

⁹³ Schröder, *Mit der Partei*, 375: "2 December 1933: Dr Wiegand is succeeded by Pg. [Party-Member] Bartels as *Gaukulturwart* [cultural coordinator] of the *Gau Westphalia-North*".

⁹⁴ Hermann Bartels, *Kunst im neuen Staat* (Das schöne Münster 18 (5)), Münster 1933, 297-298.

⁹⁵ Frank Uekotter, *The Green and the Brown. A history of conservation in Nazi Germany*, Cambridge 2006, 74-75 and 116-119. See also: LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 305/54 (Letter from Bartels to the *Landeshauptmann*, the chairman of the state government, from 4 September 1933), LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 717/59: Bartel's letter to the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture Richard Walther Darre dated 12 March 1935).

⁹⁶ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 3, p. 145.

⁹⁷ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 3, p. 61.

⁹⁸ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 159.

⁹⁹ Schröder, *Mit der Partei*, 479: "20 July 1940: The *Reichsschatzmeister* (National Treasurer of the Nazi Party) signs the architect's contract with the architects Bartels and Ganteführer".

¹⁰⁰ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels).

¹⁰¹ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 159.

¹⁰² LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 3, p. 204.

¹⁰³ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), vol. 3, p. 212.

¹⁰⁴ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), see the verdict of the de-Nazification Court Bielefeld from 12 February 1949.

worked as an auxiliary assistant for an architect in Büren,¹⁰⁵ then as a self-employed architect in Essen.¹⁰⁶ He was married with three children and died in Essen on 13 January 1989.

A.2. Alfred Meyer

Alfred Meyer was born in Göttingen on 5 October 1891, passed his A-Levels in Soest in 1911 and then joined the military, becoming a career officer, *Berufsoffizier*.¹⁰⁷ He took part in the First World War, and afterwards studied economics in Bonn, where he was awarded a doctorate in politics in 1922.¹⁰⁸ Meyer joined the NSDAP in 1928 but by 1930 he already was a member of the Reichstag for the Nazi-Party and became Gauleiter of the *Gau* Westphalia-North in 1933.¹⁰⁹ The principal *Gau* administration moved from Meyer's home town of Gelsenkirchen¹¹⁰ to the *Gau* building on Annette-von-Droste-Hülshoff Allee in Münster on 1 October 1932.¹¹¹ The new *Gaub*building at Lake Aasee became operational on 1 December 1936, after the *Gau* Leadership was temporarily located in 37/38 Domplatz since 1 February 1934.¹¹² Meyer participated in the Wannsee Conference in 1942 and was one of the few participants to be quoted in the minutes, for instance, he was particularly positive about the systematic extermination of Jewish life.¹¹³ Meyer's body was found in late April 1945 at the base of Hohenstein mountain in Hessisch-Oldendorf, the body was badly decomposed and dressed in brown breeches; a broken ampoule, a pistol and a farewell letter were found with the body,¹¹⁴ according to a police report on 29 May 1952.¹¹⁵ However, as it was impossible to identify the body with certainty, and as such there are several versions of the cause of his death.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁵ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels), see the verdict of the de-Nazification Court Bielefeld from 12 February 1949.

¹⁰⁶ Hüser, Wewelsburg, 159.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Hüttenberger, Die Gauleiter. Studie zum Wandel des Machtgefüges in der NSDAP, in: Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Inaugural-Dissertation), (Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte 19), Stuttgart 1969, 216.

¹⁰⁸ Hüttenberger, Gauleiter, 216.

¹⁰⁹ Hüttenberger, Gauleiter, 216.

¹¹⁰ Christoph Schmidt, Nationalsozialistische Kulturpolitik im Gau Westfalen-Nord. Regionale Strukturen und lokale Milieus (1933-1945) (Forschungen zur Regionalgeschichte 54), Paderborn 2006, 65.

¹¹¹ Hillebrand, Münster, 36.

¹¹² Hillebrand, Münster, 36-37.

¹¹³ Heinz-Jürgen Priamus, Alfred Meyer (1891-1945?), in: Friedrich Gerhard Hohmann, Westfälische Lebensbilder, vol. 17, Münster 2005, 129-153, here 151-152.

¹¹⁴ Priamus, Meyer. Kaisertreue und NS-Täterschaft, 427-434.

¹¹⁵ Heinz-Jürgen Priamus, Meyer. Zwischen Kaisertreue und NS-Täterschaft. Biographische Konturen eines deutschen Bürgers (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Stadtgeschichte. Beiträge 14), Essen 2011, 427-434.

¹¹⁶ Priamus, Alfred Meyer, 151-152.

A.3. Peter Poelzig

Peter Poelzig was born in Breslau on 8 June 1906 and studied architecture in Berlin and Stuttgart, joining the NSDAP on 1 May 1937.¹¹⁷ In 1938, he was employed by the Münster City Planning Office as a *Stadtbaurat*, and was dismissed from this position in 1945 for political reasons. In 1950, during the Denazification Process, Poelzig was assigned to category V, exonerated, and joined his parents' architectural office in Berlin. Poelzig was Professor of Hospital Construction and Head of the affiliated Institute of Hospital Construction at the University of Technology Berlin from 1950 to 1971. He died in Duisburg in 1981.

B. Other Projects

B.1. Wewelsburg

The conversion of Wewelsburg Castle into the SS leadership School, *Reichsführerschule SS*, was another of Bartels' projects which he managed from the end of 1933;¹¹⁸ alterations began on 25 January 1934.¹¹⁹ They were carried out with forced labourers from the affiliated Niederhagen Concentration Camp and the external detachment from Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp.¹²⁰ Bartels also used forced labour to construct his villa in Wewelsburg.¹²¹ In the period from 1939 and its liberation on 2 May 1945, at least 1,285 Niederhagen Concentration Camp prisoners died.¹²² In his trial, Bartels claimed that he had had no knowledge of the fate of the Jews' in the east, the SS involvement, the crematorium, the shooting of prisoners and the corporal punishment, although he had been in charge of many of these prisoners as construction supervisor.¹²³ During the alteration process, Bartels created a marble incrustation on the ground floor of the *Obergruppenführersaal* in the north tower, the hall replete with columns intended for SS Lieutenant Generals, the highest ranking SS generals, the so called *Obergruppenführer*. The symbol is known as black sun or sun wheel and is a contemporary symbol for many nationalist movements.

¹¹⁷ Sabine Mecking, "Allenfalls Mitläufer?" Entnazifizierung am Beispiel der Stadtverwaltung Münster, in: *Geschichte im Westen. Halbjahres-Zeitschrift für Landes- und Zeitgeschichte* 18 (2003), 63-81, here 68.

¹¹⁸ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 20-21.

¹¹⁹ Schröder, *Mit der Partei*, 377.

¹²⁰ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 453-461.

¹²¹ Hüser, *Wewelsburg*, 453-461.

¹²² Kirsten John-Stucke, *Niederhagen/Wewelsburg – Stammlager*, in: Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager* vol. 7, München 2008, 17-29. Stucke states on p. 24 footnote 4, that the number is "based on death certificates and obituary notices from Wewelsburg / Niederhagen between 1940 and 1943."

¹²³ LWL Administrative Archives for Westphalia, Archive LWL, Best. 132/K299 (Personnel file of Hermann Bartels). See the verdict of the de-Nazification Court Bielefeld from 12 February 1949, p. 4-5.

B.2. Detmold

A project similar to the one in Münster was located close to the top of the Hiddesser Berg, a mountain in Detmold; the main planning manager was Felix Ganteführer, Bartels' partner in their architect firm.¹²⁴ Bartels described the plans "to commemorate the 'breakthrough battle' in Lippe in January 1933¹²⁵ as a 'significant enterprise for Westphalia', which was to include a remembrance hall [...], a school named after Adolf Hitler, and other Gau educational buildings."¹²⁶

C. Completed Buildings

No part of Hermann Bartels' plans was realised in Münster although the city experienced extremely brisk building activity during the Third Reich period.¹²⁷ Among the large buildings from this period is that for the Sixth Air District Command, *VI Luftkreiskommando*, planned and built by Ernst Sagebiel, the architect of the largest building in the world at that time, the Berlin Tempelhof Airport from 1934. The Sixth Air District Command building housed the German Armed Forces Air Transport Command until 2010.¹²⁸ The military hospital, built in 1936 by Hans Ostermann, is currently used as the University Dermatological Clinic.¹²⁹ Two other examples of the many buildings used for military purposes in Münster are the Granary

¹²⁴ Deutsche Bauzeitung. Wochenschrift für nationale Baugestaltung. Bautechnik. Raumordnung und Städtebau. Bauwirtschaft. Baurecht (72), № 13, 30.03.1938: "The *Führer* and Chancellor decided on the construction of the large buildings in the *Gau* Westphalia-North in Detmold, which are to be erected to commemorate the decisive election victory in Lippe in January 1933. After a meeting with Professor Albert Speer and *Gauleiter* Dr Meyer, he decided that the design by the architects Hermann Bartels (Münster) and Felix Ganteführer (Recklinghausen) had to be realized. The centre of the buildings will be the large '*Volkshalle*' [an enormous public auditorium]. The project also includes a '*Pflegestätte für Deutsche Kunst*' [showrooms for German art] a school named after Adolf Hitler, a building '*für das Ahnenerbe*' [for the German heritage], the prehistoric research community of the *Reichsführung SS*, and a '*Gauschulungsburg*' [a training facility for the political staff of the NSDAP]. The aim is to adapt to the existing terrain as much as possible and to group the buildings into the landscape. For this reason, the buildings encircle terrain that opens to the south to the Grotenburg with the Hermann Monument. An open-air stage will be created in the middle of these groups of buildings. The 'Gate of 15 January', a large columnar arcade, is built on Hiddeser Berg. Behind it will be an atrium, to the left of which are the buildings for the 'Ancestral Heritage'. On the right, between two temple-like buildings, a large parade ground with a memorial stone will open in honor of the '*Millionen von Kämpfern für ein germanisches Reich deutscher Nation*' [for the millions of fighters for a Germanic empire of the German nation]. Two bell towers, the 'Tower of Battle' and the 'Tower of Victory' flank the entrance to the '*Volkshalle*'. Large reliefs on the walls of these towers will speak of Adolf Hitler's battle and victory in Lippe. The entrance to the hall will initially lead to an uncovered pillared courtyard, from which is it possible to enter the interior of the '*Volkshalle*' with its 10,000 seats. The hall will be divisible if there are held smaller events."

¹²⁵ The "Lippe breakthrough battle" is an allegory for the immense and ultimately successful efforts made by the National-Socialist movement before the national election on 30 January 1933 to gain political power in the Free State of Lippe. The myth of this "breakthrough battle" goes back to the success in the elections in Westphalian Lippe on 15 January 1933. It was glorified as decisive step to what the NSDAP called the national revolution and the takeover of power about two weeks later.

¹²⁶ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4.

¹²⁷ Neither were the construction plans for the site on Hiddeser Berg in Detmold.

¹²⁸ Sylvaine, Hänsel and Stefan Rethfeld, *Architekturführer Münster*, 2. ed., Münster 2017, 193.

¹²⁹ Hänsel/Rethfeld, *Architekturführer Münster*, 235.

Complex, *Speicherstadt*, and Portsmouth Barracks. The *Speicherstadt* in the north of the city was built by the Wehrmacht between 1938 and 1940, disguised as a residential complex, but now houses the city archive amongst other uses. Another building, erected in 1936, was the NSDAP Gau building, which was the location of the Aasee conference', which took place on 20 November 1941 to organise the deportation of Münster's Jews.¹³⁰ Architectural historian Winfried Nerdinger perceives that after the war, neo-classicist forms were considered as being appropriated by Hitler's and Stalin's fascism.¹³¹ Consequently, the neo-classicist formal vocabulary including columns, porticos and symmetry is a taboo among international architects of the post war period, according to Nerdinger.¹³² However, other architects have retained it, for instance Caesar Pinnau who carried out governmental orders for Speer from 1933 to 1945.¹³³ After the war, buildings designed by former Third Reich architects continued to be constructed in Münster, mostly according to architectural Third Reich "principles".¹³⁴ Caesar Pinnau cooperated with Speer on many projects from 1937 onwards, and built the controversial RWB office building in Münster as late as 1980.¹³⁵ Another, Hans Malwitz, was architect of the Defence Engineering Institute, *Wehrtechnische Anstalt*, at the University of Technology Berlin, which was meant to signify the initiation of the capital of the world Germania. From 1947 onwards, Malwitz was responsible for the reconstruction of the University of Münster and designed the *Juridicum*,¹³⁶ the Law and Economics faculty buildings, and other university

¹³⁰ Münster City Archive, Fach 36, № 18d, p. 122-124..

¹³¹ Winfried Nerdinger, Bauen im Nationalsozialismus. Zwischen Klassizismus und Regionalismus, in: Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, Architektur und Städtebau der 30er/40er Jahre. Ergebnisse der Fachtagung in München vom 26.-28. November 1993 (Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz) Bonn 1994, 8-19, here 8.

¹³² Nerdinger, Bauen im Nationalsozialismus, 8.

¹³³ Pinnau worked on both the interior of the new Reich Chancellery (*Neue Reichskanzlei*) as well as Berlin's redesign to the world capital Germania under the supervision of Albert Speer. See Hans-Jörg Chzech, Vanessa Hirsch and Ulrich Schwarz, Eigenes Architekturbüro mit Aufträgen von Albert Speer, in: idem, Cäsar Pinnau. Zum Werk eines umstrittenen Architekten, Hamburg 2016, 130-147.

¹³⁴ Further examples are the plans for Münster's new theatre (figure 15) (those were approved in 1950 but not carried out), by the architect Edmund Scharf, which was the senior building councillor active during the Third Reich, which show unmistakable elements of neoclassicism. Another example is by the architect Hans Ostermann, the architect of the field hospital, which is mentioned above, who, after the war, was responsible for the construction of the *Handwerkskammer*, the Chamber of Crafts, on the Aasee and the *Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft*, the Bank for Public Economy, on the Roggenmarkt. However, concepts were not only submitted and implemented for individual buildings, but Konstanty Gutschow, the planner for the city of Hamburg, proposed plans for the redesign of Münster's cathedral square and plans for the construction of a new quarter in the north of Münster. (Münster City Archive, Slg-KUP - Karten A 107 and Münster City Archive, Slg-KUP Karten A 108)

¹³⁵ Münsters city magazine *Ultimo* described the plans as a "Dwarf edition of the monumental buildings of the third Reich" in the 21/2007 issue. See: Carsten Krystofiak, Quadratisch-Praktisch-Gut. Vom Nazi-Weihetempel zum Mediascreen-Tower, in: *Ultimo* № 21 (2007), 7 and Wolfgang Schäche, Überlegungen zur Kontinuität der NS-Architektur, in: Bernd Ogan und Wolfgang W. Weiß, Faszination und Gewalt. Zur politischen Ästhetik des Nationalsozialismus, Nürnberg 1992, 283-290, here 289.

¹³⁶ Eckhard Kluth, Das *Juridicum* der Universität Münster von Hans Malwitz, 1951-1958 (Schlaglichter 17), Münster 2016, 14.

structures.¹³⁷ The *Juridicum* is a brick construction with a strictly geometrical design, a large round arch and a roof lantern containing a chime of bells. Thus, it was constructed in simplified neo-classicist form and, Bartels would have described it as adapted "to the architecture typical of Münster".¹³⁸ Hence, to a great extent, the *Juridicum* could be perceived as a late realisation of Bartels' concepts for Münster. Adopting the pragmatism of the occupying powers prevailing in the young Federal Republic, Federal Chancellor Adenauer commented on employing former Third Reich civil servants: "don't throw away dirty water until you have clean water". The assumption that the repertoire of formal neo-classicist architectural forms needed to be replaced by architectural forms of democracy after the war, is also to be regarded as false, at least in Münster, as illustrated by the *Pinnau* and *Malwitz* buildings

¹³⁷ Another example are the buildings of the chemical institutes of the University of Münster. See therefore Hans Malwitz, Wiederaufbau der Chemischen Institute der Universität Münster, in: Deutsche Bauzeitschrift. Fachblatt für Entwurf und Ausführung 4 (1956), 758-759, here 758-759.

¹³⁸ Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4.

Figures



Fig. 1: Plan A, City Planning Office, 1938, Reprod. from: Jansen, Umgestaltung Münster, fig. 2



Fig. 2: Plan B, unknown author, 1938, Reprod. from: Gutschow/Wolf, Stadtplanung in Münster, 213, fig. 5

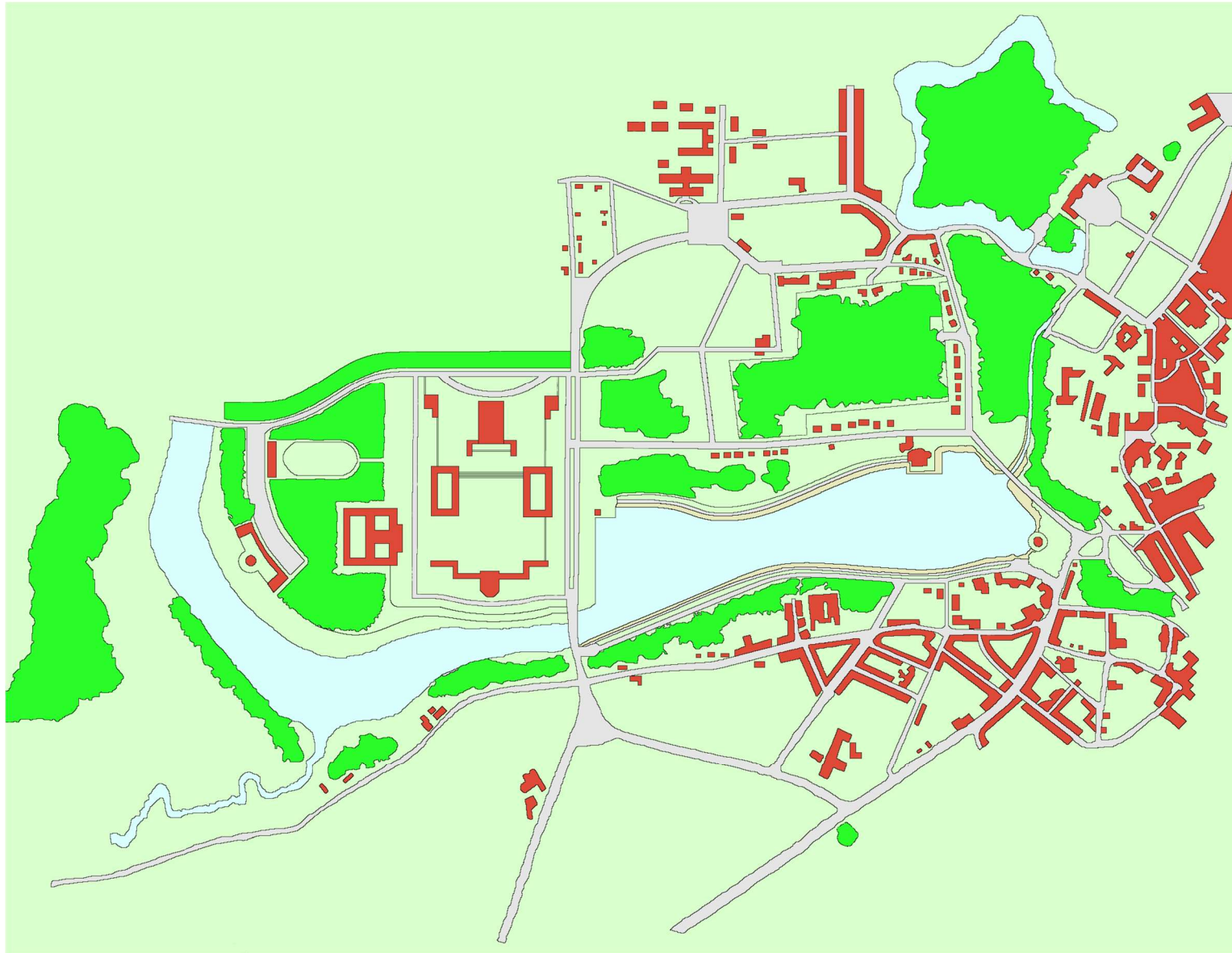


Fig. 3: Plan C (edited and colorized), Hermann Bartels, Springtime 1938, Münster City Archive (missing), Reprod. from: Durth/Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern*, 945, fig. 2



Fig. 4: Plan D (edited and colorized), Franz Winter, Springtime 1938, Münster City Archive (missing), Reprod. from: Durth/Gutschow, Träume in Trümmern, 945, fig. 3

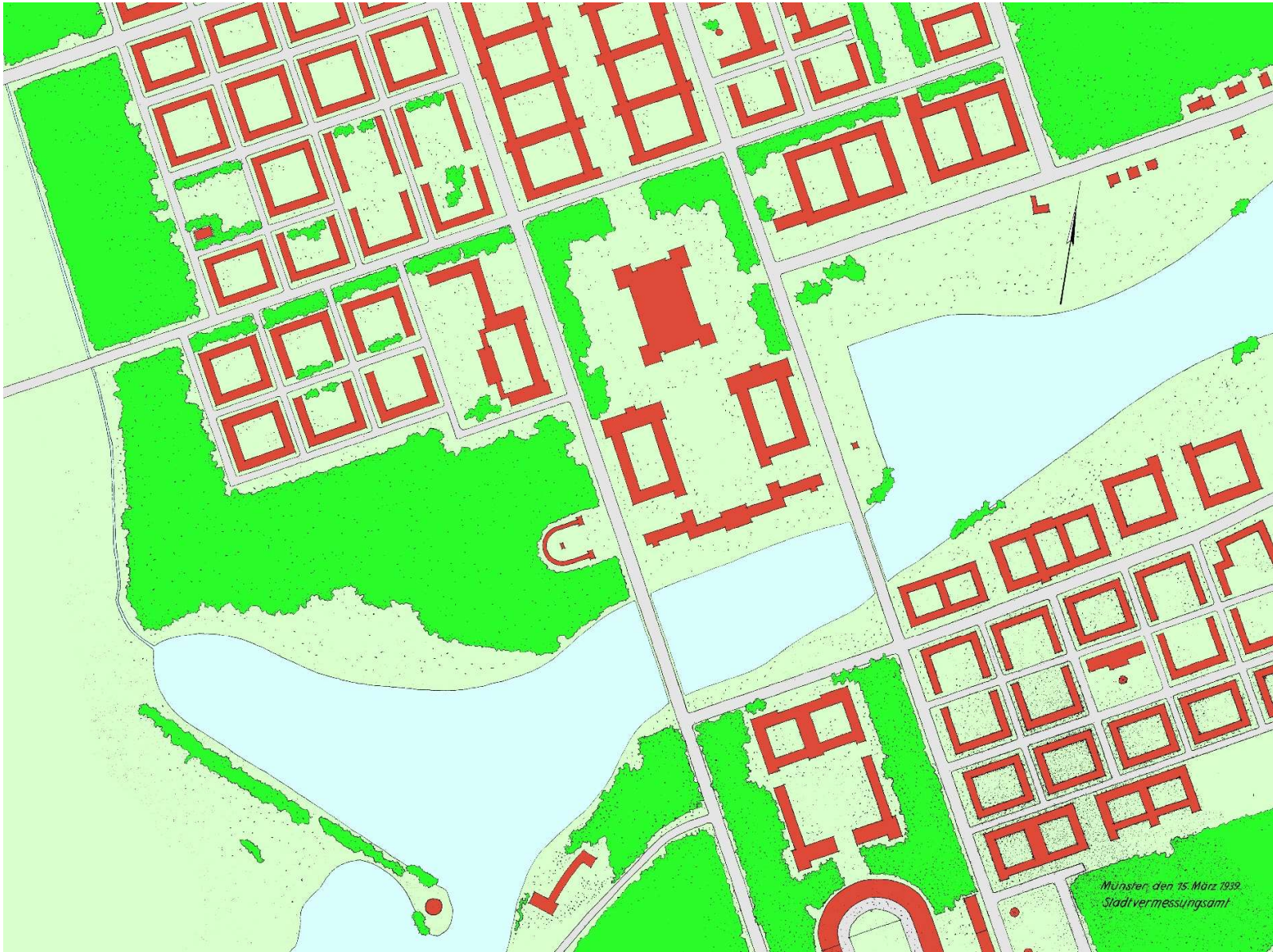


Fig. 5: Plan E (edited and colored), Municipal Surveying Office, 15. March 1939, 62.5cm x 81.5 cm, Münster City Archive, Amt 23, № 797
(photograph © Münster City Archive)

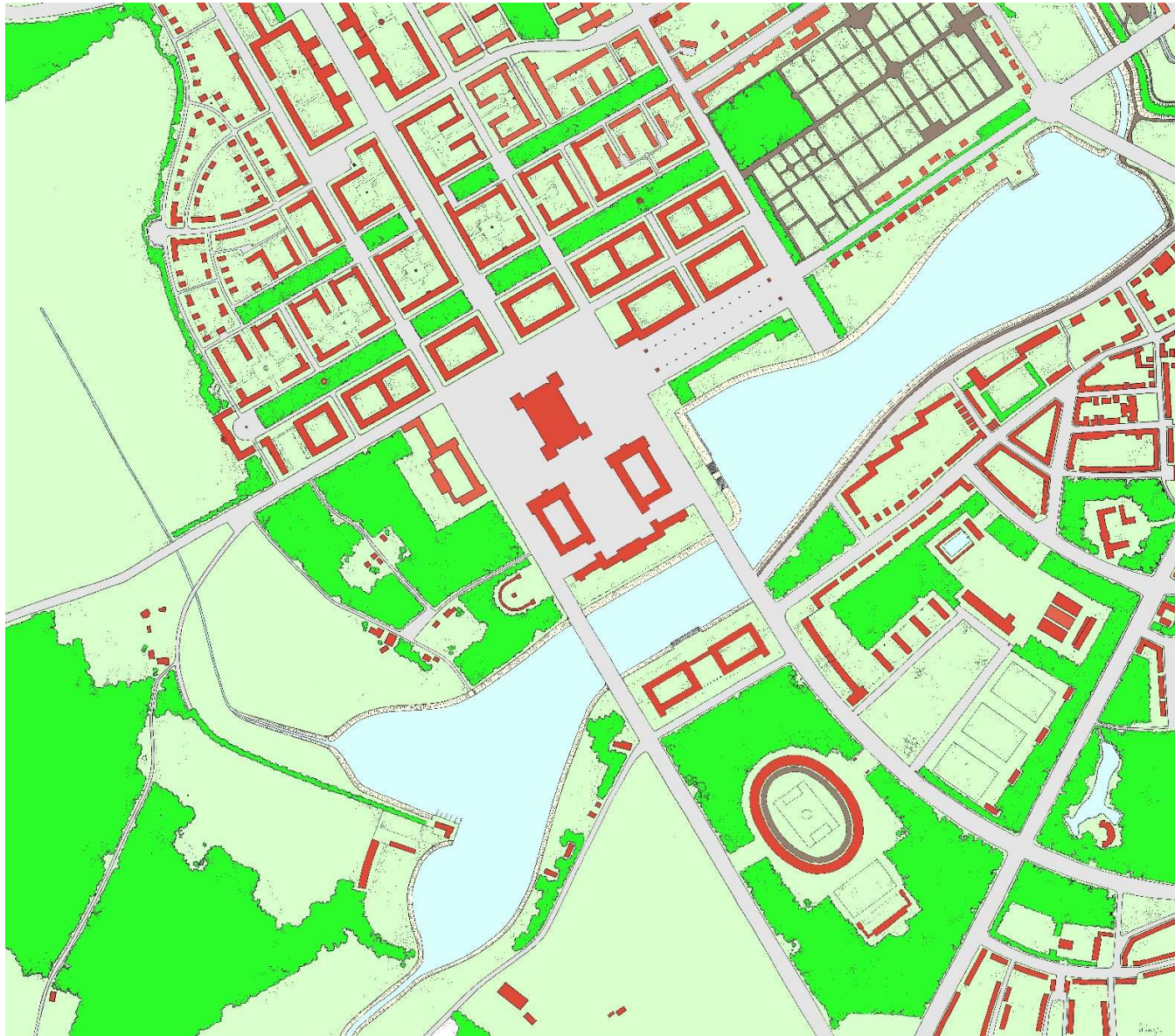


Fig. 6: Plan F (edited and colorized), Hermann Bartels, before June 1939, 100 x 110 cm, Münster City Archive, Amt 23, № 797 (photograph © Münster City Archive)



Fig. 7: Modell B, unknown author, before June 1939, Münster City Museum, Inv.-No. MO-0010-2 (photograph © Münster City Museum)

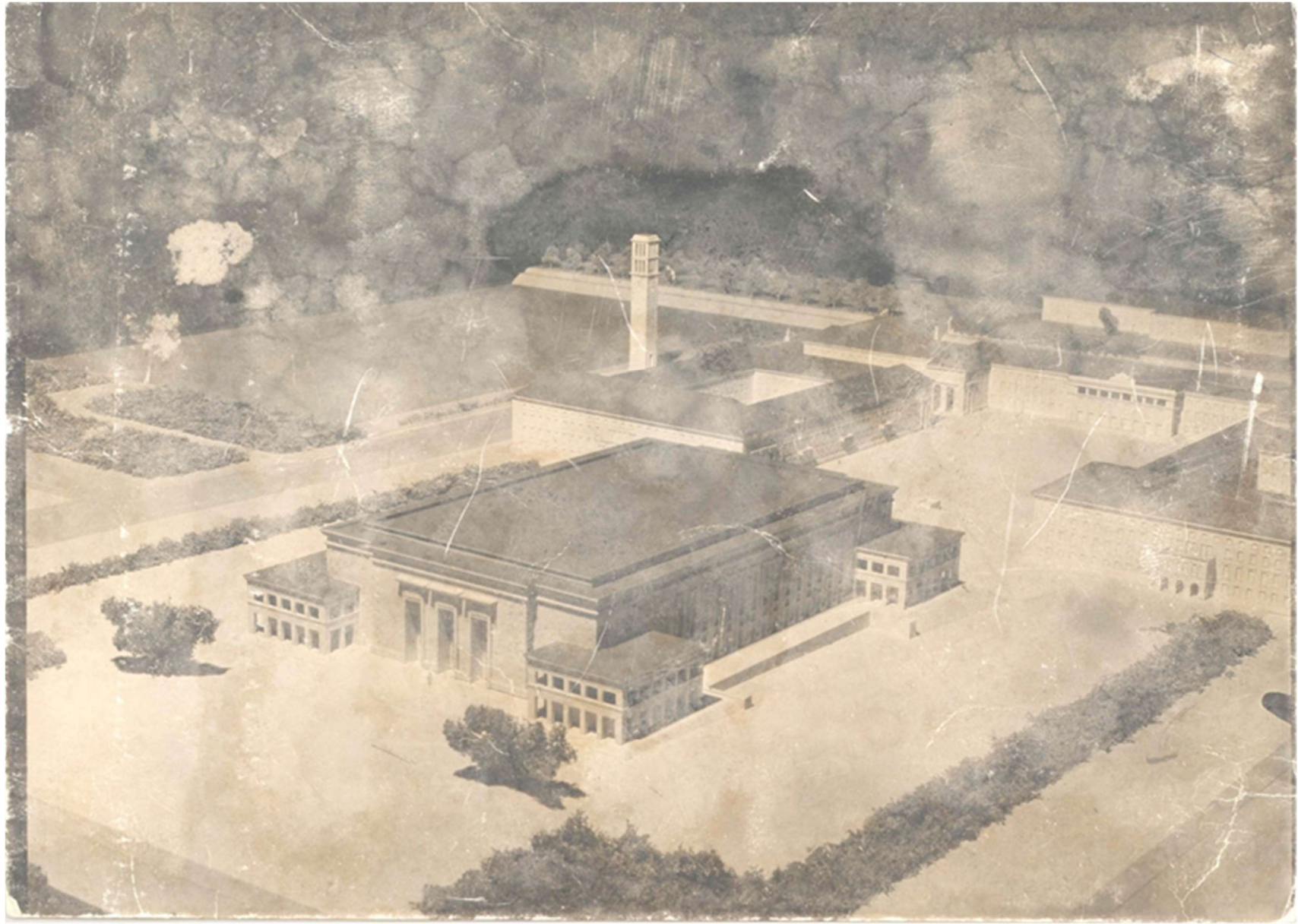


Fig. 8: Photo of Model C, around 1939, 13 x 18 cm, Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, photo 3 (photograph © Münster City Archive)

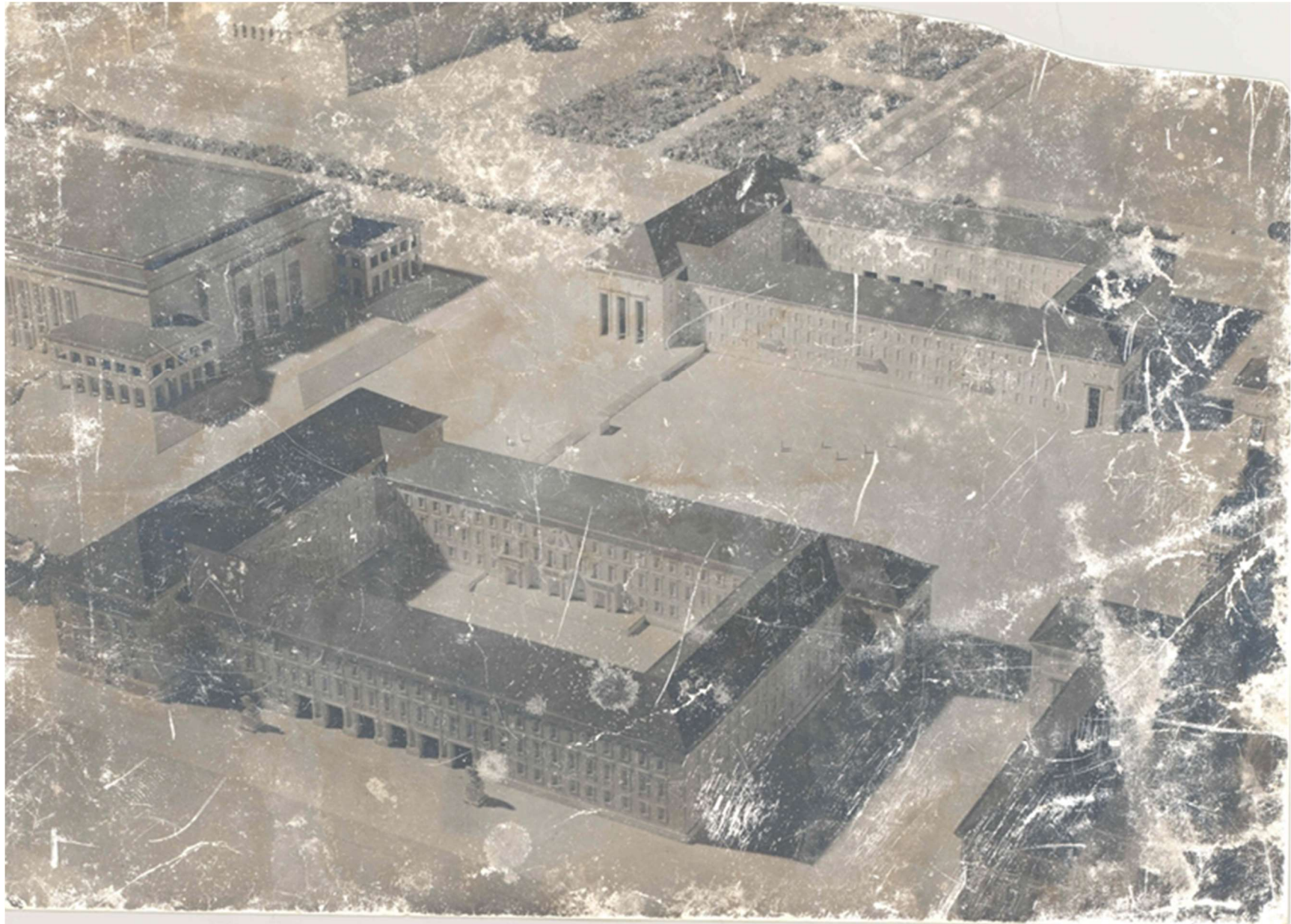


Fig. 9: Photo of Model C, around 1939, 12.5 x 17.4 cm, Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, photo 2 (photograph © Münster City Archive)



Fig. 10: Photo of Model C, around 1939, 6.3 x 17.4 cm, Münster City Archive, Amt 61, № 4, photo 3 (photograph © Münster City Archive)

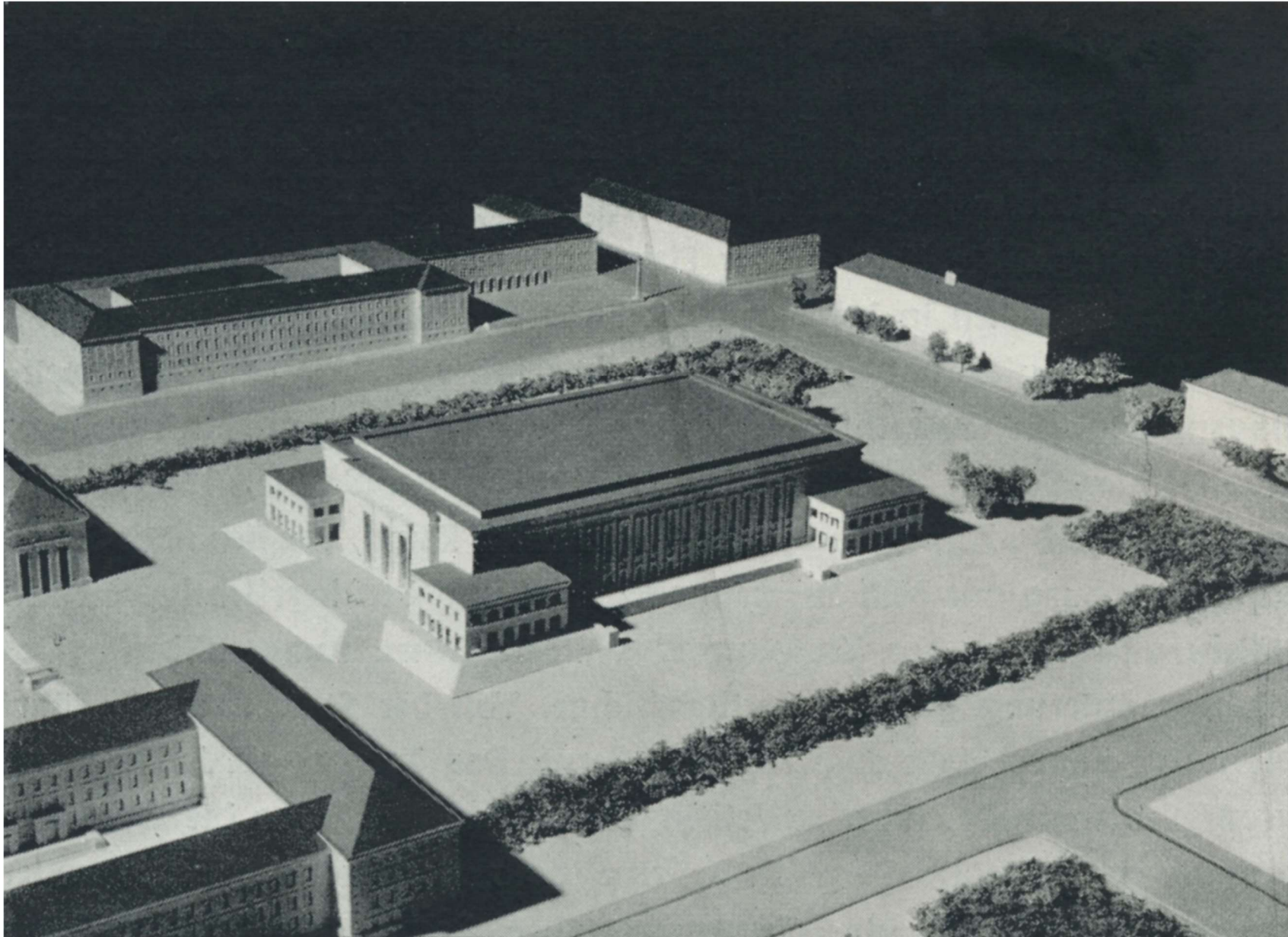


Fig. 11: Photo of Model C, around 1939, Reprod. from: Schröder, *Mit der Partei*, p. 245

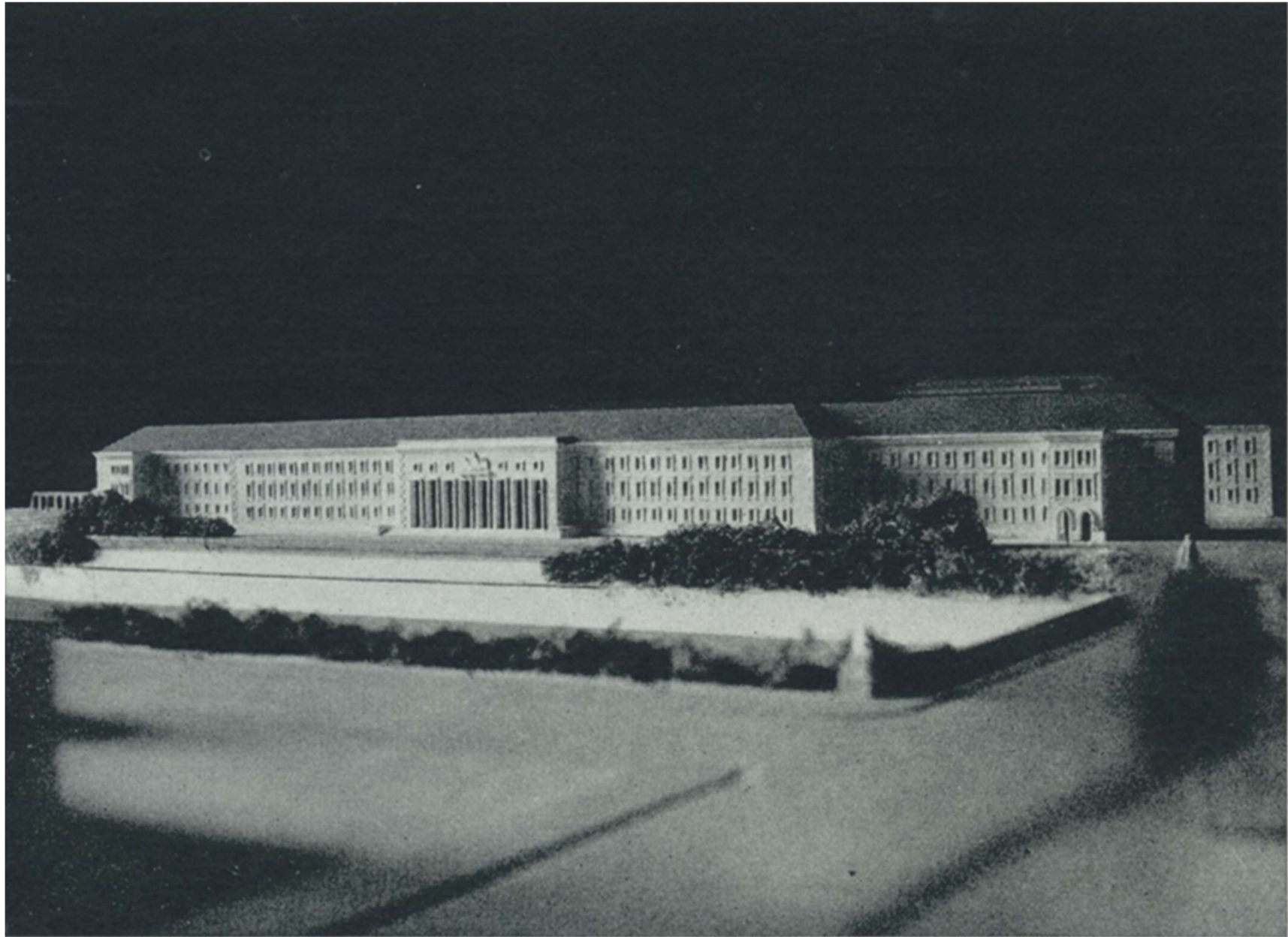


Fig. 12: Photo of Model C, around 1939, Reprod. from: Schröder, *Mit der Partei*, p. 245

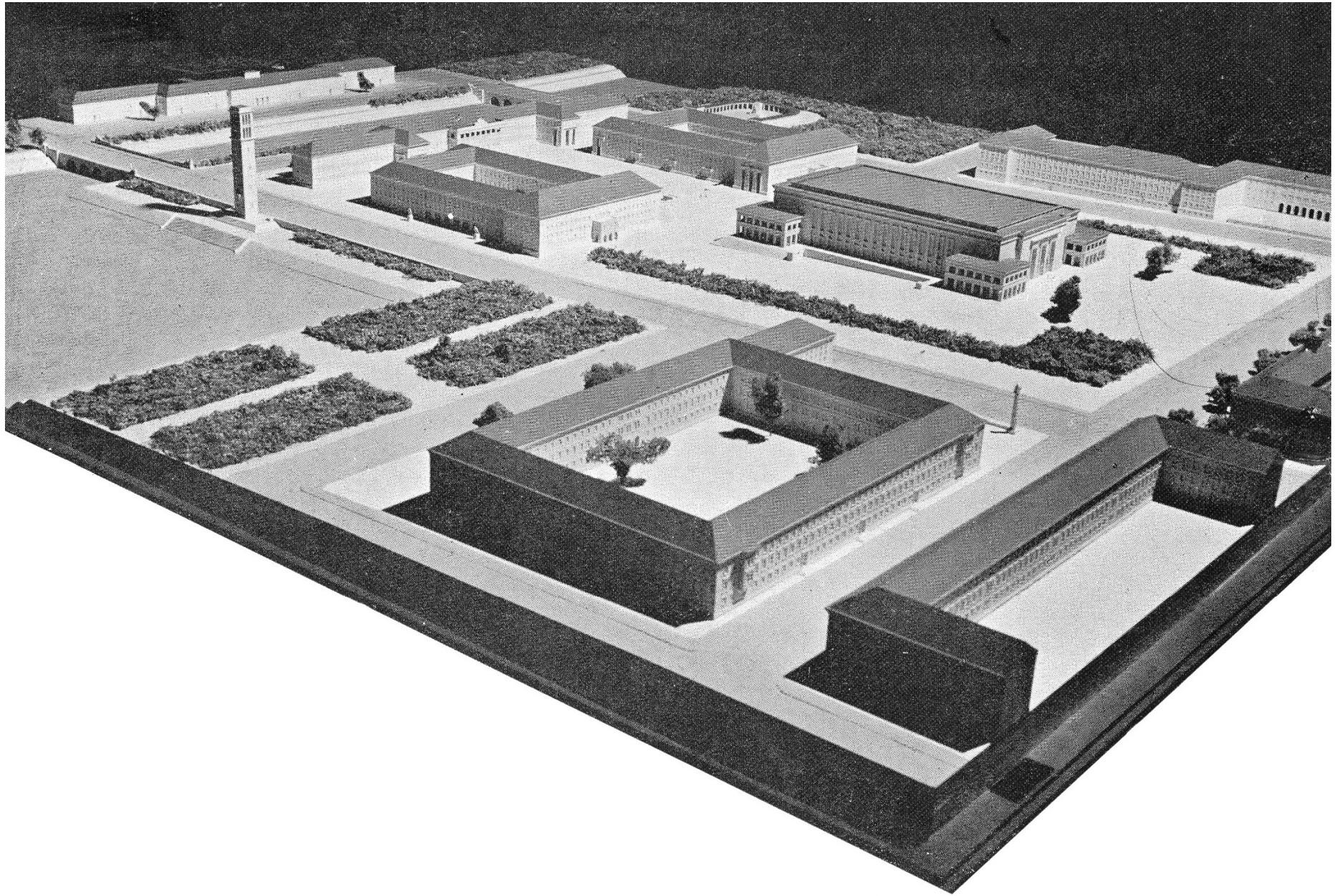


Fig. 13: Photo of Model C, around 1939, Münster City Archive, Slg FS WVA № 13977 (photograph © Münster City Archive)



Fig. 14: Photo of the opening of the exhibition "Buildings of the Party" in the Westphalian State Museum, 16.01.1941, Münster City Archive, Doc-KC-Wie-WK № 1456 (photograph © Münster City Archive)



Fig. 15 Design for Münster's new theatre, Edmund Scharf, around 1942, Münster City Archive, Slg-FS-47, № 6380 (photograph © Münster City Archive)