

David Irving

the secret
diaries of
**HITLER'S
DOCTOR**



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Introduction

Obviously he had once been a corpulent and imposing figure, this elderly man lying on a stretcher in an empty room of the Red Cross facility at Munich railroad station.

But now his hair was awry, his face was pale; he was sobbing quietly to himself, the figure which had once been clad in a magnificent uniform was kitted out in a cast-off American battledress, American socks, and a GI shirt several sizes too small for him.

These were the clothes he had been allowed to take when thrown out of American civilian internment camp No. 29, better known as Dachau concentration camp.

It was June 30, 1947. The Americans had no further use for prisoner number 21,672 – he himself had been cleared of war crimes charges, and the Doctors' Trial at Nuremberg had ended without his giving evidence. So they had driven him to this railroad station, stuffed his discharge papers into his pocket and left him for the Red Cross to find. Two hours passed before a nurse, Eva Meier, spotted the pathetic figure. She arranged for an ambulance to take him to the auxiliary district hospital Alpenhof at Tegernsee.

At the hospital his papers and possessions were listed. His passport showed him to be Professor Theo Morell, doctor of medicine, sixty years old. He looked much older. A discharge report drawn up by Dachau camp hospital on the previous day stated that he had serious cardiac trouble, that he was unable to work and was suffering from “aphasic speech disorders.”

The papers also showed the reason for his internment:
“Hitler’s personal physician.”

morell never left that hospital. He died at 4.10 a.m. on May 26, 1948, without revealing what he knew. His personal papers had been looted by the Americans. His widow had only his letters from internment. “How often I have thought back to that fiftieth birthday,” he reflected in one letter, written on July 1, 1946. “How swiftly the years have gone, and how sorry I am that I could not devote myself more to you. I’ve often wished I was standing at that turning point in our lives again.”

Now, forty years later, his entire secret Hitler dossier has come into this author’s hands.

it has been a long search. By 1974, when I finished writing *Hitler’s War*, I had collected most of the other papers of Professor Theo Morell and all of the interrogation reports prepared on him at the war’s end. In September 1981, while working in the National Archives in Washington, I came across a cardboard box containing Morell’s treatment diaries and the dossier he had kept on Hitler – evidently fearing that if something befell his top patient he would need to provide the Gestapo with detailed records.

Historians will want to know that these diaries are authentic. Their history, so far as the author can reconstruct it, is this: in 1945 they were carried in an officer’s personal trunk out of Berlin to the supposed safety of a Bad Reichenhall institute in Southern Germany where they were buried in a bunker. A Dr Riedel ran this institute for Morell. Riedel confirmed in a deposition dated December 3, 1968 that Morell’s driver Stelzer had arrived from Berlin with several crates containing precious carpets and other goods, and that these had been stacked inside the bunker. On April 10, two trucks had arrived

from Morell's Olmütz-based firm, Hamma Inc., carrying seventy crates of glandular secretions that Morell's pharmaceutical processes needed. The secret files were buried in the courtyard, and thus survived the initial upheaval of defeat.

According to Morell's assistant Dr Rolf Makkus, a lawyer in Bad Homburg, in 1984, a French woman journalist had visited Morell in the first hospital at Bad Reichenhall during May 1945 and had learned of the cache. American troops then raided the institute. Riedel, it seems, traded the valuables in return for being left unmolested.

"In my plight," he said in one report, "I asked the American occupation troops who had meanwhile arrived to put a guard on the laboratory. They were very considerate and immediately provided four soldiers and these made themselves at home in the bunker. After a while these sentries got bored and ransacked the entire Morell crates."

Morell's papers were shipped to the Military Intelligence Service Centre, formerly the Luftwaffe's notorious Dulag Luft interrogation camp, at Oberursel.

Dr Karl Brandt, a rival Hitler doctor, had told them under interrogation a few weeks earlier that since 1943 Hitler had received almost daily injections, the composition of which Morell refused to reveal. "Morell kept a notebook which he surely has with him," stated Brandt, "in which he regularly noted names and treatments administered."¹

The Americans now had those notes. Headed by Captain Walter H Gruendl, a former research chemist, a team began to interrogate Morell and the dozen other physicians who had treated Hitler over the years.

Dr Morell's memory was genuinely shaky. An early interrogation report on him states, "Some of his information is produced from memory; some is based on documentary evidence found in his pa-

pers . . . It should also be noted here that . . . on some occasions he can recall things which he later is unable to confirm.”²

his documents were shipped to the United States and vanished from view (thus sharing the fate of Eva Braun's diaries and her intimate correspondence with Hitler, the diaries of Hans Lammers, Karl Wolff and a score of other Third Reich personalities.)

On June 10, 1967 German journalist Otmar Katz asked Morell's widow, “Do you think the Americans – that's what people are saying – might have found the medical records? The authentic medical files?”

“Maybe,” she answered.

Katz pressed her: “Did your husband ever say anything about it? Where can the medical files have been?”

She could not say. Nobody could say with certainty.

In 1968 when Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper made available his British Intelligence files to the author it became clear that the Americans *had* captured the diaries and Hitler dossier.

But an extensive search of American archives failed to locate the material.

This was no wonder, as the papers had by then gravitated into a classified medical library outside Washington DC.

Out of the blue in March 1981 Washington archivist George Wagner received a telephone call from HEW, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: “We've found the Morell files; would the Archives like to accession them?”

From the original transmittal letter attached to them it emerged that Major R G Seelig, chief of the German Military Documents Section at the Pentagon, had sent them to the Surgeon General on June 28, 1946 listing them as “Dr Morell's medical records, appoint-

ment booklets, medical account of Hitler's health, photographs, personal correspondence."

On October 4, 1946 he had sent further unspecified Morell documents to a Dr Turner, of Medical Intelligence at the Pentagon.

The Pentagon had later loaned it out to the Army Medical Library, subsequently known as the National Institute of Health, a division of HEW based at Bethesda, Maryland; and it was from here on March 18, 1981 that Dr John B Blake, chief of the institute's History of Medicine Division, now sent them over to Wagner, at the Modern Military Branch of the Archives.

"As you will see," he wrote, "it also includes X-rays of some of the other Nazi leaders, some photographs etc."

Papers attached to the files indicate that in about March 1946 an unnamed American officer had toyed with the idea of publishing them, but evidently gave up.

He noted, "I am sorry that I am not yet able to present the material in a more refined form. As soon as I have dug out the English meaning, I plan to list all the drugs which Dr Morell used. . . The material is not my property thus I do not like to show it to too many people."

Now these new Morell papers have been accessioned and *partly* microfilmed on National Archives microcopy T-253, roll 62. The filmed portion comprises the correspondence files including seventy-two pages of private letters; a spring binder including 122 pages of records on Hitler's health from July 1942 to April 1945; a folder of documents on Benito Mussolini's health from November 1, 1944 to March 23, 1945; a desk diary covering the final weeks from November 1944 to the end of the war; a bundle of medical data cards on which Morell noted his almost daily sessions with "Patient A" from 1942 to 1944; and a sheaf of loose notes detailing individual crises since August 1941.

Some items have not been microfilmed, including an important but unphotogenic diary for 1944 and a thick pack of large filing cards on which Hitler's daily diet for 1943-45 was meticulously recorded.

The author has deciphered all the annotations, determined the precise meanings of the often exotic medications used and obtained medical opinion on both Hitler's problems and Morell's methods.

The medical picture of Adolf Hitler is now complete. There is no longer room for any speculation.

From the diary there emerges a picture of Hitler's relationship with his medicine men and with Morell in particular – the doctor who reigned supreme from his first meeting with Hitler in the winter of 1936 until his dramatic leave-taking from him in the last days before the collapse of the Third Reich, when Hitler snapped at him: "Take off that uniform and go back to being the doctor of the Kurfürstendamm!"

Footnotes:

1. CCPWE No 32, Ashcan, Report DI-30.
2. OI/CIR/4.

The Relationship

For as long as the attention of the modern historian remains rooted to the curse of Adolf Hitler, they will also be intrigued by the relationship between him and that shadowy figure in the background: his personal doctor, Theo Morell.

This fascination has been nourished throughout history by visions of power and influence, by the mental and physical peculiarities of the beings who wield those instruments, and by the doctors whom these men of power attract to their sides. Winston Churchill retained as physician Lord Moran – a man not dissimilar to Morell – and Lord Moran wrote an equally fastidious diary in which he jotted down sufficient detail to reconstruct, in his declining years, a memoir of Britain's great wartime prime minister. Joseph Stalin kept a whole court of doctors, many of whom he eventually terminated with considerable prejudice.

Nobody should underestimate the influence that such doctors can secretly exert. They are indispensable and know it. Great events can be affected by the illnesses of their leaders. International conferences, such as Yalta, have been overshadowed by the physical decline of the participants. Battles can be lost because of one's general debility: obliged by a painful attack of diarrhoea to desert the field at Waterloo at the height of that battle, Napoleon forfeited victory.

In Morell's diaries we find proof for the theory that Hitler was similarly weakened by dysentery for weeks at the height of the Battle for Russia in the summer of 1941, and that he was bedridden with

hepatitis shortly before the Battle of the Bulge in 1944; we learn too that he was oppressed by the knowledge that he had a heart ailment – rapid progressive coronary sclerosis – which might at any moment write *finis* to all his schemes for Germany.

But the similarity with the case of Napoleon was only superficial. Napoleon abhorred doctors and spurned medicines until shortly before his death.

Hitler was the opposite, a hypochondriac. From his earliest youth he rarely travelled without his medicine cabinet, and willingly believed himself incapable of survival without pills, injections and battalions of attendant doctors.

Senior among them was Morell, his personal physician for the last eight years of his life.

“Morell,” wrote his rival Dr Karl Brandt in American captivity, “comes from somewhere near Darmstadt, is about fifty-six years old, very fat, has a bald head, a round and very full face, dark-brown complexion and dark-brown eyes, is near-sighted and wears glasses, has very hairy hands and chest. Approximately five feet seven inches tall.”

One of Hitler’s four private secretaries rendered this somewhat unappetising description of a soirée with Morell: “With his heavy, hairy hands clasped across a podgy paunch, Morell would fight back his drowsiness. He had the odd characteristic that when he closed his eyes he did so from the bottom upwards – it looked hideous behind the thick pebble glasses . . . Sometimes Colonel von Below would give him a nudge and he’d wake up with a start and chuckle out loud in case the Führer had just told a joke.”

No, Morell was not popular in Hitler’s circle.

He was teetotal, did not smoke and there was worse to come. Another secretary remarked: “Morell had an appetite as big as his belly, and he gave not only visual but audible expression to it.”

When Hasselbach once remarked on the physician's body odour, Hitler snapped: "I don't employ Morell for his fragrance but to look after my health."

it remains a matter for some speculation that Hitler should have allowed this obese, middle-aged doctor to dose him with the volume and variety of medicines that he did.

Hitler's staff were in despair. His perennial housekeeper Frau Anni Winter, explained, "Once Morell was turned loose on him, all sorts of medicines popped up on Hitler's table. Their number and potency increased at the same rate as the dietary regulations multiplied, the restrictions on certain foods were intensified and his overall food intake declined. "It began around the winter of 1937-38 with one little medicine bottle. Over the next seven years there were enough to fill an attaché case."

Morell administered tablets and dragées, uppers and downers, leeches and bacilli, hot compresses and cold poultices, and literally thousands of injections – litres of mysterious fluids that were squirted into his grateful and gullible Führer each year, whose arms were punctured so often that even Morell sometimes could not find anywhere to insert the needle into the scarred veins.

since the end of the war intrigue has surrounded Morell and his methods.

How great was his influence on the Führer? What were his treatments of the man who had occasion to determine the destinies betimes of two hundred million Europeans?

Dr Erwin Giesing, the ear nose and throat doctor who treated Hitler's head traumas for weeks after the assassination attempt of 1944) wrote the following report about his patient's personality: "From Hitler's psychopathic constitution and the associated con-

viction that he always knew better, there developed a marked neuropathic disorder.

His intense contemplation of his own bodily functions, and particularly his preoccupation with his gastro-intestinal and digestive tracts, were only one token of this.

Others were the frequency with which he took his own pulse when I gave him a check-up, and then asked me to confirm it; and his ever-present fear of an imminent death – in the fall of 1944 he repeatedly said that he had only two or three years to live.

Of course, he was convinced that he would by then not only have attained final victory but have given the German people such leadership and have consolidated their position so enormously that ‘others will be able to take up where I leave off.’

“Other significant symptoms were his addiction to medication like sleeping pills, all manner of indigestion tablets, bacterial compounds and ‘general-purpose fortifier’ pills and injections. Not that Hitler was your common drug addict; but his neuropathic constitution led to his finding certain drugs particularly pleasureable, like the strychnine and atropine contained in the Anti-Gas pills, and the cocaine in the sinus treatments I gave him; and there was a clear inclination towards becoming an habitual user of such medications, as he himself admitted to me.”

“Morell,” he commented in June 1945, “converted the largely healthy man that Hitler had earlier been into one constantly plied with injections and fed with tablets which made Hitler more or less dependent on him; he played on Hitler’s neuropathic nature by spouting utter rubbish about how Hitler’s heavy workload meant that he was burning energy at the same rate as people in the tropics, and that the lost energy had to be replaced by all manner of injections like iodine, vitamins, calcium, heart-and-liver extract and hormones.”¹

Could such massive treatments be totally innocuous?

Captain Heinz Assmann, a navy staff officer attached to the High Command, who stood at Hitler's side every day from August 1943 until April 23, 1945, talked to experts who regarded these thousands of glucose injections as distinctly harmful.

"They talked of the danger of premature arteriosclerosis," he wrote, "with all its side effects like premature senility." Assmann maintained, "There are also grounds to believe that the shots A.H. got were beefed up with stimulants like Pervitin [a notorious amphetamine-type compound], because several observers who were witness to A.H.'s collapses told of how he revived dramatically after getting tablets or jabs from Morell."

It must be said that Morell's dossier shows no explicit evidence that he administered Pervitin to Hitler, unless the vitamin shots he christened Vitamultinforte contained this ingredient, which is unlikely.

Pervitin (chemical designation l-Phenyl-2-methylaminopropane-hydrochloride) was a substance capable of pharmacologically reproducing the effect of a stimulation of the vegetative sympathetic nervous system. But Pervitin was addictive; moreover, it was found to cause serious permanent damage and in 1941 it was restricted under the German Narcotics Act.

It figures only rarely in Morell's papers. Thus in his agenda for October 15, 1943 he wrote: "Pervitin prescription for Engel Pharmacy," with the hand-written postscript: "Out of stock." The Engel Pharmacy in Berlin supplied all medical stores to Hitler's headquarters. And on January 27, 1944, he wrote: "Prescription Eupaverin + Pervitin, heating pads."

But Morell was familiar with the dangers of Pervitin. He wrote to one patient on December 1, 1944: "You can get Intelan and bars of Vitamultin with the enclosed prescription from the Engel Pharmacy

at No. 63 Mohren Strasse 63, Berlin W8. But let me warn you against Pervitin. This does not replace lost energy; it is not a carrot but the stick!”

The doctors were frustrated by not knowing precisely what Morell was injecting Hitler with.

“For instance,” Giesing wrote, “I don’t know if he injected hormones. It might be important to know whether or not massive hormone doses were having an effect on Hitler’s physique in the sense of suppressing female stigmata.”

reich ministers and Nazi Party officials also brooded on Morell. In June 1943 Joachim von Ribbentrop came out into the open and tackled him about the treatment.

Morell wrote a painstaking record of the conversation. “Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had invited me to lunch at Fuschl . . . After lunch he invited me upstairs to talk something over. Now it came out why he had asked me to lunch – to speak to me about the Führer’s health and my treatment of him.”

Ribbentrop had, noted Morell, inquired whether it was a good thing for Hitler to get so many injections – “Whether he was getting anything other than glucose? Whether I was giving him anything else?”

Morell answered laconically, even cryptically, “I give him what he needs.”

He could afford to snub these powerful inquirers.

He knew he had enjoyed Hitler’s unqualified confidence. Didn’t Hitler keep telling him how much he needed him?

In July 1944 Hitler was to fob off the fuming Dr Giesing with this explanation: “It’s like this. It was Morell who first healed me. I know that Morell’s newfangled methods are still not recognised internationally, and that even out here Morell is still researching in many

fields without having reached firm conclusions. But isn't that how it has always been with innovations in medicine? It has always taken a finite time before new methods are accepted. I haven't the slightest doubt that Morell will see things through. And the moment he needs financial support for his researches he'll get it from me."

small wonder that the other doctors envied Morell's position, particularly Hitler's escort doctor, Karl Brandt. Brandt was a good-looking young surgeon whom the Americans would hang in 1947.

Brandt racked his brains over the Morell enigma: under interrogation in September 1945, he tried to answer how Morell managed to maintain his position for eight years.

Was he subject to some external pressure to keep Hitler under his influence? Was he somebody else's tool? Or was Morell himself seeking to enslave Hitler for his own political or commercial ends?

Eventually Brandt gave up. Although Morell had his measure of animal cunning, he was "too dense" for political intrigues; besides, he would never get involved in anything that might expose his quivering frame to personal risk.

Perhaps Morell influenced Hitler in the way that doctors do, until Hitler could not do without his treatments and eventually came to regard himself as owing some kind of obligation towards Morell as a person?

Hasselbach, Brandt's assistant since 1936, also called attention to Hitler's obvious dependence on Morell. "I just couldn't get over the influence Morell had on Hitler in medical respects," he wrote.

Brandt surmised three possible ways in which Morell might have snared the dictator: either by some narcotic like morphine; or by hormone treatments; or by less specific means – perhaps by playing on the gratitude that patients feel toward doctors who have cured an illness or stimulated their personal performance. Hitler's reasons

for staying with Morell were probably irrational. His choice was governed by the antipathy shown during the Third Reich toward all true experts. Most of the top Party officials favoured doctors of dubious repute. Himmler and Ribbentrop were devoted to non-medical practitioners and masseurs like Felix Kersten; Hess to herbal medicine and astrology.

In the Third Reich the dilettante was king. And of Hitler's inclinations there could be no doubt. On August 30, 1944 he snarled at his new chief of air staff, Lieutenant-General Werner Kreipe who had just ventured the expert view that the Messerschmitt-262 jet plane would make a better fighter than bomber – "Experts are only good at one thing: explaining why something will not work!" His aversion to the military brains of the General Staff was equally notorious: he called it an establishment for lying.

What therefore could be more natural than that the busy Führer should engage a physician who could work instant "miracle cures" through a hypodermic needle?

morell's actual treatment Hitler will be analysed in another chapter.

Probably only clinical experiments can establish how far Hitler's unquestioned capacity for sustained effort derived from Morell's medication. Morell unquestionably influenced him by his use of stimulants.

"By stimulants," Brandt wrote, "I am thinking not just of the daily intake of Vitamultin but of the massive glucose injections, which are bound to have had an effect on Hitler's sense of vitality."

Hasselbach was more robust in his indictment of the physician's methods. "In many cases he suggested to patients that they were suffering from a serious malady which he then successfully 'cured,'" he claimed.

“I will say,” he admitted however, “that he often displayed a healing hand with nervous complaints.”

Morell had treated the propaganda minister: Dr Goebbels had contracted dermatitis over virtually his entire body and was unable to sleep because of the irritation; twenty-two doctors tried to cure it and failed. Morell’s course of Homoseran injections worked, and Goebbels never forgot it: “I’m happy to be able to withstand these present burdens,” he recorded on March 10, 1943, “I attribute this primarily to Morell’s treatment.” Hitler, impressed, loaned his doctor to other VIPs, including Mussolini.

the dossier on “Patient A” destroys many legends.

Former OSS-adviser William C Langer’s speculations about Hitler’s exotic sexual and psychological problems are exposed for the bunkum that they were. American myths about Hitler’s “congenital syphilis” and Soviet whispers about his “impotence” are also slain by the urinalyses and blood serologies.

However there does now seem to be evidence to support the persistent suggestions that by 1945 Hitler was a victim of *paralysis agitans* – also known as Parkinsonism.

Morell certainly suspected it. There is no other explanation for the medication which he initiated (daily doses of Homburg-680), a prescription which he left his doomed patient still taking whilst he fled to Bavaria on April 23, 1945.

One thing is certain. Most of Morell’s medicines were quite harmless, and he injected the others in such minute quantities that they would have been virtually useless.

Modern experts have described Morell’s many hormone preparations such as Orchikrin, a so-called youth elixir, as trash.

Of course, Morell may have realized this: he may have administered them to keep the medicine-crazy Führer contented.

The same charitable view cannot be taken of his lavish use of inferior proprietary sulphonamides like Ultraseptyl long after they had been publicly exposed as toxic by experts, nor of his use on Hitler of his own still experimental penicillin.

It is unlikely that Morell will be adjudged one of the great physicians of this century. History will term him a doctor with an unjustified sense of his own capabilities – a man who was less wicked than negligent, perhaps, but above all a man of monumental jealousy and vulnerability.

Footnotes:

1. Erwin Giesing, MD: “Report on my Treatment of Hitler.” The author has donated all the documents used for this volume to the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich.

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Theodor Morell

Second son of a primary school teacher of Huguenot blood, Theodor Gilbert Morell first saw the light of day on July 22, 1886, at Trais-Münzenberg, a village in Upper Hesse. That made him nearly three years older than his future famous patient. His mother came from a wealthy Hessian farming family. There was an elder brother Adolf, and a sister Emilie was born after him. His passport would describe him as having “medium build, oval face, grey eyes.”

From his papers we know that he was overweight, tipping the scales between 224 and 230 pounds. So there is little wonder that in the final years of his life he suffered kidney and heart ailments. As a child he was already plagued by recurring stomach cramps, and this affliction prevented him from attending the local primary grade school.

At secondary school he shone. His Certificate of Education dated February 16, 1907 stated that he had been excused oral examinations on account of the excellence of his year’s performance and his written work.

For a while, from sixteen to nineteen, he attended a teachers’ seminary at Friedberg in Hesse. He went on to teach for a year at Breizenheim near Mainz, and then began more serious studies at Giessen, where he matriculated, after which he read medicine at Heidelberg university, attaining high marks.

Morell went on to France, where he studied at Grenoble and Paris – as a visiting student in the Institut d’Accouchement Tournier he

read parasitology from December 1909 to the middle of the following year – and then returned to Germany and Munich. His files began to fill with testimonials won as a probationer in immunology, psychiatry, at an ear clinic, and in August 1910 in a gynaecological clinic too.

He did not complete his specialist training. In 1913 he wrote a gynaecological PhD thesis, and the Royal Bavarian State Ministry licensed him as a medical practitioner.

Theo Morell began to earn a living as an assistant doctor at Bad Kreuznach, but after only a brief stay there he embarked as a ship's doctor with the Woehrmann line, then transferred first to the Hamburg-South America and then to the North German Lloyd lines. In later years he would hint mysteriously that the more abstruse treatments he practised were a product of his experience as a ship's doctor in the tropics.

After a while he became something of a specialist on urinary diseases. He acquired a little practice at Dietzenbach near Offenbach. During World War I he served briefly as a battalion medic on the western front, and then as army doctor in a prison camp at Ohrdruf in Thüringia. In January 1919 he purchased a practice in Berlin where he would stay, in Bayreuther Strasse, for the next seventeen years.

In 1920 he married a well-to-do actress, Johanna Möller. It was to be a childless marriage.

Aided by his wife's substantial means Morell equipped a very luxurious practice. In the following years he was offered positions as court doctor to the Shah of Persia and the King of Romania. But he turned them down because life in Berlin was sweet enough. He was able to dispense with panel patients altogether and take only private ones with the means to pay his fees.

By the early Thirties, Theo Morell was a prominent and fashionable doctor. A 1932 prescription pad among his papers boasts the

printed legend: ‘X-rays, high frequency, diathermy, radiation, galvanic treatments, urinalyses and blood serologies.’ His 1932 annual income was in the region of 150,000 Reichsmarks (about £12,000).

The rich and famous rubbed shoulders in his waiting room. A sober analysis of his clientele would suggest that it was mainly the big names of stage and screen who called on him, apart from a number of hypochondriacs and political personalities – people of whom his assistant, Dr Richard Weber, would later disparagingly remark:

“They could hardly be called very critical or intelligent people.”

when the Nazis came to power in January 1933, it brought disagreeable side effects for Morell. His doctor’s nameplate was smeared with the word *Jew*, perhaps because of his Jewish clientele; later he would suggest that because of his swarthy looks he might himself have been mistaken for a Jew. Whatever the reason, his practice went into temporary decline.

The non-Jewish Morell was not slow to draw the consequences. He joined the Party in April 1933. But he continued to treat Jewish patients, for the next five years at least. Two years later he moved across Berlin to the swank Kurfürstendamm, where his practice at No. 216 specialised in venereal cases.

The nameplate here proclaimed the words “General Practitioner”. Among his ultra-modern equipment was an X-ray room with the latest gadgets, an ultra-violet lamp and three diathermy machines.

In the spring of 1936 his screen friends introduced a new patient to Morell, the photographer Heinrich Hoffmann – an intimate of Hitler.

Hoffmann had taken to drink after his first wife’s death, and was succumbing to his latent homosexuality; he needed Morell badly as he was suffering from gonorrhoea, tactfully referred to by Morell in

interrogations as pyelitis. Morell did not really want to go down to Munich, because he had more than enough clients in Berlin. But Hitler sent his personal plane to fetch him to Munich, and so it came about that the doctor was introduced, in Hoffmann's villa in the elegant suburb of Bogenhausen, to the Reich Chancellor.

Hitler was intensely melancholy at the time. His perennial chauffeur Julius Schreck had just died, and he feared he might be losing his friend Hoffmann too.

Morell's friend Aloys Becker would later recall, "Hitler was very taken with Morell, and regretted that he had not been there to treat Schreck as well."

Morell cured the photographer. He stayed in Munich for four weeks, and accompanied Hoffmann on a convalescent trip to Venice. Thus Morell, too, became an intimate of Hitler's.

Early that summer, Johanna Morell paid a visit to her husband in the Hoffmann household. Morell pointed out a young girl and said: "See that platinum blonde? That's the Führer's girlfriend." Eva Braun had been one of Hoffmann's laboratory assistants, and would remain loyal to Hitler until their suicide pact of 1945. She too became a patient of Morell's.

The Hoffmanns invited him to spend Christmas 1936 with them. On Christmas Day, Heinrich suggested that Theo and his wife drive up to the Obersalzberg mountain where Hitler lived in the "Berghof."

it was a Christmas that Frau Morell would never forget. "One day," she said, "when everybody was down in the bowling alley, Frau Hoffmann too, I went and sat on the bench round the fireplace down there. My husband was with me. All of a sudden Hitler came and said, 'Can you spare a moment, Morell?'"

The two men strolled off into the conservatory.

That evening was the turning point in Morell's life.

“Bormann and Brandt came in,” continued Frau Morell. “They’d evidently got wind of something, I said to myself afterwards. They both hurried into the conservatory. But Hitler sent them packing! And that’s when he pinned my husband down!”

Hitler had stomach problems. The arrangement was that Morell would take over his medical treatment. None of his doctors seemed able to cure him.

Probably the pains were hysterical in origin. Morell certainly suspected as much; in his later diaries he notes several instances where such episodes were associated with “major upsets.”

What had prompted Hitler to try a different doctor now was a severe attack of eczema. “I had it on both legs,” he recalled eight years later, “it was so bad that I was covered in bandages and couldn’t even get my boots on.”

The generous Führer promised the new internist that if he worked a cure, he would give him a house.

Johanna Morell was unenthusiastic. She had a fair idea what they had been talking about. Businesslike as she was, she ran up to Theo when he returned to the bowling alley. “What do we need with that?” she hissed. “Why come down here of all places? We’ve got a splendid practice in Berlin!”

But the temptations were too great for Morell. Probably on the very next day he gave his new patient his first complete check over. Then the portly doctor straightened up, adjusted his thick-lensed spectacles and promised: “I’ll have you healthy again inside one year.”

It was a bold promise, but he knew which cure he was going to try.

“I Was Never Ill.”

It is tempting to surmise that until Adolf Hitler met Morell he had the health of a horse.

Little is known about his earlier medical history. He had had lung trouble as a child, but this disappeared in later years – so Morell told interrogators.

There was a scar on Hitler’s left thigh, the result of a World War I injury when performing hazardous missions as a runner in the front lines, Dr Giesing wrote in November 1945, “He had an old, non-irritating bean-size oval-shaped deeply furrowed World War I scar above the middle of the exterior. Hitler was unable to tell me if there was still any shell splinter in it.”

But that was all. When Morell later suggested it was high time to write up a medical history, Hitler turned him down. On March 31, 1945, as we shall see, the physician recorded the refusal in his diary. “I was never ill,” Hitler had said. “So there’s nothing to write up.”

Hitler regarded himself as healthy. When a serious attack of dysentery forced him into bed in the summer of 1941, he apologised for inconveniencing Morell.

“The Führer sent word over by valet this morning,” noted the doctor in his diary, “that he has never had a day in bed since being gassed in the World War, so he thinks he’s a rotten patient.” Other entries suggest a more unsettled medical history.

Morell wrote on December 1, 1944: “[He] says his really serious spasms have always come after violent emotional upsets – the 1924

trial (matter of life and death); the 1929 overdue bills of credit (to *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper and Eher Publishing Co.); the 1935/36 crisis of military unreliability. On top of this there was the dysbacteria that the spasms probably generated. Then again in 1943 before his confrontation with the Duce [at Feltre on July 18, 1943] at which time he already had a foreboding, or even foreknowledge, of the forthcoming betrayal by the Italian army; and in 1944 after the Bomb Plot.”

Perhaps the 1924 episode was not as bad as the others, because when Morell listed them again on January 10, 1945 he omitted it. “Recently,” he wrote, “when we had late night tea he mentioned to Frau Christian and Miss Schroeder that he had had his violent spasms for the first time in 1929.”

what did not help matters was that by 1936, when Morell came to him, Hitler was an extreme and cranky vegetarian.

He ate neither fish nor fowl nor meat, nor even eggs. He went so far as to attribute his extraordinary energy to this diet. In fact sources close to him have testified that his vegetarianism was of comparatively recent origin. Secretary of Agriculture Richard Darré later linked Hitler’s sudden conversion to vegetarianism to the suicide of his beloved niece Geli Raubal in his apartment in September 1931.

“It may well be,” Giesing conceded when Darré confided this to him in September 1945, “that he felt that he had to repress guilty sexual feelings.”

Hitler’s housekeeper Anni Winter provided support for this belief. “He stopped eating meat after Geli Raubal’s death,” she told one German historian in 1952. “He used to enjoy fruit, vegetables and pastries. But when Professor Morell became his physician his eating and drinking habits really took a turn for the worse and became downright unhealthy and abnormal.”

Frau Winter went so far as to call Morell's influence pernicious, claiming that he had systematically ruined Hitler's health; he had starved the Führer, and then kept him alive artificially with his injections and pills.

the first doctor to join Hitler's staff was not Morell but the young and unassuming surgeon Karl Brandt.

Brandt was handsome, slender and upright. Born in Mulhouse in the Alsace in 1904, he had studied surgery at Jena, Freiburg, Munich and Berlin before practising under the famous Professor Magnus in the surgical department of the mining hospital at Bochum. He had first set eyes on Adolf Hitler at nearby Essen in the summer of 1932 and entered the Party a few weeks after they came to power.

When Magnus was transferred to Berlin in the winter of 1933-34, he asked Brandt to join him in the surgical department of the university clinic there.

Brandt's fateful introduction into Hitler's service occurred indirectly. Hitler's chauffeur Emil Maurice had seen a photograph of the toothsome German swimming champion Anni Rehorn while languishing in the Landsberg fortress in 1924. He had contacted her, and through Maurice she was sucked into Hitler's orbit. When she then married Brandt, the surgeon was sucked in as well.

On August 15, 1933 he was among Hitler's entourage as they motored through Bavaria. Near Reit-im-Winkel Hitler's adjutant, Brückner, was injured in a car accident. Brandt gave first aid, took him to hospital at Traunstein and operated on the fractured leg and skull immediately.

Hitler decided it would be prudent to have a doctor with him on all his trips. When he went to Venice in 1934 to meet Mussolini, Brandt flew with him.

As these trips multiplied two more doctors were attached to the staff, both former assistants of Magnus: first Dr Werner Haase and then from 1936 Dr Hanskarl von Hasselbach, who had been a student with Brandt and had been fetched by him to Bochum in May 1933. After the Rohm purge of June 1934 – the Night of the Long Knives – Hitler would tell one specialist, Professor Carl von Eicken, that since that day he had suffered from *tinnitus aurium*, a ringing in the ears, because of the “general worries.”

For years before that he had been plagued by gastro-intestinal pains. At first he had innocently dosed himself with a remarkable fluid known as “Neo-Balestol.”

Balestol was a gun-cleaning oil used by soldiers in World War I. Word had been passed down the trenches that it was good against stomach pains, and after the war a sharp-eyed businessman had confected a similar oil and marketed it under the trade name of Neo-Balestol.

Professor Ernst-Günther Schenck, a top medical expert of the German armed forces in World War II told this author: “Evidently one of his old soldier comrades tipped off Hitler to take this for his stomach pains. But there was fusel oil in it and this resulted in severe poisoning.”

Later, said Schenck, Neo-Balestol was banned by the Reich Health Agency.

From the medical records we know that immediately after dosing himself with it Hitler suffered headaches, double vision, dizziness and a ringing in the ears. He was treated by Dr Grawitz over Christmas 1934 for acute poisoning brought on by this Neo-Balestol.

The next health problem had arisen in the spring of 1935. It was at the time of the important negotiations on the Anglo-German naval agreement, and Hitler became alarmed at an impediment in his throat.

He developed an audible squeak which was particularly unattractive in a demagogue. He himself feared a malignant growth.

Professor von Eicken was again summoned to the Chancery on May 13. He diagnosed the cause as a tiny polyp in the larynx, dangling on the right vocal chord. He proposed an operation to remove it, and suggested that Hitler should come to the famed Le Charité clinic in Berlin for that purpose.

Hitler insisted on having it done in the Chancery.

“Herr Professor,” he asked anxiously, “tell me – is it cancerous? Kaiser Friedrich was told, you know, and I must have time to look for a successor.” The operation was performed on the Chancellor on May 23, 1935; Hitler, relieved, asked about the fee. The professor gestured dismissively and said: “It was an honour for me.” Hitler retorted, “Be reasonable. You’ve got eight children!” He eventually endowed a foundation set up by Eicken with 200,000 Reichsmarks and enriched Eicken’s personal account by a further 60,000 RM. A further lease on life was worth that and more to Hitler. As for Eicken he jotted a brief account of this routine operation in his file: “Removed polyp with a noose after injecting 0.015 morphium, pantocain spray and daubing.” On the Obersalzberg in August 1935, Hitler contracted a severe cold with subsequent sore throat and in the second week of that month he again noticed the disturbing “foreign object” feeling in his pharynx. Once more he sent for Eicken who noted, “It occurs to the patient, when his attention is drawn to the symptomatology of the ‘swallowed foreign object,’ that a thorn got under a finger nail when he was handing over a bouquet and he pulled it out with his teeth and swallowed it, caused him a sharp pain when he swallowed it, but it did not bother him after that.” Eicken investigated, and recorded the following: “Mucus matter on the tonsils. Acute pharyngitis. Daubed pharynx with two and a half percent silver nitrate.” In the meantime he had sent the polyp he had removed from

his patient “Adolf Müller” to Professor R Rössle, of the Pathological Institute. Rössle sent him his report on August 21: “This was a so-called vocal chord polyp (papilloma). Its benevolence is certain. It has been completely removed, there are signs of chronic inflammation on it with minor haemorrhages and remains of such bleeding in the tissues, as are to be found almost always in such polyps.”

during 1936 Hitler had further problems of a personal kind.

While his ruthless political methods triumphed, and his reborn Wehrmacht successfully remilitarised the Rhineland in March 1936, he was not made of such stern stuff as the public believed.

The death of his personal chauffeur, Julius Schreck, after a painful illness affected Hitler deeply. Four days later on May 20 he sent for von Eicken. Eicken wrote afterwards, “He’s had that buzzing in his ears again for several days, at night it sounds like a high-pitched metallic ringing in his left ear.”

Eicken could find nothing clinically wrong with either ear. “Go for walks in the evening,” the professor recommended, “take hot and cold foot baths, light sedatives! Take a break from work.”

Hitler’s response was that his sleep was always better on the Obersalzberg than here in Berlin. He had his own explanation for this. “I was born at an elevation of 1,300 feet,” he told Dr Giesing in July 1944, “and I believe a man should live at the altitude he was born at.”

His generals were petrified during the Rhineland crisis. His anger at them had enduring after-effects. That summer he was victimised by worsening stomach pains, often so agonising that he could neither work by day, nor sleep by night. He had enough insight to suspect their partly hysterical origin. On December 6, 1944, Morell recorded in his diary Hitler’s conviction that all his medical problems had been a consequence of “eleven years of vexation over these

generals of July the 20th,” the day in 1944 when they finally made their bomb attempt on his life.

many doctors tried to cure the pains.

Despite their often exalted Party ranks, they failed. Dr Grawitz failed, and so did Professor Bergmann of the Charité.

In fact the correct, austere, impeccable Bergmann proposed such a radical treatment that a white-faced Hitler fled the doctor's surgery.

Under Dr Grawitz's treatment Hitler grew thinner and weaker. That was when Morell appeared on the scene over Christmas 1936 and uttered his bold promise to get Hitler healthy again in less than a year.

“You can never know, doctor, how much I am indebted to Morell,” Hitler would pathetically explain to Dr Giesing in 1944. “He saved my life in 1936. I was so far gone that I could scarcely walk. I was given totally wrong treatments. Grawitz and Bergmann too, they both had me starving. Finally I was just drinking tea and eating biscuits. Then came Morell, and he cured me.”

Morell suspected that an abnormal bacterial flora of the intestinal tract was causing Hitler's stomach pains. He had done a lot of research on the problem.

Intestinal bacteria were important for the active substances they produced in the gastro-intestinal tract. Morell's first step was to send a faecal specimen to Professor A Nissle in Freiburg in Breisgau. Nissle had developed a particular strain of *bacillus coli communis* which displayed the useful property of colonising the intestinal tract; the bacteriological division of the Hageda pharmaceutical company in Berlin had begun manufacturing this strain under the trade name “Mutaflor.” It is certainly no coincidence that it occurs in Morell's papers again and again.

Nissle's tests showed that there were indeed dysbacterial flora in Hitler's intestinal tract. Encouraged by this Morell began dosing his new patient with the Mutaflor capsules, one or two daily after breakfast.

"He gave me coli capsules," Hitler related afterwards to Giesing. "And large quantities of vitamins and heart-and-liver-extract."

After six months Hitler was able to eat properly again, without getting those fearful stomach cramps. He regained his lost weight. "In six months the eczema was gone," said Hitler. "After nine months I was fit again." As a reward the Morells were given VIP tickets to the Party Rally at Nuremberg in September 1937. And in later years Hitler could only say, "That's what Morell said: 'one year!'"

“Patient A”

Morell's appearance at the Berghof startled Hitler's other courtiers by its suddenness. When they made up their mind whether to hustle him off their territory or to fawn upon him it was already too late. He stayed until the end as Hitler's court physician.

The Moreells became frequent guests on the Obersalzberg. The doctor began his treatment of the dictator at the Berghof while his young wife went off with Eva Braun to sunbathe and swim in the lakes around Berchtesgaden. The cure was a success, and Morell's future seemed assured.

Morell's medical success was as fateful in its way as Hitler's battlefield triumphs in 1940. Both men became convinced that they had the golden touch.

Hitler had promised a villa. The Moreells chose an expensive one on Peacock Island in Berlin's Schwanenwerder district – No 24-26 Insel Strasse – and would buy it on March 28, 1939 at a cost of 338,000 Reichsmarks. Hitler gave them an interest free loan of 200,000 RM towards the purchase price and converted it into a gift two years later.

Hitler trusted Morell implicitly and turned a deaf ear on the envious rivals who warned against his unorthodox methods.

From Frau Morell's pocket diary we know that the couple had returned to the Berghof for the New Year, 1937, together with Hitler's favourite architect Albert Speer. It was probably now that Morell first formally examined Hitler. “At this time,” he later told interroga-

tors, “he looked his age and was suffering from gastro-intestinal disturbance. He weighed about 154 pounds and was about five foot seven tall. Temperature, pulse and respiration were normal. His blood group was ‘A’ (Landsteiner).” Morell added, “His psychic state was very complex.”

Hitler’s chest was white and sensitive to hot and cold, and to sharp and dull touch. “Hair was absent on both chest and back,” Morell testified. The hair on Hitler’s head was dark brown, almost black. The blue-grey eyes betrayed a minimal degree of exophthalmus (protrusion) and moved freely in all directions. The nose was straight with a slight protuberance on the dorsum, its lower end was thick and fleshy, and the nostrils rather prominent. The lips were red but thin. The teeth were defective.

His tongue had been furred since 1935, a symptom of the gastric disturbance, and this was the only abnormality that Morell detected.

A 1940 blood serology in Morell’s dossier includes routine Wassermann, Meinicke, and Kahn tests. Their probably negative outcome prove that Hitler had not contracted syphilis.

The blood pressure was usually within normal limits: “Hitler could have passed US pilot tests with these figures,” one American medical expert, Major Cortez F Enloe, told this author.

Morell alone apparently examined the lower abdomen in 1936. He told American investigators that Hitler suffered pain in the region of the right kidney but “none in the regions of the bladder, prostate, testicles, epididymes, urethra, or ureters.” Yet it is worth noting that on September 30, 1944 Hitler, even though afflicted by painful hepatitis, objected when Morell wanted to administer a much needed enema.

“He’s in a lot of discomfort,” we shall see Morell recording irritably that day. “He flatly refused to allow me to administer an enema of oil or camomile tea in bed, but on the contrary took an irrigator

and tried to administer one to himself in the WC: the patient sitting upon the toilet bowl for the purpose. I had to wait outside (in fact he even locked me out).”

Professor Schenck commented, “This episode indicates that Hitler had a fixation about his intestine and the pain – that is, assuming he wasn’t suffering from haemorrhoids, which can’t be ruled out given his largely sedentary lifestyle.”

morell described hitler’s secondary sexual characteristics as generally normally developed. None of the doctors who treated him reported any gross sexual abnormalities, although only Morell seems to have examined him in detail. Hasselbach would testify in 1951: “Hitler had an extreme disinclination to let people see his body. Even I never saw him completely unclothed, let alone checked him over in that state. Probably his former driver and manservant Emil Maurice could give some information as to whether the sex organs were deformed; he dropped hints when we were in captivity.”

Hitler’s relationships with women seemed completely natural, averred Hasselbach; his sex instincts were neither accentuated nor depressed. He was not a homosexual.

He had enjoyed the company of attractive women, particularly during his rise to power, but Morell could see that in later years, with the increase in duties and responsibility, his libido was apparently sublimated. At one time he had been attracted to the beautiful young wife of Philip Bouhler who lived near the Morells.

According to what the equally eye-catching Magda Goebbels confided to the wife of Otto Meissner, Hitler had even given her a son (Helmuth) in 1934 – the blood groups match.

Hitler also showed a more than passing interest in the platinum blond wife of the Reich Organization Leader, Dr Robert Ley, and was grief stricken when she committed suicide during the war.

He showed normal jealousies too. When the most eligible bachelor on his staff, Walther Hewel, began dallying with Hitler's beautiful secretary Gerda Daranowski he put his foot down. Hewel jotted in his diary for June 29, 1941, "Nasty aside by Führer about my employing Miss Daranowski." And again on the following day, "F. annoyed by my use of his ladies for dictation."

Morell assured interrogators that Hitler and Eva Braun had sexual relations from time to time although they routinely slept in separate beds.

His adjutants have said much the same to this author. As for an apparent deficiency in the male sex hormone (testis) detected in blood tests in January 1940, modern experts feel that laboratories then were not capable of measuring this quantity accurately, so too much significance can not be read into this evidence.

All the doctors considered Hitler neurologically healthy. As for the psychiatric data, Morell made these comments:

- (a) Orientation as to time, place, and persons was excellent;
 - (b) memory as to events, both recent and remote, was excellent;
 - (c) immediate retention of figures, statistics, names etc., was excellent;
 - (d) Hitler's general background was characterised by his lack of university training, for which he had, however, compensated by acquiring a large body of general knowledge through reading;
 - (e) judgment of time and spatial relations was excellent;
 - (f) reaction to environment was normal;
 - (g) he was changeable, at times restless and sometimes peculiar, but otherwise co-operative and not easily distracted;
 - (h) emotionally very labile. Likes and dislikes were very pronounced;
 - (i) flow of thought showed continuity. Speech was neither slow nor fast and was always relevant;
 - (j) *globus hystericus* [a frog-in-the-throat sensation] was not observed.
- No amnesia. Epigastric pain may possibly have been of hysterical origin;

- (k) no phobias or obsession;
- (L) no hallucinations, illusions, or paranoid trends present.

hasselbach, who joined the staff in 1936, would describe Hitler in these early years as robust, healthy and well built.

“Major physical exertions like the big parades were child’s play for him,” he said, but added: “But even then he had begun living unwisely. He never went to bed before two a.m., and often not until three or four, and got up again around ten. He occasionally took an afternoon nap when he was in the teahouse for five minutes or so.” From the diary of his SS orderly Max Wünsche we notice that in June 1938 Hitler would sleep fourteen, eight, ten, and thirteen hours on successive days. Hitler complained of having a weak heart. He avoided going up to the Kehlstein House above the Berghof; it was 6,000 feet up, and he said he felt a tightening of the chest there. Hasselbach concluded that these symptoms like the epigastric pains and cramps were of hysterical origin.

“During the war,” continued this doctor, “he dropped his habit of going for half an hour’s walk and he often did not get any fresh air for days or weeks on end. His temperament also underwent a change. In 1936-38 he could still laugh out loud and often did. He was a good-natured man. The stories of violent tantrums are hugely exaggerated. I often had to admire how much he had himself under control, even when facing grave decisions or receiving unpleasant news.”

This strength did not desert him until the end. One of Hitler’s war conference stenographers wrote:

“He appeared a man of indefatigable diligence, granting himself almost no respite by day or by night – a man of vast knowledge and experience, gifted with a convincing oratory, while still capable of

showing great modesty and kindness towards his associates and collaborators.”

the friendship between the two men, Führer and personal physician, was profound and unshakeable.

Hitler sometimes turned up for Sunday tea with the Moreells. He would wander round their garden and sit at their fireside – he called it the bake-house, because they baked almond cakes just the way he liked them.

Once Hitler showed up unexpectedly for dinner. An unprepared Frau Morell ran around the kitchen crying:

“What on earth can we give him!” He got spaghetti and ketchup, rounded off with cheese. Hitler knew that cheese was rationed. He turned to a factotum and commanded:

“Give them the coupons!” “That,” said Frau Morell, “was the kind of man he was.”

Morell was a much sought-after doctor now. In his files are consultation notes on the big industrialists like Alfried Krupp and August Thyssen, and aristocrats like Prince Phillip of Hesse. Hitler’s adjutants were patients. When Rudolf Hess flew to Scotland in May 1941, he would have Morell’s patent medicines with him.

Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring called Morell the “Meister-Jabber” but rolled up his shirtsleeves for him all the same. Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, Economics Minister Walther Funk, Labour leader Robert Ley, Party theoretician Alfred Rosenberg, Propaganda chief Josef Goebbels, Gauleiter of East Prussia Erich Koch, and both Hitler’s top architects Albert Speer and Hermann Giesler – all crowded into Morell’s waiting room, rubbing shoulders with Party officials, Wehrmacht generals and the leading stars of the stage and screen.

Foreign statesmen and diplomats were treated by Morell. He treated the British prime minister Neville Chamberlain for flu in September 1938. Czech president Emil Hácha inquired about the contents of the miracle injection Morell gave him late on March 15, 1939 when he suddenly fainted in conference with Hitler. The stout little Japanese ambassador General Hiroshi Oshima would present a samurai helmet to Morell. Ailing Italian dictator Benito Mussolini would be treated by Morell's proxy, Dr Zachariae, who would write fulsome reports to Morell in December 1944. All declared themselves satisfied.

He had many champions. Luftwaffe general Karl Bodenschatz would write as late as October 1950: "From my own observation, he was a serious, successful researcher. As a doctor he enjoyed the complete confidence of his patients. I myself was treated by him twice, for influenza and rheumatism."

Luftwaffe adjutant Nicolaus von Below expressed himself equally satisfied, while admitting that he could understand why others did not like him.

Some of the more fastidious patients had to steel themselves as Morell's needle approached, wiped on a rag that had wiped countless needles before.

But when Below reproached him in 1944 for allowing Hitler to stuff himself with pills, the doctor retorted:

"I'd like to see *you* treat a patient like the Führer!", and there was no real answer to that.

photographs taken during the first months of the war show Morell always at Hitler's side with the other headquarters officers like Erwin Rommel.

He did not like the life of camp follower. He missed his wife and sent her frequent postcards. She had the lead role in a play just open-

ing in Würzburg. Morell also sent postcards to other ladies at the same time. "I had a nice dream about you the other night," Johanna wrote. "Unfortunately only a dream."

Morell took his job seriously. Rivals would later accuse him of taking no routine tests. This was not true. On January 9, 1940, he took a series of specimens in the Reich Chancery and made an electrocardiogram as well. The detailed reports showed little out of the ordinary.

A microscopic examination of the faecal sample by Nissle on January 18, 1940, yielded "an entirely normal picture, only vegetable fibres being observed," (not surprising since Hitler was a vegetarian.) A throat smear tested on January 23 showed no trace of diphtheria bacilli.

in april 1940, the German troops fell upon Denmark and Norway. One month later the Wehrmacht rolled into Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. Morell stayed at "Patient A's" side as the Führer's headquarters moved west for the big push.

In a circle where the comradeship was intense, the obese doctor found himself something of an outcast.

He was older than most of the others, and more prickly. His letters home bristled with references to his embattled position.

He was partly to blame. He had decked himself out in a grey fantasy uniform which he had designed for himself, laden with gold braid. This made even more enemies.

He had to instruct Johanna, "Have a gold buckle stitched into the heavy belt like the buckle for Political Officers. Apparently there are objections to my using the SS buckle."

With more than a trace of envy he commented on Hitler's escort doctor, Karl Brandt, "Dr B has his army lieutenant-colonel's shoulder straps up, as of today."

His isolation deepened. Even the photographer Hoffmann began cold-shouldering him. Morell spluttered with fury at “Heini’s” unfeeling attitude; worse, the photographer was seen with increasing frequency in Brandt’s company.

The rage lingered on in the words of Morell’s widow talking to a journalist in 1967: “That was so typical of Brandt and that gang! And Hasselbach too – they were all fine and young and elegant, they had their dashing black SS uniforms. And there was my husband with his grey outfit. That was all he had. He didn’t have any Party rank.”

What irritated Morell was that Hoffmann still raked in the shekels as a photographer, while his own Kurfürstendamm practice was going to seed in his absence from Berlin.

in business matters Morell had more ambition than acumen. Since 1935 he had been half owner of Hamma Inc. in Hamburg, a subsidiary of the Nordmark pharmaceutical company.

He was a board member of Hageda, the manufacturers of Mutaflor, and of the Chinoin company in Budapest, which was turning out an inferior sulphonamide drug much used by Morell under the brand-name Ultraseptyl. Morell had also negotiated with Walter Haupt, part owner of a big company in Berlin. After these negotiations he set up Walter Haupt & Co., bought an empty factory at Kosolup in the recently “liberated” Sudeten territories, and founded there the Kosolup Dye Company Inc.

He was frank about his motives. “Heini [Hoffmann],” he explained in a letter to Johanna on June 3, 1940) about his manufacturing plans, “wants a cut of everything and just can’t understand why somebody else should earn money without his also getting a share for doing absolutely nothing at all. If only our chemical projects get off the

ground! After all, I'll soon be fifty-four. We can only keep up Schwanenwerder if my income stays large, so I must either earn a lot as a doctor (although my energy is already flagging) or get some kind of income from chemicals and pharmaceuticals."

He watched every penny. In May 1940 he wrote to her, "I get 20% off at the Kurfürstendamm pharmacy, and the Wittenberg pharmacy also gives me 15% (or is it even 20?), so 10% off at Fontane's is too little."

He was preoccupied with unvarnished mercenary interests. Towards the end of his life, writing to Johanna from the American camp at Dachau, he belatedly admitted it.

"I shouldn't have been so obsessed with work. I should have found more time for you. But I wanted to build a carefree future for us as fast as possible. And now I've done just the reverse!"

Outcast

Hitler's western campaign approached its victorious conclusion.

“The lilac is wonderful,” Morell wrote on May 16, 1940 to his wife, “and trees are in full bloom everywhere . . . I visited some friends and had a fantastic meal of gull's eggs and lox. What a view and what sunshine! At night we get a bit of enlivenment from the air and there have been quite a few thumps nearby. What I'd really like is to go to the front . . . Pity the Volhynians [household helps] had to go. You'll find it difficult to get along without them. Should I ask General Keitel for some Poles?” [General, later Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, 57, was the rather supine Chief of the Wehrmacht High Command.]

Inevitably, Morell also mentioned his business interests – his multivitamin products for the armed services. “Shouldn't we approach the Army again about Vitamultin? It's doing wonders here. Everybody speaks highly of it and they're all recommending it to their families back home.”

In Flanders the French troops were being marched off into captivity.

The British escaped at Dunkirk. On May 26 Morell wrote to Johanna again, still seething at the pettiness of Hoffmann and Brandt.

“Spent yesterday evening with Heini at the Dreesen's – that is, Frau D was allegedly visiting relatives. Herr D [owner of the famous Rhine Hotel Dreesen at Bad Godesberg] always lays a fine table and

won't hear of taking any payment afterwards. Heini often goes over there with Dr B, but he takes care I don't find out or can't go. Can't say he's very forthright. He's always poking fun at me.

"Dr B is making friends on every side, at present even with [Walther] Hewel [Ribbentrop's permanent liaison officer at Hitler's headquarters, one of Morell's few friends.] He's wooing [Major General Karl] Bodenschatz [Göring's liaison officer to Hitler] and sent him to a hospital for short-wave treatment. He's already been over there with Heini to have drinks with the doctors.

"Yesterday I found out that he has sent Hewel to an ear specialist in Bonn (but again nobody tells me anything about it.)

"There's hardly anything for a doctor to do round here. I asked the Führer a few days back if he's got any complaints. He said, he feels fine apart from one thing: he still has an appetite that's far too large. He really is getting along famously. He's fresh and lively."

morell basked in Hitler's radiated glory, and exploited it to the full in his dealings with lesser authority.

As in wartime Britain, jealous local officials sometimes used scrap iron collections to get even with the rich and powerful. On May 28 Morell learned that the wrought iron fence around his Schwanenwerder property was to be requisitioned for scrap. "As for that iron fence, he angrily wrote to Johanna, "evidently Herr Berg has not noticed that it is made of hand-wrought iron. So requisitioning it's out of the question. Anyway, thanks to our invasion of Holland and Belgium, we've got so much iron and copper and tin that there'll surely be no more collections. Besides, has Herr Berg already been over to ask Grand Admiral Raeder [Commander in Chief of the navy]? Because that fence round his old Bleischröder property is also iron."

Then he sprinkled the familiar droplets of jealousy.

“How wonderfully peaceful things are,” he wrote, “when Heini Hoffmann isn’t around and the constant bitching stops. He’s the villain of every mealtime conversation!”

Hitler moved to a new headquarters, a hutted encampment in Belgium.

Morell was given a room to himself. “Bouhler’s adjutant has survived even though his plane crashed in flames,” he wrote to Johanna. “He’s in the hospital at Maastricht where the son of [Daimler Benz Director Jakob] Werlin’s oldest son is, with his left arm amputated. Dr Brandt has visited them both (again without my knowledge).

“[Gauleiter Karl] Hanke came here the day before yesterday. He seems to be a very brave soldier, he’s right out in front everywhere he goes; he’s adjutant to Rommel and that’s just about the pushiest general we’ve got, always riding the lead tank of his division! General Keitel’s always pretty decent to me.”

On June 1, 1940 Hitler entered Brussels. He took Morell with him.

“We were on the road for two days,” the doctor reported. “Brussels, the Flanders battlefields (Ypres, Loretto, Vimy Ridge, Bensheim, Kortrijk and Lille). As these districts were about the most densely populated on earth you can just imagine the devastation. A big square in Lille, piled high with charred tree trunks and automobiles, was littered with dead horses, burnt out tanks and wrecked buildings.

“On the roads along which the British and French had retreated there was a higgledy-piggledy tangle of cast-off clothing, abandoned guns, and broken down tanks, with stragglers streaming back home on both sides of the road, mostly on bicycles, laden with whatever they can carry.”

his own position in the pecking order was of scarcely less importance to Morell than the war itself. On June 3 he poured out his heart yet again. “Heini’s behaving very badly,” he wrote to his wife,

“as he has been all along. “Yesterday evening I wanted to go out for a drive and asked him if he’d like to go with me. He said, ‘No, and if I do go out it will be with Schaub as I’ve arranged to go with him.’

“He didn’t go out. In the evening the Führer turned in early, and while Heini was in my room an orderly came in carrying a bottle of champagne and three glasses. H[Hoffmann] was rather embarrassed and said, ‘No, not in here, take them into Dr Brandt’s room!’ It’s the same story all the time here. And he keeps trying to make me look ridiculous. But now he knows I’ve taken all I can stand and next time I’m going to boil over. Just now he has driven off with Schaub, I think they’ve gone to the Rhine. Dr B went off an hour before them. Whenever there’s a picture with me in it, he always finds some fault with it.”

What did not help matters was that Heinrich Hoffmann talked in his sleep. These nocturnal Tales of Hoffmann often touched on Morell’s sensitive point – his little pharmaceutical empire.

“Recently he started talking about Dr B, and said B has spoken with the doctor who has received our Vitamultin to carry out field trials and this man says he’s not at all satisfied with it. When I spoke to him afterwards, he claimed not to know anything about it.”

“On another occasion he was rambling on about a vitamin-calcium that Dr B was having manufactured to speed up bone repairs. Apparently he’s working with the Henning company in Berlin.”

“Thank goodness we’ve got separate rooms in these new quarters. All the other gentlemen around here have a lot less spare time than me, so I’m always by myself.

“If it was not for the Führer, I’d prefer to be home. [SS Hauptsturmführer Max] Wünsche was here this afternoon; he’s got a wound stripe, and the Iron Cross first and second class.”

“Now it’s one A.M. and Heini’s still not back. As SS Gruppenführer [Karl] Wolff [SS liaison officer to Hitler] and General Bodenschatz

are asleep next door I can't use the telephone any more." By the end of the French campaign Morell was virtually out in the cold. When the staff went off on trips they took care that he did not find out.

"I was hoping to go to Brussels in Dr Dietrich's car," wrote Morell, probably on June 24. "But as they left it until half an hour before they left to tell me I couldn't make it."

"Yesterday, Sunday, we went to Paris. The war with France is all but over."

After the fighting stopped Hitler moved headquarters to the Black Forest near Freudenstadt. In a letter, Morell described the mountain air as wonderful, the accommodation as good and the food as excellent.

"I'm sharing with Heini. As I go for an hour's walk every day now, I like to put on long trousers and shoes. Our troops are making wonderful progress with hardly any casualties. Today, Saturday morning, I spent about half an hour alone with the Führer. He's in magnificent health. This fragrant air does wonders for him too. He says he slept longer and better last night than almost ever before." As we now know, it was in these very days that Hitler took his irrevocable decision to launch his armies into the Soviet Union in the coming year.

Footnotes:

1. Reichsleiter Philipp Bouhler was head of the "Chancery of the Führer"; he would commit suicide in May 1945, as he was heavily implicated in the euthanasia and other extermination programmes.

2. Hanke was Gauleiter of Breslau and Goebbels's state secretary. On November 25, 1944 he married Freda Baroness von Fircks under questionable circumstances – a pre-nuptial child. He was beaten to death in May 1945 in Prague.

3. Wünsche, 26, had been a commander in Hitler's Chancery guard. He was taken prisoner in June 1944 while fighting in the 12th SS Panzer Division "Hitler Jugend" in Normandy. Hitler tried to persuade the British to exchange him, but it would be 1948 before he returned to Germany.

Worried Sick

Morell himself had suffered his first cardiac attack in 1939 or 1940. “We had been invited to dinner in Wannsee,” his wife would describe later, “with the Essers, in Berlin. We were in high spirits. Esser cracked a joke, and my husband suddenly stood up and tipped over. He fell on some furniture and gave his head a bad crack. He took to his bed and had an application of leeches. But there was no way he was going to put his own health before Hitler’s.”

Their married relationship was evidently one-way. On December 13, 1940, she wrote to her “darling Theokins” from Munich: “It’s after eight P.M. now, and I wonder what you’re up to? On the way home from Berlin? I’ve been waiting for your call so much, I’m feeling very lonely and it makes such a difference if you’ve got somebody nice with you and you can tell him what’s on your mind.

“Hoffmann telephoned me today, he wants us all to get together next week for a gossip. He couldn’t get over to the theatre yesterday, unfortunately, as he had so much to do. Perhaps he’ll get round to seeing me on stage in January.”

“I’ve got to sleep alone again tonight and can’t snuggle up to you, but it’s probably just as well, because then I can put all that longing and desire into my stage performance.”

Morell never wrote letters as affectionate as that. During the Winter of 1940-41 his biggest problem was Hitler’s refusal to relax. The dictator was obsessed by the idea that he did not have long to live.

Captain Heinz Assmann would later write: “He worried constantly whether he would live to see all his plans put into effect. As a result he was always working under terrific pressure.

“In my view this did not derive from any private knowledge of some illness or other, but from the realisation of the sheer magnitude of the peacetime plans which he regarded as his real mission in future. These included his colossal and all-embracing plans for reconstruction, welfare, workers’ housing, recreational and cultural centres, ports and dockyards, bridges and highways.”

soon after barbarossa, the attack on the Soviet Union began in June 1941, there were medical reasons to believe that Hitler’s life might indeed be coming to a close.

The first was in mid-summer: Morell detected a progressive heart ailment in his “Patient A,” coronary sclerosis. This was unusual in a man of fifty-two. Lenin had it at the same age.

Morell explained in 1945: “Percussion disclosed moderate enlargement of the left ventricle with displacement of the heart apex to the left of the mid-clavicular line, though still within the fifth intercostal space. Under auscultation accentuation of the second aortic sound was heard in the second intercostal space in the right parasternal line.”

Worried, he took electrocardiograms on August 14, 1941 and this time sent them to Professor A Weber, director of a university institute in Bad Nauheim.

Weber diagnosed a rapidly progressive coronary sclerosis. Significantly, Morell asked Weber to supply two letters – one of which would be suitable for showing to the patient.

A further medical episode must have befallen Hitler at the end of 1941, the precise nature of which is uncertain. Morell mentioned it in veiled language when talking with Hitler in December 1942. “I

referred to the episode a year ago when his blood pressure shot up to 200 mm,” wrote Morell; so it must have been during the army's winter crisis outside Moscow.

Morell also mentioned a third episode (probably in July 1942) during which Hitler had contracted a kind of influenza (a “brain fever”) during an inspection trip to Vinnitsa in the Ukraine.

“I also reminded him of that brain oedema at V[innitsa], and said that if some improvement had not occurred within twenty-four hours I would have had to resort to some pretty drastic measures.” Reminding Hitler of his own indispensability as a doctor, Morell recalled to him on December 17, 1942 how he had refused to consult anybody else. “Because I said to myself: nobody can do better than me anyway and somebody else might botch it up. I preferred to take the entire responsibility even though it was tough at the time:”

Hitler often assured the physician that he trusted him implicitly. He did so this time, in December 1942, but insisted too on being told the unvarnished truth about his health.

The response was perhaps not what he expected.

As though Hitler did not have enough on his plate with the horrendous Stalingrad crisis, Morell now disclosed to him the heart defect discovered in August 1941.

“I referred to the existence of a coronary sclerosis” wrote Morell in his report of their talk, “and said this is why I've been giving him iodine for some time now. Subsequent electrocardiograms, I said, have confirmed this. In many people this calcification occurs somewhat faster as a result of intensive hard work, but it usually starts at around forty-five.

“I added that as the blood vessels of the coronary artery narrow, he may get attacks of angina pectoris. I always have medicine for that at hand, but so must he in case I am not available and I left him

some nitro-glycerine tablets. By the glucose injections, I said, I am doing what I can to strengthen his heart and also to dehydrate the system.”

From Morell’s notes we see that Hitler sent for him that evening to ask about Cardiazol, a heart medicine manufactured by Knoll of Ludwigshafen.

Göring had told Hitler he took a Cardiazol tablet whenever he felt dizzy. “Wouldn’t it do me good too, if I suddenly felt a bit odd during some vital affair?” Morell advised against it. “What Göring has,” he explained, “is *low* blood pressure. While you are suffering from too much blood when your temper rises, that is, from high blood pressure.” Under the circumstances, if Hitler took a Cardiazol tablet and his blood pressure went up he might burst a blood vessel. Notwithstanding this, Morell did however begin prescribing Cardiazol to Hitler.

The doctor did note one explicit instruction from Hitler on this occasion. “The Führer asked me,” he wrote, “to tell him if things should ever look really black for him, as there are some vital decisions he has to take on Germany’s account. He says he has no fear of death; that will just be a relief for him. All he has now is just one worry after another and no time that he can call his own. He says he lives only for the Fatherland, for Germany.”

Morell continued, quoting Hitler, “There is no cure for death, that I know. But if I should ever fall terminally ill, then you must tell me.”

during 1943 Hitler’s health slipped. Undoubtedly, the military defeats at Stalingrad and in North Africa accelerated the decline.

Early in 1943, Morell noticed a slight tremor in Hitler’s left arm and leg, and saw him perceptibly dragging the left leg. He reached for his textbooks, but there was no easy solution.

In his diary for December 6, 1944, Morell summarised the history of these trembling fits like this:

“At the end of May 1943 the blood sedimentation rate was right down to 2.5 mm. Before the visit to the Duce at Feltre around July 20, 1943, there was a massive attack that began in the Wolf's Lair and continued the next day down at the Berghof. The next attack was a big one, the worst of the lot, after a showdown with the Luftwaffe on or about September 28, 1944, preceded by a number of trembling fits beginning with July 20, 1944.”

The doctor would tell his interrogators that the tremor might have been of a hysterical nature, but he could not exclude the possibility that it had its origin in the influenza or “brain fever” contracted at Vinnitsa, a supposition supported by medical evidence.

Baffled, Morell began to step up his own patent medication of Hitler. On March 14, 1944 he injected him for the first time with shots of his patent multivitamin cocktail, Vitamultin forte. It is not impossible that this product, specially prepared for Hitler, contained the amphetamine type narcotic, Pervitin.

Morell assiduously registered that he tried these shots “because of [Hitler's] tiredness and lack of necessary vitality.” And he particularly watched the reaction. Before the injection Hitler had complained of exhaustion. Afterwards, however, he was “instantly alert,” and able to survive a two hour conference with the tedious foreign minister von Ribbentrop. Over dinner he was “noticeably frisky” as compared with lunchtime. He stayed up until one a.m. and was then able to get to sleep without any sedatives. “Führer extremely content,” Morell jotted down.

But those troublesome tremors would not go away.

On May 9, 1944 Morell noticed a pronounced tremble in Hitler's legs and commented in his papers that this was “probably caused by worry (over the invasion that is imminent: where?)” – probably the

biggest triumph of the top secret Anglo-American *Fortitude* deception strategy, which was designed to make the Nazi High Command believe that D-Day was scheduled as early as mid-May.

Morell's remedy was to inject Hitler with intravenous glucose and iodine and with intramuscular shots of a male sex hormone marketed as Testoviron.

It took the bomb attempt on Hitler's life on July 20 to kill the tremor, but even then it vanished for only a few weeks.

Hitler had had a premonition of evil.

He would tell the physician on November 9 that when he left the Berghof four days before the bomb blast he had a feeling that he would shortly be in grave danger. "He said he also told E[va Braun] this when he said goodbye to her . . . and had made his dispositions accordingly."

After the bomb blast his left leg stopped trembling and even his hand tremor almost completely vanished.

To outward appearances, the bomb left Hitler unscathed.

But he had suffered considerable damage.

Writing a special memorandum early in October 1944 Morell noted Hitler's own comments on it: "He says that the weeks since July 20 have been the worst of his life. He has fought and won a heroic struggle the likes of which nobody, no German, can ever imagine. Despite the most agonising pains, and despite hours of faintness and nausea of which he's never breathed a word to anybody even when they enquire, he has kept a stiff upper lip and fought it all back with iron determination and energy.

"Often, he says, he has been in danger of crumpling, but by sheer willpower he has always managed to overcome his condition."

morell's own health worsened. Early in 1942 he had a big row causing, as he described it, "a frontal haemorrhage."

Since then his muscles wearied easily and later in 1942 his heart began causing serious problems.

“I had my first serious attack of angina pectoris after a miserable airline flight,” he wrote two years later to Professor Weber, “with a T_{11} that stayed strongly negative for some time, and then later regulated again. The QRS opening is gradually getting bigger.”

Early in May 1944 Morell fell ill for a few days and had to summon his assistant Dr Richard Weber from Berlin. In July or August he had a further minor heart attack.

The escort doctors Brandt and Hasselbach heartlessly exploited his indisposition to intrigue against him.

Envy was a powerful motive. Although Hasselbach had been in Hitler's entourage since 1936, he had only been summoned once, after the bomb emergency of July 20.

Other doctors willingly backed this growing campaign against Morell. In 1943 a leading Munich doctor visited the Reich Health Chief, Dr Leonardo Conti, and begged him to oppose Morell's treatment methods, particularly the wholesale use of injections. Clinical experience gathered in Munich hospitals indicated that the prolonged administering of injections was harmful, possibly even fatal.

Hitler's notion that Morell was doing pioneer research met with mocking laughter from the experts.

How, they asked, could he find the time to keep up with the latest advances, let alone conduct meaningful research?

But all this intrigue came to nothing.

When it came to the crunch, Hasselbach and Brandt were the ones that Hitler dismissed.

“The attempt to get rid of Dr Morell,” Assmann would write, “by force if all else failed, came unstuck because Hitler wanted it to. Himmler, Bormann and the entire staff around Hitler – and especially Brandt and Hasselbach – were well aware of the dubious quality

of Morell's therapy and tried several times to have him dumped. Hitler wouldn't hear of it."

After the doctors' intrigue against Morell backfired they attempted to have him dismissed over the so-called Anti-Gas Pills Affair. Morell would write smugly to the Reich Film Chief, SS-Gruppenführer Hans Hinkel, on October 26, 1944: "I think that I can boast that my Chief is *always* satisfied with his physician. Again and again I hear only the highest praise from him."

Morell would later claim the doctors had tried their damndest to put his head in a noose. Brandt had certainly alleged that Morell had been systematically, perhaps even deliberately, poisoning the Führer with strychnine in the guise of the anti-gas pills taken for his notorious epigastric pains.

Can we now say with certainty what was their cause?

Hasselbach deduced that they must have been due to some neurosis, since otherwise Morell's "totally unsuitable and useless drugs" would hardly have brought the relief that they did.

despite the military collapse that had by now occurred in France, Hitler had begun preparing his forces late that summer of 1944 for a counter-offensive in the Ardennes – a final push which would "Dunkirk" the British army for the second time; after that he would deliver the coup de grace against the Red Army.

At this crucial moment in planning Germany's military fortunes, Hitler was struck down by jaundice. He was confined to bed, just as he had been in August 1941. His staff found him staring apathetically at the ceiling, all interest gone.

He would recover from this jaundice too, in time.

For a while after that his legendary mental faculties remained with him: the all-encompassing memory-bank; the gift to extract the essence of any report; the hypnotic effect on other men.

But as the darkness of defeat approached Berlin, and as the burden of decision increased, that ominous tremor in his hands and legs returned.

Hitler's nervous complaints never left him, and small wonder.

On October 30 Morell was summoned urgently at six a.m. to Hitler's bunker.

"Führer said he's worked right through the night," he wrote, "and had had to face up to a *very* tough decision as a result of which he had got highly worked up. The worry had built up more and more inside him until suddenly, as always happens when he's really worried sick, his stomach knotted up into this painful cramp."

Once again the professor rapidly made up a combined Eupaverin and Eukodal injection but the intravenous injection was not easy because of the many needle scars of these last months.

He "again drew attention to the need to give the veins a rest for a while."

On November 3, he noticed that the tremble in Hitler's left leg and hands was getting more pronounced. "When July 20 came," insisted Hitler, "all this shaking suddenly stopped. But now it's crept back again and it's worse than ever." Morell attributed it to the constant burden and irritation.

Hitler asked, "What's to be done against it?"

Morell answered, "Peace and quiet! Keep out of arguments!"

More to the point, he added that Hitler might try electrotherapy or water treatments. But as usual Hitler wanted quick and easy solutions. "Isn't there some kind of drug or shot you can give me against it?" he asked.

"Vitamin B and nicotinamide," was Morell's reply, "along with tranquillising medicines. But if you take them to excess they'll put a damper on *everything*." He added, "What would be very much to the point here would be massages!"

He knew there was no prospect of getting Hitler into the hands of a masseur.

hitler's logic must have told him that the war could no longer be won.

His loyal secretary Christa Schroeder tackled him one December 1944 day: "Mein Führer," she said, "we *have* lost, haven't we?" He shook his head without explaining why. Where logic no longer supported him, his blind faith continued to inspire him. Why else had Providence spared him on July 20, if not to lead his people to final victory?

He just had to live long enough! Then victory would be theirs. And to live long enough he needed Morell – and his warming and pleasant injections.

Morell in spite of all his avarice, was no fool. He laid serious plans to extricate himself from the Führer's headquarters before it became a death-trap.

In his diary on November 14, 1944 we find his sorrow on learning of the death of a Professor Becher six weeks earlier. "Sad, not so much because of the works we published together . . . as that I was counting on him as my replacement here. Fifty plus, vegetarian, non-smoker, *and* teetotal. Fine scientist, particularly on the gastro-intestinal tract and bacterial flora (wrote books about them). Unmarried, just living for his work."

Morell had also been grooming his assistant Dr Weber for the post. And in order to introduce his former laboratory assistant Ruth Krause to Hitler, he had brought her to Berlin to take blood samples on November 26, 1944.

as 1945 opened, blindness began to close in on Hitler's right eye. His back was bent, his hair had greyed, his vocal chords were fa-

tigued and knotted. Hasselbach told interrogators, “Hitler’s body began to stoop (kyphosis of dorsal spine), which may have been due in part to lack of exercise . . . A tremor of head and hands was quite noticeable, particularly when [Hitler] brought a cup of tea to the mouth or signed documents.”

He seldom appeared in public now. Medical experts who saw the newsreels noticed his rhythmically trembling hands and tottering gait and deduced that he had contracted *paralysis agitans* (trembling palsy), also known as Parkinsonism.

ENT doctor Erwin Giesing recalled noticing in September 1944 how Hitler’s right hand shook uncontrollably when an SS corporal brought him a document to sign – he had to rest his hand on the desk and wait a while before dashing off the signature in one scratchy flourish. When he chanced to see Hitler at close quarters on February 13, 1945 he thought he recognised the characteristic “mask-like” features of a Parkinsonism victim. Professor Ernst-Günther Schenck, who was brought in during April to treat civilian casualties in the Chancery bunker was also taken aback by Hitler’s “fixed, lifeless expression,” as he wrote to this author.

On April 2 Morell wrote that Hitler had a lot of worries and was sleeping badly, “So the tremor in the left hand was very marked.” After seeing Hitler nine or ten days later the noted Professor Maximilian de Crinis of the Le Charité hospital also suspected Parkinsonism – according to what Conti said under interrogation some months later. While Morell was not sure, both his and Hitler’s desk diaries – which have spent the last forty years on opposite sides of the Atlantic – strongly suggest that even he now reluctantly accepted that his patient had contracted this incurable brain disease. He began treating Hitler regularly during the last two weeks of his life with a medication used only against Parkinsonism, daily increasing doses of a drug called Homburg 680.

Hitler put an end to his own, and the world's, misery, with a bullet from a Walther automatic fired into his right temple on the afternoon of April 30, 1945. He simultaneously crunched a phial of cyanide between his teeth.

In November of that year Dr Giesing would round off his assessment of his ENT patient Adolf Hitler with this verdict: "We survivors who knew him have a duty to do what we can by our objectivity and judgement to ensure that no false aura arises around his life and death, and that he does not live on in the mind of the German people as some kind of martyr, a man who could have gladdened our lives and liberated us, 'if only the others had so desired and decreed.'"

It is in that spirit that the diaries of his doctor, Theo Morell, are published in the later chapters of this book.

The Treatment

Actually,” said morell to Hitler’s escort doctor Karl Brandt as they shared a cell in 1945, “Hitler was never ill.”

If that were so, we might well ask why did Morell need to amass such an arsenal of medicines to treat him?

He administered over eighty different medicines to Hitler from 1941 to 1945. [See Appendix I].

An American analysis, in 1945, of Hitler’s medical problems pointed out the likely consequences: “Constant medication over a period of years may have upset the physiological balance of his body to such an extent that even normally harmless drugs would be relied on. Thus a person may become addicted to such medication even though the substances employed are not drugs of a habit-forming nature.”

“Among the objections brought forward by doctors against this method,” states another source, “there is a fundamental one saying that such injections certainly are apt to give the patient the transitory feeling of well being, but that they exhaust the stock of physical and psychical forces a man is supposed to have at a much faster pace than . . . normal. Such a man shows signs of mental and bodily decline . . . at a much earlier period of life.”

After the war Morell tried to dismiss his injections as being some kind of harmless supplementary nutrition.

We do not know by what criteria he selected the medicines he used. He certainly favoured the products of his own companies: more

seriously, he evidently used new drugs on Hitler without testing for side effects.

There is furthermore no trace of Morell testing new medicines on himself first, in the way that Dr Giesing took quantities of Ultraseptyl and the controversial anti-gas pills in 1944.

If unpleasant effects developed Morell would write to a specialist or institute asking them to conduct tests on animals. Thus in 1944 he suspected that his use of Homoseran might have caused the dramatic acceleration in Hitler's blood sedimentation rate, and he furtively wrote asking for clinical tests of the drug to be carried out on rabbits.

Morell refused to believe that his medicines might be harmful. The objective value of many of them is still disputed.

He would usually underdose to be on the safe side. Professor Schenck has told this author that the diaries show that Morell proceeded ultra-cautiously in his usage of drugs supportive of the peripheral circulatory system: he never administered more than one-third and often less than a quarter of the normal dose, so any effect must have been more imaginary than real.

“No way could such minute doses have eliminated a heart insufficiency such as had already resulted in oedemas on the feet,” he said. Whilst it is unlikely that another doctor would have given glucose injections as Morell did, Schenck concludes that they could have had only “placebo effects, which Morell undoubtedly knew how to reinforce by the spoken word.”

In Schenck's opinion many of the drugs used by Morell – like Mutaflor, Omnadin, Tonophosphan and some of the hormone treatments – could be classed as “specific or non-specific tonics.”

Omnadin was one such non-specific tonic. “Omnadin,” Königer had written, “is a medicine of very mild effect that is always well taken and can be administered daily even to the seriously ill with-

out hesitation. It is highly praised for its effect on flu and grippe-pneumonia, as well as for other bronchial pneumonias and anginas.”

Tonophosphan was also rated highly; it was listed in the 1937 *Gehe Codex*, the principal pharmacological handbook, as a “powerful nerve tonic and metabolic stimulant.”

Mutaflor has been referred to earlier. The mission of the coli bacillus supplied by the Mutaflor capsules was to replace the pathogenic stomach bacteria by healthier strains. “This hypothesis,” says Schenck, “had numerous supporters but scarcely any among the leading German clinical experts or bacteriologists.

* * *

It was primarily with his vitamin products that Morell had attracted the attention of specialist journals in pre-war years.

Vitamin products previously available consisted of pure synthetic Vitamin C without additives. His chief chemist Dr Kurt Mulli later claimed that Morell’s *Vitamultin* was the first vitamin product to contain combinations of vitamins in therapeutically adequate amounts.

Reasoning that Hitler’s diet was unbalanced and inadequate, Morell began giving him (and on occasion Mussolini too) regular intravenous injections of ampoules of “*Vitamultin-Calcium*,” a blend of Vitamin B₁, ascorbic acid, calcium and nicotinamide. These were always intravenous injections and this word is therefore deleted from the published diary texts. “It was particularly to Morell’s credit,” claimed Mulli, “that he recognised the broad therapeutic value of nicotinic acid.”

The Vitamultin-Calcium medication attracted criticism. Professor Schenck held that Morell’s dosage was so small as to be devoid of any therapeutic significance. The diaries show that Morell usu-

ally coupled it with injections of glucose. He also prepared special Vitamultin-Calcium F tablets for Hitler – the F standing apparently for *forte*. These may have contained amphetamines exclusively for Hitler’s use – what would now be called “speed.” Thus on February 20, 1942, we find Morell ordering by telephone “a one-off special order” of ten packets of 200 Vitamultin tablets for Hitler’s headquarters.

Morell’s factories also produced millions of chocolate-like bars of Vitamultin for the German Labour Front. In a letter to Speer’s representatives at Brünn on January 16, 1945, Morell claimed that Vitamultin was necessary during the winter months “to increase resistance to infectious diseases and to get even more work out of the arms workers.”

Perhaps the most controversial of his injections were the hormone products. There was just not enough clinical experience available about the possible side-effects of repeated hormone injections over a period of years.

The science was in its infancy. By 1939 there were three generations of hormone products: the first were the dried endocrine glands themselves, processed into tablets; these were virtually worthless and even Morell did not use them.

The second generation contained the processed extracts of these glands; these did have a vague tonic effect.

The third generation, which was appearing in 1937, were hormones which had been isolated from the organic extracts and whose chemical composition had been completely understood.

Among those of the second generation which Morell administered to both Hitler and to Mussolini were Orchikrin and Prostakrinum. These were indicated for all types and consequences of genital hypoplasia (the excessive smallness of an organ) and for

sex-hormone deficiency in the male. “No specific effect was to be expected,” according to Professor Schenck, “at best a non-specific or placebo effect.”

The same was true, says Schenck, of Prostakrinum which figured only once in the *Gehe Codex*, in the 1939 edition where it was defined as “an extract of seminal vesicles and prostata.” Morell used it to counter depressive moods.

It might be possible to assume from this and other general evidence that Morell suspected a hypertrophied prostate in Hitler. Alternatively he may have been redressing a general insufficiency in sex hormones.

According to Schenck the probability of any specific effect on Hitler's sex glands was less than that of a general tonic effect.

“Evidently,” he postulated, “Morell used these products mainly when Hitler felt tired or low.” Among the third generation of hormones administered by Morell were Cortiron – a hormone generated by the suprarenal gland – and Progynon B Oleosum, both produced by the reputable Berlin company Schering.

Morell injected Cortiron intramuscularly to combat muscle weakness and influence the body's carbohydrate metabolism and fat resorption; its primary uses were against diseases and insufficiency of the suprarenal gland.

In addition to these Morell administered *Testosterone* the male sex hormone, which had the power of restoring flagging male sexual characteristics.

As for the *iodine* products he injected, Morell was familiar with these from his years as a general practitioner. He used them on Hitler correctly, to combat the common cold and against progressive arteriosclerosis.

During World War II the Allies had a virtual monopoly of mass production of penicillin. Germany had none.

When the Allies invaded Northern France in June 1944 they took 600,000 portions of penicillin with them – not much as it turned out. In Germany despite intensive efforts the major pharmaceutical concerns had still not managed to isolate pure penicillin from mould culture.

This did not prevent Morell from using what he prematurely called “penicillin”.

The truth was however that in Germany only Professor Kilian of Breslau had managed to isolate it, and only in minute quantities. Karl Brandt would comment after the war, “When I had drawn Hitler’s attention years earlier to the vast importance of the work being done on penicillin in America and Britain, Morell had not the foggiest notion of what I was talking about and afterwards confused it with phenacetin – something completely different.”

So even though Morell claims in his diary on July 20, 1944 to have applied “penicillin powder”, the most it can have been was some kind of vacuum-dried mould culture processed into a powder with talcum.

“Obviously it would be a travesty to describe this as penicillin,” observed Schenck. “Moreover, as Soviet practice demonstrated, such products are anything but harmless, as mould impurities can result in violently allergic skin reactions.”

Morell’s own papers show that the attempts of his Hamma company’s chief chemist Mulli to reproduce the Allied successes were unsuccessful. The Hamma product was weak and often toxic. “Morell,” commented Schenck, “evidently wanted to show that he was giving Hitler the best treatment available to modern medicine.”

despite the generous infusion of Hitler’s personal funds Morell’s penicillin research stagnated. Professor Rostock, a reputable army expert, carried out laboratory tests. On April 29, 1944, Mulli warned

Morell in a private letter: "We have now produced several hundred ampoules of penicillin, with which we are carrying out extensive tests at the local hospital." Mulli had now made the unpleasant discovery that their penicillin strain frequently yielded exceptionally toxic substances.

Despite these snags, from early May Hamma was turning out "penicillin" products. Morell was more than ignorant of the product's application. On his agenda for August 21, he noted a question to ask Mulli about penicillin: "Is it injected? Intramuscularly?"

When it came to treating Hitler's chief Wehrmacht adjutant Rudolf Schmundt – hideously injured in the bomb attempt of July 1944 – Dr Giesing wanted to administer captured American penicillin, of which Surgeon General Dr Handloser had managed to procure a few ampoules.

Morell stepped in to prevent it.

Giesing struck back, surreptitiously removed two ampoules of Hamma penicillin from Hitler's headquarters, and sent them for analysis by the Institute of Biochemistry at Breslau and by the Institute of Hygiene and Bacteriology at Königsberg. These ampoules had no significant penicillin content.

Giesing passed this damning result on and Morell had to accept it. It must be said that he was conscientious enough not to conceal his ultimate failure: "A test of ampoules," he would warn his Kosolup Dye factory on March 18, 1945, "has shown that every single ampoule was useless – sterile and therefore toxic."

in the absence of a German penicillin, the Germans used sulphonamides.

After Domagk's discovery of the antibiotic powers of the sulphonamides, scores of pharmaceutical companies had greedily investigated ways of synthesising new sulphonamides. In the space

of a few years more than two thousand had been announced, differing only marginally in their outer molecular structures, for no real reason other than to make them legally patentable.

This resulted in sulphonamides that were in fact quite toxic, the most poisonous breed being one called U 1 iron.

Scarcely less toxic was the sulphonamide which Morell swore by called *Ultraseptyl*. It was manufactured by Chinoin, a Budapest company in which Morell had a substantial financial interest.

As early as 1940 researchers had discovered that *Ultraseptyl* had serious side effects particularly on the kidneys and nervous system. There is no question but that Morell was aware of this because he insisted on a high liquid intake after each dose of *Ultraseptyl*.

He would nevertheless continue to recommend it. He wrote a somewhat unsympathetic letter to Hitler's architect Giesler on January 21, 1944: "Sorry to hear you've been flat on your back this last week, but I did warn you not so long ago never to go on journeys without a tube of *Ultraseptyl*."

Morell kept prescribing it until far into 1944. Dr Karl Brandt described under interrogation how Morell "would give large doses of sulphonamides for slight colds, and dished them out to everybody around Hitler's headquarters." Schenck would conclude that Morell's propensity for prescribing *Ultraseptyl* "indicates that he cannot have addressed his mind very closely to the sulphonamide problem, whether as doctor or scientist. If he had, he would have abandoned it by 1942 at the latest."

Morell prescribed *Ultraseptyl*, often underdosed, for a variety of common complaints including Hitler's persistent catarrhal inflammations and angina although doctors had long been warned of the doubtful benefits.

Brandt seized the opportunity to discredit both *Ultraseptyl* and Morell. He showed Hitler an opinion of the Leipzig pharmacologi-

cal institute to the effect that Ultraseptyl damaged the nervous system.

These warnings did not fall on deaf ears and Hitler had something of a rare showdown with Morell who had instructed him to take three Ultraseptyl tablets three times a day against a cold on October 19, 1944. "Führer telephones," Morell wrote, "says he can't take any more Ultraseptyl as after three tablets he gets a taut stomach just like recently and he attributes his recent condition [hepatitis] to the large Ultraseptyl intake. I declared this was absurd, but we'll stop giving him Ultraseptyl. Of course, his cold's going to linger on, I said. I only wanted him to take as much as he did because I thought he wanted to get well again *immediately* whatever the cost."

Morell grudgingly gave Hitler some shots of Tibatin, a reputable sulphonamide that was readily absorbed.

Today Ultraseptyl is no longer manufactured or sold.

Morell's Business Empire

A few words ought to be spoken about Morell's financial situation and business interests.

For treating Hitler, he was paid 300,000 Reichsmarks altogether from 1937 to 1940. After 1940 he was paid 360,000 RM annually, plus 24,000 RM expenses, according to Aloys Becker who handled his affairs. This included treatment of the senior staff at Hitler's headquarters. The Reich Chancery accordingly transferred to his bank account 5,000 RM (about £400) each month.

We know about his other professional income from a statement by his assistant Dr Richard Weber who ran the Kurfürstendamm practice in Morell's absence.

On June 5, 1944 Weber advised him that air raids had affected the takings of the practice and that the gross 1943 income would be down to 86,497 RM; but if the fees from Party bigwigs like Goebbels and Funk were included, gross income would top 110,000 RM. Weber anticipated that the takings for 1944 would be some twenty-five per cent higher.

What about Morell's business income? With his ready access to Hitler this was substantial, but still less than from the Kurfürstendamm. His factories had a turnover of millions but most of this went on repaying loans.

The biggest money-spinner was Morell's Vitamultin, required nutrition for the armed forces. By October 1942 over thirty-eight million bars of Vitamultin had been delivered to the Waffen SS, and

in March 1943 a second order was issued to Hamma for forty million bars.

To finance his Vitamultin production programme for 1944 however Morell had to raise hefty loans from the state-owned Bank of German Labour. By the end of 1944 these loans had still not been amortised so Morell made no profit from his venture into the world of capitalism; he might have if the war had lasted longer.

Morell had dreams of creating an enormous business processing animal glands for their secretions and hormones. On November 15, 1943 he wrote to a government official boasting that he had dedicated his life's work to researching hormones and harnessing them for curative medicine.

Hamma Inc. was, he wrote, the realisation of this dream. It was producing high grade hormone products "that are vital for our soldiers." By the end of July 1943 it had manufactured one hundred thousand ampoules of liver extract. A Hamma subsidiary was set up at Vinnitsa to enable Morell to exploit the immense Ukrainian slaughterhouses, and the Endocrinological Institute at Kharkov was taken over by Morell during 1943.

the value of Morell's commercial products was hotly debated.

The controversy started with his Vitamultin lozenges. Billions were manufactured to supply official contracts. The German Labour Front's Office of Health and Public Safety issued 390 million of the 2.5 gram lozenges during the first "Vitamultin Operation," in the winter of 1941-42.

Morell wanted the airforce to join in for obvious commercial reasons – for four months every Luftwaffe soldier should be given one lozenge a day.

The Luftwaffe experts rebelled: Göring's chief surgeon Dr Erich Hippke wrote an annihilating report on the value of Vitamultin,

but he had underestimated Morell's clout. The protest rebounded on Hippke's head and he was dismissed by Göring, one of Morell's patients.

Morell stepped up production. Of decided advantage to his business empire was that the official contracts entitled him to obtain scarce raw materials like ascorbic acid from the stocks allocated to the Labour Front.

By 1944 the factories were churning out billions of the lozenges. "We have issued invoices for 460 million" his chief chemist Kurt Mulli told him on January 23, "and are waiting for new orders to roll in."

Mulli was going to try to introduce the product into Czechoslovakia which would expand the demand by 70 million. On January 27, Mulli triumphed, "The operation will probably top 560 million. We'll have around four tons of ascorbic acid left over plus the four tons from the Wehrmacht quota."

On April 29 he reported to Morell that orders had now reached the staggering total of 696,164,616 lozenges, of which they had already delivered 657,230,800.

morell's other promising line was supplying an anti-lice powder to the troops.

This also ran into criticism. During the winter of 1941-42 the troops and civilian population had been plagued by lice, which raised a severe typhus danger. Hitler mentioned his concern over lunch one day.

Morell looked into it. By February 1942 he had developed a powder based on the foul smelling compound, potassium xanthogenat. On March 15 Hitler ordered that the S. Heikorn margarine factory at Olmütz be sold to Morell for the purpose of manufacturing this "Rusla Powder" manufacture.

Under the management of Aloys Becker the factory began packaging Rusla for the armed forces.

Rival products appeared, to Morell's rage. He defended his product against them in a lengthy confidential talk with Hitler in July 1943. The conversation shows the jealousy with which he guarded his growing empire. That summer Rusla manufacture was halted as the Army Health Inspectorate declared its depots overflowing.

Simultaneously, the first criticism of Morell's product was heard.

On March 9, the Labour Front's medical expert Dr Schulenburg sent a devastating report on the lice-killing powder to Morell's Heikorn factory. Schulenburg reminded Dr Mulli that he had suggested running large scale trials, "using scientific methods." The answer from Heikorn was evasive. "As you are aware," Schulenburg's letter continued, "the efficacy of your product is at the very least controversial."

In the report, drawn up by the Labour Front's division of Health and Public Safety, the investigators stated: "We conducted an experiment with Rusla powder stored in a little box with lice. After twenty-four hours the lice crawled out in rollicking spirits."

* * *

becker would later testify that Morell never made a cent from his business empire.

This is largely true. Bank statements among his files show that in 1944, his best year, he was drawing only 2,000 RM from Olmütz, with a tax deduction of 596.70 RM. Morell would die in poverty.

Barbarossa and the Leeches

Hitler's wehrmacht fell upon the Soviet Union. On that day, June 22, 1941, the young diplomat Walther Hewel noted in his diary the "calm, mellow mood" in the Reich Chancery building. The next day he added: "The Führer is in the best of spirits because of our gigantic victories in Russia (airforce)." That evening after tea with Hitler he added: "Russia: there are still big question marks."

The question marks remained. The gnawing uncertainties of these first months of the eastern campaign generated illnesses in Hitler that were to have serious consequences.

He had travelled to the Wolf's Lair, his headquarters for this campaign, on the night on June 24. It had been built on swampland outside Rastenburg in East Prussia. "No doubt some government department found the land was cheapest here," grumbled Hitler three years later.

On June 27, the High Command war diarist Helmuth Greiner complained in a private letter: "We're being plagued by the most awful mosquitoes. It would be hard to pick on a more senseless site than this – deciduous forest with marshy pools, sandy ground, and stagnant lakes, ideal for these loathsome creatures. On top of which, our bunkers are cold and damp. We freeze to death at night, can't get to sleep because of the humming of the air conditioning and the terrible draught it makes, and we wake up every morning with a headache. Our underwear and uniforms are always cold and clammy."

At first the campaign gave no ground for worry. In the north, troops took Libau and Dvinsk, in the centre 300,000 Russians were encircled and Minsk was captured. By July 4 the Russians had lost 4,600 tanks and thousands of airplanes.

Hitler often lingered until two or three a.m. talking with his staff about the future – and above all about his plans for colonising Russia for the Germans. “I will go down in history as the destroyer of bolshevism,” he bragged.

Greiner at least had second thoughts. “It was quite interesting at the Führer’s again,” he wrote on July 4, “but not so much as the last time. He was very quiet and scarcely joined in the conversation.” And while Greiner reckoned, two days later, that in a few more days they would be better placed to judge the fighting, he added the observation: “We didn’t discuss this at all yesterday. At first the Führer just brooded silently to himself. Then he livened up and expatiated for well over an hour about our courageous, dare-devil Italian allies, and the headaches they’re giving him. I can only marvel at his insight and perception. Apart from this, he’s looking good and seems in good health, although he hardly ever goes to bed before five or six a.m.”

Late in July 1941, Hitler’s health collapsed. He had a row with his foreign minister von Ribbentrop, who screamed at him at one stage: “God doesn’t let people take a look at the cards he’s holding!” Hitler suddenly paled, stopped in mid-retort, slumped into a chair and clutched his heart. Ribbentrop was petrified and promised never to lose his temper again.

* * *

worse befell hitler soon after, a “minor affliction,” as his grinning generals termed it. He contracted dysentery. For three vital

weeks he was weakened by diarrhoea, stomach cramps, nausea, aching limbs, shivery feelings and fever.

The military consequences were serious. Adjutant Karl-Jesco von Puttkamer, a tall cigar-smoking navy captain, could see that Hitler's growing feebleness left him incapable of out-arguing the dynamic army generals who came to his war conference each day that summer, determined to scrap the original encirclement strategy outlined in Hitler's Barbarossa Directive, and converting the campaign's main thrust into a traditional assault on Moscow.

"If this frontal assault goes on as at present," Hitler weakly warned the Army's commander in chief, Walther von Brauchitsch on August 5, "we're going to grind to a halt as we did in World War I."

Brauchitsch was given detailed instructions on how to use the airforce squadrons but when Hitler's illness worsened the generals got their way. Field Marshal von Bock's armies would still be floundering outside Moscow when the Russian winter arrived.

"I still believe," Hermann Göring would say under interrogation, "that had Hitler's original plan of genius not been diluted like that, the eastern campaign would have been decided by early 1942 at the latest."

worried by the onset of this illness, Hitler's doctor sent a faecal sample to Freiburg for analysis. On August 5, Professor Nissle reported to Morell: "Nothing suspicious." He recommended Mutaflor medication. "I need scarcely add that when visiting dysentery areas it is advisable to wear a woollen waistband, to refrain from eating uncooked fruit and salads and from drinking unboiled water, and to wash hands thoroughly after every contact with the troops, particularly before meals."

Hitler took his staff on an exhausting flying visit to the Ukraine on August 6. Hewel recorded: "Four a.m. took off for Berdichev,

three hour flight across Russia to Bialystok. Met with General Antonescu at a school, Rundstedt's army HQ. Strolled through Berdichev. Ruined monastery. Coffins ripped open, execution, ghastly town. Many Jews, ancient hovels, fertile soil."

The sun beat down on them as they flew back. By next morning Hitler was ill and confined to bed. He did not turn up for lunch or for the war conference. He was unable to sleep. It caused a sensation at the Wolf's Lair.

Hewel had been a rubber planter for years in Java. In his diary he wrote the frightened phrase in Malayan: "Führer *sakit* [ill]."

Small wonder that Hitler's petrified physician began to record the course of the illness in a diary, pencilled on small pages of note-paper.

7 August 1941

At Führer's headquarters. Saw Führer at one-thirty p.m. in map room. Said he'd been sitting down when he suddenly felt dizzy, with attacks of nausea and retching. Of late he's been looking pretty bad all the time, and pale . . . This bunker atmosphere has been getting him down for five or six weeks now.

Then Junge [an SS Orderly] suddenly telephoned for me to come *immediately* to the Führer.

I hurried over. Face deathly white.

"I feel very bad now," he said, "much worse than I was earlier. Just now I suddenly felt giddy. I don't know what it is. Up here," he said, indicating his left temple, "I feel so strange. Over the last few days it's kept bothering me up there." (Since about a week.) "But a short while ago I had a terrific row, I got immensely worked up and since that time I've been feeling pretty low. And my stomach's been upset for quite a while too."

Pulse normal. Forehead above both eyebrows tender. Tremor in extended hands. No local tenderness of abdomen. Intestinal gases. Tongue furred. Liver of harder consistency and somewhat enlarged. Injected Vitamultin-Calcium and Glyconorm. Bent the needle on insertion. Gave him a Yatren pill and twenty drops of Dolantin.

Blood pressure 172-4 mm (as opposed to 136mm normal.) Fetched Septoid and injected 10cc. Applied cold compresses to temples and left of head, and hot poultices. Reflexes of the pupils [to light and convergence] good, eye movements unimpaired.

Diagnosis: vascular spasms with rush of blood to temples.

Says he can hear a constant buzzing in left ear. Says he's had this before. Professor Eicken did not find anything.

Eight p.m. to see the Führer.

morell continued the emergency diary across the back of the day's menu – fried eggs, turnip, green beans, potatoes, strawberries.

August 8, 1941

Führer sent word over by valet this morning that he has never had a day in bed since being gassed in the World War. He thinks he's a rotten patient.

He got up at eleven a.m. I went over, without being sent for.

He's very irritable, feeling a lot worse than yesterday. Says he hasn't slept a wink, has no intention of lying in that confined space, he's got to get up and about. Says he's not going to have any more injections for the time being. Where I injected him yesterday is hurting so badly it puts all else in the shade.

The buzzing in his left ear is undiminished. I wanted to give him castor oil, but he refuses laxatives, even stewed prunes, saying they

generate too much gas. Would like those Yatren more often pills: it says so on the label. He says I ought to read it sometime.

“When do you want me again?” I asked.

“After lunch.”

Führer then dressed and went over to the map room. I sent word over at midday that he should only have tea and a biscuit, with no sweetening in the tea. He ordered spaghetti and strawberries.

I've never seen the Führer so hostile towards me. By one a.m. he had had five watery bowel movements.

August 9, 1941

Eleven a.m. “I think it's okay again doctor,” he said. “Let's keep the check-up short, shall we? Because I want to go over to the map room.”

After his war conference in the map room, I was sent for by the Führer.

“During the conference,” he said, “I suddenly got that buzzing in my ears again.”

We talked about leeches. For lunch, he had ice-cream, boiled potatoes and strawberries. He kept very quiet at the table.

to fight the ringing in Hitler's ears Morell resorted to leeches, one of history's ancient remedies.

Heinz Linge, Hitler's valet, later wrote this description: “Hitler sat in front of a mirror and watched fascinated as the leeches quenched their thirst on his blood.”

Afterwards Hitler breathed a sigh of relief. “Good,” he said. “Now my head's as clear as a bell again.”

Leeches had once been fashionable as a cure for persistent headaches and phlebitis. They secrete a substance that inhibits blood

coagulation; so when they begin to suck, it is like a small blood-letting incision.

An artificial anti-coagulant, Heparin, is used nowadays, although apothecaries in Germany still supply leeches if given a few days' notice.

August 11, 1941

At one a.m. his ears are still buzzing. I plan to try leeches and electric heating pads.

Forenoon: blood pressure still 150/155. Still has buzzing in the ears. Left hand shows a tremor. I bent the needle when I injected Vitamultin-Calcium plus Tonophosphan forte.

Midday diet: gruel, porridge, strawberries.

Later, from four to eight p.m., I set two leeches on the left in front of his left ear. First I made a small prick under the ear, but the skin was like leather and I had to push to draw even the tiniest drops of blood.

Führer himself shook the leeches out of the jar. I had to apply them with my fingers, as they squirmed out of the forceps. The front one sucked much faster, the rear one only slowly. The front one dropped off first, letting go at the bottom and dangling. The rear one continued sucking another half-hour then it too let go at the bottom; I finally had to prise it free at the top.

The bleeding continued two hours. I applied a pad of cotton soaked in iron chloride, then a small band-aid dressing. On account of the two dressings the Führer did not show up for supper.

Afterwards he turned up for the war conference and then for the usual tea session. His ears had stopped buzzing!

August 12, 1941

When I removed the dressing heavy bleeding started again.

Told him not to eat any crispbread or wholemeal bread for three days.

Seven p.m., pulse 72, blood pressure 145mm. Some throbbing in left head, perhaps caused by the Suprarinin drops? Has had a lot of arguments and tension. But buzzing still not back.

Führer lay down to rest. Against my objections he used the styp-tic solution when shaving.

August 14, 1941

One a.m. Fuhrer would not let me give him a check-up, says everything is okay. Still some ringing in his ears. I mentioned doing a white and red blood corpuscle count today, and that was okay by him. An electrocardiogram too while we're about it.

morell carried out the electrocardiogram on Hitler at midday, and left later for Berlin.

The ECG was a turning point in Hitler's life. Morell had it interpreted by cardiologist Professor A Weber of Bad Nauheim. The diagnosis was that Hitler had developed coronary sclerosis. It has been confirmed by Harley Street specialists to whom this author showed the electrocardiograms.

It was not abnormal for a man of Hitler's age, fifty-two; but it introduced the danger of a sudden angina pectoris or an embolism with possibly fatal consequences.

At first Morell kept this news from Hitler, and implied that his organs were sound. But he began reading up textbooks on heart diseases.

August 18, 1941

We talked about the electrocardiogram (the depressed T₁).

Yesterday and today we talked over the lack of oxygen and sunshine that he's getting. That's why there's so little haemoglobin and why the red corpuscle count is down.

Moreover the bunker is damp and unhealthy, the climate just right for growing fungi. New bunker walls always sweat quantities of water at first.

Everybody here's got rheumatism and aches and pains. Then there are the colds caused by the draught of the extractor fans. I pointed all *that* out after just four days here in the bunker. Everybody contradicted me then. People got chest constrictions, anaemia and general bunker psychosis.

I remind him that I recommended more frequent motor journeys or five days in his special train, a change of scenery to somewhere of greater altitude.

The Führer declares that isn't on because of the centralisation of his communications equipment, etc.

"Let's arrange a drive with Hewel," I suggest, "and then go for a sail."

He says, "I've got conferences tomorrow, so that won't do." I say, "Well then, the day after tomorrow."

He says yesterday evening he took half a spoonful of Brom-Nervacit [a well-known tranquilliser] and slept moderately well. But he doesn't want to get into the sedative habit, so he's going to stop. I urge him to take at least a dessert spoon of an evening.

Lunch this midday was mashed pickles without the meat, but he doesn't feel like trying it yet, so he had stuffed empanadillos with puréed carrots and mashed potatoes, rounded off with strawberries.

August 20, 1941

After working a lot yesterday his head was a bit dizzy again, but only minimal buzzing in his ears. Shots of 20% Glycovarin plus Vitamin-Calcium, and of Tonophosphan forte. He was a bit jumpy (his hands were shaking and his head swimming), so he took a level dessert spoonful of Brom-Nervacit. Slept okay after that without sleeping tablets.

August 22, 1941

He slept soundly from four to eleven a.m. For a while still some relatively minor buzzing in his ears.

Feeling good, in fact wanted to dispense with any further injections; but I gave him a 10 cc shot of 20% glucose (two jabs, injected left) and Vitamultin-Calcium and an intramuscular shot of Tonophosphan all the same. Bent the needle. No unpleasant after-effects.

The interpretation of the electrocardiogram by Professor Weber has arrived: either a previous infection, or *Coronary Sclerosis*.

Outburst last night: "Meal repertoire is very limited."

Trouble is, it's getting very difficult to make suggestions what with his being a vegetarian, because carbohydrates lead to a build-up of gases.

I've proposed he takes Enzynorm with his meals, but now he's turned that down.

Only one of the leeches is still alive and I was hoping to apply them once more before Mussolini gets here [August 25] so that his head is clear.

"I can't find the time yet," says the Führer however. "Right now I'm up to my eyes in work. Of course I want them too."

“But,” I say, “I must know in advance, because I want to make a point of using fresh animals.”

August 23, 1941

Set three leeches (two behind the ear, one in front). The latter sucked well and strong. Head clearer and lighter. Says he finds the sucking not at all unpleasant.

August 24, 1941

He didn't feel today's intramuscular injection (I used a platinum needle). His head is clear. Using sedatives because of excitement and worry.

Won't now be able to get down to the Berghof before December.

I talked to him about how the capillaries begin to calcify in people around fifty.

on august 25, 1941 Mussolini arrived at the Wolf's Lair. After a joint conference the two dictators drove off the next day to Brest-Litovsk to inspect their troops.

That evening they returned, only to depart at eight p.m. by special train to the Führer's alternative headquarters at Vinnitsa, in the Ukraine.

On the following day the journey continued in four-engined Condors to Uman, affording a fine view of Russia's fertile prairies. The ground and air commanders Gerd von Rundstedt and Alexander Löhr briefed the Axis leaders on the Wehrmacht advances. Then they drove on through the endless expanses and the still unharvested fields, before flying back to Vinnitsa in magnificent weather. Here Hitler took leave of Mussolini.

August 28, 1941

From seven a.m. to five p.m. the Führer was with the Duce at the front visiting the Italians. His face was burned to a beetroot red and his forehead was raw with big painful sunburnt patches, so he was very grumpy.

August 29, 1941

In the afternoon (at Deutsch-Eylau) gave him both injections again. He's feeling good. Supper at eight p.m. in the train, then returned to the old headquarters. Tea until 1.30 a.m. with the Führer.

with this episode Morell's diaries for 1941 close.

By the autumn of 1941 Hitler's armies had thrust deep into the Soviet Union.

"Offensive in the east making wonderful progress," rejoiced Walther Hewel in his diary on October 5. Two days later the Wehrmacht closed its ring around Vyazma and an entire Soviet army went into brutal captivity.

General Jodl spoke of the "most decisive day of the Russian war" and compared it with the battle of Königgrätz.

But in October Hitler again succumbed to the mysterious plague-like illness. Using his secret Malayan tongue, Hewel noted that the Führer was ill, he had "not appeared for either midday or evening meals, although it was the Reichsführer's [Heinrich Himmler's] birthday and he had been invited specially for lunch."

Morell was at a loss for an explanation, but by October 10 this renewed affliction had passed over. "Spent evening with F.," Hewel wrote. "Wonderfully relaxed and in best of spirits. Completely care-free."

On the thirteenth, he added, “Führer in best of possible spirits, very relaxed.”

A letter from a Berlin pharmaceutical company to Morell dated November 3, 1941 suggests that Hitler had been attacked by nausea and heartburn. Morell suspected that the Mutaflor batch might not have been fresh.

In the east, Hitler’s offensive bogged down in the autumn rains, then congealed in the Moscow winter. Japan’s entry into the war in December evoked temporary euphoria but a few days later he began to brood on Germany’s darkening future.

“Strange,” he told Hewel, “that we are destroying the positions of the white race in East Asia with the help of Japan, while Britain has joined the Bolshevik swine in the fight against Europe!”

As his war machine slowed to a halt, Hitler cast around for scapegoats. The commander in chief of the Army and a number of army group and army commanders were dismissed.

His responsibilities expanded still more. The associated health problems multiplied too.

Footnotes:

1. Vitamultin and Glyconorm were products of dubious value made by Morell’s own factory; the former a multivitamin, the latter a cocktail of extracts of the cardiac muscle, suprarenal gland, liver and pancreas.

2. Yatren was a Hungarian drug used against amoebic dysentery, which Hitler certainly did not have as it is confined to tropical countries. Dolantin was a Hoechst product, a powerful and effective pain killer, controlled by the Narcotics Act.

Brain Fever

Hitler was ageing. Dr Hanskarl von Hasselbach would say under interrogation in 1945, “Prior to 1940 Hitler appeared to be much younger than he actually was. From 1940 to 1943 he looked his age, while after that time he gave the appearance of having grown old.”

Dr Goebbels also noticed the ageing process. “The Führer’s looks belie his health,” he wrote on March 20, 1942. “A fleeting glance might suggest a man in the pink of condition. But that is not the case.” In one intimate conversation on the day before, Hitler had told him that he had felt rather ill of late: he occasionally had violent dizzy spells. “He says the long winter upset his spirits so much that it has taken its toll on his health.”

Morell’s records are missing from September 1941 until mid-1942. We know that on March 28 Hitler issued directives for the summer offensive in Russia, Operation Blue. Almost at once the British bombing offensive began; Lübeck was firebombed, three hundred people lost their lives. Many cities would suffer the same fate, and Hitler made it his practice never to retire to bed until the last bomber had left German airspace.

He often talked of the winter fighting and its cruelty. “It was really quite touching,” wrote Goebbels, “to hear him complain about how this last winter inundated him with worries and difficulties. I couldn’t help noticing that he’s gone quite grey. When he started talking about the winter’s problems he seemed even older.” A few

weeks later, on April 26, Hitler told him that he was going to travel down to Berchtesgaden on the pretext of talks with Mussolini.

There, his health deteriorated. Morell tried to combat his depression with injections of Prostakrinum.

Operation Blue had to be postponed. While Hitler had originally planned to stay at the Berghof for only a few weeks he finally remained there for two months.

After Operation Blue began, Hitler flew on July 16 to Vinnitsa where he had established a field headquarters code-named Werewolf. Here he was taken ill. Three years later Morell would recall that Hitler had a brain fever” here in Vinnitsa “in 1942.” It was not dangerous, he added, but it lasted for a week.

There was a lot of this grippe-type of brain fever about until 1943. It was termed “Russian headache.” It was not unlike meningitis, but less deadly. Significantly, there is a school of medical thought which associates this disease with the characteristic onset, two or three years later, of Parkinsonism.

The illness began on July 22, and the diary entries show that Morell took it very seriously.

July 22, 1942

Two p.m. summoned to the Führer. Says he has a terrible headache, and later states that the vision in his right eye is somewhat impaired.

Heart 66 beats per minute, heart sounds pure and regular, but blood pressure right up to 170mm! His tongue is furred. Injected 25% glucose solution and 10cc of Septoiod and gave him an intramuscular shot of Vitamultin-Calcium.

Führer then went off to lunch. Told him to have a lie down afterwards and apply cold compresses. Ought to run a blood check. He

admitted when I asked that he's been working a lot these last few days and couldn't get to sleep last night.

[Diagnosis] *Arteriospasm*.

At seven-thirty this evening saw him again: he's had a sleep and the pain behind his right forehead has subsided. The impairment of vision has also gone. Gave him two Thrombovit tablets.

I'll have to draw off a little blood soon. The climate here's too hot for the Führer. For people with translucent, fine, hypersensitive skins and particularly those prone to sunburn a fresh wind and a cool climate are always more wholesome. That's why the climate in East Prussia and particularly the mountain air is so good for the Führer.

July 23, 1942

Forenoon: he slept well and somewhat longer. No eye pain any more. Wants an eye check-up soon, particularly for focus, as in his opinion one eye sees worse than the other; he presumes it's the right one. In excellent form.

July 26, 1942

Three-thirty p.m. Blood pressure was 138. I applied two leeches but they refused to suck.

on July 28 Morell tried again, "I set one leech to his right temple." Since Morell made no further entries that summer, Hitler had evidently recovered.

The climate at Werewolf, in the Ukraine was certainly more unpleasant than at Rastenburg. At the end of August OKW's war diarist Helmuth Greiner wrote, "Since the day we arrived here we have had uninterrupted fine weather and a heat wave. We long for rain but

dread it too because the humidity here is said to be particularly grim. The Führer can't stand the climate and heat, and pines for his bunker," meaning Rastenburg.

Greiner added, "These barracks haven't been built with winter in mind. But by winter the operations in the Caucasus will have been largely wound up." That proved over-optimistic. The summer offensive ground to a halt in the Caucasian highlands. On September 9, Greiner entered in his pocket diary: "Serious crisis of confidence." Hitler sacked Field Marshal List and took over command of Army Group A himself. A few days later he sacked General Franz Halder, and brought in verbatim shorthand writers to record his war conferences, to ensure that his orders were actually carried out.

"For two weeks, lunch with the Führer has been dropped," wrote Greiner, describing the crisis, adding disrespectfully, "and for the time being it probably won't be resumed as Mr Big has withdrawn into his own solitary fastness."

morell was temporarily preoccupied with expanding his business Empire. To Johanna he wrote on October 22, "I'm often whacked after these trips out to Zhitomir. I drive two hundred miles every other day, and sometimes every day, and on bad Russian roads at that. Today my kidneys are hurting. It must be the albumen again (my Patient has got the same trouble too.)"

His high level patients were doing their bit for him. In an act of rare concurrence with Alfred Rosenberg, Minister for the Eastern Territories, Gauleiter Erich Koch decreed that Morell should enjoy a monopoly in exploiting by-products from the Ukrainian slaughterhouses. Morell's lofty niche shielded him from a lot of unpleasantness. When the Pancreatic Corporation initiated a lawsuit against him, claiming damages of one million Reichsmarks for blocking their access to the animal organs of the Ukraine, Morell

crowed: “They can’t touch me.” He was not Hitler’s doctor for nothing.

“Meanwhile,” he continued in the letter to his wife, which affords a rare glimpse of his business interests, “the desiccating of the glands is making great progress. Tomorrow I’m going out there again to check. I hope the vacuum-drying plant and the extraction gear comes quickly, because then we can really go into big business. If I get enough equipment I want to start up in Kiev and Poltava. Koch has promised me the Endocrinological Institute at Kharkov too, but don’t breathe a word of that anywhere.”

After October 1942, Morell scribbled consultation notes on Patient Adolf Hitler on quarto-sized data cards with printed headings; these are in his files. The cards recorded the hundreds of injections made on a daily basis to Hitler: these injections, usually intravenous shots of glucose, Tonophosphan forte and Prosthophanta, intramuscular injections of Vitamultin-Calcium, are not reproduced below because of their repetitive and inconclusive nature.

as planned, Hitler returned on November 1, 1942 to his winter quarters at Rastenburg. Greiner found it unpleasant and wrote four weeks later, “It’s horrid here in this dirty green, gloomy, airless forest encampment. It’s permanently swathed in fog, it has an exceptionally nasty dining room that couldn’t compete with even the ugliest village pub, it has hideous bunkers and barrack huts that are either overheated or freezing. What’s worse is, the way things are turning out there are endless differences of opinion.”

On November 7 Hitler had left Rastenburg in his special train for Munich and thence to Berchtesgaden. “It began to snow,” recorded shorthand writer Karl Thöt in his diary, “and after a few days everything turned into the most bewitching scenery.” Hitler was not enchanted by the snow.

On November 21 the Soviet offensive tore open the Stalingrad front. Alarmed, on the next day Hitler ordered an immediate return to Rastenburg. By the time he arrived, on the night of November 24-25, the Sixth Army had been encircled and cut off.

For a while Stalingrad caused less concern than Africa, Greiner would comment in one letter. Headquarters was confident that the Stalingrad situation could be repaired. The real crisis was perceived where the British Eighth Army had broken through Rommel's minefields at El Alamein.

Hitler's epigastric disturbances returned, certainly a product of his growing frustration. On December 9 Greiner had noted in his diary: Führer utters strong criticism of the navy – the uselessness of our battleships. Führer wants to get down to the Berghof for a lengthy period to clear his head for new decisions." But General Kurt Zeitzler, Halder's successor, persuaded Hitler to remain at Rastenburg. The weeks dragged by in the Wolf's Lair, cold, dank and clammy, while the transfer to the south was postponed from one day to the next.

On November 23, Morell noted after the usual injections that Hitler was getting scarcely any sleep because of huge responsibilities and overwork." The consultation notes show that Morell continued giving Hitler injections and medications including various different purgatives; on December 14 Hitler was "deeply worried by situation," on the fifteenth he took Barbiturate sleeping tablets ("slept poorly . . . because of the military situation") and later that day was "in a sour mood because of the way the war's going."

It did not improve.

December 17, 1942

Sent for during the evening by the Führer to ask me about Cardiazol. He said Göring had told him he took a tablet of Cardiazol

whenever he felt weak or dizzy. I advised against it because Göring had low blood pressure and the Führer is suffering from high blood Pressure when his temper rises This being so, if he took a Cardiazol tablet and the blood pressure then went up one might burst a blood vessel.

The Führer then asked me to tell him at once if things should ever look really black for him, as there are some vital decisions he has to take on Germany's account.

All he has now is just one worry after another and no time that he can call his own.

He says he lives only for the Fatherland, for Germany. There is no cure for death, that he knows. But if he should ever fall terminally ill, then I must tell him.

Since we were on the subject of always being frank about his precise condition, I disclosed to him the presence of a coronary sclerosis. I said, 'This is why I've been giving you iodine for some time now.'

The subsequent electrocardiograms have confirmed my suspicion, I said. In many people this calcification takes place somewhat earlier, as a result of intensive hard work, but it usually starts at around forty-five.

"As the blood vessels of the coronary artery narrow," I added, "you may get attacks of angina pectoris. By injecting glucose I'm doing what I can to strengthen your heart and also to dehydrate the system."

in the remaining days of 1942, Morell had regular consultations with Hitler, routinely noting the increasing medication and injections, which frequently included sedatives.

The situation on the shattered Stalingrad front was critical.

By December 28 the thermometer had fallen to minus ten degrees Celsius outside Hitler's bunker.

That night he decided, for the first time in his life, to fall back before enemy pressure and yield valuable territory. He ordered Army Groups A and D to retreat.

Still he refused to give up hope for the Sixth Army in Stalingrad. The Luftwaffe began flying round the clock to airlift supplies to the 250,000 besieged troops.

The Second Electrocardiogram

The harrowing struggle for control of Stalingrad continued until the end of January 1943. On the twenty-second General Kurt Zeitzler asked if General Friedrich Paulus might honourably surrender. Hitler refused. Paulus, promoted by him to field marshal, radioed to Hitler a final message: “Long live Germany,” and capitulated with the shreds of his defeated Sixth Army. The General Staff called for the evacuation of the Donets basin, but Munitions Minister Albert Speer appeared at headquarters on February 4 and protested. Hitler agreed – to abandon the Donets basin would make it impossible to continue the war. On February 17 Hitler flew down to Manstein’s headquarters at Zaporozh’ye to seek inspiration for the battles to come. Morell’s scrappy notes on the data cards sketch Hitler’s health during these weeks:

January 3, 1943

In the afternoon blood pressure 152/110.

By evening a headache after tiring negotiations (with Speer and others.)

January 4, 1943

Injections as before. On January 4-5 major conferences with Speer, Bulgarians etc.

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morell had begun injecting Hitler every two or three days with double shots of glucose, noted in his records only as “injections as usual” or simply a large X.

January 31, 1943

During the night stomach pains and severe flatulence after eating green beans. Double glucose.

despite his own problems the dictator found time to worry about the little band of stenographers endlessly scribbling at his conference table – Thöt, Reynitz, Dörr, Haagen and the rest. On February 4, Thöt entered in his shorthand diary: “While we were briefly alone with the Führer, he spoke to us. It was very cold in the room and in his kindly way he said we were probably freezing and he was going to get us an electric bowl fire to warm our places at the table. He said he couldn’t stand any heat himself while bending over the map table because he got headaches. When Dr Reynitz commented, “If the soldiers out there can stand the cold and snow and ice then we’ll manage somehow too,” that set the Führer talking about the front in a manner we certainly had not been accustomed to hear before.”

The nervous strain on these civil servants was overwhelming. How much greater was the mental strain on Hitler? But he soldiered on, aided by Morell and his hypodermic needle. On February 17, as we have seen, he flew to Zaporozh’ye to see Manstein, then drove on to his old headquarters at Vinnitsa. It was bitterly cold at Werewolf, which had only been designed for summer use. Thöt recorded on the twentieth, “Midday war conference was short – only fifty-seven minutes – but freezing. The Führer must have noticed us shivering because he spoke to us afterwards. I said if you have to sit still for a long time you do get cold.” Hitler promised to get a stove installed.

By next midday a small tiled stove had been provided.

Almost every day Morell recorded, "injections as usual." Sometimes he jotted just, "as usual."

With the coming of spring, the military crisis passed. On March 16, the panzer forces of SS General Sepp Dietrich recaptured Kharkov and three days later Hitler felt able to leave headquarters and fly back to Berlin. "The flight over German territories," Thöt wrote, "was wonderful and I was entranced. The Reich capital unfolded beneath us magnificently in the blue sunshine . . . True, we could also see the swathe of destruction left by the [British] air raid on the night of March 1-2."

Two days later Hitler attended the Memorial Day service, then left Berlin in his special train for Munich. On March 22 his car drove him up the winding lanes to his mountainside Berghof villa. Morell followed two days after that.

March 24, 1943

It's 10 p.m. Arrived at Obersalzberg. There are Föhn conditions [a warm mountain wind] and a sudden heat-wave. Says his head's aching and thumping. He's been living in low-pressure areas since mid-November 1942, and now this sudden change; moreover up to a week or ten days ago he's been worrying constantly about the consolidating on the eastern front.

On March 24, 1943 I arrived at the Berghof from Munich at eight p.m. At nine-thirty, after the war conference, I was called to the Führer. He complained of a violent headache and a throbbing head. Temporal artery badly swollen. Looking generally tired and languid. Föhn! He's been up here since the evening of the twenty-second.

Took his blood pressure. It's 170-180mm! Gave him two intravenous shots of loccs Septoid, and two tablespoons of Brom-Nervacit

and an Optalidon tablet. During the actual injections his head began to clear and a short time later the throbbing stopped.

Sat up in animated conversation until two-thirty a.m. at the fire-side (but no fire!) and I made sure he got fresh air. Führer kept telling me he feels much better now.

at the end of March and during April, Morell began to observe that Hitler was not getting enough sleep.

April 19, 1943

11 a.m. He took a Tempidorm [sedative] at three a.m.

April 20, 1943

His birthday! Began course of Enterofagos² in the evening (epigastric gases.) (Eva Braun likewise.)

to outsiders hitler seemed to be well again, Sepp Dietrich told Goebbels on April 20 how glad he was that Hitler had repaired his health on the Obersalzberg. "He looks fresh and active," he said. "He is full of pep again and we can expect the same brilliant feats from him as of old."

from may 2-6 hitler spent a few days in Munich, then returned with Morell to Berlin. Victor Lutze, the Chief of Staff of the SA, had been killed in an automobile accident.

On May 7, the Party funeral service was held in the Reich Chancellery. Afterwards, Morell gave Hitler a routine injection. While in Berlin, Morell carried out further blood and urine analyses on Hitler. The results were largely normal.

The problem was still Hitler's heart. On May 11, 1943, Morell carried out a further electrocardiogram before flying back to Rastenburg with Hitler on the next day. Taking a letterhead of the Führer's Headquarters, Morell wrote to the cardiologist Professor A Weber asking for advice. "About two years ago," he reminded Weber, "I sent you one of the enclosed electrocardiograms for an opinion, informing you that it was a gentleman in the Foreign Ministry. You expressed the opinion that this was an incipient coronary sclerosis. Meanwhile I have treated the patient concerned – a man who is subjected to huge burdens and can hardly ever take a respite.

"Recently," continued Morell, "when I gave him a thorough checkup . . . I made the second attached electrocardiogram. It appears that a very minor deterioration has occurred. Would you please be so good as to tell me your opinion on (1) the present result, (2) how it compares with the earlier one, and (3) the proper therapy. If possible in two separate letters, one that I can show the patient and one for me."

Professor Weber's report, dated May 17, 1943, is in Morell's files. It was not favourable. But he did allow himself some suggestions as to how Morell's anonymous VIP should be treated, and probably recognised that he was talking about Adolf Hitler himself:

Dear Colleague Morell,³

The two takes of May 11 show: sinus rhythm, left type, possibly also incipient left retardation [. . .] The electrocardiogram of May 11 this year reinforces my earlier diagnosis: Coronary Sclerosis, and this is evidently a progressive case.

I would urgently recommend three or four weeks' complete rest. In cases like this you can never make a definite prognosis but in all probability things will not take a turn for the better while it is not possible to be specific about how much time is left. [. . .] Any smoking to be stopped

completely, there must be liquid intake and a low-salt diet. and one day per week confined to fruit juices (one litre) provided this does not conflict with his job, and there must be no other eating or drinking during those twenty-four hours and actual work must be cut back to an absolute minimum. Regular midday rest of at least one hour and as much sleep at night as possible.

I realise that these measures which are absolutely indicated are nowadays hardly possible or completely impossible for a man in a responsible position, but as many of these points as possible should be heeded if his strength is to be maintained.

morell ignored the specialist's advice. There is no evidence of his applying any of the drugs or treatments recommended by Weber. He stuck to his own remedies and to "injections as usual" of his own brands of drugs.

Meanwhile the end came in North Africa and air-raids increased.

May 14, 1943

11 a.m.: He got no sleep at all last night because of loss of Tunis and [RAF raid on] Pilsen.

a serious constipation affected Hitler for several days, causing him agonies.

Morell tried laxatives of increasing savagery: Relaxin, cod liver oil, Leo pills, Militax and Calomel. Hitler had planned to go to Vinnitsa but suddenly decided to return south to the Obersalzberg. On May 21 he flew down there from Rastenburg. "He wants to have a thorough rest there first," wrote Goebbels, "to get back into shape for the next weeks and months . . . Speer tells me the Führer's health leaves a lot to be desired."

we have a frank description of Hitler's health at this time given by Lieutenant-General Count von Schwerin in Nuremberg on November 12, 1945: "I reported in the prescribed manner [in late May 1943] and Hitler came over to me – a man stooping as though under a heavy burden with slow, tired steps. At that moment a profound sympathy for this man flooded over me, more powerful than any feeling I have sensed before or since . . . I felt almost as though a voice inside me was whispering, 'Just look at this poor man, how bowed down he is! . . . He just cannot carry the burden that he has assumed.' Hitler was completely down, and in bewilderment I looked into his lustreless, weary eyes with their unnaturally blue colour . . . There can be no doubt at all that those were a sick man's eyes. It may be that he had rehearsed this scene."

for the rest of May Morell noted attempts to dispose of Hitler's digestive problem.

May 25, 1943

Last night he took five Leo pills [laxatives] without effect.

Marshal Antonescu told Hitler that he had also had stomach problems, but that his Viennese-born dietician had done wonders for him. Morell arranged for this girl, Marlene von Exner, to come. It would be September 1943 before she assumed her duties.

May 28, 1943

Injections as before. *Very* irritable, easily aroused. Perhaps I ought to try warm compresses? I suggested massage, short-wave treatment, enemas etc. – all turned down. I showed him the book but he still refused.

Hitler was battling with his generals over his plans for Operation Citadel, a major counter-offensive at Kursk on the eastern front. The rows may have contributed to his epigastric pains. Suspecting other causes, on May 30 Morell sent faecal samples to Olmütz where they were submitted to both Professor Nissle and Laves for analysis. Laves summarised, “There is evidently a slight dysbacteria of alimentary origin, probably only transitory in nature.” On June 5 Nissle reproved Morell for the unhygienic food preparation at headquarters. “Importance must be attached to staff washing their hands thoroughly with soap and water before handling raw food, and to rinsing each individual salad leaf and the like in running water; the same goes for fruit – apples and pears should always be peeled first, as our examination here shows their peel is invariably filthy with bacteria.”

Nissle suggested plunging raw food into boiling water following Chinese medical practice, “they do it mainly on account of the worm eggs and dysentery that are widespread there.”

Footnotes:

1. The times noted in the diary entries which are underlined are those corrected by the author using a more precise log kept by Hitler’s valets Heinz Linge and Hans Junge. This incidentally shows that Morell regularly visited Hitler as soon as he woke up and stayed between five and twenty-five minutes.

2. Enterofagos was a drug manufactured by Antipiol, prescribed for acute and chronic diseases of the gastro-intestinal tract and constipation caused by bacteria.

3. The full text of the reports submitted by Professor Weber, dated May 17, 1943 is reproduced as an Appendix.

I Give Him What He Needs

The reich foreign minister von Ribbentrop invited Morell to lunch at Fuschl on June 6, 1943. Morell had been asked for 1 p.m. but Ribbentrop, a rude and arrogant man, did not arrive until around 2.30 p.m. after he had been called several times by his wife. Morell smouldered, as his diary shows.

June 6, 1943

After lunch he invited me upstairs to talk something over. Now it came out why he had asked me to lunch – to speak to me about the Führer's health and my treatment of him.

Was it a good thing, he asked, for the Führer to get so many injections? (Ribbentrop's army medic Dr Conrad is in fact primarily a sports doctor and hostile to all injection treatments, from what I've been told.) And, was he getting anything other than glucose?

"Iodine," I replied, "is very appropriate for anybody over fifty."

"But isn't he perhaps getting too much?"

"I would have been permitted," I said, "to administer in one injection as much iodine as I have so far included in forty shots (that is, with no more for one or two weeks.)"

Was I giving him anything else?

I replied: "I give him what he needs."

He said he also has glucose given to him because of a slackness in the heart muscle – he gets a 40% glucose solution.

“I think such injections are too strong,” I commented, “because of the danger of a thrombosis. I myself never use solutions of over 20%.”

Then he went on about the need for strong abdominal massages for the Führer (no doubt thinking of his own Kersten¹ whom he’s been trying for years to get in with the Führer); both Wolff and Himmler have tried to get me to send Kersten into action on the Führer.

This man once massaged me in Zhitomir in 1942 and left me aching all over for two weeks. The diagnoses (that he waffled on about as he did so) completely overlooked the chronic nephritis and the chronic damage to the heart muscle with coronary calcification.

“I refuse,” I said, “to subject the Führer to these violent stomach massages, but I would be in favour of gentle body massages to stimulate his circulation.”

“You mean on account of the spasms?”

“Yes, in general, I am much in favour of massage and particularly as one gets older. Anyway I’ve been nagging the Führer about it for years and even ordered a masseur up from Munich who massaged a whole row of acquaintances like Hoffmann, Minister Wagner etc. I also got him to massage me so I could see what kind of massage he did. But to date the Führer has flatly refused it.”

“Well then, why not say that in that case you can’t accept responsibility?”

He then turned to the subject of breathing exercises. This was no doubt at the instigation of Hewel, who when he was hospitalised under Professor Koch of Berlin once picked up a pretty little “gymnastics assistant” who instructed him and whom he actually wanted after his return to introduce to the Führer; he approached me several times with the suggestion that the Führer really ought to start doing such exercises with the young lady concerned.

I indicated that the Führer probably wouldn't make much time available for *that*. I thought it more to the point to stand still occasionally during walks and take deep breaths with a walking stick held across the back and under the arms in order to keep an upright posture.

That started Ribbentrop off on the whole business of going for walks.

"The Führer," he said, "must go for walks several hours a day." (Oh happy foreign minister that you can spare so much time!)

"The Führer," he continued, "must climb hills and do strenuous exercises to train his body." (That's the sports doctor again!)

"I have to reject that utterly," I retorted, "as it would be quite unsuitable for the Führer.

He should go for lots of walks but on level ground and without over-exertion."

"Why," he said, "he's got nothing wrong with his heart, has he? Or are you thinking of the spasms and circulatory problems?"

"Yes." I answered. (Of course I have no right to discuss the cardiological findings with third parties.)

"But the Führer shouldn't always drive to the tea house and back. He ought at least to make the return trip, with its hills, on foot."

"You tell the Führer that," I replied.

"There's got to be a total change in the Führer's entire body to make him tougher. He's always been plagued by these stomach ailments, some time back he had that constant diarrhoea and now these last weeks all over again."

I pointed out that this latest episode was not diarrhoea but constipation and that the illness had come about because of suspect raw foods.

He said he knew that, but that if the Führer had been more robust the bacteria would not have been able to gain a foothold or

only to a small extent. He said he had wanted to tell me all this and that was why he had invited me over. I remarked that there was nothing new in all this and I was already paying heed to it.

Walking down the steps Ribbentrop started all over again, whereupon I pointed out that he was already a difficult enough patient, but the Führer was even more so as he turned down most things right from the start. As we took leave of each other he still seemed convinced that he was dishing up something new to me. How unencumbered and naive laymen often are in their medical opinions!

on June 28 morell spoke with Dr Zabel, director of a nature clinic in Berchtesgaden) about Hitler's diet. Zabel flatly refused to lay down what Hitler should eat without being advised as to Hitler's health, appetite, weight and other factors. "I particularly want to avoid the Führer getting the impression that because he is being catered for separately these amounts have been specified by me," wrote Zabel to Morell.

When Morell proposed to Zabel that the salads should be briefly boiled, following Nissle's recommendation, he was horrified. "Just for the record," Zabel wrote, "let me repeat that this adds to the burden on the gastro-intestinal tract while not necessarily getting rid of the bacteria, and simultaneously destroys virtually all the water-soluble vitamins, ferments and enzymes."

preparations went ahead for Citadel, the two-pronged attack on the Russian salient at Kursk. Hitler vested much hope in this offensive, but there were difficulties in amassing all the men and equipment in time. He remained at the Berghof, while Morell continued to treat him, guarding his privileged position in Hitler's entourage with no less jealousy and cunning than before. Hitler travelled to Munich on the fifteenth of June where Morell saw him at noon-thirty, and

returned to the Obersalzberg the next day. The medical notes remained routine.

June 20, 1943

12.45 *p.m.* Is looking very good. Complains of worry caused by responsibilities.

curiously goebbels wrote on June 21 after seeing Hitler, "Unfortunately he does not look at all healthy. One can see how the last few months have gnawed at him. There is only a vestige of the physical fitness we all used to admire so much in him."

"Injections as usual," wrote Morell four days later.

Footnotes:

1. Felix Kersten was a Swedish nature healer practising in Berlin and was masseur to Himmler and Ribbentrop.

See the *Kersten Memoirs, 1940-1945*, and particularly chapter xxiii, Report on Hitler's Illness, with its "diary" entry of December 12, 1942. According to this bogus source a paralysis of syphilitic origin that had first shown in Hitler in 1937 recurred in 1942. Morell's blood tests disprove this completely.

Hitler's adjutant Schaub states that Hitler refused to have anything to do with this masseur commenting: "There's not an ounce of surplus fat on my body and my brain has got enough to do as it is. So why should I let such a Nature's Apostle get his hands on me? If this man is so fantastic, it puzzles me that you lot are always so ill."

The Credit goes to Morell

On July 1 Hitler returned to the Wolf's Lair. Morell gave him the usual pick-me-up before he spoke that evening to several hundred officers about Operation Citadel: intravenous glucose, intramuscular Vitamultin-Calcium and Tonophosphan.

July 3, 1943

Injections as before. Has a bit of a throbbing head after major conference yesterday and this morning. Slept only two hours last night – and badly this afternoon! [. . .]

Two p.m. to see the Führer. While I was treating him I discussed the dietary arrangements with him. Führer asked me how this diet kitchen was going to work. I indicated that I have reached a (written!) agreement with Professor [Hans] Eppinger of Vienna that until the lady who is at this moment still directing the dietary department for Marshal Antonescu is free the best assistant after her is to come up here, and make herself available at all hours. The kitchen itself will be ready in eight to ten days.

I then turned to the subject of Dr Z[abel], who was previously humble but has now begun behaving rather oddly towards me. Only recently he insisted on making his own enquiries before issuing the diet, although I stated precisely what was lacking. And in doing so he made the most detailed notes on the analyses and findings I had commissioned, which was unpleasant insofar as they did not only

concern the Führer's epigastric problems, because I have always been careful to handle everything under strictest secrecy, using assumed names, etcetera. The Führer said I am quite right, and that this is no concern of Z's – *I* alone am his doctor. The Führer mentioned how he longs to have pea and bean soups and suchlike but doesn't dare because of flatulence. I reassured him that we may make so much headway that eventually he can be given everything. I also mentioned that when Dr Z telephoned to inquire after his health I said it was good.

In the course of the conversation I also said to the Führer that if anybody ever had to be called in I would certainly do so. After the injection I told him that Benno von Arent was absolutely right to curse as Dr Z had made a totally false diagnosis in his case.

“Dr Z used to be an optician,” I said. “He obviously doesn't know the first thing about heart and circulatory problems, and that is why I am not going to tolerate him interfering in the treatment of the Führer.”

After packing my things I was walking out through the room where the Führer was sitting eating all by himself when he invited me to join him.

I mentioned that to lose weight I am going without breakfast. I have to lose twenty pounds. The Führer was very concerned and insisted that I shouldn't overdo the diet or I might do myself serious harm. I explained that I was doing it bit by bit.

I then reverted to the business of lice powder. In two months I would stop deliveries as the Army [Inspectorate] has declared its depots full. I told him I am turning out one million mini-packets per day, equivalent to 250,000 daily rations. The Führer was astonished and asked how I managed.

I replied, we have six or seven hundred girls doing the filling, as this powder is difficult to package by machines. There are four ma-

chines on hand but they need three or four people to operate them and they are always breaking down. The powder is 100 percent successful – provided it is applied properly. Trouble is, the smell is a bit overpowering. What with that and the troops' general laziness it has not been used in the correct manner. Now the Inspectorate want to go over to impregnation [a rival technique]. As soon as I took my first step big business pricked up its ears and I.G. Farben began manufacturing its own product patented in Switzerland; their patent is not open to inspection because of wartime secrecy but I know their substance is the same as mine (potassium xantogenath.) I want half of the action and as I pointed out, in Germany only processes can be patented but not *discoveries* as in other countries. As I was the first to manufacture the *chemical*, I was demanding to be given half the order.²

As the Führer still wanted to rest a bit, I took leave of him.

July 6, 1943

He couldn't sleep more than three hours because of worry (our big attack on the Eastern front began yesterday morning.) I said he ought to sleep this afternoon as long as possible. Claims he has an oedema on exterior aspect of left tibia from time to time (though not just now) situated above the former eczema location. (Indicates permanent changes in cellular tissue of hypodermis!)

the German offensive Citadel was stalled in immense Russian minefields. By now the Allies had also landed on Sicily, putting ashore within three days around 160,000 troops. Three days later Stalin unleashed his counter-attack at Kursk. If this was not enough to make any dictator sick, rumours flew that Mussolini was plotting to betray the Axis. On July 18, as Hitler prepared to fly down to con-

front him in northern Italy, he was seized by what Morell would later describe as one of the worst attacks yet. On the reverse side of a medical card Morell wrote the following account of this worrying episode, which he ascribed to a “gastrocardiac symptom complex.”³

July 18, 1943

Führer sent for me at 10.30 a.m., says he has had the most violent stomach pains since three a.m. and hasn't slept a wink. His abdomen is as taut as a board, full of gas, with no palpation pains anywhere. Looking *very* pale and exceptionally jumpy: facing a vital conference with the Duce in Italy tomorrow. Diagnosis: *Spastic constipation* caused by overwork during the last few days -three days with virtually no sleep, one conference after another and working far into the night. Last night he ate white cheese and dumplings with spinach and peas.

As he can't duck out of some important conferences and decisions before his departure at three-thirty p.m. , no narcotics can be given to him; I can only give him an intravenous injection of one ampoule of Eupaverin, some gentle stomach massage, two Euflat pills and three spoons of olive oil. Last night he took five Leo pills.

Before leaving for the airfield I gave him an intramuscular injection of an ampoule of Eukodal. He was looking very bad and rather faint.

In the Condor airplane Reichsmarschall Göring wanted to give me a few final tips. (Ondarza [Göring's physician] was standing just behind him): “You must give him Euflat. That once helped me a lot.”

“Yes, two tablets three times a day. I'm doing it already.”

“But you've got to keep doing it over a long period. I took them for eighteen months. And then you must give him Luizym too!”

“We’re already doing that too!” (He got the name wrong at first but Ondarza corrected him.)

During the actual flight Hitler let off wind which resulted in some improvement. Upon reaching the Berghof I gave him another body massage, with more Euflat followed by the Luizym I have been giving him now repeatedly for some time.

July 19, 1943

In the morning usual injections.

At 6.30 a.m. his abdomen is supple, he has slept well and passed a lot of wind. I recommend that he takes some bars of Vitamultin with him for the talks.

At 6.45 a.m. leaves by car, takes off at seven-thirty from Salzburg (with Baur at the controls) via Kufstein, Innsbruck and Brenner to [meet Mussolini at] Treviso (just this side of Venice.)

Onward journey by rail and car.

Führer is in good form. No complaints at all on return flight either.

Back on the Obersalzberg this evening he declares that the credit for the day’s success goes to me. He feels, he says, completely well again.

July 26, 1943

At two a.m. we get the news [from Rome]: the Duce has resigned. Injections as always, nine-thirty a.m.

July 27-28, 1943

Devastation of Hamburg.

August 9, 1943

Injections as always. Meal and oxygen very good. I had the oxygen bottle set up in the Führer's bunker a few days ago for him to inhale and possibly even to have flowing into his sleeping quarters. The Führer is *very* content with it, one might even say delighted.

on august 19 professor Nissle sent in a further faecal analysis report.

"I think I can assume from this," he wrote, "that your patient's condition has largely or completely improved." Laves came up with a similar result.

One document at this time illuminates the paranoid atmosphere at Hitler's headquarters, a circumspect memorandum by Morell. "On August 20, 1943," he minuted after a visit from Hitler's new dietician, "Frau [Marlene] Exner came to complain that the people we get the vegetables for the Führer's kitchen from all know who they're for . . . That makes it easy for toxic substances to be added. There are many foreign labourers – French, Polish and Russian – on the farms. She cannot accept any responsibility under these circumstances. We propose to deal with this by picking the vegetables ourselves and then setting up our own market garden."

Morell took it up with the chief of Hitler's security branch, SS Brigadier General Rattenhuber. He evidently did nothing because on September 1 Morell sent for him and read out the protocol to him "at six p.m." and advised him to keep it on file.

Morell's lavishly equipped practice in Berlin seemed likely to be in the heart of the RAF's next air-raid series.

Fearing a catastrophe Goebbels ordered the capital largely evacuated and Morell noted on August 19 that he must talk with Hitler about "journey to Berlin to get everything safely outside." He added

a hand-written memo, "Postponed after discussion with the Führer this morning." Massive air-raids on Berlin began on the twenty-third.

morell was approaching the zenith of his modest power as Hitler's doctor. Over the next months he was often invited to join Hitler for tea at night. Morell was frequently exhausted and longing for sleep by the time tea ended frequently at four a.m. but he was not going to miss a chance like this. The other participants took turns to duck the tedious parties – the brothers Bormann, the secretaries, the adjutants and orderlies.

Sometimes Albert Speer or his right-hand man Karl-Otto Saur came in, or Speer's rival architect Hermann Giesler, but seldom one of the other doctors like Brandt or Hasselbach. Evidently Morell's old friendship with Heinrich Hoffmann was briefly restored, because the photographer was also to be seen there until three, four and even five a.m., sipping tea and picking at the pastries as Hitler's voice droned on. Goebbels came occasionally but had better things to do and avoided the sessions in later months. Morell would not have been Morell if he had not always accepted.

the diary entries for September and October were routine, recording injections and often the pain they now caused the Führer. On October 26 and 27 Morell noted that his patient was sleeping badly. At four p.m. on November 7 Hitler left Rastenburg by special train for Munich where he was to make his traditional speech in the Löwenbräu beerhall on the next day. On the ninth he returned to the Wolf's Lair.

November 16, 1943

(Agenda) Electrocardiogram of Chief!! *Discuss.*

November 18, 1943

(Agenda) Electrocardiogram of Chief [not performed].

.it is almost as though Hitler feared having the electrocardiogram. He left on the nineteenth for Breslau, was treated by Morell as usual at 9.50 a.m. the next day, delivered a major speech in the Century Hall in that city at noon and returned to Rastenburg.

Morell himself then went on a business trip to inspect his little pharmaceutical empire. On November 20 he was in Breslau and Prague; the twenty-first saw him in Olmütz from where he went on to Pilsen and Kosulup on the twenty-fourth. On November 25 he returned to the Wolf's Lair, was invited to dinner with Hitler at nine p.m. and stayed with him until 3.40 a.m. By then Hitler had climbed aboard his special train for the short trip to Insterburg airforce base in East Prussia, for the next day's display of the latest equipment including secret jet planes.

Morell was hardly called upon during the last weeks of 1943. He sat in on the tea parties almost every night, but abandoned his earlier custom of visiting Hitler every day just before breakfast. Evidently Hitler was going through a relatively calm period. Militarily the front lines seemed stabilised. No Allied invasion was anticipated before the spring of 1944, while on the eastern front the onset of winter was slowing down the Russian offensive. In the air war too Göring's defences were increasingly successful against the RAF night bombers.

By this time Morell had a second VIP patient – Mussolini, brought to Hitler's headquarters in September 1943 after his dramatic release from a mountain prison by SS and paratroops. His health was poor, and Morell took him under his ample wing. "My lofty patient," he wrote on December 17, to Helmut and Anneliese Schreiber,

“is in good health and I can say the same for a second patient that I now have in the south too. Despite excellent health my chief won’t let me out of his sight lest something happens to my plane. And by rail it all takes too long.”

In this letter, Morell also touched upon the scene at headquarters. Much had changed. “There’s scarcely anybody left of the old clique. The headquarters has got too big and everybody’s wrapped up in himself. I’ve pulled back into my own shell a bit, and do scientific research and work on my business projects as far as I can find time for them.”

Footnotes:

1. When the pro-Nazi King Boris of Bulgaria fell ill in August it was Eppinger whom Hitler would send to Sofia – he arrived too late except to confirm that Boris had been poisoned. Eppinger took his own life in 1945 upon finding out that one of his senior doctors, Weigelböck, was involved in concentration camp experiments.

2. The Boehringer company developed a lice powder of far greater potency; after Morell’s Rusla dropped out of the German market in 1943-44 he attempted to dump it in Romania and Italy.

3. German doctors called this the “Roemheld Complex.” Intestinal gases distended the stomach upwards, interfering with the heart and causing heartburn.

Forte

Morell's hitler dossier for 1944 exists in several forms, quite apart from the laboratory reports and correspondence relating to "Patient A." It includes a small pocket diary, several data cards, and detailed dietary records.

After the bomb plot in July with its ensuing medical complications the files become voluminous. Morell wrote several parallel accounts, with many pages of handwriting for each day, no doubt to protect himself should his patient die with the inevitable subsequent investigations and intrigues. We note that even when the grossly overweight Morell himself was afflicted by heart disorders (April 19) he was reluctant to step aside and allow another to attend to Hitler's injections.

Later in 1944, when it was Morell who was incapacitated, his patient's health seemed to improve quite rapidly – cause and effect becoming hopelessly entwined.

The unfortunate role of the sulphonamide drug Ultraseptyl on Hitler's frame becomes evident from these diaries. A mysterious special version of Morell's patent product, Vitamultin, appears denoted only as "Vitamultin forte" – evidently it contained a special additive not used in the others. This *may* have been the proprietary amphetamine drug Pervitin: we cannot say. Morell administered it to Hitler for the first time on March 14, 1944 and carefully recorded its effect; then started using it on Ribbentrop, Emmy Göring and Himmler too.

January 2, 1944

At the Wolf's Lair. Visited Lieutenant-Colonel (med.) Dr Bickert, of the War Department. Discussion on penicillin. Called on Ribbentrop at Gross-Steinort for supper. From midnight-thirty onwards with Führer for tea. Turned in at five-thirty a.m.

January 4, 1944

Evening with the Führer, gave him Eupaverin and Eukodal injections on account of spasms. Talked with [Press Chief] Dr [Otto] Dietrich over dinner.

January 5, 1944

Midday. Invited to lunch with the Führer (alone).

January 6, 1944

Discussion with Ambassador [Rudolf] Rahn [Hitler's special ambassador attached to Mussolini's government] and electrocardiac examination. SS Obergruppenführer Wolff called on me briefly. Gave him drugs to take back to Italy [i.e. for Mussolini]. Evening: went for tea [with Hitler]. Must analyse Slibovicz for methyl alcohol.

the teetotal hitler had become concerned about samples of Slibovicz, the Balkan "Vodka" given to him by the Croatian leader Ante Pavelic and by the city of Linz. He asked Morell whether they might contain the highly toxic methyl-alcohol. (In the winter of 1931-2 four hundred people had died in the United States from drinking bootlegged liquor, which contained methyl-alcohol.) Morell had the

two samples analysed by War Department laboratories at nearby Lötzen, quoting a "Führer order" for added urgency. The results were negative.

January 7, 1944

Check-up on Reich foreign minister von Ribbentrop (weak heart-beat.) Supper, invited by the Führer: talked over a multitude of things (alone). Late evening invited to tea.

January 8, 1944

At noon Miss Eva [Braun] telephoned, says she's had the sniffles and a runny nose for three weeks, and now an inflammation of the maxillary sinus. [Hitler's pilot Hans] Baur called on me. He left Vinnitsa airfield post-haste at five o'clock this afternoon because of a Russian tank alarm, and brought foodstuffs with him, although the paymaster in charge didn't want to release anything from the depot! Joined Führer for tea. At three a.m. I weighed myself again: 224 pounds, seen the diet through well.

January 9, 1944

Professor Reiter of Reich Health Agency. My liver product authorised. Weather mild, light snowfall, windy.

January 10, 1944

Phoned Dr Mulli [Morell's factory manager at Olmütz]: says a letter has come from the General Commissioner for Health signed [Professor] Rostock about a joint research effort on Penicillin. In

Italy Ciano has been sentenced to death. Spent the evening with the Führer.

* * *

morell's agenda shows that he attempted throughout January 1944 to persuade his "Chief" to agree to an electrocardiogram and a typhus vaccination. (Throughout February the word "typhus shot" was again typed on the daily agenda sheet, but Hitler would not find the time.)

January 20, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Speer telephoned from the Hohenlychen clinic – I then telephoned Professor Gebhardt and on Führer's instructions telephoned [Reichsminister Dr Karl] Frank in Prague about Hácha.

In the evening I discussed both Speer and Hácha with the Führer. [Speer, increasingly paranoid, feared that the SS were trying to poison him].

January 22, 1944

In the afternoon I was sent for by [Japanese ambassador] his Excellency Oshima. Hewel was present. Evening with the Führer.

January 25, 1944

Drove over to Königsberg to see Gauleiter Koch.

At night went over for tea with the Führer (Sepp Dietrich was there too).

January 27, 1944

Noon-thirty, the usual shots before a major speech, this time to a generals' meeting (approximately 105 generals.)

* * *

morell had entered in his agenda that day: "2.45 p.m. Spa House, Chief's speech." In a two-hour pep talk Hitler painted a grim picture of the future and rhetorically declared that he expected his entire officer corps to muster around him with daggers drawn if the worse came to the worst. Suddenly Field Marshal von Manstein interrupted him and declaimed, "And so it will be, Mein Führer!" For this ambiguous declaration he was dismissed as commander of an army group and never again employed.

January 29, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Afternoon, 5.40 p.m. injections as always before a major speech (tomorrow's broadcast.) Says he didn't sleep last night because of the heavy [British] air-raid on Berlin.

January 30, 1944

At ten p.m. I received news of serious air mine damage to Schwanenwerder.

January 31, 1944

At midday Dr Weber telephoned – bomb damage to the apartment at our practice too.

February 1, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Last night I asked the Führer if I could go to Berlin. He said to ask again tomorrow. When he asked me how long I'd be away I said two days. If need be I can always fly back. Führer sent for me this morning for treatment. Says he wants to bear all the bomb damage costs himself. I shouldn't get bogged down in negotiations with the authorities, that would take too long. Departure for Berlin.

February 2, 1944

In Berlin, Briefly inspected the bomb damage to the practice, then the air mine damage at Schwanenwerder. The next door house was flattened.

February 6, 1944

Returned this morning to the Führer's headquarters. Dr Ley [a notorious alcoholic] is here, *has stopped drinking*. Spent the evening with the Führer (and discussed Speer and hospital.)

February 10, 1944

General [Rudolf] Schmunt [Hitler's chief adjutant since 1938] has flu, particularly nose and maxillary sinus. This evening he had a fever of 39 and then 39.6.

February 11, 1944

Saw Führer at noon: he now has catarrh in upper respiratory tracts and bronchitis (caught it from General Schmunt?). This evening

at nine p.m. his pulse was up to 84, temperature 36.70, his left leg kept trembling. Gave him a Tussamag for his cough.

the russians were now on Polish soil.

An American corps had established a fragile beachhead in Northern Italy at Anzio and Hitler's attempts to eliminate it were failing. The Anglo-American bomber offensive had dealt out devastation to his munitions factories and particularly his aircraft industries. Hitler began suspecting traitors everywhere.

From February 12 to 16, Morell's notes show that Hitler had recovered from his cold but was very tired, suffering from colic, spasms and insomnia. Morell now spent most of his evenings informally with Hitler.

February 22, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Saw Führer as always. In the evening took the train to Munich. [*Data card:*] blood pressure 140mm, feels okay and the tremor in left leg and shaking of the hands has gone.

February 24, 1944

Arrived three p.m. Went to the Führer building, treated Patient A. In the presence of his staff the Führer then handed to me the Knights Cross of the War Merit Cross. Finally we went to the Bürgerbräu beerhall for the Führer's speech. Party Foundation Day. The Führer left, and I went to the Regina. Found myself in the air-raid shelter there, cold and damp, with many generals and Dr Goebbels, etc.

the raf had sent bombers to disrupt Hitler's speech to Party veterans. Afterwards, he drove to Berchtesgaden where he would stay until

mid-July 1944. For security reasons the Berghof had been camouflaged with netting, and its huge windows were covered. Only a dim twilight filtered through into the Great Hall. The work went on inside by electric light.

Eva Braun was shocked at the change in Hitler under such conditions. He had become old and grim. He had a permanent stoop, as though ducking beneath a low arch. “How is the Führer?” she asked one of the secretaries, Frau Junge, “I don’t want to ask Morell, I don’t trust him and detest him.”

Hungary

Morell also suffered in the prevailing conditions at the Berghof. His diary entries for the end of February 1944 record incidences of sore throats and rising temperatures as Hitler's health problems multiplied.

Since mid-February 1944 Hitler had complained of increasing turgidity in his right eye. He later told Dr Erwin Giesing that he had experienced this for eight years or so and that it was incurable. Morell called in a specialist from Berlin.

March 3, 1944

Down to Salzburg station to collect Professor Löhlein, the ophthalmologist of Berlin university, arriving from Giessen.

professor Löhlein examined Hitler and reported: "On closer questioning, he mentioned that he had experienced a light stabbing pain, of transitory nature, in his right eye recently. He reads, of course, a good deal – especially before falling asleep – and the presbyopic glasses prescribed in 1935 are hardly enough for this purpose now." Hitler's eyes displayed no strong defensive reaction to instilling of drops or to tonometry.

Ophthalmoscopy by Löhlein showed the refractive media of Hitler's left eye to be clear, but the background of the right eye was indeed obscured by a delicate veil. Löhlein attributed this to "minute

haemorrhages into the vitreous humor. These haemorrhages do not seem to originate with the blood vessels of the retina.” He recommended local application of heat – perhaps twice a day with an electric heating pad or a Sollux lamp. “A discussion with Prof. Morell was held in the presence of the Führer, during which means of preventing the recurrence of such haemorrhages were discussed. Everything contributing to the avoidance of unnecessary excitement, particularly during the period immediately before the night’s rest, such as diversion in light reading, was recommended.” Morell’s diary entries show only a limited application of Löhlein’s recommendations.

March 8, 1944

Berghof. At midday reported to the Führer on [movie director] Leni Riefenstahl, the Duce and [Mussolini’s German doctor] Zachariae.

In the evening I was called up by the Führer on account of violent flatulence (he has had a lot of anxiety these last two days.) Spastic constipation. Injected Eukodal and Eupaverin intravenously, and gave two Calomels. Application of warmth in the evening. Führer telephoned for Eva [Braun].

March 9, 1944

Berghof. Big row between Ribbentrop and the military about the striking Italians.

Gave Ribbentrop a check-up yesterday. Gave Führer his injections at noon as always. In the evening he had a lot of pain again, and no stool! At midnight gave him five Boxberger pills, two table-spoons of cod liver oil.

March 14, 1944

Berghof. Gave Patient A a shot of Vitamultin forte for the first time. Before the injection he was very limp and tired, had spent a sleepless night. After it he came to life at once. Had two hours of talks with the foreign minister, was noticeably fresher over lunch than at noon, kept up a very lively conversation. Stayed awake a long time tonight.

He slept well after that without sleeping tablets, so it was a very refreshing sleep. Führer very pleased!

from march 15 to 18 Morell gave Hitler routine treatments to fortify him for the visit of the Prague regime on the fifteenth, the Bulgarians on the two following days, and the Hungarian regent Miklòs Horthy on the eighteenth. Hitler issued a crude ultimatum to Horthy, and on the following morning German troops marched into Hungary.

Hitler needed every ounce of strength as he prepared his generals for the coming Anglo-American invasion of North-West Europe. Conference stenographer Thöt described in his shorthand diary on March 20: “Two-thirty p.m. set off from the main steps in altogether four automobiles: the Führer in the first car, the security unit in the second, personal physician Professor Morell in the third and Dr von Hasselbach, Lieutenant Colonel [film cameraman Walter] Frenz, [stenographer Ludwig] Krieger and myself in the fourth. Drove over to Klessheim castle in a blizzard. Shortly after three p.m. a speech there by the Führer to the generals and fortress commanders in the West . . . Field Marshals von Rundstedt and Rommel, and the other commanders.” Hitler told them that he expected the Allies to land in Brittany or Normandy – their moves towards the Calais area were a feint. Evidently he still had his wits about him.

March 21, 1944

Patient A telephones about his eyes.

March 23, 1944

Injected Patient A as usual. Feeling good, slept well. Headache, some wind. Antonescu (Romanian) visiting at Klessheim castle. Spoke with Professor Löhlein, he demands that the Führer take a complete rest for two months – impossible.

March 24, 1944

Down to Klessheim castle for second day of the Antonescu visit; there with Zachariae, and von Killinger¹. Antonescu wants Vitamultin too!

Saw von Ribbentrop.

March 26, 1944

Berghof. Saw Patient A, intramuscular injection of Vitamultin forte. Then von Ribbentrop.

for the first few days in April Morell appears to have tended Ribbentrop, Frau Emmy Göring, and even Heinrich Himmler more intensively than Hitler.

April 6, 1944

Berghof. Had to visit Frau Göring at one-thirty a.m. Gave Patient A his injections as usual. Drew the Führer's attention to the

fact that the monotonous Zabel nutrition will result in the stomach becoming unaccustomed to heavier diets.

April 7, 1944

Visited Frau Göring. Visited Reich foreign minister Ribbentrop at Fuschl, injected intramuscular glucose. Himmler as usual.

April 9, 1944

Berghof. Treated Patient A as always.

April 10, 1944

Berghof. Injected Patient A with Vitamultin forte.

April 20, 1944

Slept very badly last night, only two hours, injected [myself with] camphor.

April 21, 1944

I took twenty drops of Esdesan, later eleven more drops. Last night I slept from one to six a.m.

Footnotes:

1. Manfred von Killinger, born July 14, 1886, was consul general in San Francisco until 1939, then German Minister in Slovakia, and from 1941 in Bucharest. He committed suicide on September 2, 1944 as the Russians invaded the Romanian capital.

Worried about the Invasion

By the spring of 1944 Morell himself was ill. His Berlin assistant Dr Richard Weber would later describe this as “the dear old doctor” taking refuge in his illness.

“At any rate,” insisted Weber, “he was not as ill as he maintained. Saying he was sick he sent for me to look after him but once I was down there he took the opportunity to ‘give me a build-up, as one would now say. I was introduced to Hitler’s staff and to Hitler himself on one occasion. In this way my name became familiar. I think Morell’s idea was to boost me so that when the time was ripe he could make himself dispensable and slip out of Hitler’s entourage. Then I would have had to take over.”

Morell did what he could to foster the sick image. He wrote to economics minister Walter Funk on May 12, 1944, giving a graphic, self-pitying account of his malady:

“Since my lung inflammation a few months ago,” he apologised, “after which I had to go straight back to my job, the heart problems caused by the constant living in bunkers and barracks have been aggravated by the many state visits I had to attend, being on my feet half the time. A further unfortunate influence is the altitude of the Obersalzberg, with its days of endless snowfalls and rain and constant Föhn winds.”

“I also found,” explained Morell, “that the chemical vapours emitted by the smokescreen generators had a very unpleasant effect on the respiratory tracts and in addition they were bad for the heart.

For weeks on end this mountainside has been smokescreened, often several times a day, and the Berghof of course most of all. The effect is that I have found myself increasingly out of breath. Climbing stairs I have to pause after only a few steps, and finally because of anginal conditions I have to spend more time at night out of bed than in it. I took an electrocardiogram and came up with a very unsatisfactory trace. I really have had to fear the worst. Only for the Führer's sake have I held off getting treatment and even this has proved illusory as the dozen doctors I have called in over the last six months, half of them professors, haven't been able to get into my veins at all or only managed after countless jabs. As Strophantin injections are the only shots that can help me at such an advanced stage, and these can only be made intravenously, I have had to fetch my Dr Weber who's the handiest of them all with the needle and who's the only one able to find my veins every time. I have also obtained the Führer's permission to move down to the Berchtesgadener Hof immediately as it's a lot easier for me 1,500 feet lower down."

This was the first time that Weber had stood in for Morell. Weber related in 1967, "When I saw Hitler in May 1944, he looked fresh and healthy to me. I noticed none of the symptoms that we hear so much about today. His facial expression was neither masked nor fixed, his complexion was not unnatural, his hands didn't tremble and he wasn't dragging one leg." (However, Hitler himself said at the end of July 1944 that early in May his left leg used to shake uncontrollably even lying in bed.)

One thing seems clear: in May 1944, Hitler's doctor was less robust than his patient. "At present I drive up to see the Führer every day at noon," he wrote on May 12, "I give him his treatments and get back down here to the hotel most days around two p.m. Then I lie in bed for the rest of the day to give the old ticker a bit of a rest so that I will be fit enough again to go on journeys with the Führer."¹

Professor Laves wrote to him on May 15 wishing him a rapid recovery.

On June 5 Weber himself wrote from Berlin suggesting that Morell stay in bed at least eighteen hours a day and take Digilamid for a while rather than Strophantin. "With your bad veins," he added, "you also have to take into account that it may be impossible to make injections into you for a while."

May 5, 1944

He flatly rejects massage in spite of my pleading. Total daily rest ten hours as required. An earlier retirement to bed is impossible, he says, because of air raids. Consented to reduce liquid intake of 1200cc daily. Presence of slight oedema formations on shinbone palpable under finger pressure.

May 9, 1944

Up to the Berghof. Patient A has a headache on the left side. His legs are trembling (invasion imminent, but where?) Dr Goebbels fine.

morell went routinely to the Berghof to see Hitler on May 11, 12, 14, 16, 18 and 20, injecting glucose, Testoviron, Vitamultin-Calcium, Tonophosphan, Septoiod and liver extract.

May 21, 1944

Went up for lunch at the Berghof. In the afternoon to Reichenhall, Café Flora.

Called on Dr Riedel for conference on the electron microscope.

May 24, 1944

Visited Patient A, then to Reichenhall with Dr Riedel, looked over real estate in Bayrisch and Gross-Gmain [for housing the electron microscope].

routine calls were made on Hitler on May 26, 28 and 30.

May 27, 1944

Minister Lammers' [sixty-fifth] birthday. Visited Hewel.

dr hans lammers, lawyer and Reichsminister, was Chief of the Reich Chancery and head of the civil service, born on May 27, 1879. For this birthday Hitler gave him his rented Schorfheide hunting lodge with a large estate and 600,000 Reichsmarks from his own purse. He would be sentenced to twenty years by the Americans at Nuremberg.

June 3, 1944

Marriage of Gretl Braun to SS Brigadeführer Fegelein.

hermann fegelein had been SS liaison officer on Hitler's staff since January 1.

He was born in Ansbach on October 30, 1906. Margarete (Gretl) Braun, was Eva Braun's younger sister. She was born in Munich on August 31, 1915. Morell was on conspicuously good terms with Fegelein, and is rumoured to have given the couple a wedding gift costing 50,000 Reichsmarks. Fegelein would be shot by firing squad in Berlin on April 29, 1945 for desertion.

Footnotes:

1. Letter. Morell to Funk, May 12, 1944: National Archives, Washington, microfilm T-253, Roll 40, pp 1913-15.

The Wolf Returns to his Lair

The allied invasion of Normandy began soon after midnight on June 5-6, 1944. It was the decisive Allied thrust, but Hitler had stopped worrying about it, and it was not taken seriously at the Berghof. Certainly, it found no mention in Morell's diary. Hitler was not wakened until lunchtime, as usual, and got his regular double glucose injection.

Thereafter the routine remained unchanged: Morell lingered in his hotel, gasping for air down in the valley, while Hitler ruled his shrinking empire from his mountainside villa fifteen hundred feet higher up; occasionally the doctor arrived with his black bag and syringes to give the dictator the injections that each man now believed indispensable.

Soon a million British and American troops stood on French soil. On the night of June 15-16 the German V-weapon attack began on London. In the last week of June the biggest German army group, Centre, collapsed on the eastern front, and an avalanche of Russian forces poured through Poland towards the German frontier.

Hitler remained at the Berghof, his health still not good. When his veteran housekeeper Anni Winter saw him she was dismayed by the change in him. He was emaciated and weak, she said, with only "scarecrow arms" that shook uncontrollably. For lunch he might eat a plate of white bean soup with a spoon of oil, followed by a little plate of lettuce. "Look," he appealed to her, "they won't let me eat

anything. Get them to show you what you can cook for me and how.” She made him a couple of thin apple pastries that afternoon, and he gobbled them down as though half starved. Frau Winter would later recall, “Morell was collaborating in his treatment of Hitler with a homeopath Professor Zabel of Berchtesgaden. Morell had installed a special cook on the Obersalzberg just to cook the menu for Hitler – this bean soup and lettuce salad!”

* * *

June 8, 1944

I was awarded the Grand Officer’s Cross of the Royal Bulgarian Alexander Order. Gave Patient A his injections. Visited Frau Göring.

June 10, 1944

Berchtesgaden. Went to see Patient A, and treated Eva Braun: intravenous Strophantin, blood pressure 110.

on June 16 Morell flew to his factory at Olmütz, had a conference there with Dr Leonardo Conti, the Reich Health Chief, and returned to his Berchtesgaden hotel on the nineteenth.

Evidently Hitler’s health ceased giving trouble. Morell stayed down in the valley for the next week and did not see him. His mind was full of his new electron microscope. He then paid routine visits to Hitler on July 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 and 13.

July 6, 1944

Berchtesgaden. Patient A. nothing new. Called on Zeitzler.¹

July 14, 1944

Flight [with Hitler] from Berchtesgaden, i.e. Salzburg, to the Wolf's Lair [Rastenburg].

Patient A has 'flu and conjunctivitis in both eyes. Some shampoo got into his left eye and has inflamed it badly. Administered cocaine-adrenaline solution (Targesin solution).

on this day Hitler had left the Berghof – for ever, as it would turn out – and back to his Rastenburg headquarters.

There seemed no other way to halt the Soviet onslaught. During the flight the passenger cabin's curtains were drawn. Hitler saw nothing, and had no desire to look. Perhaps he could not stand the light, what doctors call photophobia. "The year before," Dr Giesing would reflect in November 1945, "he had stopped making industrial inspection trips although before the war he had really enjoyed going on journeys. He lived in his bunker and learned all he needed to know, the successes and failures, by wire and radio, but never by seeing things for himself. This self-inflicted isolation in his bunker was not by any means a security measure. He had developed something of a bunker mentality. It was the only place he felt at home: the only place where he got the kind of climate he liked (thanks to an air-conditioning system) and the only place he could work and think."

His staff was already at the Wolf's Lair. "How beautiful it is out here," wrote stenographer Karl Thöt in his diary. "The whole site is resplendent with luscious greenery. The woods breathe a magnificent tranquility. The wooden huts, including ours, have by now been heavily bricked-in to afford protection against bomb splinters. We all feel well at ease here. It's become a second home to us."

Morell's diary upheld this picture.

July 18, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Patient A here, life as usual. Slept well, feels good.

Footnotes:

1. Kurt Zeitzler, Colonel-General. Born June 9, 1895, Zeitzler had been Chief of General Staff since September 1942. He had become disenchanted with Hitler's strategies in what the General Staff regarded as its own theatre, the eastern front, and on June 30 withdrew, pleading a nervous breakdown. Hitler paid no attention, but replaced him after the bomb plot by Heinz Guderian. Zeitzler died in September 1963.

Unscathed

At about one p.m. on July 20, 1944 the unthinkable happened. “All of a sudden there was a frightful crash,” as Theo Morell described it to his wife afterwards, “and I shouted to an orderly: ‘That’s it! Now they’ve found us. That was a bomb!’ But the orderly said, ‘Oh no Sir, I know that sound from World War I – this was something else.’ And at that moment Hitler’s valet burst in and said, ‘Quick, Herr Professor, quick! You must come to the Führer at once!’”

Disaffected officers had made a bomb attempt on Hitler’s life. The hut in which he had been standing was now wrecked, and his mangled and maimed officers were bleeding on the collapsed floorboards. “In the conference room,” stenographer Thöt recorded that day, “before the conference began, Colonel Count von Stauffenberg who had been ordered here for a conference had placed a briefcase containing a bomb with a timefuse under the map table; in fact it must have rested just in front of poor Berger’s feet.” Heinrich Berger was one of Thöt’s fellow shorthand reporters.

Their colleague Heinz Buchholz later wrote, “I remember it as a clap of thunder connected with a bright yellow flash and ever-increasing thick smoke. Glass and wood splintered through the air. The large table on which all the situation maps had been spread out and around which the participants were standing – only we stenographers were sitting – collapsed. After a few seconds of silence I heard a voice, probably Field Marshal Keitel, shouting: ‘Where is the Führer?’ Then further shouts and screams of pain arose.”

From this moment on Hitler's real health problems, as opposed to any purely neurotic ones, arose.

July 20, 1944 (Thursday)

Wolf's Lair. Went over to Patient A at eleven-fifteen a.m. and gave him injections as always.

Then an *Attentat* with an explosive device! On the Führer! (Pulse afterwards 72. Treated him. Injury.)

Visit by the Duce.

the officers who had moments earlier been listening to Hitler tumbled out of the wrecked hut, bleeding, their hands and faces blackened and burned, their hair singed and stained yellow, their uniforms ragged and dirty. Berger was rushed to hospital and operated on, both legs being amputated. "The Führer's physicians arrived immediately," recalled Buchholz. They removed over one hundred oak splinters from Hitler's legs – mainly the right one. He hardly noticed the pain. He too was baffled by his escape.

As Morell galloped into the bunker's sleeping quarters, Hitler greeted him with a disdainful remark:

"It's nothing really," he said with a grimace. Then he actually grinned. "I'm invulnerable," he shouted. "I'm immortal!" Morell dressed the wounds. Hitler changed out of his tattered and singed uniform and said, "Morell, let's get a move on, Mussolini will be here any moment."

A few days later Hitler would pay his respects on the surviving officers in the Karlshof army hospital at Rastenburg. Photographs show the blinded Rudolf Schmundt, his face terribly burned, gripping Hitler's hand in both of his. When Hitler reached Assmann's bed he said, "There you all are, seriously injured, yet you were not

the ones marked down for assassination. These gentlemen were after me and only me: yet I escaped completely unscathed. Four times in this war my enemies have tried to do away with me like this, once and for all. Yet not once have they succeeded.”

The immediate medical result of the blast was unexpected. The tremor in Hitler's left leg vanished. “The miracle is,” he said eleven days later to General Jodl, as the stenographers recorded, “that the shock got rid of my nerve complaint almost entirely. My left leg still trembles somewhat if conferences go on too long, but previously this leg used to shake in bed. With this shock, that's vanished almost completely – not that I would recommend this kind of remedy.” The inevitable conclusion is that this tremor must have been neurotic in origin.

But a severe gash on his head had clearly affected Hitler's inner ear. His eyes flickered constantly to the right – nystagmus. He kept imagining that he was falling over to the right. Twice that evening as he went for a stroll he found himself wandering in the darkness off the path – again to the right.

July 20, 1944 (a typed memorandum)

[Morning] Patient A: administered eye drops, conjunctivitis in right eye.

[After the explosion] One-fifteen p.m.: pulse 72. Eight p.m.: pulse 100, regular, strong, blood pressure 165-170. Treated injuries with penicillin powder.

Right forearm badly swollen, prescribed acid aluminium acetate compresses. Effusion of blood on right shinbone has subsided. On back of third or fourth finger of left hand there is a large burn blister. Bandage. Occiput partly and hair completely singed, a palm-sized second degree skin burn on the middle of the calf and a number of

contusions and open flesh wounds. Left forearm has effusion of blood on interior aspect and is badly swollen; He can move it only with difficulty. He is to take two Optalidons at once, and two tablespoons of Brom-Nervacit before going to sleep.

* * *

the long term psychological effects of the murder attempt were interesting.

Major Cortez F Enloe, Jnr. who interrogated nearly all the doctors from Hitler's headquarters on behalf of the Medical Branch of the US Strategic Bombing Survey, later wrote, "The group of old-school Prussians who tried to murder Hitler contributed largely to Germany's defeat. Their attempt set in motion in the mind of that evil and uncertain man a chain of psychological reactions that separated the Führer from his advisers and friends and gradually undermined his psyche. In the end, these reactions trapped Hitler in the maze of his own obsessions and left him with self-destruction as the only escape."¹

Goebbels confirmed this assessment in a conversation with finance minister Schwerin von Krosigk, who noted in his diary in April 1945: "The 20th of July did leave its mark on him, both physically – he can still not use one hand because it trembles so much – and mentally: the blow to his trust has been serious, and he had become even more distrustful and solitary."

July 21, 1944

Wolf's Lair. He slept only two hours last night. Invited to tea this evening. Before the night-time tea session the Führer gave me a [birthday] present, a gold watch.

July 22, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Patient A slept only an hour last night. Gave him the usual injections and treatment. My birthday – I'm fifty-eight. This morning [General] Korten² ✕ [died] and Colonel (GS) Brandt ✕ [died].

colonel heinz brandt was chief of the Operations Division of the General Staff. He had himself been involved in the plot against Hitler and from his hospital deathbed bewailed the fact that his accomplices had not at least warned him to make himself scarce. The shorthand writer Berger and General Schmudt were the two other fatalities claimed by the bomb.

hitler's escort doctor, Karl Brandt had hurried back to Rastenburg from Berlin as soon as the bomb blast was announced. He was disturbed by the blood seeping steadily from Hitler's ears. Morell shared his concern, and telephoned the ENT specialist Professor von Eicken in Berlin. As von Eicken was away attending a wedding Dr Erwin Giesing was summoned from the nearest army hospital instead. After his first visit on July 22 Giesing treated Hitler almost every day and wrote very full records of those weeks.

The adjutant warned him that Hitler was a "mighty, but mystic superman." Shortly after that Giesing was standing in the Führer's bunker. His first impression of Hitler was rather different: an ageing man – almost burnt out and exhausted, like somebody husbanding every last ounce of strength. Hitler was stooped, he was limping on his right leg and carrying his arm tucked into his tunic, Napoleon fashion. The face was ashen, the eyes bloodshot, the lips swollen.

"Doctor," he said in the tone he used when talking to experts, "I hear you are taking care of my friends. I was reluctant to bother

you. For the past two days -since the explosion – I have had an excruciating pain in my right ear and have trouble in hearing. My valet tells me it's because I shout too much.”

Giesing would claim that he twice got the opportunity of giving Hitler a complete physical and neurological check-up, in August and October 1944. His findings largely confirmed those of Morell. Hitler weighed about 160 pounds. His hair was thin, his body skin remarkably white; there was an outsize gold bridge in his right lower jaw. His genital organs were apparently normal – so Giesing claims to have observed. “Outsiders often suspected a hypertrophy of the right arm or the shoulder muscles,” he continued, “but there was no sign of this . . . Nevertheless his physical endurance was astounding, particularly at big Party events like parades and marches, where he stood for hours on end with his right arm outstretched.” Giesing found no clinical abnormalities in Hitler’s heart or lungs; the pulse was full, regular and quite strong, he said. The increases in blood pressure reported by Morell were attributed by Giesing to the susceptibility of Hitler’s autonomic nervous system to anger and worry.

As for Hitler’s neurological and psychiatric condition, Giesing stated that the two examinations in August revealed no abnormality. “The *commotio labyrinthi* on the right side, which I described in my report of June 12, 1945, was originated by the shockwave, which caused a major rupture of the right tympanic membrane; and by blast damage to the semi-circular canals and cochlea of the inner ear. From what he himself said, Hitler was hurled by the force of the explosion from his original position at the middle of the map table to the vicinity of the left doorpost of the exit.”

It would be the late autumn of 1944 before Hitler partially recovered from the assassins’ attack. Then the trembling returned. He joked about the growing debilities, but this only highlighted his con-

cern about them. “Before the bomb went off I had this tremor in my left leg,” he said to his secretaries. “Now it’s moved over to my right hand. I’m glad I don’t have it in my head. If I just kept shaking my head things would look pretty bleak.”

Some doctors believed that the growing lameness of Hitler’s right arm was a “conversion hysteria” – a reaction in which some real or imagined physical phenomenon becomes the token of an unpleasant memory. Cortez Enloe would write: “This shaking of Hitler’s right arm indeed became the symbol of the gradual breaking up of his personality following the attack on his life. The impact of this betrayal upon the ruler’s psyche consumed his mind in the end.”

Footnotes:

1. *Collier's* magazine, May 1946.
2. Günther Korten, General der Flieger, born July 26, 1898, was the Luftwaffe’s chief of staff; his death was a critical loss for Germany.

The Dams Burst

Severe problems developed in Hitler's inner ear after the bomb attack.

The right ear continued to bleed for several days. Giesing wanted to carry out a simple cauterisation, but Morell proposed instead a "miracle working" haemostat called Nateina which had aroused controversy in the 1930s when sampled, allegedly successfully, by the haemophilic Spanish Royal family.

Hitler proved the perfect patient.

Dr Giesing found that he could carry out the most painful cauterisation without even a local anaesthetisation of the damaged eardrum.

"I'll get over it," said Hitler, waving the anaesthetic aside. "I've suffered worse in my life and let's hope it's not all that painful anyway." The bleeding continued.

"Well my dear professor," Hitler sighed when the doctor reappeared. "It appears there is more wrong with my ear than we thought. Morell gave me another of his blood staunching injections last night and I've been taking all the Styptic tablets too, just like the doctor ordered. The bleeding's got to stop sometime! Perhaps I'm just a natural bleeder."

On the next day the ear was still bleeding internally. Hitler asked Giesing to cauterise it again.

"I stopped feeling pain long ago," he said pathetically. "Besides, pain exists to make a man of you."

July 27, 1944 [wrote Morell]

Wolf's Lair. Saw Patient A at midday. The ENT doctor [Giesing] was there. Ear still bleeding at times. Führer talked about letting some blood but his blood pressure was 140, which was normal, so it is not necessary. If his ear is still bleeding tomorrow then we'll inject some Koagovit.

July 28, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Patient A, injections as always. Apparently the ear dressing is still in place: it's stopped bleeding.

July 29, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Patient A. Note that the moment the bomb blast occurred the tremor vanished from his leg; and the trembling of his hands is down to a minimum.

indirectly the injuries affected the strategic direction of the war. In the middle of June 1944 Hitler had been able to jump into a plane and rush to France for a special conference with his western commanders, Rundstedt and Rommel. Now that kind of hustle was impossible.

On July 31, the shorthand reporters took down Hitler's words about his new and accursed debilities. "I would so much have liked to get over to the west," he lamented, "but now with the best will in the world I cannot. Certainly I will not be able to go up in a plane for the next week or so on account of my ears. Obviously, if all the dams burst, I would do anything and wouldn't care – I'd go as gunner in a single-engined plane to get there as fast as possible."

Early in August the dams did burst in the west: at Avranches the Americans finally fought their way out of their bridgehead in Normandy and poured into open countryside. In the next three weeks the whole of France was lost to Hitler. He could not fly, and remained at his headquarters.

In a special note dated August 1, the following data was recorded showing that Hitler's condition was still dominated by the injuries sustained on July 20: "Band-Aids show blood seeping through the skin on the arms and buttocks. Over the coccyx there is a handsized rainbow-coloured area which has now shrunk somewhat. On the right forearm on the little finger side the wrist is thicker (caused by blood emanating from the large internal haemorrhage in the vicinity of the elbow). General condition good."

August 2, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Patient A. Gave him two Optalidons last night to help him sleep, and two tablespoons of Brom-Nervacit. Has a throbbing over his right eye. At three-thirty p.m. let 200cc of blood! Ten drops of Sympathol – the relief is very great.

for several days Morell noted "Patient A" in his diary and the usual injections and some blood letting. The damaged ear-drum slowly healed and stopped bleeding. According to Giesing, Hitler persuaded Morell to resume his use of Ultraseptyl, although in Morell's diary we find no explicit reference to his giving it to Hitler between May 7 (when he noted "Ultraseptyl doesn't help him any more") and October 15 ("Ultraseptyl, at his request"). Hitler had confided to Giesing, "Professor Morell has such a good drug, called Ultraseptyl, it's helped me a lot in the past with head colds at the onset of flu." Giesing was worried, as he knew that the sulphonamide level in blood could not

be kept high for long without it losing its antibiotic properties. But Hitler told him, "When he comes in after you I'm going to ask Morell to give me a couple of shots."

To Dr Giesing it seemed no coincidence that as the Ultraseptyl course began, so Hitler became irritable and sleepless. He began to suffer terrible nightmares) and scenes from the battle fronts haunted his sleep. A few days later Hitler told him he was puzzled that despite the Ultraseptyl the inner ear infection has worsened. "Morell wants to give me another iodine shot today," he told Giesing, "as well as a heart-, a liver-, and a Vitamultin-Calcium injection. That's what he learned in the tropics," Hitler added: "These things have to be shot straight into your veins."

August 6, 1944

Travelling. Midday reached Berlin-Schwanenwerder.
Air raid!

August 7, 1944

Back at Berlin-Schwanenwerder. [Morell's sister] Emilie and Kurt.
My twenty-fifth wedding anniversary!

August 8, 1944

Berlin. Twelve-thirty p.m. saw General Zeitzler at the practice.

August 9, 1944

Travelling back to Wolf's Lair. Patient A's blood pressure 133mm,
almost everything fine.

August 10, 1944

Afternoon tea with the Führer, and [Johanna] Wolf [Hitler's private secretary since 1930], Schroeder and Daranowski.

in the second half of August Giesing began treating Hitler with cocaine, in addition to the other injections. He used a ten per cent cocaine solution to dispel the Führer's growing sinus pains. Giesing afterwards wrote, "Hitler told me that after the treatment with the cocaine he felt quite light headed and he could think much clearer." He asked the doctor whether he might not have this agreeable cocaine treatment once or even twice a day in future. The army doctor agreed, but warned of the danger of a cocaine overdose as cocaine is virtually entirely absorbed by the mucous membrane of the nose and enters the bloodstream very rapidly. A few days later Hitler complained, "Good that you came, doctor. I've a scorcher of a headache today – probably from that head cold." He complained again of stomach pains and lack of appetite and said he had not slept well. "The worries about the future and Germany's existence are just eating me up inside," he said.

Giesing indicated that the Ultraseptyl might be the cause of the stomach problems. In fact he had begun dosing himself with the drug to test its side effects, and after five days he experienced the same stomach pains. Hitler still refused to take note, and began to look forward instead to Giesing's cocaine treatments every other day. Giesing humoured him. "It's as though I am not ill at all," was how Hitler described the effects of the cocaine. "I just wish my head could always be so clear." He added, "I hope you're not turning me into a coke addict!"

Morell knew none of this.

Frustrations

To Hitler's fury over the "July 20 traitors" was now added his frustration over the failure of Göring's airforce in the west. Increasingly drastic measures were called for. Hitler ordered fighter training squadrons to be thrown prematurely into action in France, where by mid-August 1944 the encirclement of the Seventh Army at Falaise was complete. The airforce generals protested vehemently. In the east the Russians had already reached the frontiers of East Prussia; on the threatened shores of Lake Goldap the tombstone marking the grave of Hans Jeschonnek, the chief of air staff who had committed suicide twelve months before, was uprooted and buried. Hermann Göring played sick, and put in no appearance in Hitler's headquarters for several weeks. Gestapo arrests continued. There were rumours that the circle of traitors had been much bigger than officially admitted. Day by day SS General Ernst Kaltenbrunner's interrogation reports were laid by Martin Bormann on Hitler's desk.

Hitler's health declined still more on August 11, Lieutenant General Werner Kreipe saluted before him in the rebuilt war conference room at the Wolf's Lair. Kreipe had succeeded Korten as chief of air staff after Korten's death in the bomb blast. After returning to Luftwaffe headquarters nearby, Kreipe wrote in his private diary: "The Führer's back has become very bent. Cotton wool in his ears. He often trembles violently. You can only give him your hand gently." And on August 14, he added this description of a conference

with Hitler: “Charged atmosphere. Fegelein drops broad hints that further generals and field marshals were involved in the 20th of July.”

On that evening the news was that the Americans had landed in southern France as well. The Luftwaffe’s failure was evident. On the twentieth, Hitler asked sarcastically of Kreipe, “How long is Göring planning to remain sick?”

August 1944 presented nothing but problems for Hitler. Antonescu was arrested, and a few days later an uprising broke out in Slovakia. In east and west, collapse seemed inevitable. While Finland also abandoned the sinking ship military police units manned the Rhine bridges to round up fleeing troops and deserters Hitler formulated a short-lived plan to dissolve his evidently useless airforce altogether. He waved aside Kreipe’s horrified objections. “You’re just another expert,” scoffed Hitler, “and like all the rest of the General Staff you’re not receptive enough to new ideas.” Morell caught whiffs of these difficulties in his diaries.

August 22, 1944

[SS Obersturmführer Hans] Junge killed in action [in Normandy]. That’s why the Führer has been in great anguish these last two or three days, which I couldn’t fathom at the time.

A FEW MONTHS earlier Junge – then one of Hitler’s SS valets – had married Hitler’s most recently recruited secretary, Traudl Humbs.

He had left to join an SS panzer division. Hitler broke the news to her himself. The death of people that he knew personally affected him far more deeply than the thousands who were dying anonymously every day.

Morell continued the routine injections and between August 23 and August 29 only made routine consultation notes.

August 31, 1944

Birthday of Dr [Otto] Dietrich, press chief. Birthday too of Gretl (Braun) Fegelein, and of Lord Mayors Liebl of Nuremberg and Fiehler of Munich.

it would appear that early in September 1944 Hitler did attempt to reduce his medication. "Now Morell is giving me his injections only every other day," Hitler told Dr Giesing. "I hope that later on, when I'm well again, I will only need them twice a week." But when Giesing warned him emphatically against Morell's Ultraseptyl, Hitler remained adamant. "I'm going to keep taking it," he said. "Anyway, it's well known that the faith a sick man has in his doctor and in his medication is necessary for a cure – I'm sticking with my dear old house doctor, Morell."

However Morell's notes make few references in these months to administering Ultraseptyl. The data cards show him methodically continuing with the "double glucose" shots every other day. His diary entries for the period September 4 – 7, 1944 comprise routine consultation notes on Hitler.

On September 1, 2, 7, 10 and 16 Morell jotted down in his agenda that it was again time for blood tests and an electrocardiogram, but once more Hitler would not agree.

In the west, the Allies had by now run into intractable logistics problems – because the most important ports in liberated France were still held by fanatical German troops.

at his daily war conference on September 11 Hitler touched for the first time on the possibility of striking back at the Allies, in the Vosges mountains. However Hitler shelved the Vosges idea and decided to launch a major strategic winter counter-offensive in the west. He

revealed this decision to a selected few. In a secret conference General Jodl estimated the balance of strength in the west: about ninety-six German divisions were faced by fifty-five Allied. Hitler announced his decision: "A counter attack from the Ardennes, with Antwerp as its objective."

Field Marshal von Rundstedt would command the attack. It was relatively easy to hold the present front line, explained Hitler. Meanwhile they would create a strike force of Volksgrenadier and panzer divisions over the next few weeks and rip open the front line at the precise spot where the British and American army groups met. The strategic target was clear: "A new Dunkirk!" Hitler wanted this bold thrust to take place early in November. By then there had to be a reserve of 1,500 fighter planes; he stipulated that the attack would begin under cover of bad weather, so that the enemy's strategic air power was at a disadvantage.

September 15, 1944 (special note)

Patient A, at six p.m. Blood pressure 150mm, heart tones pure and regular, 84 beats per minute. Pulse good and full. Complains of dizziness, throbbing head, and return of the tremor to his legs, particularly the left, and hands. A lot of worries!

Left ankle is swollen, particularly on left shinbone above the ankle. Some time ago there was an eczema on the shinbone which vanished because of the Mutaflor cure.

I recommend: adequate oxygen intake either by an eight or ten day stay at the Berghof or by going for drives in an open car every other day, with or without interrupting the drive for half an hour's walk.

Also massage to improve the blood supply and treat the swollen left foot and ankle.

Brom-Nervacit causing it. Is this possible? As it contains saccharin and yeast, yes. Fermentation of the sugar.

I ought to have it chemically analysed.

Should try and put his left leg up as often as possible.

Only perform the really vital functions himself. Shed as much load as possible. (Signed) Professor Morell.

on september 16, 1944 a worried Professor Morell telephoned SS Brigadeführer Dr Blumenreuther of the SS Medical Stores for his view on Brom-Nervacit, the tried and trusted sedative which Morell administered to Hitler in periods of tension. (Morell learned the result in a telephone conversation with Dr Mulli in Hamburg on October 13: the sedative was bacteriologically above reproach, when yeast was added fermentation took place, when pepsin and trypsin were added no gases were formed.) Morell had also sent to Mulli a sample of drinking water from the Wolf's Lair. Mulli reported, "The water that arrived here was bad." On October 23 (Mulli added, "In bacteriological terms that water is impure.")

September 23-24, 1944

During the night at 4.20 a.m. he sent for me on account of intestinal spasms he was suffering after some over-excitement.

September 24, 1944

Wolf's Lair. Made electrocardiograms of Patient
A. Dr (Mulli) is here.

morell sent these electrocardiograms to the cardiologist Professor Weber at Bad Nauheim. Again the diagnosis was a rapid

progressive coronary sclerosis. That night, Hitler suffered violent stomach cramps. He was on the threshold of his most debilitating illness yet.

Jaundice

The next morning Hitler simply refused to get up. “The Führer sends his regrets,” his staff were told, “but he’ll be eating alone.”

His bulldog of an adjutant, Otto Günsche, told the other staff members, “The Führer is completely apathetic about events around him. We don’t know what to do. He’s not even interested in the eastern front although we’ve a real crisis on our hands.”

The buoyant mood inspired by initial planning for the great winter counter-offensive in the west had been destroyed by reports of renewed airforce shortcomings in the east.

The Luftwaffe had proven incapable of destroying even one railroad bridge at Constanza to obstruct the Russian sweep into Romania. Göring’s generals had plundered and looted and enriched themselves. Now the General Staff were maintaining that the western offensive would not work.

Hitler’s own belief was that these colossal rows during September were making him ill. For a while the Allied airborne landings in Holland on September 17 and 18 had threatened to drive a wedge deep into the German western front. Göring’s generals had claimed the weather was not good enough for flying. “The Führer loses his temper,” recorded the new chief of air staff on the eighteenth, “and rages over the Luftwaffe’s failure.” Hitler had demanded to speak to Göring – “I imagine you are still capable of arranging that?” he had said sarcastically to Kreipe on the ’phone. At the next morning’s war conference, the mood was frosty; Kreipe was ignored.

He could see that the witchhunt was really aimed at Göring.

But for some reason Hitler was reluctant to speak his mind to the fat Reichsmarschall, and had begun taking it out on Kreipe instead.

Around one a.m. on September 20, SS Gruppenführer Fegelein had transmitted to Kreipe the orders that he was banned from the Führer's headquarters.

On the twenty-first Hitler had sent for General Ritter von Greim, instructing him not to breathe a word to Göring first, lectured him on the sins of the airforce, and offered him the (brand new) position of Deputy C-in-C, Luftwaffe.

Greim was no fool – he had asked for time to make up his mind.

These were not the actions of a rational man, perhaps, but Hitler was now becoming significantly ill.

On September 20, Professor von Eicken had telephoned his colleague Dr Giesing who told him, "The Führer has been hoarse these last three weeks."

Two days later Eicken wrote, "Two small flecks of pus in the left maxillary sinus. Sweating procedures." Dr Giesing summarised on October 18, "Irrigation of left maxillary sinus performed by Professor von Eicken . . . Nose clear on both sides at final examination. No complaint. A slight laryngitis has also subsided. The slight tiring of the voice is due to a slight weakness of the vocal chord muscles (paresis of internus muscle.)"

But that was by no means all, as Morell shortly discovered.

September 27, 1944

At nine p.m. this evening (after afternoon tea) I commented to the Führer that he was looking a bit yellow.

I said I would come over in the morning and make out a prescription.

September 28, 1944

6.30 p.m. Führer sent for me, said he was suffering violent spasms. Said that immediately after lunch he had violent colic pains and nausea. His pulse was 78, he was nauseous and his face was yellow, he had no fever but said his urine is as brown as beer. [*Data card*]: feeling dizzy.

September 28-29, 1944

[*Written at*] one-thirty a.m.: I was called in at fifteen minutes after midnight. Still suffering spasms but considerably less, still nauseous, appendix free. The pit of the stomach! The pains and cramps subside slowly. Pulse 72, regular and full, sweating freely, temperature normal.

Left at one-thirty a.m. as Führer wanted to sleep, was tired. Führer had eaten mashed potatoes and other light things but had had some milk in his soup and apparently got the nausea and cramps immediately after the meal. Ordered a day's fasting, with only unsweetened tea and no milk or alcohol.

morell was frantic to find his patient becoming genuinely ill, and began three or four parallel diaries of the case. In a separate note on this day's events he recorded: "Back at 1.30 a.m. Says he has had a lot of aggravation over the last few days. Violent flatulence and periodic cramps."

On September 26, Heinrich Himmler had visited Hitler with a special dossier headed, "Treason since 1939": it revealed that Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Canaris and other Abwehr traitors had continually betrayed Hitler's most vital military secrets – such as the times and dates of his 1940 offensives – to the enemy.

September 29, 1944 (Friday)

Wolf's Lair. Visited at 11.50 a.m. Patient says he only slept until three a.m. Agonising flatulence (he has had some terrible rows, particularly on Tuesday and Wednesday). His body is still pretty taut. He has continued getting cramps (calls them "contractions in the intestines") and is in considerable pain. Between nine and ten-thirty p.m. the tension relaxed, he has had no more spasms since noon. Gave him two more tablespoons of cod liver oil, and sliced lemon for attacks of nausea (but none came.)

He stayed confined to bed all day and did not eat anything.

* * *

for the second time in three years Hitler found himself trying to fight the war from a sickbed. His restless brain was not idle: it began working over his grand plan for a winter counter-offensive. Under interrogation on July 26, 1945 General Jodl would recall: "When Hitler conceived the first idea he was ill in bed with jaundice." Hitler had spread out the map of the Ardennes across his bedcover, and discussed the best direction and depth of attack. Jodl's recollection is confirmed by the shorthand writer Reynitz: "He threw himself into preparing the Ardennes offensive down to the last detail, calling Jodl and Buhle into his bedroom, where he lay sick . . . The planning of this offensive was . . . entirely Hitler's brainchild from everything I saw and heard."

Every evening Hitler's bomb-injured naval adjutant von Puttkamer would hobble into the bunker on crutches and read out the situation reports typed on Hitler's special large-face typewriter. "On the first day," the rear-admiral would recall to this author, "Hitler just lay there, without making even the slightest comment or

reaction. On the second day he gestured wearily with one hand . . . Thank goodness that nothing much was happening at this time.”

September 30, 1944

From noon to two-thirty p.m. There has been no bowel movement for five hours, so he's in a lot of discomfort from gas. The patient claims it is not getting better but much worse than before. I countered that his objective condition is far better – no more spasms, a considerable relaxation and tenderness only in the pit of the stomach and he is very tender near the liver and gall bladder. He flatly refused to allow me to administer an enema of oil or camomile in bed, but on the contrary took an irrigator and tried to administer one to himself in the WC: the patient sitting upon the toilet bowl for the purpose. I had to wait outside (in fact he even locked me out.)

At seven-thirty p.m. I was sent for. There had been four bowel movements between four and six.

Otherwise relatively strong improvement and there is a change of facial expression. He said he had only sent for me to tell me the good news about the effect.

October 1, 1944

I again proposed most urgently a change of air (to Berlin) either for two or three days and then to the mountain for twelve to fourteen days, or just Berlin for eight to ten days. He rejects the Berghof out of hand and says Berlin is unsuitable as he (the patient) would have to keep going down into the bunker, and he cannot walk much at present, he is too weak. I referred to the unsuitability of the new bunker for him, the living and sleeping quarters are tiny and despite

the ventilation system there is far too little oxygen. He is much too modest as the top man and leader of the Reich. He gave me a promise that he would go on more walks. “*You* say that but then you don’t,” I argued, and said: “I consider it vital that you build up a physical reserve by taking in as much oxygen as possible, thereby creating better food combustion conditions for the likely exertions of the coming months.” As I went, the Führer suddenly sat bolt upright, and said he had painful wind and stabbing pressure on his heart.

The Hungary decision is allowed in, but the news about Schmundt’s death [the day before] is delayed until tomorrow morning.

The Doctors' Plot

The origins of Hitler's spasms began to intrigue Morell's rivals. In September the ENT doctor Erwin Giesing chanced on what he believed to be their cause. He noticed Hitler's breakfast tray being carried in: a plate of porridge, two thin slices of bread, a glass of orange juice – and a small hospital dish containing several white Vitamultin pastilles and six black pills. Giesing began to speculate on those black pills. Their composition was printed on the flat aluminium tin they came in – “Dr Koester's anti-gas pills.” 120 contained half a gram of *extractum nucis vomicae* (otherwise known as strychnine); half a gram of *extractum belladonnae* (deadly nightshade or atropine); one gram of *extractum gentianae* (gentian). Giesing's rough calculation showed that judging by the number of pills on that plate Hitler was taking a near overdose of strychnine and atropine, both deadly poisons, each day.

At first Giesing kept this extraordinary deduction to himself. Almost certainly he recognised a chance of getting rid of the controversial professor Morell. But he wanted to be sure. He purloined a few pills and sent them away for analysis. And from Königsberg he obtained E Poulsson's *Handbook of Pharmacology*. The information contained therein as to the effects of atropine and strychnine was all that Giesing needed to complete his case. He calculated that ten pills per day would contain more than the maximum permitted dose of strychnine. The anti-gas pills were to blame for everything, it seemed. “After all, Hitler was permanently in a eu-

phoric condition,” he would write in November 1945, “and there was no other way of explaining this, and his exaltation when taking decisions after major political or military reverses can probably be explained largely by this too.” The Handbook had revealed that “atropine [. . .] affects the forebrain, coupled with vivid flights of ideas, talkativeness, and restlessness, visual and aural hallucination, and fits of delirium which may be peaceful and serene but may equally degenerate into acts of violence and frenzy.”

Even though Giesing was sure that the anti-gas pills were harmful he was careful how he went about connecting Hitler’s recent jaundice with these unprepossessing little black pills. Morell maintained that Hitler’s hepatitis had been brought about by nothing more sinister than a retention of bile caused by a nervous cramp at the gall bladder exit. Giesing would write a year later, “I think that highly unlikely: a nervous constriction of the gall bladder exit would not have resulted in a lengthy period of icterus [yellow skin coloration] nor in a confinement to bed lasting almost four weeks, and Morell would not have had to refuse so fiercely any kind of blood and urine analyses.”

These remarks show how subjective the hostility of the other doctors to Morell was. Morell’s files reveal that he was almost superstitiously conscious of the need to carry out frequent blood and urine tests on Hitler.

Giesing’s suppositions became public knowledge and soon the whole headquarters was whispering that Morell had treated Hitler negligently. Some people said that he had not even known that the anti-gas pills contained strychnine. The jockeying for position began. His rivals, Brandt, Hasselbach and Giesing seized the chance to intrigue against Morell. Bormann saw it as a chance to get rid of Brandt, the powerful protégé of Bormann’s enemy Albert Speer whose star was rising now that Göring’s was on the wane. As Reich

Commissioner for Health and Safety, Brandt came under Speer's ministry.

The closing act of this intrigue came early in October 1944.

Giesing began to dose himself with the suspect black pills. He began to experience the same symptoms as Hitler had – extreme sensitivity, photophobia, acuteness of taste and increased thirst. When Brandt arrived from Berlin, Giesing told him. Brandt took the matter to Hitler.

Brandt also denounced the fat doctor to the SS chief, Himmler. Himmler thought it not impossible that Morell had made a deliberate attempt to murder Hitler; he made no secret of his distrust of the doctor. Himmler intimated to Morell that he had hanged so many men that one more would make no difference to him. Shortly, Morell's assistant, Richard Weber, was fetched from the Kurfürstendamm practice and grilled at Berlin's Gestapo headquarters – did he think it possible that Morell was systematically poisoning the Führer? Weber's answer had the ring of authenticity, "Out of the question," he said. "Morell's too much of a coward for that."

on the way to the Tannenberg monument to attend Schmundt's funeral a few days later. Hasselbach foolishly mentioned the strychnine affair to officers with him. It was a violation of his medical oath of secrecy and would cost him his job.

On the following day, Hitler told Dr Giesing that his stomach cramps had subsided somewhat. Giesing pointed out that the Führer was no longer taking the anti-gas pills, and he told of how he had been taking them himself as a test. "I have told Hasselbach about this," he concluded proudly.

His pride was misplaced. Hitler flared up, "You ought not to have done that! I want this anti-gas pills affair dropped. Say what you want against Morell, he is and is going to stay my physician. I have

complete faith in him.” Hitler added, “I’m going to get to the bottom of this entire business. I have asked Brandt to see me this afternoon.”

His attitude shocked the doctors. Hasselbach appealed to Bormann, but the Reichsleiter would not interfere. So he went to Himmler instead, and took Giesing with him. The SS Reichsführer became thoughtful. “Well, gentlemen, he said, “You are clearly no diplomats. You’re going to have to tackle Morell far more cleverly. Why not meet Morell for tea, or invite him to a schnapps and talk it all over with him – you know, as one comrade to another? You’ve got to realise that the Führer trusts him implicitly and we must do nothing to disrupt that.”

Hasselbach was furious, and said, “This business is so grave that a medical or even a civil court would have punished Morell for causing bodily harm by negligence, at the very least.”

Himmler pitched his voice higher as he answered. “Herr Professor, you seem to forget that as Minister of the Interior I am also the supreme public health authority. And I do not want any action taken against Morell.”

Morell continued his treatments.

October 2 1944

Hitler was handed an important despatch this morning at five a.m. Before I went in Dr Brandt had called on the Führer and told him that Schmundt had died, and stayed a long time going over the exact interpretation. (Cause of death was an embolism).

The yellow coloration of his skin has gone.

Five p.m. Führer has had a war conference in his room! Made a very limp impression on the gentlemen. Objective condition: con-

siderable improvement, is capable of getting out of bed and dressing himself.

Discussed [different] supper with Miss Marzialy [successor to Frau Exner as Hitler's dietician], but Führer talks her out of it and takes only oatmeal gruel and puréed fruit again, and some grapes.

He wants to have five oranges, as that's what he has a craving for at this moment. Asks me to see if I can find any at the Berghof or in Berlin.

Reichsmarschall Göring and Field Marshal Keitel inquired after him.

on october 2, 1944 Morell sent faecal samples for analysis independently to Freiburg and the Chemical Analysis Division of the Berlin Military District at Zehlendorf.

To Nissle Morell had written, "Please examine *immediately* the enclosed faecal sample for food remains . . . Please telephone your findings to me in advance of the written report." But the transport conditions in Germany were chaotic and the sample did not reach Freiburg until October 19. Another week passed before Nissle completed his analysis. (Modern analysts would consider a faecal sample which had been travelling for three weeks useless for purposes of examination.)

as he was still experiencing difficulties with his inner ear Hitler sent for Dr Giesing. As he prepared to examine the ear Hitler said, "Doctor, how did you first hit upon this anti-gas pill business?" After further gentle probing he added, "Why did you not come and tell me all this in person?" Giesing, convinced in his own mind, accused Morell of negligence because it was now quite plain that it was Morell or his assistant Corporal Makkus who had supplied the pills to Hitler's bunker.

“Well,” said Hitler, “You’ve given Morell a terrific shock. He’s looking quite pale and distracted and he’s blaming himself over and over again. But I’ve calmed him down! I myself always thought they were just charcoal tablets for soaking up my intestinal gases and I always felt rather pleasant after taking them.”

October 3, 1944

Before I went over to see the Führer I had a conversation with Dr Brandt which I then discussed with the Führer. Brandt said the Führer had been swallowing sixteen anti-gas pills every day, which contained so much strychnine that it came perilously close to the maximum dose; he claimed that the present illness and all the previous ones were a chronic case of strychnine poisoning. I declared that I never prescribed this intense consumption of the anti-gas pills and that I had heard of it these last few days with horror. In his (Brandt’s) opinion the Führer was getting better now because during the last five days in which he had been confined to bed the Führer had stopped consuming the anti-gas pills, for the reason that there aren’t any more there. He said the tremor could also be attributed to this cause. (I don’t agree, as the tremor in the leg and the hands vanished at the instant of the bomb explosion even though – as we now know – he continued to take the anti-gas pills.)

I would further comment that the Führer – as he himself maintained this evening – has suffered from these stomach spasms and accumulations of gas ever since 1929 and the major upsets he encountered at that time. He has had the spasms again and again after periods of major aggravation and he has been having a lot of those just lately. He said he has been taking the anti-gas pills for about two years, and for the last few months at the rate of about sixteen pills a day.

Dr Brandt talked gloatingly of my responsibility in this, even though I never issued any such directions.

“Do you seriously think anybody will believe you when you claim you did not prescribe them?” he said. “If anything had become of the Führer, you can picture for yourself what would have happened then. They wouldn’t have made Hasselbach, say, responsible but you and probably myself too. That’s why it would be better if I am always briefed on everything that’s afoot. I’ve got all I need to prove this was a clear case of strychnine poisoning. You must be able to see the strychnine level in the urine! I might as well tell you frankly that I’ve only stayed here these last five days because the Führer is so ill.”

Then I went to see the Führer. I told him I’m getting flak from the doctors for allegedly never making X-rays of him and never ordering an analysis of the contents of his stomach. The Führer flared up, “Just let these gentlemen come and try telling *me* that! How often have you made these very suggestions, and how often have I refused! What is this stupid bunch after?”

“Even so,” I countered, “I urge you Mein Führer to let me do both things in the future!”

He said, “That can’t be done at all just now!”

October 4, 1944

Because of the work this afternoon and evening he was a bit dizzy – which has happened quite frequently since the bomb blast; for several weeks since then he has been able to keep upright only by summoning up every ounce of energy.

As I left I took Arndt aside and emphatically forbade that the Führer should receive any kind of drugs without my permission. I asked about the anti-gas pills, and was told there weren’t any left.

The Führer, he said, had taken sixteen of them a day, whereupon, Arndt said, he had telephoned me about two weeks ago and I had given permission for only two.

October 5, 1944

This was his second night without sleeping tablets. The Führer thinks the gentle massaging of his limbs with Franzbranntwein did not do him any good as he could not get to sleep and during the night he felt first freezing and then feverish. But he feels stronger than he did yesterday.

When I visited the Führer last night I asked him – if I might ask for this one tiny favour – to give me a brief note confirming that I never issued any instructions that he should take quantities of anti-gas pills every day and furthermore that I have repeatedly called for a gastro-intestinal X-ray and an examination of the contents of his stomach, but that he had never given me permission for this. The Führer agreed to this and said he would do this in the form of a letter to me. [However, there is no such letter in Morell's files].

During my discussion of Brandt's remarks, the Führer flared up angrily and asked whether Brandt had been maintaining, then, that it was I who had ordained the taking of the anti-gas pills. Because, he said, *he* had already told him that he had been taking them on his own initiative.

"No." I replied, "but I would be grateful if I could have that in writing as a safeguard for myself." Besides, I said, Brandt had gone from me to him. The Führer declared that that was not true, because Brandt had gone *first* to him and only after that to me.

I replied I thought there must be some mistake, because Brandt had already told me that he would naturally have to inform the Führer and was about to go and see him.

The Führer repeated, “No he went to you after leaving me.”

small wonder that with what he took to be the shadow of the gallows looming over him for having nearly poisoned Hitler, Morell fell ill himself. On October 7 he noted in his diary, “At midnight on October 5-6 I was with the Führer. After I got back home I had a brain oedema and a slight haemorrhage behind the left eye, with resulting double vision, change of optical axis and restricted vision from extreme left to bottom of field, also slight nausea without vomiting, tenesmus (but only one stool during the night); there was no headache, but dizziness when waking.”

October 7, 1944

One-fifteen p.m., the Führer telephoned and when I inquired whether I might come over, replied that he was feeling fine, he had no temperature at all and he wanted me to stay in bed, so I would recuperate quickly.

morell was in bed for two days and touched by the many visits he received.

On the following day his Berlin assistant Dr Weber had arrived but Weber was none too well himself so Morell struggled over to see Hitler alone. Hitler consoled his ailing doctor with a startling but highly comforting decision: all three rival doctors would be dismissed from the Führer's headquarters – Morell alone would stay.

A Change in Staff

On October 7 the Russian offensive against East Prussia began. On the eighth Hitler had to authorise the evacuation of his forces from eastern Hungary. His SS troops had smashed the Polish uprising in Warsaw, but now the political situation in Hungary became acute as the government made a vain attempt to get out of the war; the Regent Miklós Horthy was arrested on the fifteenth and taken to Germany.

October 8 1944

Führer told me that Dr von Hasselbach was being sent away and that Dr Brandt would in future concern himself only with his Berlin duties. As surgical escort, said Hitler, a young doctor called Stumpfegger would be taking over. He had until now been staff doctor to the Reichsführer SS.

a tall non-smoking, muscular and well built SS Obersturmbannführer with blue eyes and thinning blond hair, Ludwig Stumpfegger's appointment as Hitler's escort doctor would officially take effect from October 24. He had been personal assistant to Professor Gebhardt until 1939, working in his famous Hohenlychen clinic as a surgeon. He would stay at Hitler's side until the end, and survive him by only one day. He is considered to have been killed

attempting to escape with Martin Bormann from the Reich Chancery on May 1, 1945.

From his pocket diary of October 9, it is plain that Morell still believed himself in no shape to treat Hitler.” Wolf’s Lair. Weber is here. Chief is O.K. (I telephoned). Dr Weber gave *me* an intravenous shot of 10cc of glucose and Prostrophanta and an intramuscular shot of Glyconorm and Testoviron.

At five-thirty p.m. that day Brandt was called to Hitler’s bunker and formally dismissed. Hasselbach was also sent into the wilderness. An hour later, as Giesing described, he was summoned to Reichsleiter Bormann and also released from Hitler’s service. “We have nothing against you,” Bormann said, “on the contrary the Führer has only the highest praise for you.” Hitler confirmed this a few minutes later. “You see, Herr Doktor,” he said, “this anti-gas pills business has had to be cleared up somehow.” Hitler added, “It was very bold of you to go to Himmler about it, but you have always been straightforward with me and I am going to be the same with you.

With his own doctor now tending his beloved Führer, Himmler was content; and Bormann was smugly pleased as well. He wrote in a private letter on October 10, “Yesterday Hasselbach was dropped as escort doctor to the Führer and is to be replaced by Dr Stumpfegger who was Uncle H. ‘s physician until now. The new man seems very pleasant. Brandt too is no longer to act as escort doctor. There have been fresh rows between Morell on the one hand and Hasselbach and Brandt on the other; but now this state of affairs, so unpleasant for the Führer, no longer exists.”

On October 10 a urinalysis was performed by the headquarters clinic and double-checked by Morell’s assistant Weber. “Completely normal,” was the result. In particular there were no signs of permanent liver damage after the jaundice attack. On the same day Morell

had a throat smear sent to the Chemical Research Laboratory of Military District III, “the smear from a tonsil that yielded four pustules when squeezed out eight or ten days ago.” He asked the laboratory to identify the bacteria responsible. Two days later they sent him an interim reply. “No harmful bacteria were identified.” All in all, records like these go a long way toward dispelling the myth of Morell as an incautious, haphazard physician.

October 11, 1944

The patient is feeling excellent and for this reason asks me not to come, saying I should take a rest myself, so that I get well again soon. For the first time the Führer went outside, to inspect the big new bunker. But from time to time he had to sit down for a rest as he did so.

on his memo pad Morell reminded himself: “Patient A – I must write up his case history.” It deserves comment that as soon as Morell ceased visiting, Hitler’s health improved.

Throat, Heart, and Other Problems

The autumn of 1944 saw a very different Hitler to the man known to his staff in 1940. From Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt we have a word picture of Hitler in the war conferences constantly fumbling with Vitamultin tablets or whatever other “junk” Morell had given him. “His posture is stooped,” described Rundstedt, “and he trembles with both arms – the right more than the left. Since September 1944 Hitler loses himself in details, questions why this pillbox or that has not been fortified.”

Dr Brandt also noticed that Hitler’s legendary memory was now seriously impaired. He sometimes had difficulty in following the thread of a conversation. “He was noticeably flighty,” he told interrogators, “and rambled on and on about inconsequential matters, only to slump into silence.”

Hitler himself recognised this – his self-insight at least was intact. One day he had confessed to Brandt, “There was a time when I could recall the names of thousands of people in all walks of life but since this summer I just don’t seem able to place people any more.”

October 13 1944

By telephone I am told that the patient is feeling very well. Last night at 11.45 p.m. he himself telephoned to ask whether he might drink some watery chocolate, which I approved as he would also be taking the Karlsbad mineral water as an aid to digestion. He says he

has now lost altogether sixteen pounds. Then the Führer said he would like to tell me some agreeable news, something that had come from Reichsleiter Bormann: Bormann has had the anti-gas pills analysed by Gruppenführer Dr Blumenreuther's office and has received the result: the pills are quite harmless, containing only the tiniest doses of belladonna and strychnine. If as stated two to four of them were taken at mealtimes they would be completely innocuous; and even if twice as many were taken, or if there had been excessive consumption of a dozen or more, they still could not have caused any damage.

October 14, 1944

12.50 p.m. As he was feeling okay, the Führer did not have me sent for.

Eleven p.m. he sent for me immediately, as the gland on the left of his neck had swollen up again and he was complaining of an obstruction in his larynx.

October 15, 1944

1.30 p.m. Führer had already breakfasted, had slept only three hours as there had been major conferences during the night. Apparently there have been some big upsets and he was in a grim mood.

the evening before, Hitler's favourite field marshal, Erwin Rommel, had been forced to commit suicide and this had been notified to Hitler during the evening war conference.

For the period October 16 to 18, besides routine consultation notes, Morell remarks that Hitler's left tonsil and vocal chords are inflamed and that he sleeps well but works very late.

October 20, 1944

2.00 p.m. The Führer again has badly swollen tonsil and glands on the left. Tells me that in consequence of having taken three Ultraseptyl tablets he again had bad stomach pains and could not sleep at all last night – just a few hours this morning.

hitler had intended to remain at his headquarters at Rastenburg in East Prussia. But he was not blind to the coming crisis. Refugee columns streamed past. On October 21 the Russians broke through the German defences on to the Rominten Heath and Soviet artillery fire began to rain down on Goldap. “The influx of visitors from Berlin has slackened,” General Kreipe observed laconically in his diary the next day. “Now that we are coming under fire.” In the war conference that day Field Marshal Keitel nervously recommended an immediate move to the safety of Berlin. Hitler refused to budge. His forces counterattacked. The Hermann Göring panzer corps recaptured Gumbinnen and found there grim evidence of Russian atrocities against the native population – women and children nailed to the doors of farm buildings. But then – though it seemed to Hitler like a miracle – the situation in East Prussia somehow stabilised.

October 21, 1944

The Führer looked very limp and pale. He told us he had worked eight and a half hours yesterday. So I injected him with 20cc 20% glucose solution intravenously and with Vitamultin-Calcium, Tonophosphan Forte and Testoviron intramuscularly.

Drove [Hitler] over to Karlshof field hospital at six p.m. for the X-rays, Dr Stumpfegger went with us; the chief surgeon and Dr Brinkmann were present. Linge [Hitler’s valet, who stayed with him

until the end] was with us. Two X-rays made: these showed the frontal sinuses clear, the right maxillary sinus free and a small degree of lateral shadow on the left one. A second opinion from Eicken, he declared the X-ray results too meagre to make specific diagnosis. A further X-ray must be made later.

October 22, 1944

1.15 p.m. The Führer had lengthy conferences yesterday so he was talking for a long time.

At 9.45 p.m. again treated left and right tonsils. His voice was hoarse when I spoke on the telephone to him several hours earlier; after this treatment it was better.

hitler's voice caused Morell concern and the diary entries reveal a continuous treatment of the Führer's tonsils and nostrils, together with the usual injections.

October 27, 1944

1.30 p.m. F. is in a very sour mood today, says his voice is bad again: "How can I be expected to stand before the microphone and speak to the German people like this? Can you not hear for yourself how rough my voice is?"

It is true that his voice is a bit hoarse, but not all that much. I referred to the fact that the new nose-drops that we have now begun to apply, in line with Dr [Rudolf] Franck's standard work *Modern Therapy*, in cases of chronic catarrh of the larynx, may indeed cause some slight inflammation. "As there is camphor and menthol in these," I said, "some temporary irritation is possible." But I added that these would have a beneficial effect, causing hyperaemia [the

presence of excessive blood] in the mucous membranes which would result in the production of more antibodies.

“But what’s the use of an increased blood supply,” he asked, “if the bacteria aren’t killed off? *They* are what matters!”

“It doesn’t have to be bacteria that are causing the hoarseness,” I rejoined. “It might be the mechanical irritation that your vocal chords are permanently subjected to.”

The patient then started sounding off again about “destroying the bacteria,” and about how he had been under going continuous medical treatment now since July 20 and yet his voice was worse than ever. I pointed out that I have only been dealing with his upper respiratory tracts since recently (about one and a half weeks), and that I am proceeding precisely according to the best textbooks and that everything has now been cured except for the throat irritation.

“Yes,” he said, “but that’s the most vital of them all! When you were using the Ultraseptyl you ought to have given me a powerful series of doses and not just frittered it away in isolated applications.”

“From this afternoon or tomorrow morning,” I explained, “you’re going to get another sulphonamide course, using Tibatin this time. Because this brand is the swiftest to be excreted – in fact it’s all out in twenty-four hours. At the same time I’d like to stuff some pure paraffin up your nostrils, which will soothe your voice box a bit.”

“That’s no use, is it! The bacteria have got to be killed off. That’s just what you’ve been squirting up my nose all this time, and it’s not cured anything.”

“Mein Führer,” I said, “both camphor and menthol are painful on raw mucous membrane, and they inflame it; but they also disinfect. The inflammation is soothed by paraffin however; the mucous membrane relaxes and gets a chance to heal. Can I begin this treatment this afternoon?”

“No,” he said, “tomorrow.”

From a strictly objective standpoint, at this moment his health is quite good apart from a really very minor hoarseness. But it's small wonder that it's taking this patient so long to get better since he has conferences all day and talks all night until around three a.m., and since he keeps inside his bunker quarters all the time without getting any natural light and getting only ten or fifteen minutes' daylight and fresh air at most each day. There is also a constant cold draught in the bunker caused by the extractor fans. Besides, he won't agree to wear a neck comforter nor will he promise to use an inhalation apparatus.

October 28, 1944

Saw him at 2 p.m. Voice almost better. We talked about the water supply here – it is hard and swarming with bacteria that are not pathogenic but can still upset the metabolism. I said his urine was certainly full of bacteria again.

October 30, 1944

At six a.m. I was sent for.

The Führer said he had worked right through the night and had had to face up to a *very* tough decision, as a result of which he had got highly worked up. The worry had built up more and more inside him until suddenly, as always happens when he's really worried sick, his stomach knotted up into this painful cramp. He said I was not to administer any examination as this would just add to his pain.

I rapidly made up some Eupaverin and Eukodal and gave him an intravenous injection. This was by no means easy because of the many recent needle scars, and I again drew attention to the need to

give the veins a rest for a while. As I had to pause once during the injection, I noticed that he was already becoming less tense, and the pain then went.

The Führer was very pleased about this and gratefully pressed my hand, saying, "What good fortune it is that we have this Eupaverin."

I then lectured the Führer on tackling grave affairs of state far into the night – it was robbing him of any chance of getting any sleep. But he retorted that he had no choice, he had to dispose of such chores, grave though they were, first.

As I made to leave he again thanked me profusely and apologised for depriving me of my sleep. I reassured him that I sleep only from two to six a.m. and that I am always awake on the dot of six. Sometimes I am able to snatch another two hours' sleep later in the day.

November 1, 1944

2.30 p.m. the Führer had been in a huddle with [Julius] Schaub. He had a long face and was in a bad mood. As I made the intravenous injection the Führer thought I was not massaging the place long enough with alcohol first – "You always do that too little!" – and suggested this was why he keeps getting little red pimples lately where I insert the needle.

(In fact as a result of squatting for months at a time in his bunker without natural light or fresh air his blood lacks oxygen, and in consequence is less coagulant and the puncture remains red.) But despite all this the Führer attributes it to bacteria and thinks that it is perhaps the injections themselves that are responsible for the bacteria getting into his body.

When I was about to swab the pharynx and tonsil and check them, he asked me to desist, saying that there was no point, because that

was not going to get rid of his sore throat (incidentally there was virtually no hoarseness perceptible!) So I refrained.

I then suggested getting an X-ray made today and booking a visit by von Eicken tomorrow. He postponed a decision on this. Nor would he allow me to fix an appointment with Professor Blaschke [dentist].

November 3, 1944

1p.m. He had slept well (six or seven hours) admittedly after taking a sedative. The Führer complains a lot about the tremor in his left leg and in his hands. However the latter, when extended with fingers spread, showed no visible tremor.

I said that I attributed the shaking to his constant burdens and worries and arguments.

“What’s to be done against it?”

“Peace and quiet,” I said, “and keep out of arguments.”

But those are all things that are impossible. One might try electric currents or water treatments.

“Isn’t there some kind of drug or shot you can give me against it?”

“Vitamin B₁ and nicotinamide along with tranquillising medicines. But if you take them to excess they’ll put a damper on everything.”

He said he already takes Brom-Nervacit when the going gets rough. I said, “What would be very much to the point here would be massages!”

Professor von Eicken is not to come until after we have X-rayed the jaw. And Professor Blaschke must estimate how long he’ll need for the teeth (three sessions, altogether about a week.)

November 8, 1944

At half past midnight I was suddenly sent for – the Führer has had a sudden spasm near the sternum with a violent accumulation of gas in his abdomen. From what he tells me, this patient is at this moment facing the biggest decisions of his life and is suffering more and more nervous tension in consequence.

hitler had by now provisionally fixed the start of von Rundstedt's vital counter-offensive in the West for December 1. The doctor-patient relationship intensified. The Führer reiterated how he had been upset by the recent intrigues against Morell. The doctor urged Hitler to act upon his requests for a move in his living quarters. Losing no opportunity Morell also requested Hitler to permit Professor Chaoul to make a complete X-ray and radiological examination in Berlin of his gastrointestinal tract and gall bladder, and the heart and lungs. Apart from a perhaps genuine concern, Morell was worried that his colleagues would make an issue out of the fact that this had not been done. His suspicions were well founded – both Brandt and Hasselbach commented on this alleged failure in their post-war interrogations.

November 9, 1944

5.30 a.m. – the Führer's abdomen is distended and he is in pain (more to the right of the sternum.) The cause: a big decision on certain steps that will later have the most powerful consequences and which are at present inflicting on him an enormous burden of worry which will be with him for several weeks yet. I injected intravenous Eukodal and Eupaverin, which as always brought immediate relief from the pain and cramp.

The Führer is now in his bunker (he made the move on the afternoon of the eighth.) His sleeping quarters and working quarters are far larger than in the old bunker, and there are no draughts. In the mornings he works in a spacious outer room that has large windows and a view of forests and meadows.

The Führer at last gave half-hearted approval for X-rays to be taken of his gastroenteric region and gall bladder and of his heart and lungs if we stop over in Berlin. But he was less enthusiastic about having the contents of his stomach investigated at the same time, and inquired whether Frau [Ruth] Krause could not come again to take blood samples to check his blood sedimentation, blood serology, etc.

on november 10, 1944, Morell had obtained a urinalysis which showed positive readings for urobilin and bilirubin, which he attributed to a transitory blockage of the flow from the liver and gall bladder.

November 11, 1944

They say his tea session last night went on until four-thirty this morning.

Saw him from three-thirty to five p.m. Injected glucose intravenously – didn't get in with the first jab as my hand was a bit shaky after just getting news that my brother had died – then intramuscular shots of Homoseran, Vitamultin-Calcium and Progynon forte.

I told him of my brother's death. The Führer was alarmed when I talked of making a trip West as there's a lot of danger there. When I suggested going by plane he said that was out of the question as there are hordes of enemy fighter planes about; when I suggested

going by car he said that I wouldn't be able to stand such a long road journey whatever I might say to the contrary; as for trains, you can't rely on them as their timetables are in chaos because of the air raids. He said he would have a word about all this with his people.

He asked me to arrange for Dr Weber to come at once to make the injections. When I suggested Dr Stumpfegger, he objected that he might not be so good at making injections, which I found hard to accept since the man is after all a surgeon.

morell's brother adolf had died aged sixty-one of a brain embolism.

Morell left for Berlin that evening, Dr Weber would arrive the next day at the Wolf's Lair but Hitler evidently did not call for him until the thirteenth. Heinz Linge's register shows Weber calling on the Führer as follows: November 13 at 3.45 p.m. and six p.m.; November 14 at 1.45 a.m. and one p.m.; November 15 at 12.25 a.m., 2.10 a.m., 1.15 p.m. and 11.45 p.m. Weber's own notes show that he continued the injections prescribed for Hitler by Morell- Eukodal, Eupaverin, Glycovarin, Homoseran, Vitamultin, Glyconorm. After his brother's funeral at his native Trais-Münzenberg at midday on the thirteenth, Morell returned to Hitler's headquarters at Rastenburg three days later.

November 16, 1944

I returned here at noon.

I hear that there was widespread annoyance over the fact that I had gone, particularly among the military gentlemen. But the Führer had given me permission and as I assumed there would be no relapse in my absence I decided to set out, since neither my sister nor my wife would be able to attend the funeral and the fourteen year

old boy [Karl-Heinz] would have had to stand at his father's graveside alone without even his mother.

At three-thirty p.m. I was back with the Führer. The patient was unfriendly.

When I again suggested he should go to Berlin for an X-ray, the Führer became *very* irascible (more so, in fact, than he has been in the whole of the last eight years towards me.)

according to morell's other notes for November 16, Hitler had said, "I'm not a silly school child, I know precisely what I have to do." He had looked very sickly, his face gaunt, his attitude limp. But his pulse and blood pressure were both normal, noted Morell.

November 17, 1944

Three-thirty p.m., went up with von Eicken to see the Führer and examine tonsils, throat, sinuses and pharynx. Injected intravenous glucose and Cantan. The Führer had a long talk with von Eicken about the intrigue by Brandt and Hasselbach against me and other things.

The Führer stayed up until four-fifteen a.m. with tea.

after this visit von Eicken would note in his papers, "November 16-18: Wolf's Lair. Anterior part of vocal chords cannot be seen. Ordered Reichert spatula to be sent by courier from Berlin. November 18: Hoarseness has increased. X-ray shows distinct shadowing of left maxillary sinus. A small polyp on left vocal chord." Morell of course had not detected this polyp, not having the right spatula.

On the evening of November 17. Morell began administering Gallestol once or twice daily to Hitler.

November 18, 1944

At five p.m. I went to the Karlshof field hospital with the Führer, von Eicken – who had stayed the night – and Stumpfegger. An X-ray picture showed his left maxillary sinus to be shadowed. Back at the Führer's bunker Eicken examined him, found divided tonsils, a small focus of bacteria on the right. Irrigated the left maxillary sinus, examined the larynx and discovered a small polyp (about 2mm long) on his right vocal chord. The Führer refused any fortifying injections for today, saying I really must go home and rest (I had gone pale once or twice) what with my great fatigue, renal disorder and *heart!*

The Singer's Nodule

The red army was pouring into East Prussia. Refugees were streaming westwards. Reluctantly Hitler decided to leave the Wolf's Lair for Berlin, persuading himself it would only be briefly, for a minor operation to remove the polyp from his throat. His fears could not be easily concealed – he might lose his voice for weeks or even months; and the growth might turn out to be malignant. But the millet seed size polyp would have to be cut out. Hitler had his worries; but he had no choice but to trust the surgeon, von Eicken. “He has a heavy responsibility,” he croaked to his secretaries. “But he is the only man who can do it. I may end up losing my voice.”

The loss of voice worried him more than the fear of cancer now. It was his only asset. Stenographer Dr Ewald Reynitz would afterwards recall, “The most striking feature was how Hitler actually dominated everybody around him, not by bullying but simply talking, talking and talking. There was never such a thing as might be called discussions, only monologue after monologue. Göring sometimes would *start* contradicting, but his arguments were mostly so poor that Hitler simply waved them aside. Jodl was the only one who in fact spoke up.”

Reynitz's colleague that noted in his secret diary, “On the afternoon of this day the Führer left the Wolf's Lair and arrived at Berlin's Grunewald Station at five-thirty a.m. on November 21. Sworn to secrecy!” The secretaries who sat with him in the train had never seen him so grim. “His voice scarcely rose above a whisper,” wrote

Frau Junge. "His eyes remained rooted to his plate or gazed distantly at a spot on the white tablecloth."

November 21, 1944

Berlin. At six p.m. von Eicken, with Sister Maria in attendance, irrigated left maxillary sinus: a thick blockage caused by secretion; treated the nose and tonsils too.

It would appear in general that any major worries or burdens coupled with violent arguments immediately result in meteorism [flatulence] and a terrible build-up of gas in his stomach.

Owing to the colossal upsets since the 20th of July and the continual aggravations, frequent attacks have been brought on (see my Eukodal and Eupaverin injections.

November 22, 1944

At eleven-thirty a.m. the Führer is feeling fine. His stomach is no longer distended, he has no discomfort. Injected 0.01 morphine, and 0.0001 atropine subcutaneously. At twelve-thirty p.m. von Eicken operated on the polyp with Dr Stumpfegger holding the instrument tray. Sister Maria assisted. The polyp was as big as a millet seed. He was taken to his bed in the bunker. I went there, ran into Miss E. His pulse was 66 and full.

At nine p.m. I was fetched from my dinner table to see the Führer immediately, who asked if he was permitted to have some oatmeal gruel. I said yes. At ten p.m. I was to come at once, he had spat up some blood, Von Eicken had prescribed 10cc Sangostop and twenty drops of codeine and Sister Maria had seen to these herself. The bleeding is of no significance as it is only slight. I called on the Führer altogether four times during the evening.

November 24, 1944

One-thirty p.m. He had slept only two hours. I considered that the injections would not be necessary but the Führer said he would like some so as to get strong and well quicker. At six p.m. von Eicken saw him. He wrote simply: "Left maxillary sinus: negative." During the afternoon the Führer went out for a short stroll in the Chancery garden. Ate heartily.

November 25, 1944

The Führer has an excellent appetite now, is feeling fine and went for an hour's stroll by himself in the garden. Said it was not necessary for me to come over today.

there was one anomaly in Hitler's blood check-up at this time. The blood sedimentation rate had increased. Morell speculated guiltily on the possible cause, and noted his own comment on the analysis: "NB: On November 9 I completed a course of five Homoseran injections." This drug contained extract of placenta. As a comparison he added, "On May 11, 1943 the blood sedimentation average rate was 2.5mm." It remained a mystery.

On November 26 Morell had a fæcal sample analysed for blood traces and for the digestion of fat and starch, and he ordered a full analysis of a urine sample for diastase and bilirubin. All these tests came up with normal results.

November 26, 1944

The Führer held his war conference until five a.m. this morning. At six p.m. von Eicken telephoned that Professor Rössle's histologi-

cal examination of the excised polyp had been very satisfactory. At seven p.m. Professor von Eicken was here. He attributes the dramatic rise in blood sedimentation rate to the tonsillitis. Diagnosis [of the excised polyp]: An early stage in the formation of a "Singer's Nodule". Verdict: certainly not a tumour. Frau Krause and Dr Weber informed the Führer of these diagnoses. Dr Stumpfegger was present while Eicken was treating the Führer.

November 27, 1944

Twelve-thirty: Word is that the Führer ate *very* heartily yesterday. But he slept only two hours because of the interruptions (doors banging, a clamour in the kitchen, air raid.) From today there are to be sentries down in the bunker to ensure he gets his peace and quiet. As he has been awake and working so long there is some redness of the eyes. Because he has a lot of strenuous work ahead of him the Führer wants his injections. He said he's not suffering the slightest problems. His voice is loud and clear and carries well.

November 29, 1944

He went to sleep around six a.m. this morning. Took a stroll for three-quarters of an hour this afternoon. Appetite fine. At seven p.m. von Eicken came to see him, irrigated the maxillary sinuses, blow-cleaned the tonsils and cauterised with silver nitrate.

December 1, 1944

Führer took leave of his staff at 4.30 a.m. this morning, was wakened at eleven-thirty a.m. Had a *huge* appetite yesterday and had gone for an hour's walk. Everybody says he's bursting with energy.

One p.m. : I went over to the Führer, injected 20cc glucose solution intravenously plus Vitamultin forte and liver extract intramuscularly. Says he would like a Homoseran injection, as that causes his trembling to go away. I always do a course of five injections (5cc) separated by intervals.

* * *

morell knew that in the coming weeks the strain on his chief would reach its peak. For Hitler to succumb to a heart attack in the middle of his coming desperate counter-offensive in the Ardennes might make the difference between final defeat and victory.

On December 2, 1944, Morell composed a concerned letter to the cardiologist Professor Weber and sent it to Bad Nauheim by courier. "I have several times already submitted to you the electro-cardiograms of a foreign-ministry gentleman," he wrote, alluding to the secret cover he had concocted for his patient Adolf Hitler, "and asked for your opinion. These produced the diagnosis of coronary sclerosis. Unfortunately, the patient was never able to lay his work aside but has been the subject of constant burden, particularly in recent times, and of major upsets and irritations. These last years he never went to bed before four or five a.m. as his final conferences and labours were never finished before then. He became a stranger to the idea of going for walks, as he was accustomed to taking only fifteen minutes' fresh air for a day for months on end, spending the rest of his time without natural light in bunkers!" Morell listed his treatments of the patient and concluded:

"So far, there have been no anginal complaints. I would be very grateful to you for any opinion and suggestions for further treatment, if you consider a change is called for. I did recommend massage, but this was discouraged."

December 5, 1944

He worked until seven a.m. this morning. At eleven a.m. there was an air-raid alarm. Went over at one p.m., injected Homoseran intramuscularly. Courier brought the opinion of Professor Weber of Bad Nauheim on the electrocardiograms and his recommendations.

weber had sent his reply to Morell promptly: "I am replying to your courteous letter from my cellar," the cardiologist had written, "while hordes of enemy bombers thunder overhead." He repeated his earlier diagnosis – "There is a slowly progressive symptom of left coronary insufficiency," he reported "and probably also a left retardation." Earlier recommendations were reiterated – the patient should try to take entire days off, and adhere to a low salt diet. Above all, if he adhered to vegetarian nutrition he must avoid all albumen deficiency. Weber concluded that there was no drug that could make up for "the harm done by an unhealthy way of life," but accepted that this was just one more cost of the war.

* * *

December 8, 1944

Summoned by Arndt at 6.15 a.m.

He said the Führer had had a green salad for lunch yesterday without any immediate subsequent problems. That was noon. For supper he had another green salad. He had immediately realized that it disagreed with him. Three hours later he got pains at the same spot as before (the right upper abdomen) and three hours later still these were so bad that (at six a.m.) he had me sent for.

Yesterday afternoon he had had a major row (caused by the situation in the air war and on the ground – a Generaloberst who had disobeyed an order.)

Right now he claims he's shouldering the worst burdens of his entire life. His nerves are taking a beating what with the coming events [the Ardennes counter-offensive] and the constant terror air-raids on German cities. Result is it takes only the tiniest thing to trigger off these spasms. He says he's quite clear in his own mind that there's nothing objectively wrong with his gastro-intestinal tract because he's never had blood in his stools or vomit. He has a bowel movement once a day, but it is of normal coloration and neither weak nor very hard.

I left at seven-fifteen a.m. after I had satisfied myself that the injections were working. The Führer said I ought to go upstairs very slowly so I did not get any heart troubles.

When I asked the Führer what medicines he is taking now, so that I can enter them up, he listed: one tablespoon of Gallestol two or three times daily (today he only had two), some Chinneurin a couple of days ago when he was frightened of catching a cold and yesterday ten drops of Cardiazol solution twice running. As for meals he is taking oatmeal gruel (I added that he can have that twice a day) and he is having the heat treatment advised every hour (with heating pads.)

I asked if I might call in once more this evening to see him.

"If I'm feeling bad I'll send for you soon enough," declared the Führer. "But there's no need otherwise."

I then took leave of him. I might note that during the night of December 7-8 there was a sudden drop in the barometer and the result was that for an hour and a half I had such heart pains that I had to walk around the room for hour after hour. These atmospheric conditions must have affected the Führer too."

December 10, 1944

I was summoned at four-thirty this morning by Arndt saying the Führer has his spasms again. He says these are the most dramatic days of his entire life – “We have *got* to win a great victory.”

At eleven-thirty a.m. the Führer still has spasms and has not slept a wink, on top of which he is permanently in conferences which he cannot avoid.

Our departure [for the West] is dependent on a few vital pieces of information we are expecting – it may be postponed until tomorrow. Impossible to administer major injections in his train as he must be wide awake when he disembarks, but in his view it is vital that I should make one more big intravenous injection. Gave him intramuscular Eupaverin.

Five p.m.: our train left Berlin's Sonnenwald railroad station.

December 11, 1944

At 2.42 p.m. this morning we arrived at a rail station on the Werra and transferred to cars for the onward journey to the Eagle's Nest.

these headquarters, near Frankfurt, had been adopted for the Ardennes counter-offensive.

The Battle of the Bulge

The hourly records show that during the final months in Hitler's career, the doctors were frequent visitors. Morell of course attended him almost every day. Stumpfegger, Professor von Eicken and Morell's own deputy Richard Weber often called. Increasingly Morell was sent for around six a.m., proof of Hitler's growing insomnia.

The Führer's convoy of cars reached the Eagle's Nest at six-thirty a.m. on December 11, 1944. Hitler had not exaggerated in calling these the most dramatic days of his life: it was his last chance of victory. At 5.35 a.m. on December 16, his carefully husbanded reserves tore off their camouflage and fell upon the unsuspecting American lines. Hitler's aim was to breach the enemy front and head straight for Antwerp: he would Dunkirk the British for a second time, and the Americans would get the blame. In his diary that day, stenographer Thöt depicts the euphoria at the Eagle's Nest: "When Reynitz and I went over to the war conference at three p.m. an impressive number of German fighter planes passed overhead and Major Büchs,¹ evidently recovering at this instant from the perpetual inferiority of our airforce, turned to everybody present and exclaimed with a glance skywards, 'Now let me hear one of you say anything against the German airforce!' . . . As we approached the conference room the Führer was already present, contrary to his custom. We could read only too clearly in his expression how engrossed he was in the first favourable news about our offensive."

It seems significant that as soon as the offensive had begun and was apparently running well Hitler scarcely sent for his doctor, Morell.

December 11, 1944

At eleven-thirty a.m.: Führer free of complaints but says his urine was as brown as beer yesterday and today. The whites of his eyes are inconclusive, but facial skin manifests a scarcely perceptible yellowish hue.

Invited to evening tea with him from eight to eleven p.m. Before that the Führer had a conference with about forty or fifty generals lasting many hours. He is said to have been very alert and lively – inspiring and compelling.

After a three hour conference he became, according to Fegelein, rather tired. When tea began at eight p.m. however he was an excellent conversationalist for the rest of the evening, alert and in a particularly good humour. As I left him I inquired once more how he felt. “No complaints at all.”

December 13, 1944

Saw him at 12.45 p.m., injected 20cc glucose intravenously. He had slept six hours, was feeling good.

the entry on Morell's data card for Patient A this day adds, “The elevation here is 750 feet above sea level, like Linz on the Danube,” which had been Hitler's home town.

Hitler's valet, Linge, revealed in his log that Morell was a frequent guest at Hitler's late night tea parties, a sign that he was again in favour.

December 14, 1944

One p.m. The Führer has slept well and is in really good health. I went for over an hour's walk with him in the woodland and valleys with his adjutant [Albert] Bormann and Dr Stumpfegger. The Führer got his Alsatian Blondi to carry a wooden exercise block.

No treatment necessary!

December 16 1944

At five-thirty this morning our great offensive began! Visited the Führer at noon-thirty; he is very alert and lively but he got no sleep because of the coming offensive. Blood pressure 147-153mm, varying by the hour, and there is a permanent tremor in his left hand. [*Data card adds: "Great emotional crisis because of the offensive."*]

Says his abdomen is completely free of pain, so there's no need whatever for me to examine it.

On account of the coming mental ordeal I injected him with 20cc of intravenous glucose and intramuscular Vitamultin forte and Hamma liver.

December 19 1944

He goes for an hour's walk every day now. Appetite still very good.

from now until December 29, as the German counter-offensive continued to steamroller into the Allied lines, Morell noted that Hitler was feeling well, sleeping without sedative and enjoying a good appetite; he recorded no treatment except for the occasional regular injections of glucose, Vitamultin forte and liver extract.

On December 25 Morell wrote that Hitler "is feeling good but says there's a growing tremor in his left hand." Morell added, by way of explanation, "The crisis in Hungary!"

But military problems now came thick and fast.

As the weather cleared the Allied airforces were able to throw their full weight against Hitler's armies. Karl Thöt observed that the war conferences now dragged on through the night until the early hours of December 24, 25 and 26, and he complained in his diary about the hours of transcription that resulted: "There's a huge backlog – nine and three-quarters hours of shorthand! On Christmas Eve I did not get to bed until two-thirty a.m., on Christmas Day it lasted until three a.m. and on the next day it was four-thirty a.m. before I turned in."

The burden of worry was quickly reflected in Hitler's health.

December 30, 1944

Three p.m.: for two days he has had a gippy tummy with gaseous build up allegedly resulting from a green pea soup he ate, but in my view it comes from the nervousness over what lies ahead: composing a speech and delivering it, and also some major military event.

[Hitler's speech was the nation-wide New Year's Day broadcast being pre-recorded for transmission twenty four hours later.]

At his request I had summoned von Eicken from Berlin to give his larynx a going over; during the afternoon he checked larynx, tonsils, left maxillary sinus and nasal cavities and found them in order.

[After Morell gave the regular injections, he noted:] Tremor in his left hand very pronounced. He asks me to return at midnight to check his blood pressure before the speech and possibly to measure out a dose of liquid Cardiazol.

December 31 1944

At midnight I checked his blood pressure – 154mm, in other words heightened (on account of the slight spasms), I advised him against taking any Cardiazol. After that he delivered his New Year's speech, then checked the transmission quality, after which we sat up for tea until five a.m. [*Data card: Voice good.*] He went to bed in the bunker because his morning sleep is now disturbed by enemy planes.

At eleven-fifteen p.m.: the Führer has calmed down almost completely. The trembling of his left arm and the tremor in the hand is only very slight now. At eleven p.m. this evening a major offensive began on the western front.

this new offensive, code-named North Wind, was opened by a mighty strike of the entire available Luftwaffe force against the Allied air power: 1,035 fighter aircraft and fighter bombers struck at the forward airfields as the New Year, 1945, dawned. But the Allies had foreknowledge from codebreaking. The attack misfired, and the offensive was not the strategic success that Hitler had hoped for. Captain Heinz Assmann wrote: "Upon a man who believed with unparalleled fanaticism, in his own mission and in the Final Victory, the gradually dawning realisation of the inevitable defeat lying before us must have had a devastating effect."

Footnotes:

1. Herbert Büchs, born November 20, 1913, was General Jodl's airforce A.D.C. from November 1, 1943 to the end.

2. A shorthand text of Hitler's famous harangue to his Commanding Generals on the Western Front, inspiring them to make one final all out effort, was published by Helmut Heiber in *Hitler's Lagebesprechungen* (page 713). The speech began at 5.40 p.m.

The Patient Has Become Pensive

By January 10, 1945 deep snow lay around Hitler's headquarters and the thermometer had dropped to minus six Centigrade.

Two days later the Soviet winter offensive began from the Red Army's bridgehead at Baranov on the Vistula. Hitler had to take the fateful decision to abandon his thrust in the west, and return to the Reich Chancery in Berlin, for the last battle to be fought there. In the following weeks Poland was finally overrun by the Russians, and much German territory too: East Prussia was lost, and Upper Silesia and the river Oder became the new front line just east of Berlin. Thöt commented grimly in his diary:

"We've got to summon up every scrap of nerve we now possess if we are not to succumb to despair."

January 12, 1945

After last night's tea party ended at five a.m. I asked him how he was feeling. The Führer knocked on wood three times and said, "Very good!"

January 16, 1945

Arrived Berlin during the forenoon. On the railroad journey from the Eagle's Nest to Grunewald it was *very* cold. The Führer has had a

lot of upsets on account of the Russian breakthrough at Baranov (towards Cracow and the Upper Silesian basin.)

January 18, 1945

Yesterday evening's war conference lasted right through from four to eleven p.m.! (Security of Budapest, Cracow.) Then tea until four a.m. When I saw the Führer at two p.m. he was fresh. [Usual injections and Omnadin.] The Omnadin is because he has a cold and a sore throat.

January 24, 1945

Tea lasted from three to five a.m. this morning, as his war conference went on until three a.m. Saw him at 1.45 p.m. [Usual injections] and 25mg of Testoviron intramuscularly. Slept badly last night.

January 27, 1945

One twenty-five p.m.: he didn't take the Luminal [sedative] to get to sleep. In consequence of the critical military situation a stronger tremor has appeared in the left arm and leg. Otherwise no complaint whatever. [Usual injections.]

January 30, 1945

One p.m.: [usual injections] Completely free of complaints. A major speech this evening [anniversary of 1933 seizure of power.]

February 10, 1945

One-ten p.m.: tried unsuccessfully to let some blood from an artery, using a very broad needle. The blood pressure was only 154, but despite this he still requested the bloodletting.

I asked the Führer's valet Krüger what he's now taking. He says: one Gallestol three times a day, one Pepsin wine twice daily, Brom-Nervacit or Brom mixture every third day – two or three tablespoons in the evening – Acidol-Pepsin tablets, about one tablet every other day at mealtimes.

February 12, 1945

One-five p.m.: drew off 230cc of blood from an artery! There was no real need for this, but he asked for it. After the bloodletting, the blood pressure was down to 143; before, it was 156mm. His right hand was shaking strongly on account of a violent argument he had yesterday.

February 13, 1945

One thirty-five p.m.: the Führer is rather strange towards me, curt and generally irritable in manner.

on the following night the undefended Saxon city of Dresden was set aflame by two RAF Bomber Command attacks. More than one hundred thousand civilians, mostly refugees, were killed in the flames. As the air war climaxed, the Soviet onslaught continued in the east and south-east. General Fritz Hossbach surrendered the fortress of Lötzen in East Prussia, and was dismissed from his command. Hitler sensed treason all around him.

February 15, 1945

One-forty p.m.: injected intravenous glucose and Benerva fortissime. He has no ailments! His morale is low; he seems to have lost faith, evidently on account of the eastern front situation and the air-raids on Dresden.

February 17, 1945

These last four or five days the patient has become extremely pensive and appears tired and short of sleep. His eyes – particularly the right one – are reddened but he refuses treatment for them. The Führer says, “I want to try to get by without tranquillisers.” He won’t even touch the Luminal tablets I give him.

morell continued injecting Strophantose as a heart tonic, and Benerva for Hitler’s circulatory disorder. Hitler’s left arm and hand trembled uncontrollably. Everybody could see it, and it embarrassed them. His right hand was almost incapable of signing documents for the same reason. His spine had lost its symmetry. His visage was haggard, mask-like; his voice quavered. He faced these growing infirmities with puzzlement and hoarse defiance. “Even if my whole left side were paralysed,” he declared to the gauleiters assembled in the Reich Chancery on February 24, 1945, “I would still call on the German people again and again not to capitulate but to hold out to the very end.”

When Dr Giesing happened to see Hitler again in mid-February 1945 he suspected that the tremor was not an organic ailment so much as a nervous, even hysterical affliction. Giesing wondered whether Hitler’s evident exhaustion and irritation at this time might be a withdrawal symptom from the strychnine and atropine con-

tained in the anti-gas pills. “But,” Giesing would write in November 1945, “perhaps only a pharmacologist can really answer this question.” Morell appears to have been in two minds – on the one hand associating the attacks of trembling with external events and emotional upsets, and on the other prescribing the kind of drugs that would be called for to rectify an organic ailment.

on march 3, 1945 Hitler and a small entourage visited the eastern front at Wriezen, where five weeks later the troops were to make one of their most notable stands against the Soviet advance. The Russians now had their armies on the Oder and Pomeranian coast, while Eisenhower’s armies had advanced to the Rhine and were threatening Cologne and Düsseldorf. Hitler was fit but his doctor was not:

March 4, 1945

I am confined to bed.

The Führer pays a visit on me and remarks how fortunate it was that he would not allow me to accompany him on the drive out to the front line at Wriezen yesterday.

March 5, 1945

The Führer called on me with Schaub. He said that I should not accompany him on a major journey, let alone visits to the front line, because the only things likely to happen to them would be serious injuries as a result of an accident or fighter-bomber attack. And if anything were to happen to *me*, he said, he would have no doctor left, or at very best I would be out of action for some time. When he was on the road, he said, it meant much more for him to know that he would always find me standing by when he got home.

March 6, 1945

Midday: injected intravenous Strophantose and Betabion forte. He rejects a massage of the left arm. Electro-therapy also out. As long as he's not upset, the trembling doesn't put in an appearance. But he gets so infuriated at the blunders that are made; and, he says, it always turns out afterwards that he was right all along.

morell continued injecting Hitler with routine drugs during March, noting in his diary mainly intravenous injections of Strophantose, Betabion and Benerva.

March 19, 1945

Midday, injected two ampoules of Omnadin.

Rather more noticeable tremor in the left forearm and hand. Has slept badly despite sedatives – incredible crises! I propose electro-therapy. He replies, “If I find any time during the afternoon, I’ll let you know.” Remain without instructions.

during march 1945 the final major German counter-offensive of the war, near Lake Balaton in Hungary, failed. To postpone the inevitable defeat as long as possible, Hitler ordered his gauleiters to scorch the earth ahead of the advancing enemy armies. These orders met with resistance from Albert Speer and the army's chief of staff Guderian; the latter intended to put out peace feelers to the western powers through Himmler or Ribbentrop (on March 21-22) but Hitler learned of this and told him bluntly, “I’ve gained the impression your heart is causing you problems – you’re beginning to get irritable and fatigued. You re to go on leave.” Guderian was dismissed on about March 29. Keitel recommended Bad Liebenstein

for a cure. The army general replied dryly that the Americans had already overrun the spa there.

March 23, 1945

I saw him at midnight (22-23.) Slight conjunctivitis in eyes probably caused by the dust blowing around, as there is a lot of debris from buildings in the courtyard. The Führer declared that he had only very limited vision in the right eye anyway.

His left hand is somewhat swollen, perhaps because of the tremors, there are also swellings on left ankle and part of the lower left leg (the circumference of the lower left leg was about an inch more than the right, above the ankle, a year or two back.)

For about seven years [1930-1936] he had constant eczema on his lower left leg, which only disappeared when I began my Mutaflor treatment about eight or nine years ago. But the swelling remained.

I applied eye drops of cocaine-suprarenin solution, and forbade him to read. He was also to protect the eyes from wind and dust. I recommended camomile poultices but he did not follow this up. The Führer does not want to wear an eye-patch. But the night war conference is to be curtailed as much as possible and if possible without any maps to read. [Usual injections.] Electro-therapy of left forearm.

March 27, 1945

Midday, injected intravenous Strophantose, two Omnadin ampoules and Benerva forte and electro-therapy. The tremor in the left leg is barely perceptible now; he claims that the tremor in the left forearm has increased with the crisis, but objectively it is in fact considerably weaker than before.

March 31, 1945

Midday, injected Strophantose and Benerva intravenously. Electro-therapy. I again suggested he have his right eye re-examined (by Löhlein.) I also reminded him of the X-ray. Asked him if he has any complaints. He says he hasn't. When I asked specifically if he has any headache, he again shook his head. When I reverted to the need, as so often in the past, for a Case History to be drawn up, a wish I have often expressed over the last few years, he gave me this answer: "I've never been ill – so there is nothing to write up."

April 2, 1945

Easter Monday. [Injections and electro-therapy as usual.] No complaints, but he has had a lot of serious upsets and slept badly (after one Tempidorm.) B.P. 153, plus 66. Military situation is very grim, which is why the tremor in his left hand is very marked.

During the night (2-3) at 12.30 a.m. I injected two Omnadin ampoules as a precaution against the flu and head colds going around. Pulse 72. Reminded him again of the eye examination (Professor Löhlein) and the electrocardiogram.

Hitler's eyes were examined for the last time on April 7.

"According to the Führer," stated Professor Löhlein in his written report, "the vision of the right eye has gradually grown worse rather than better, while that of the left is as good as ever. But the left eye is bothered by a swelling on the upper lid which is tender and causes him to rub it. There has recently been some secretion from both eyes, which is understandable in view of the dust-filled air in the centre of Berlin.

“The Führer,” continued Löhlein, “generally leaves the well-ventilated and illuminated bunker only for short periods, for half an hour to two hours daily, and then goes into the Reich Chancery’s garden which is not badly damaged but is of course quite dusty, particularly when windy.

“As he hardly ever wears his spectacles he is disproportionately inconvenienced by the bad vision of his right eye. In both eyes there is a moderate degree of chronic conjunctivitis.”

April 7, 1945

In the evening the eyes were examined by Professor Löhlein.

While his eyes and retina were being examined, the Führer’s left hand was held completely motionless (to which I also drew Dr Stumpfegger’s attention.)

April 8, 1945

[Routine injections and electro-therapy with large apparatus.] His little finger is particularly sensitive to this.

morell had loyally followed in his master’s footsteps as they led down from the Reich Chancery in Berlin to the underground bunker built by Speer’s engineers beneath the garden. The other doctors went too; Stumpfegger was now joined by Professor Werner Haase who had treated Hitler some years earlier.

April 9, 1945

For about ten days now the Führer has not gone out; he just goes up to one of the upper floors for one mealtime a day, according to

Arndt, but otherwise stays in his bunker. Even the big daily war conference has been held for some time now down in the bunker- for security reasons, as the Führer told me in conversation. The war conference did not end until five-thirty this morning, and that was followed by tea! Let's hope there's no early morning air-raid alert so he can get enough proper sleep. In the afternoon Dr Stumpfegger brought over the thermophore [a rubber bag filled with a heat-retaining chemical] for the Führer's eye.

April 10, 1945

Three-fifteen p.m. [usual injections] then electro-therapy of left forearm and hand. Tremor is less. Führer slept from seven-thirty this morning until two p.m.; his military conferences had lasted until six a.m. and he then had tea until seven.

Drugs are in very short supply and even the Central Medical Stores of SS Main Office are finding difficulty in running them to ground. Most of them have been discontinued because the factories have been bombed out.

After five minutes of electro-therapy some pain was felt in the little and index fingers.

I myself have experienced these last few days a great deal of breathlessness and gasping for air, particularly when climbing flights of stairs.

between april 12 and 20 Morell continued Hitler's routine injections of Strophantose, Benerva, Omnadin, and the electro-therapy. In mid-April he accepted that the tremor had its origins in the brain.

On April 15, the final Soviet assault began from the Oder bridge-heads. Hitler had been convinced that Berlin was safe, but after five days the Red Army was within artillery range of the capital.

Hitler's stenographer Karl Thöt entered in his diary, "Towards one a.m. on the night of April 20-21 our colleagues Peschel and Jonuschat came back from the war conference into the shelter, where we had gone just before ten p.m. because of the air-raid warning, and told us that we were to leave in an hour's time." Hitler had begun sending out his staff.

The first shorthand writers left at five a.m. in a Junkers 352 transport plane flying south. Six hours later the Soviet artillery bombardment began, and the first Russian shells rained down on the government buildings.

For the next two days Morell remained, but did not like it.

Morell had begun injecting Homburg 680 – a type drug particularly indicated in cases of Parkinson's Disease. Beginning with April 16 ("one drop") the doses to be administered two or three times daily were pencilled in by Morell into Hitler's desk calendar; the doctor also provided for the continued of drops of Homburg 680 after his departure from Hitler's headquarters. Thus, entry for April 29, the final entry, read "4 dr. + 4 dr. + 4 dr."

April 20, 1945

[Hitler's birthday.] Injected intravenous Strophantose, Betabion forte, plus Harmin – that is to say, I had to get Dr Stumpfegger to do them as I was too shaky. [1 dr. + 2 dr. + 2dr.]

April 21, 1945

Dismissal!

"during the whole of this final week from April 15 to 21," Morell related a few days later to an American journalist, "I gave him shots

of glucose. On Saturday, April 21, he was very dejected – there must have been an important conference the evening before. I wanted to give him another shot but he grabbed me and lost his temper, shouting that he knew precisely that I was going to inject him with morphine.”

If Hitler really used those words, it is probably that he feared his doctor was going to dope him so that the generals could smuggle him out of Berlin to the south against his will. Morell protested his innocence but Hitler screamed, “Do you think I’m crazy?”

He continued to rant at Morell, threatened to have him shot, and finally ordered him to go home, take off that uniform as the Führer’s physician and “act as if you’ve never seen me!”

“Whereupon,” wrote Tan Long, describing this final humiliation of the doctor in the *New York Times*, “the physician collapsed at the feet of his Führer.”

Again Hitler shrieked at him, “Get out of that uniform, put on some plain clothes, and go back to being the doctor of the Kurfürstendamm!”

With these malevolent words ringing in his ears, Morell fled to the airfield at Gatow.

The patient he left behind was a nervous ruin. Captain Heinz Assmann, who saw Hitler on April 23, retained the picture of a physical wreck who could barely walk, doing so with a stooped back and a shuffling gait, his right leg dragging, his head shaking and his left hand violently trembling on the limply dangling arm. “His handshake was soft and flabby, his gestures were those of an old, old man – only the eyes still had their old flickering gleam and penetrating power. Despite this physical collapse his energy and willpower remained unshattered to the very end . . . To the very end he preached fanatically to his staff, urging them to hold on and summon all their strength, ruthlessness and energy. With incredible tenacity and reso-

lution he fought against his physical decline and set his face against the cruel fate that was closing relentlessly in on him and his people.”

April 23, 1945 [Morell's diary concludes:]

Took off at two a.m. for Munich in a [Focke-Wulf] Kondor. Flew low over the Russian lines (now at Jüterbog!), saw myriads of burning villages; later crossed the American front-line at Partenkirchen and on into Bavaria. Here there were a lot of searchlights and flak activity. After looking for some time found and landed at Neubiberg airfield.

Morell in Captivity

One by one the Americans arrested the surviving Hitlerdoctors. Dr von Hasselbach had been picked up on April 13, 1945 in the Harz mountains. Dr Giesing was captured at Amberg on April 23. It was at one a.m. on that same day that Morell had taken the Kondor – Hitler’s courier flight – and headed south out of Berlin. Karl Koller, the Luftwaffe chief of staff who also left Berlin that night, described in his diary finding “fat old Morell” on the airfield when he landed near Munich.

The flight had not agreed with the portly physician. Of late he had taken the train for all his journeys, because he could not bear flying. It seems that he was on the verge of a fresh heart attack, because he was driven immediately to a clinic, and on May 1 he was transferred to the city hospital at Bad Reichenhall. Two days later American troops overran the area.

Morell’s wife Johanna had arrived at Reichenhall with her friend Aloys Becker on April 30. The director of the new institute greeted them with undisguised ill-humour. “Your husband is ill,” he told her, “being treated by Dr Kühne. I suggest you go right on to him.”

Frau Morell found her husband in the hospital. “My husband lay weeping in bed,” she would describe in a statement in October of that year, “a broken man. He cried as he told me how the Führer had kicked him out. And he complained about his heart, which had been giving him a lot of trouble the last few years.” She consoled him as far as she was able and promised to visit every day. Riedel declined

to drive her back to the institute – although both the building and its contents belonged to the Morells. In fact that evening two gentlemen from the city council arrived there and urged her and Becker to get out of town.

“The local people are talking of storming the building and its bunker,” they claimed, “and we can’t be responsible for your safety!”

The truth was, Frau Morell wrote a few weeks later, that both men merely wanted to grab as much Morell personal property and fortune as possible. Defeat would be bitter for the Morells.

bedridden at reichenhall, Morell was visited in the hospital on May 18, 1945 by officers of General George S. Patton’s US Third Army; they had started a sweep against former SS officers in such hospitals.

He was questioned but claimed to be suffering from bouts of amnesia. An American wrote in his diary, “Dr Morell says he was primarily concerned with scientific research. To this end he was collaborating with Dr Riedel, a chemist. Dr Morell’s main purpose was to work by himself, in order to get away from the permanent scrutiny of the SS.”

But at the same time Morell was being incriminated by his former colleagues. Dr Karl Brandt had been arrested on May 23 when the Flensburg enclave was liquidated by the British and found his captors sympathetic.

Brandt told the Allies what they wanted to hear. He would tell them when interrogated in June 1945 a tall story about Morell’s alleged narcotics addiction – for which there is no evidence in Morell’s own papers. “I learned,” said Brandt, “from Professor Müller-Hess, a Berlin court doctor, that Morell himself was probably a drug addict (morphine). One of his secretaries was involved in a lawsuit

concerning the falsifying of morphine prescriptions. These prescriptions were actually made out by Morell himself. The court files were seized by the Gestapo however, and the whole case quashed. That was in February 1945.”

On May 21 Miss Tania Long of the *New York Times* interviewed Morell. She later recalled that he was obviously a frightened man. “At first his eyes darted about the room like those of a cornered animal, and he explained later that he knew ‘they’ – the Gestapo, the SS and Heinrich Himmler – were out to get him.”

Morell related bitterly the angry final parting one month earlier in the Berlin bunker. Hitler had refused one last injection. “I do not need drugs in order to see me through,” he had snapped at Morell, dismissing him.

Miss Long inquired if Morell had ever given Hitler

Pervitin – the amphetamine narcotic which lay behind the suicide of Ernst Udet and many another human tragedy.

Morell denied it. He seemed coherent, recounting examples of Hitler's tremors and the onset of coronary sclerosis, episodes substantiated by the diary entries.

a few weeks later conditions for Morell deteriorated. On July 17, 1945 he was formally arrested by the Americans and transferred from the hospital to the remand prison at Reichenhall.

Here he was at first incarcerated in a narrow prison cell with barred windows and opaque glass. A week after his arrest, Frau Morell drove with Aloys Becker to the prison to provide moral support.

She spoke with an American army captain called Nitz. The captain told her she could speak with the doctor and take him some food if she wished, and she could also fetch their private property. From him,” Johanna Morell wrote a few weeks later, “we went straight

over to the prison building. I found my husband sitting in a chair. I will never forget this sight as long as I live – he was old, emaciated, his face was streaked with tears, and he kept repeating over and over again, ‘I thought you were dead, I heard you screaming, didn’t I!’

“He wasn’t talking much sense. Whenever we tried to explain the real facts of the matter to him, he would say, “Well, *I* must have gone mad then.” We consoled him as far as we could. After about a quarter of an hour we had to separate. I could not have remained in control of my feelings longer than that anyway. It was a torture to have to see my husband suffering like that.”

Before she left, he whispered to her that the Americans had torn out his toe-nails. She could not bear to listen, and quietened him by saying: “Don’t get worked up – I don’t want to hear it now. Tell me all about it when you are better.”

Perhaps Morell’s mind was wandering when he said these things. After a while he was put into the same cell as Karl Brandt, his former colleague and rival at Hitler’s headquarters. No doubt hidden microphones recorded every word. Morell certainly had not expected to see Brandt again and was very shocked – according to Brandt, he went pale and began to shake, and stammered a few meaningless words of greeting before sinking onto his bed and curling up weeping.

Morell was growing seriously ill – both physically and mentally. During the few days he shared a prison cell with Brandt he complained of woes that were clearly subjective, but also of crippling headaches. Brandt noted that the professor spent a lot of time sleeping, and that his memory had genuinely begun to fail. He studied his former colleague with unconcealed curiosity, and wrote:

“With regard to his psyche M is at present unstable and, generally speaking, in a state of decay there too. The earlier – often very pronounced – hustle and bustle and the associated craving for ad-

miration and acclaim are no longer there.” Brandt warned the Americans not to fall for Morell’s wiles. Perhaps it was Morell’s instinctive cunning that had warned him to play the sick man. “Probably he hopes to attract more sympathy that way,” Brandt testified. “My distaste for Morell, whether as a human being or as a doctor, has not been lessened by his present stance.”

Brandt made no bones of his antipathy toward his cellmate. He accused him of shamefully injuring the reputation of the German medical profession by his record. (At that time, neither doctor could foretell that Brandt, and not Morell, would hang.)

Speaking with Karl Brandt, Morell lamely defended himself. “I wish I were somebody else,” he said.

* * *

morell was transferred to the former Luftwaffe interrogation centre at Oberursel, now run by the American army.

His nephew was permitted to visit him there and wrote a few months later: “In this camp at Oberursel he was interrogated in the most degrading way: questioned with spotlights beamed on him, overheated cells, etc. Then he was transferred successively to Darmstadt, Korn Westheim, Ludwigsburg and Dachau.”

The notorious SS concentration camp at Dachau was also now under American management, with German inmates.

Morell was transferred there early in 1946.

Johanna was prevented from visiting him.

On February 13 she wrote to the American governor General McNarney complaining that she had heard nothing from Theo since July. “I know my husband is seriously ill,” she pleaded. “I was particularly alarmed by the state of his nerves when I last visited him at Reichenhall. His speech was so befuddled even then that I suggested

he should be transferred to a mental hospital. In the meantime your own investigation agencies must also have come to the conclusion that my husband was only a doctor and refrained from any kind of political activity.”

McNarney turned a deaf ear on her. Meanwhile the world’s newspapers began to run stories on him. One article in *Collier’s* weekly speculated on May 4, 1946: “There is some evidence that Himmler, the Gestapo chief, Martin Bormann, Hitler’s executive officers and the ill-famed Dr Morell conspired in a plot slowly to poison the Führer.” While admitting that there was no positive evidence, the article added, “It is certain that the daily dose of drugs hastened the collapse of Hitler’s personality.”

His heart slowly giving up on him, Morell was too ill to defend himself. In June 1946 he was permanently transferred to the prison hospital. He became partly paralysed down his right side. On the prescribed prison stationery he scrawled pathetic letters and post-cards to his wife: “I am thinking constantly about you and always longing for you,” he wrote on July 1, 1946. “I often dream of our earlier beautiful homes. I’m permanently bedridden in the hospital, but feeling better now that that throbbing in my head has gone again. . . In three weeks I’ll be sixty already.”

How much he yearned for those earlier, pre-Hitler times. “My mind keeps going back to those years around 1920 or so,” he wrote to Johanna in mid-July. “Even though I was working from morn to night and you used to go out with me on calls to places like Spandau, those were still the happy times. And then when I grew old and tired and could only carry on with difficulty because of my health, and my heart cried out for peace and tranquillity, I was denied either in our idyllic house in Schwanenwerder, where at your side I could still have had a few more peaceful and happy years. The blame for all this attaches to this accursed war.”

* * *

on October 12, 1946 a court doctor examined Morell in the hospital to see if he was fit to testify. He was not.

Afterwards, Morell wrote full of self-pity to Johanna: "As I am unable to raise my right leg or even to answer nature's call without assistance . . . there's probably not much they can do with me. And my head is often very muddled still and my memory has all but gone. I can't remember anything. I usually wake up around three or four a.m. and stay wide awake until morning. They are massaging my right arm and leg every day."

The big war crimes trial against the German doctors was due to begin on November 15, 1946. Twenty-three doctors were in the dock. But since Morell – unlike Brandt – was implicated in neither the euthanasia programme nor the inhumane experiments on concentration camp prisoners, the trial did not affect him. "We'll just have to see what they want from me apart from my treatment of Hitler," he wrote to Johanna. "Apparently it still hasn't sunk in to these gentlemen that Hitler always kept his thoughts to himself and that he was a very taciturn kind of person. How often did he say that the way he kept his plans secret was one of his great strengths. That I was only his 'private' doctor does not seem to occur to these people. Probably they think I had an important position or wielded some kind of influence; they just can't imagine the kind of petty spitefulness I was exposed to."

At the end of October, he tried to write to Johanna once more, but it was agony. After that he could only dictate letters. Among his papers is one sad attempt at writing to his sister Amelia. "My dearest little sister" he began ten times or more in a spidery scrawl, but each time he got no further with his paralysed hand, and finally gave up the attempt.

The right side of his face was now also paralysed, and he was in pain from earlier haemorrhages. On June 17, 1945 Morell lost the power of speech as well, but this “temporary aphasia” was, in the opinion of the German doctor who examined him at Dachau, “psychogenic in origin, as are the symptoms of hemiparesis,” meaning the partial paralysis.

Be that as it may, the Americans decided he had become an encumbrance and tipped him out of Dachau.

Elderly and infirm, Morell was handed discharge paper No 52,160 dated June 20, 1947, endorsing him as “Cleared by War Crimes.” Then he was dumped, together with a number of Polish Displaced Persons, in the waiting room at Munich station. From there he was taken to a local clinic. On June 29, the Dachau doctors forwarded his file to the clinic, confirming that Morell, like his former illustrious patient, was suffering arteriosclerosis, in his case with damage to the myocardial muscles.

He was treated with the same methods as Hitler – with injections. A room was reserved for him at a Tegernsee clinic, and on June 30 Morell was transferred there, to the Alpenhof district hospital. The doctors there restated the myocardial insufficiency diagnosis. They also observed that his memory was impaired and that he could no longer read or write.

Theodore Morell never left that clinic. He would die eleven months later, at four-ten a.m. on May 26, 1948.

“He died,” his assistant Richard Weber would reflect years later, “like a stray dog.”

Appendix I: Tests and Check-ups, 1940–1945

Dr. Morell's Hitler Dossier. In general, reports that reflect abnormal conditions have been reproduced.

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- January 10, 1940 (Glandular secretions in Hitler's blood)
- January 15, 1940 (Routine VD tests)
- December 28, 1940 (Faecal analysis)
- December 28, 1940 (Attachment to above)
- August 8, 1941 (Discussion of a faecal analysis)
- August 14, 1941 (Electrocardiogram)
- August 20, 1941 (Interpretation of above electrocardiogram)
- May 11 1943 (Electrocardiogram)
- May 13, 1943 (Morell asks for cardiologist's advice)
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- June 5, 1943 (Faecal analysis)
- June 10, 1943 (Faecal analysis, second opinion)
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- September 24, 1944 (Electrocardiogram interpreted)
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- November 24, 1944 (Blood sedimentation)
- November 24, 1944 (Blood count)
- December 2, 1944 (Morell asks cardiologist's advice)
- December 4, 1944 (Cardiologist's reply)
- April 7, 1945 (Eye examination)

January 9, 1940 (Blood Test)

Prof. Dr. med. Theo Morell
Berlin W₁,
Kurfürstendamm 216

January 9, 1940

Patient A.

Blood pressure: 140/100 (age 50)

Pulse: 72

Blood Group: A

Hbg: 97%

Red corpuscles: 4.7 Mill.

Color Index: 1.03

White corpuscles: 5000

Blood sugar: 110 mg%

Blood sedimentation: 4.9

Average value: 6.5

January 10, 1940 (Glandular secretions in Hitler's blood)

Medical Diagnostic Institute
 Dr. med. A. Schmidt-Burbach
 Berlin NW7, Schiffbauerdamm 3

Reading on calibration with fresh serum: 1467 drum units.

The drum reading for each individual component is the sum of the calibration reading and the catabolic valuation reading listed below.

component	catabolic valuation (in drum units)	
	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Patient</i>
Hypophysis, pars ant.	13	13
* Hypophysis, pars post.	17	12
Hypophysis, total	14	..
Parathyroid gland	18	18
* Thyroid gland	19	14
Thymus	18	18
* { Testis	20♂	9
{	16♀	..
{ Ovarium	19♀	14
{	16♂	..
Suprarenal gland, cort.	16	18
Suprarenal gland, total	12	11
Cutis	24	..

This report on the individual glandular secretions in Hitler's blood was appended to OI/CIR/4, with this introductory explanation: "The process followed involves the use of an interferometer to determine to what degree each of the glandular secretions in Hitler's blood serum was affected by catabolic ferment-

Continued on foot of next page

Lien	12	13
Hepar	11	10
Pancreas	11	12
Kidneys	12	..
Corpus luteum lutin	..	13
Felliculum phase	10	..

* [*Pencil notation:*] Orchikrin. Hypoph. from Merck. Thyr.

tation. 'Normal' destruction of glandular secretions by fermentation is obtained from a table. . . . The determination is made by preliminary calibration of the interferometer with fresh serum in both chambers: *Units of drum reading* are used to express the amount of deviation between the two beams. Then the serum in one chamber of the instrument is substituted for an equivalent amount of serum which has been incubated for 24 hours at 37° C, after the addition of a predetermined amount of standardised glandular extract (Organognosto). Then the two beams of the interferometer are again brought into phase. The amount of change necessary to accomplish this, again expressed in units of drum reading, indicates the degree to which the particular glandular secretion involved has been affected by catabolic fermentation in the blood of the patient." It would be unwise to attach undue importance to these findings, as these 1940 methods were very approximate.

January 15, 1940 (Routine VD tests)

Medical Diagnostic Institute
Dr. med. A. Schmidt-Burbach
Berlin NW₇, Schiffbauerdamm 3

Lab.-No. 244

To Prof. Morell
Berlin

Result of Examination of Patient A.

Wassermann:	negative
Meinicke (MKRII):	negative
Kahn:	negative
Pallida reaction:	
Complement test for gonorrhoea:	
Complement test for tuberculosis:	
Meinicke-tuberculosis-reaction:	

(signed) *E. Brinkmann*

Berlin, January 15, 1940

December 28, 1940 (Faecal analysis)

Prof. Dr. A. Nissle,
Research Institute,
Freiburg i. Br.

Freiburg i. Br.,
Furstenbergstrasse 15

Dear Colleague,

Please find attached my report on your Patient A; I'm glad to see that the coli bacilli have this time remained typical, in contrast to the last control tests we made, and that no disruptive subsidiary bacilli have turned up. Nevertheless I would be glad if, on account of the shortcomings set out in my report, you would – in order to combat the physical disadvantages of the extreme overwork of your patient influence your patient despite the other wise satisfactory results to prolong the Mutaflor course for as long as this particular work overload continues. I'm convinced that the patient will find the load easier to carry, as I know from tests carried out on my own person under fundamentally similar conditions. One's nervous energy is increased.

With best wishes for the New Year
and Heil Hitler!
(Signed) *Nissle*

(Attachment to above)

Prof. Dr. A. Nissle,
Research Institute,
Freiburg i. Br.

Freiburg i. Br.,
August 8, 1941
Furstenbergstrasse 15

*Result of a Routine Examination of a Faecal Sample of Patient A,
received December 23.*

Reaction acid. Remarkably sparse growth. Cultures of typical coli bacteria are only moderate in number, and of these only a minority

shows any extensive identity with the Mutaflor strain. No other germs or worm eggs present.

It is a satisfactory result inasmuch as only coli bacteria were encountered. The fact that these, which are certainly a derivative of the colonizing Mutaflor bacilli, are losing some of their properties during the time they adhere to and pass through the intestine indicates, as does the relatively bacteria-free quality of the faecal sample, that there is some factor operative, capable of inhibiting the normal colonization process of the Mutaflor strain to a certain degree. The most probable such factor is the patient's current work overload. It is therefore advisable, despite the satisfactory composition of the intestinal flora, to continue with the Mutaflor course.

(Signed) *Nissle*

August 8, 1941 (Discussion of a faecal analysis)

Prof. Dr. A. Nissle,
Research Institute,
Freiburg i. Br.,

Freiburg i. Br.
August 8, 1941
Fürstenbergstrasse 15

To Professor Dr. Morell . .
Berlin W 8

Dear Colleague,

Enclosed is the result of the faecal analysis concluded today on your Patient A. For enhanced accuracy the tests were conducted using several enrichment techniques. The presence of paracoli bacteria referred to was only proved with one of the methods.

The test for coli bacteria was carried out on numerous colonies. In only a few were traces of agglutinated Mutaflor serum specifically detected, while no agglutination could be observed in most of the others tested, and the use of the respective cultures for the determination of the coli index showed them to be of quite inferior antagonistic qualities; at any rate they could not be classed as high grade.

There are two ways of interpreting this result: if your Patient A has not been taking any Mutaflor recently it may be the result of a gradual degeneration of the Mutaflor bacilli residing in the body. If on the other hand he has been regularly using Mutaflor then this degeneration must have occurred during the passage through the bowel, in which case external factors must, experience suggests, have caused the damage. As you know such factors include very irregular life-style, hectic professional activity, lack of sleep, aggravation and worry.

Whichever the case, this result indicates a continuation or resumption of the Mutaflor treatment even if the patient's health appears relatively satisfactory. . . .

How I envy you your opportunity of witnessing at first hand world history being made at the Fuhrer's Headquarters. The genius of the Fuhrer, his prompt intervention and his carefully orientated and well-planned reconstruction of our armed forces, are the guarantee that we may look to the future with confidence, even though our fight against the giant Russian army will not be easy. Frederick the Great once said that it's not enough to shoot the Russians dead, you've got to knock them down as well. And the Russians don't seem to have changed much in this respect.

My warmest wishes go with the Fuhrer in his great task. May he be blessed with lasting good health, so that he can retain the strength to achieve his ultimate ambitions for his nation.

Sincerely, and

Heil Hitler!

Nissle

August 14, 1941 (Electrocardiogram)

Balneological University Institute

Director: Prof. Dr. A. Weber

Bad Nauheim

Electrocardiogram

Date: August 14, 1941

Age: 51

Clinical Diagnosis: Coronary Sclerosis

Auricular Rate: 88

P-QRS Interval: 0.10–11

Ventricular Rate: 88

QRS Complex: 0.08

Rhythm: Pacemaker apparently originates in the uppermost portion of Taware node.

Axis deviation: Left

Lead I: Slight slurring of Q+R, voltage of T (0.20 mm), slight depression of R–T segment, slight notching of P, small Q-wave present (1.2 mm), R-wave (12 mm), P-wave (0.–0.5 mm).

Lead II: slight slurring of R, voltage of T (0.5 mm), low take off of S–T segment, R-wave 5 mm, P-wave 0.3–0.4 mm.

Lead III: slight slurring of R+S, diphasic P, R-wave 1.8 mm, S-wave 5–6 mm slight arrhythmia.

Note: Standardization present

Horizontal spacing: 0.04 sec. Vertical sp. 1 mm.

Actual square spacing: 0.075”

August 20, 1941 (Interpretation of above Electrocardiogram)

Balneological University Institute

Director: Prof. Dr. A. Weber

Bad Nauheim

August 20, 1941

Dear Colleague Morell,

I was glad to hear that you are in good health despite what must be very great responsibility. Let us hope that things progress far enough for us all to enjoy real peace soon.

The electrocardiogram you submitted showed: sinus rhythm, left type. Transition to left retardation. Beginning depression of S-T₁ and S-T₁₁. Considerable flattening of S-T₁ and S-T₁₁. If these are not the consequence of digitalis or an infection, we must assume primarily that the cause is coronary sclerosis. I recommend making further electrocardiograms at fourteen-day intervals.

In the hope that things continue to go well for you I remain, with best wishes,

and Heil Hitler!

your obedient

A. Weber

May 11, 1943 (Electrocardiogram)

Balneological University Institute

Director: Prof. Dr. A. Weber Bad Nauheim

Electrocardiogram

Date: May 11, 1943

Age: 54

Auricular Rate: 85–90

Ventricular Rate: 85–90

Disease: Coronary Sclerosis

P-QRS Interval: 0.12

QRS Complex: 0.08

Rhythm: Pacemaker apparently

originating in the uppermost region of Tawara node or in the
lowermost region of Sinus node.

Axis deviation: Left

Lead I: Slight notching of base of R, low-inverted T, very slight low take-off of R–T segment, P-wave 3 mm, R-wave 9.5 mm, Q-wave 0.75 mm.

Lead II: slurring of H, practically isoelectric T, low take off of RS–T segment, voltage of P 3 mm, voltage of H 3 mm.

Lead III: slight slurring of R±S, low voltage; nearly isoelectric T, voltage of H 1 mm, voltage of S 5.5 mm.

Note: Standardisation is not present

Horizontal spacing: 0.04 sec. Vertical sp. 1 mm.

Actual square-spacing: 0.075”

May 13, 1943 (Morell asks for cardiologist's advice)

Prof. Dr. med. Theo Morell
Führer's Headquarters

May 13, 1943

To Prof. Weber,
Bad Nauheim

Dear Colleague,

About two years ago I sent to you one of the enclosed electrocardiograms for an opinion, informing you that it was a gentleman in the Foreign Ministry. You expressed the opinion that this was an incipient coronary sclerosis.

Meanwhile I have treated the patient concerned – a man who is subjected to huge burdens and can hardly ever take a respite – from time to time with repeated glucose and iodine injections (frequently giving courses of these injections), in that two or three times a day I inject 10 cc of twenty percent glucose solution and after that 10 cc of Septoid which always went down very well. I also applied leeches from time to time. There are no heart or angina pains, but a tendency to arterio-spasms with rapid increase in blood pressure (when worked up) and a serious general insomnia. The intramuscular injections of Vitamultin-Calcium have done a lot of good, and I add Tonophosphan-forte on account of the nervous system.

Recently when I gave him a thorough check-up the pulse was 72 and blood pressure 146–154/100 mm, with pure sounds and otherwise completely normal findings, and I made the second attached electrocardiogram. As far as I can see a very minor deterioration has occurred. Would you please be so good as to tell me your opinion on (i) the present result, (2) how it compares with the earlier one, and (3) the proper therapy. If possible in two letters, one I can show the patient and one for me.

I have been holding back with Strophantin and nitro-glycerine for the time being.

Thanking you in advance, and with best wishes,

Heil Hitler,

(Morell)

May 17, 1943 (The cardiologist's reply)

Balneological University Institute
Director: Prof. Dr. A. Weber

Bad Nauheim
May 17, 1943

Dear Colleague Morell,

The two takes of May 11 show: sinus rhythm, left type, possibly also incipient left retardation, slight depression of ST_1 and ST_{11} . T_1 beginning negative. T_{11} on the base line. Compared with the 1941 take, an unquestionable deterioration has taken place inasmuch as the ST depression has become clearer and the T_1 , which was at that time still clearly positive, is now negative. The T_{11} which was still clearly positive then now virtually coincides with the base line. The electrocardiogram of May 11 this year reinforces my earlier diagnosis: Coronary Sclerosis, and this is evidently a progressive case.

I would urgently recommend three or four weeks' complete rest. In cases like this you can never make a definite prognosis, but in all probability things will not take a turn for the better while it is not possible to be specific about how much time is left. I recommend treatment either with Teominal or Deriphyllin or Iodine-Calcium-Diuretin, administered for three weeks, then a pause of three weeks and so on repeatedly. Any smoking to be stopped completely, there must be liquid intake and a low-salt diet, and one day per week confined to fruit juices (one litre) provided this does not conflict with his job, and there must be no other eating or drinking during those twenty-four hours and actual work must be cut back to an absolute minimum.

Regular midday rest of at least one hour and as much sleep at night as possible.

I realise that these measures which are absolutely indicated are nowadays hardly possible or completely impossible for a man in a

responsible position, but as many of these points as possible should be heeded if his strength is to be maintained.

Heil Hitler!

Cordial best wishes,

yours,

A. Weber

June 5, 1943 (Faecal analysis)

Prof. Dr. A. Nissle, Freiburg i. Br.
Research Institute,
Freiburg i. Br. Fürstenbergstrasse 15
June 5, 1943

To: Professor Dr. Morell
at present: *Berchtesgaden*
Berghof

Dear Colleague,

Attached please find the analysis after a thoroughgoing investigation of the faecal sample. Unfortunately adequate care is still not being taken with the preparation of all forms of raw food, even though the plants in question are often treated with liquid manure and are for this reason not infrequently exceptionally rich in gastric bacteria and sometimes even in helminthous [worm] eggs. Last year I had this kind of material investigated by one of my Ph.D. students, and we were able to arrive at wholly unsatisfactory results even with the dietary kitchen of the clinic here.

Importance must be attached to staff washing their hands thoroughly with soap and water before handling raw food, and to rinsing each individual salad leaf and the like in running water; the same goes for fruit – apples and pears should always be peeled first, as our examination here shows their peel is invariably filthy with bacteria. No doubt you will in addition to your dietary measures recommend that he continues the Mutaflor cure, and I hope that the masses of aerogenes bacilli, which must have got in with particularly heavily infected material, will soon be displaced from the intestinal flora again; for this reason I would ask you to send me a further faecal sample for investigation after eight or ten days and perhaps a second sample some while after, in case our analysis of the first is not satisfactory.

Chinese medical practice suggests that raw food should always be individually plunged for a few seconds into boiling water; they do it mainly on account of helminthous eggs and dysentery that are widespread there. It is a pretty drastic method, of course, and I only mention it to you in case you want to bear it in mind; obviously the fresh look of the salad leaves is lost.

I would be very pleased if your next news is good news again.

With all good wishes,

Heil Hitler!

Nissle

June 10, 1943 (Faecal analysis, second opinion)

Stool Report II

Material sent in: Stool sample, received on June 2, 1943. Analytical procedure: Set out in detail in the appended report *[not printed]*.

Summary of Findings:

The sample submitted had a bright brownish color and showed a rich dash of gall-colored partly emulsified oil (laxative).

In this sample there were found bacteriological traces primarily of intestinal bacteria like the coli communi, enterococci and anerobic (butyric acid) bacilli by culture and microscopic tests, and these were tested with regard to their most important biochemical characteristics.

Particularly noticeable was the presence of numerous coli aerogenes bacilli and a few coli bacteria that weakly fermented in lactose. Verdict: There is evidently a slight dysbacteria of alimentary origin, probably only transitory in nature.

(Signed) Prof. W. Laves

Olmütz, June 10, 1943

January 11, 1944 (Analysis of liquor on Fuhrer's orders)

Prof. Dr Theo Morell

Führer's Headquarters
January 11, 1944

To the Director,
War Dept. Field Laboratory
Lotzen.

Dear Colleague,

I am sending you herewith a further sample of Slibovicz which is not from the same batch as recently investigated and which I request you to examine immediately particularly for methy alcohol content and other noxious substances.

As this job is at the command of the Führer I request you to expedite it immediately and telephone the result to me at Wolf's Lair 325. Please follow this with a brief written report.

With best wishes
and Heil Hitler!
(Signed) *Prof. Dr Th. Morell*
Führer's Personal Physician

January 12, 1944 (Laboratory reply)

Dr. Bickert
Lieutenant-Colonel (medical)

War Department Headquarters
January 12, 1944

To: Professor Dr. Morell
Führer's Headquarters

I am sending you the results of the examination of the two alcohol samples attached [*not printed*].

Qualitative analysis for methyl alcohol and fusel alcohol indicates no grounds against consumption. Quantitative analysis for methyl and fusel alcohol could not be performed as the samples were too small. The slight turbidity of the liquid may perhaps be attributed to having been stored at too low a temperature. It is recommended that the liquid be stored at a constant temperature of about 18 C.

Heil Hitler!

Dr. Bickert

March 2, 1944 (Re eye examination)

To: Prof. Dr. Morell

My dear Professor,

As arranged I am sending you (encl.) . . . the result of my examination, which fortunately appears to be comparatively favourable, though it of course indicates the existing danger to the vessel system. I would like in addition to make a few explanatory remarks.

Application of heat twice a day for some 15–20 minutes will surely help to clear up the turbidity of the right eye more quickly. At the same time, I feel that the period of quiet which it makes necessary – even though only twice a day for twenty minutes – offers an opportunity for relaxation which is supplemented by the influence of the heat. Would a similar effect be achieved by a very moderate body massage once a day?

Regarding the use of glasses I should like to say the following: the glasses for distant vision will hardly ever be necessary. The bifocal glasses, on the other hand, would be very convenient whenever it is necessary to shift the eyes quickly between near and distant objects, for example, during a conference in which an individual must be seen clearly while at the same time a letter must be glanced at or followed. The wearer of the glasses thus does not have to put them on and take them off, but looks at distant objects through the upper section of the glasses and at objects near at hand, a document for instance, through the lower.

I consider frequent re-examination of the eyes unnecessary, for psychological reasons undesirable. I do think it advisable, however, to recheck my findings after six or eight weeks, particularly in order to keep current on the conditions of the retinal blood vessels.

I would like to take the opportunity afforded by this letter to express again my sincere thanks for the friendly reception which you have accorded me, and for your advice. It has been a deeply impres-

sive experience for me to be able to have a glimpse into the manifold aspects of your highly responsible activity.

With best wishes,
Heil Hitler!
Your obedient

(Signed) *W. Löhlein*

March 2, 1944 (Report on an Eye Examination)

The Director
of the University Clinic
for Eye Diseases

Berlin NW 7,
Ziegelstrasse 5–9

I. *Findings of Examination*

The Führer complained that he had been seeing everything as through a thin veil over his right eye for about two weeks. On closer questioning he mentioned that he had experienced a light stabbing pain, of transitory nature, in his right eye recently. He reads, of course, a good deal – especially before falling asleep – and the presbyopic glasses prescribed in 1935 are hardly enough for this purpose now.

Visual acuity was tested under rather unfavourable lighting conditions. Results were as follows:

Right	3/12 (+1.5 sph) 5/6
Left	5/6, glasses rejected

Close vision:

Right	(±4.0) Nieden II in 25–30cm
Left	(±3.0) Nieden I in 5–30cm

Lid apparatus normal. No fibrillation in orbicularis, incidentally no strong defensive reaction to instilling of drops or to tonometry. Motility normal. Anterior eye in good order on both sides in every respect. Pupils of equal diameter, round, and of normal reaction. Anterior chamber shows normal depth. Colour of the iris on both sides equally dark blue-gray. After determination of normal inner pressure by palpation, mydriasis of pupils was induced, right with Homatropin, left (currently the eye with better vision) only with Veritol.

Ophthalmoscopy after about thirty minutes gave following results:

Left: Refractive media exceptionally clear. Eye background entirely clear and without pathological findings. Papilla of normal colour,

exhibiting well-defined physiological excavation. The retinal blood vessels were of normal width and extent. The choroid vessels could not be diagnosed because of the dark shade of epithelial pigment. Posterior pole and periphery also without pathological manifestation.

Right: Background was obscured by a delicate veil. With the use of a magnifying mirror, a very delicate, faintly mobile, diffuse turbidity of the eye background was therefore not as clear as in the left eye, but still permitted all details to be distinguished: Papilla showed no evidence of pathology. Retinal blood vessels exhibited no noticeable peculiarities, especially no varices of veins or caliber irregularity of arteries. No haemorrhages or white degenerative foci were observed. A faveolar reflex was not distinctly discernible. Periphery showed no pathological conditions.

The tonometric examination (under Psicain) which was performed immediately following resulted in a reading of 8 on both sides with a weight of 7.5, that is to say, a completely normal inner-eye pressure.

Diagnosis: The misty perception with the right eye is explained by a very delicate but diffuse turbidity of the vitreous humour which, since no inflammatory processes can be observed, is to be attributed to minute haemorrhages into the vitreous humour. These haemorrhages do not seem to originate with the blood vessels of the retina. At least no pathological retinal conditions can be observed on either side. Probably a transitory variation in pressure possibly caused by a vessel spasm – the explanation of the presence of blood.

proposal:

In order to assist in clearing up the turbidity, local application of heat is recommended, perhaps quarter-hour treatments twice a day with electrothermopor or Sollux lamp. Further recommended is instillation of one percent JK [potassium iodide] solution into right eye.

A discussion with Professor Morell was held in the presence of the Führer, during which means of preventing the recurrence of such haemorrhages were evident. Everything contributing to the avoidance of unnecessary excitement, particularly during the period immediately before the night's rest, such as diversion in light reading, was recommended. The use of sedatives is naturally narrowly restricted. Some consideration was given to the use of Luminal tablets.

In addition a change of glasses was prescribed: continuous use of glasses for distant vision is not necessary, but occasional use might be convenient. Therefore the following prescription was made for distant vision: Right +1.5 diopter spher., left plane. The glasses for near vision must be strengthened. Right +4.0 diopter spher., left ± 3.0 diopter spher. Bifocal glasses of the same strength are also to be provided.

(Signed) *Dr. W. Löhlein*

September 24, 1944 (Electrocardiogram interpreted)

Balneological University Institute

Director: Prof. Dr. A. Weber

Bad Nauheim

Electrocardiogram I

Date: September 24, 1944

Age:

Switch on A

Disease:

Auricular Rate: 85–90

P-QRS Interval: 0.10–11

Ventricular Rate: 85–90

QRS Complex: 0.08

Rhythm: Pacemaker apparently originates in the uppermost portion of Tawara node.

(Conduction time: 0.10–11.)

Axis deviation: Left

Lead I: low-inverted T, slight low take off of R–T segment, notching of P 0.3 mm, small Q-wave (1 mm), voltage of R 8.5 mm.

Lead II: slight slurring of P, isoelectric T, low take off of R–T segment, voltage of P 0.3 mm, voltage of R 3 mm.

Lead III: slight slurring of base of R, voltage of R 1.3 mm, voltage of S 6 mm.

Note: Standardisation present

Horizontal spacing: 0.04 sec. Vertical sp. 1 mm.

Actual square-spacing: 0.075"

September 24, 1944 (Electrocardiogram interpreted)

Balneological University Institute

Director: Prof. Dr A. Weber

Bad Nauheim

Electrocardiogram I

Date: September 24, 1944 *Clinical diagnosis:* Coronary sclerosis

Age:

Disease: Switch on No. 6, apparently affects standardisation.

Auricular Rate: 80–90

P-QRS Interval: 0.10–11

Ventricular Rate: 85–90

QRS Complex: 0.08

Rhythm: Pacemaker apparently originates in the uppermost portion of Tawara node.

(Conduction time 0.10–11.)

Axis deviation: Left

Lead I: notching of P, low take off of R–T segment.

Lead II: slight slurring of R, isoelectric T, low take off of R–T segment.

Lead III: very slight slurring of R+S.

Note: Standardisation present

Horizontal spacing: 0.04 sec. Vertical sp. 1 mm.

Actual square-spacing: 0.075"

October 10, 1944 (Urinalysis)

Performed by Infirmary (Corporal Koch), checked by Dr. Weber.

Absolutely normal findings.

Specific gravity: 1.013

Albumen: negative

Sugar: negative

Urobilinogen: no increase *

Sediment:

Very sporadic leukocytes, one or two in field of view. Otherwise normal.

No bacteria.

(Signed) *Weber*

* *Author's note:* Note the absence of any signs of damage to the liver, despite the hepatitis a few days earlier.

November 24, 1944 (Blood sedimentation)

Prof. Dr. med. Theo Morell
Berlin W15,
Kurfürstendamm 216

Patient: X (Foreign Ministry)*

Sedimentation Rate of Blood Corpuscles
Westergreen Method

1st hour = 33 mm

Normal value: up to 10 mm

2nd hour = 66 mm

Average rate mm: 33

[*Handwritten addendum:*] The test was begun about two or three hours after the blood was obtained. NB.: On November 9, 1944, a course of five Homoseran injections was concluded. On May II, 1943, the blood sedimentation rate was an average of 2.5 mm.

Dr. M

* *Author's note:* A camouflage for Hitler. A hand-written annotation indicates who performed the test: "Frau Ruth Krause, medical technical assistant, training 3½ years, Frankfurt am Main; and Richard Weber MD, assistant to Professor Dr. Morell."

November 24, 1944 (Blood count)

Prof. Dr. med. Theo Morell
Führer's Headquarters

Bloodsedimentation	33/66mm
Hæmoglobin:	88%
Blood Count	
Leukocytes	5-600
Erythrocytes	4,380,000
Colour Index	1.01

White Blood Corpuscle Differential

Segment nuclei	56%
Lymphocytes	30%
Eosinophils	3%
Monocytes	4%
{ Neutrophils 4%)	} 7%
{ Staff nuclei 3%)	

Urine:

Specific gravity	1.017
Albumen	Ø
Sugar	Ø
Urobilmogen	Ø

Sediment: Inconclusive.

Very small amount of calcium carbonate and a few epithelia.

December 2, 1944 (Morell asks cardiologist's advice)

Reich Chancery

December 2, 1944

Berlin W8

To Prof. Dr. med. Weber

Bad Nauheim

Dear Colleague,

I have several times already submitted to you the electrocardiograms of a foreign ministry gentleman, asking for your opinion. These produced the diagnosis of *coronary sclerosis*. Unfortunately the patient was never able to lay his work aside but has been subject to constant burdens, particularly in recent times, and to major upsets and irritations. These last five years he never went to bed before four or five AM., as his final conferences and labours were never finished before then. He had become a stranger to the idea of going for walks, as he became accustomed to taking only fifteen minutes' fresh air a day for months on end, spending the rest of his time without natural light in bunkers!

Nevertheless I managed by injecting a lot of 20 percent glucose – in intravenous shots of 10 cc at a time – often for months on end, and by adding iodine from time to time (in the form of Septoid), to ward off an even more rapid progression of the coronary sclerosis. To fortify him further I frequently administered *Vitamultin-Calcium* (which contains vitamins C, B₁ and nicotinamide and calcium, et cetera), *Glyconorm* (the extract of cardiac muscles, suprarenal gland cortex, liver and pancreas) and from time to time *liver* extract too. The patient lives a vegetarian existence without nicotine and alcohol, with restricted liquid intake. Iodine-Calcium-Diuretin was not administered, as his stomach is hypersensitive and reacts violently with spasms.

So far there have been no anginal complaints. I would be very grateful to you for any opinion and suggestions for further treatment, if you consider a change is called for. I did recommend massage, but this was not permitted.

I am further enclosing some electrocardiograms of myself. As I informed you earlier, I had my first serious attack of angina pectoris after a miserable airplane flight, with a T_{11} that stayed strongly negative for some time, and then later regulated again. The QRS opening is gradually getting bigger, and due to the constant responsibility and several hateful intrigues against me, I have begun feeling constantly a little depressed. I perspire at night and get breathless easily. Also the edemas on my lower legs have become more pronounced, so I have been getting massages every few days now. Altitudes of 800 to 1,200 meters do not agree with me at all, and that goes for air that is low in oxygen too. I have had to have a series of Glucadenose injections more than once already, and things go better after that; but as my burdens increase so it becomes evident that I am not getting permanently better. There are unfortunately certain reasons why I cannot take time off.

A few months ago after a sudden upset I had a haemorrhage behind my left eye, but this was rapidly reabsorbed. In the spring of 1942 I had a major upset which caused a frontal haemorrhage which however rapidly got better. but since then some of my lesser muscles have tired more easily.

A month ago I attended the funeral of my brother at Bad Nauheim for a day – he died of an apoplexy at 61 – but I had no time to come and see you as I had to get back urgently. Perhaps I will soon be able to call on you.

I would be indebted to you if you would tell me without pulling any punches how you interpret *my* case too, and give me your suggestions. I've been taking liquid Cardiazol for some weeks and Iodine-Calcium-Diuretin.

Thanking you in advance and wishing you all the best,

Heil Hitler!

Yours, *M[orell]*

P.S.: Please enclose your account and include your two previous opinions in the bill. Hand your opinion to the courier and give him the electrocardiograms too.

December 4, 1944 (Cardiologist's reply)

Balneological University Institute
Director: Prof. Dr A. Weber Bad Nauheim

Dear Professor Morell,

I am replying to your courteous letter from my cellar while hordes of enemy bombers thunder overhead. Please accept my heartfelt condolences on the death of your brother. I would be interested to learn whether it was an apoplexy or a sudden cardiac failure, as he had been suffering from angina for a number of years.

As far as your own electrocardiogram is concerned – and I am not pulling any punches – compared with 1941 the signs of a coronary insufficiency have become clearer. Between July 28, 1944, and October 9, 1944, there was a noticeable improvement, namely in II. S–T is showing an increasing tendency again. I can well understand that your present way of life is not actually good for your coronary arteries. But all of us are wishing that in the foreseeable future there may be a change for the better which will also have a favourable effect on your health. May I suggest adopting a philosophical attitude toward all the petty intrigues that are bound to occur given the position that you occupy. Can't you make one day completely free each week? Taking a day off like that often does more good than all the drugs. I would continue to take the Iodine-Calcium-Diuretin but avoid any kind of sudden physical strain, even if it is only a brief muscular exertion like lifting a piece of heavy furniture, for instance.

And now to the graphs of Patient A [Hitler]: Interpretation of August 14, 1941: sinus rhythm, left type. Flattening of T in all three Leads. A very slight depression of S–T in I and II. Initial complex lasting about 0.09". Interpretation of May 1943: sinus rhythm, left type. Somewhat more clearly denoted than two years earlier, as is the depression of S–T in I and II. T in I is barely negative. QRS lasting 0.08–0.09". Interpretation of September 24, 1944: left type, even more clearly marked. Depression of S–T in I, which commenc-

ing now is showing a track that is convex upward. T in I is clearly negative. S-T in II is also clearly more strongly depressed. QRS cannot be measured with certainty but apparently lasts longer than in 1943.

There are slowly progressive symptoms of left coronary insufficiency, and probably also of left retardation. In view of everything you set out in your covering letter these changes for the worse should not surprise us.

I recommend primarily that he should if at all possible take complete days of rest and eat a low-salt diet. The vegetarian diet must not be allowed to result in an albumen deficiency. From time to time he should test his weight at morning and night; losing about two pounds or more weight during the day would indicate a disturbed water balance, which can easily occur if there is an albumen deficiency. If Iodine-Calcium-Diuretin does not agree with this patient, then please try administering Deriphyllin, one or two tablets to be taken daily. Of course there is no drug that can make up for the harm done by an unhealthy way of life, but that is just another cost of this war.

I hope it may prove possible for you to come here in the foreseeable future. With the best wishes for your good health, and Heil Hitler, I remain

Your obedient
(Signed) *A. Weber*

April 7, 1945 (Eye examination)

The Director
of the University Clinic
for Eye Diseases

Berlin NW7,
Ziegelstrasse 5–9

Eye Examination of the Führer on April 7, 1945

According to the Führer the vision of the right eye has gradually grown worse rather than better, while that of the left is as good as ever. But the left eye is impeded by a swelling on the left upper lid which is tender and causes him to rub it. There is a secretion from both eyes of late, which is understandable in view of the dusty atmosphere in the centre of Berlin. The Führer generally leaves the well-ventilated and illuminated bunker only for short periods, for half an hour or two hours daily, and then goes into the Reich Chancery's garden, which is not badly damaged but is of course quite dusty, particularly when windy. He finds himself then very sensitive both to light and the dust-laden wind. It is difficult to arrange a set treatment in view of the irregularity of his life-style and the need for him to be constantly available for reports, et cetera.

Visual acuity right (with lens +4.5)

Nieden II in 25 cm

Close vision: left (with lens +3.0)

Nieden I in 25 cm

Distant visual acuity:

Right: (+1.5 diopter sph.) 5/10. As he hardly ever wears his spectacles he is disproportionately inconvenienced by the bad vision of his right eye.

Left: 5/5± glasses rejected.

There is a moderate chronic conjunctivitis on both sides without involvement of the conjunctive bulbi. Secretion very slight. No indications of lachrymal sac involvement.

Quite a large insipid chalazion on left upper eyelid, which provokes rubbing and is bothersome.

Pale conjunctiva on both eyeballs, clear cornea. Anterior chamber shows normal depth, well-shaped iris with prompt reaction by the pupils to light.

Ophthalmoscopy right (after Homatropin): lens clear. In vitreous humour slight delicate turbidity, sluggishly mobile; probably not enough to explain the reduction of vision by itself. Papilla well defined, of adequate colour, not paler temporally than on the left where the central vision is good.

But no fovea reflex in contrast to the left. Posterior pole otherwise without pathological manifestation, and in particular no haemorrhages. The retinal blood vessels were not blocked. While the arteries were perhaps a bit thin, there were no marked irregularities. Periphery without pathological manifestation.

Ophthalmoscopy right: (after Veritol): Vitreous humor and lens clear. Eye background without pathological manifestation. Perfect macula reflex.

Diagnosis: Moderate chronic conjunctivitis on both sides. Chalazion on upper left eyelid. Right: The residue of a haemorrhage in the vitreous humor. Lack of macular reflex.

Treatment: On account of the conjunctivitis on both sides: instillation of zinc suprac. drops three times a day on each side. On account of the chalazion left: heat application to left eye for fifteen minutes three times daily (interpose some gauze). In addition before going to bed gently rub two percent yellow mercury ointment into left eye.

If a rapid reduction and amelioration of the chalazion on the left upper lid does not result, it should be excised in an early operation.

Further examination in one week's time, possibly with excision of the chalazion from the left upper lid at the same time.

(Signed) *Dr. W. Löhlein*

Appendix II: The Medicines

preparations administered by morell to hitler during the years 1941–1945

The manufacturer is identified where known in brackets. Hamma was the company wholly owned by Morell, with plants in Hamburg and Olmütz.

Acidol-Pepsin

(Bayer) Indicated for dyspepsia, lack of appetite.

Antiphlogistine-Poultices

(Lyssia) A paste to be applied by poultice in cases of inflammation of the joints and glands, pleurisy, bruises, knocks and abrasions.

Belladonna Obstinol

(Dr. Thiemann & Co.) Against constipation in patients with hyper-sensitive intestinal tracts. For use with patients with vegetative regulatory disorders and tendency to spasms.

Benerva-fortissime

(Roche) Indicated: Vitamin B₁ deficiency, neuralgia, sciatica, circulatory disorders with vitamin deficiencies; if repeatedly used in some cases it may result in shock, so it must be very slowly injected.

Betabion-forte

(Merck, Darmstadt) Aneurin chloride hydrochloride. Indicated: vegetative disorders.

Bismogenol

(Tosse) Bismuth campho-carbonate, used in treating the neck glands. Boxberger pills (against constipation)

Brom-Nervacit

(A. Herbert Pharmacy, Wiesbaden) When Hitler became excited or aggravated, which was often, Morell would prescribe one or two tablespoons of Brom-Nervacit, an old and well-known tranquiliser consisting of 4 percent potassium bromide, 0.1 percent sodium phosphate, one percent naphrodyl, diethyl-Barbiturate acid, phenyldimethylpyrazolon, alcohol, sweetener and aromatics. To prevent a bromine reaction Morell would however prescribe it only during alternate eight-week periods.

Calcium Sandoz

(Sandoz, Nuremberg) Calcium gluconal actobional. Indicated: disorders of calcium metabolism. Allergic disorders. Haemorrhages.

Calomel

Subchloride of mercury (Hg_2Cl_2). "Used frequently for cleansing enemas, which Hitler administered [to] himself;" says OI/CIR/4; and see the diary, September 30, 1944. Once a very popular medication, it was already outmoded in the 1930s and is now obsolete.

Cantan

One tablet contained 0.025 pure L-ASCORBIC acid. Indicated: vitamin C deficiency.

Cardiazol

(Knoll, Ludwigshafen) In 1941, Morell began administering Cardiazol (chemical designation: pentamethylenetetrazol) to overcome the circulatory disorder evident from the edema observed by Morell on the external and internal malleoli (bony prominences) of Hitler's fibulae and tibia.

Normal dosage would be twenty drops taken three or four times a day. Professor Schenck says, "We now know that the effect is relatively short-lived. The drug is still available, but it is not as highly rated as it used to be."

Castor oil

Oleum ricini. A purgative.

Chineurin

(Hamma, Olmütz) Prepared in capsules by Dr. Kurt Mulli. It contained some quinine, and was occasionally used therapeutically

against colds, administered orally to Hitler after a meal, in place of Ultraseptyl (q.v.).

Coramin

(Ciba) Well known respiratory and circulatory stimulant: Pyridin-B-carbonic acid diethylamide, used like Cardiazol.

Cortiron

(Schering) Chemical name: desoxycorticosteron acetate. Morell injected this intramuscularly into Hitler on a few occasions, to combat muscle weakness and influence the carbohydrate metabolism and fat resorption.

Dolantin

(Hoechst) Controlled by the Narcotics Act. A powerful and effective analgesic and pain-killer.

Enterofagos ampoules

(Antipiol) Indicated: Acute and chronic diseases of the gastro-intestinal tract, constipation caused by bacteria.

Eubasin

A sulpha drug used only once by Morell, since injected intragluteally it caused pain. He used it therapeutically to cure a cold.

Euflat

This was a combined preparation of radix angelica, papaverin, aloe, active bile extracts, coffee, charcoal, pancreas extract. Morell supplied Euflat pills to Hitler to improve his digestion and combat the meteorism.

Eukodal

(Merck, Darmstadt) Dihydro-hydroxycodion hydrochloride. Indicated: For use instead of morphine in cases of severe pain and tenderness.

Familiar since 1937, a synthetic morphium derivate, controlled by the Narcotics Act. Injected intravenously against epigastric cramps.

Eupaverin

(Merck) Synthetic alkaloid, an anti-convulsant made from poppies. Indicated: Spasms, embolisms, peripheral blood disorders. Used

similarly to Eukodal. Morell would mix 0.02 g Eukodal with 0.03 g Eupaverin and inject them as a cocktail intravenously.

Franzbranntwein

An ancient and popular liniment: alcohol, pine needle oil. Still available. Gallestol

Glucose

Morell injected 20 percent glucose, usually in 10 cc shots, in Hitler from 1937 to the end, to supply calories. He told his American interrogators that he injected it only every second or third day, but the diaries show he used it much more frequently. He wrote on December 17, 1942: "By injecting glucose, I'm doing what I can to strengthen his heart and also to dehydrate the system."

Glyconorm

(Nordmark Works, Hamburg) Containing metabolic ferments like Cozymase I and II, vitamins B₁, B₂ and C, and the amino acids cystein, histidine, tryptophane, and a cocktail of extracts of the cardiac muscle, suprarenal gland, liver and pancreas. Used mainly to prevent pellagra, a nutritional skin disorder, and against vitamin C deficiency, carbohydrate metabolism disorders, intoxication and neuritis. Morell administered 2 cc shots intramuscularly to check Hitler's digestive disturbances.

Glycovarin glucose

Harmin

An alkaloid, one of the family of drugs extracted from deadly nightshade (*Solanaceae*), used against tremors, but which according to Professor Schenck has no real advantage over other such atropine-based drugs.

Homburg 68o

(Homburg) A stabilised extract from the Bulgarian belladonna (deadly nightshade) root. Indicated: all diseases of the Parkinsonism variety, in particular that known as *morbus Parkinson* (paralysis agitans).

Homoseran

(Hamma, Olmütz) A preparation manufactured from placenta, injected by Morell into Hitler for the first time on November 7, 1944.

Intelan

(Ankermann & Co., Friesoythe) Tablets of this contained vitamins A and D and glucose. A typical dragée contained 5,000 international units of vitamin A, 1,000 of vitamin D₂-cholesterin, and 15 milligrams of vitamin B₁-Cyano complex. From 1942 to 1944 Morell administered it like his Vitamultin to induce appetite, to combat Hitler's lack of vitality and ability to concentrate and to increase his resistance to infection.

Karlsbader Mühlbrunnen

A mineral water.

Karlsbader Sprudelsalz

A gaseous mineral water.

Koagovit

A hemostatic.

Dr. Koester's Anti-Gas Pills

These little black spheres contained extra. Nux vom., extr. Bellad., aao.5, extr. Gent. i.o. Hitler imbibed two to four pills at every meal from 1936 to 1944 to combat his intestinal gas build-up (meteorism). Professor Schenck states: "As Morell's papers show, this was a completely harmless medicine."

Leo-Pillen

(Leo Works) Laxative.

Lugol's Solution

A compound solution of potassium iodide and iodine used for swabbing the tonsils.

Luizym

(Luitpold Works, Munich) A digestive enzyme preparation containing ferments which split cellulose, hemicellulose and carbohydrates. Indicated: to combat digestive weakness, meteorism, dyspepsia, and the Roemheld syndrome (gaseous build-up in the upper intestine causing painful pressure on the heart); and to

render vegetable diets more digestible. Luizym was taken in tablet or dragée form after meals when Xatulence was suVered. Still commercially available.

Luminal

(Bayer-Merck) A sedative. Phenyl-ethyl-barbiturate. Indicated: Severe insomnia, spastic and nervous conditions.

Mitilax

(Diwag Chemical Factory) Laxative. Morell wrote in one letter, "It consists of virtually pure paraffin." Its ingredients were liquid paraffin with vanilla or coffee flavouring.

MutaXor

(Hageda of Berlin) This emulsion of a particular strain of *Bacillus coli communis* was used to colonise Hitler's intestinal tract. On the first day one yellow capsule was taken, followed by a red capsule on the second, third and fourth days and two red capsules a day after that. (See pages 30 and 63.)

Nateina

(Llopis of Madrid) A mysterious hemostatic used on Hitler's middle ear after the Bomb Plot of July 1944. Nateina aroused interest in the medical world in 1930 when it was claimed to have been successfully used on the "bleeders" of the haemophilic Spanish royal family. In Germany it was marketed by Hageda of Berlin, a company close to Morell's business empire.

Neo-Pyocyanase

(Südmedica) Indicated: inflammation of the upper respiratory tract; acute and chronic tonsillitis.

Obstinol

(Dr. Thiemann & Co.) Indicated: Acute and chronic constipation.

Omnadin

(I.G. Farben) Omnadin was a mixture of proteins, lipid substances of gall and animalic fats, claimed to have antigenic properties and therefore best used at the beginning of infections. It was nearly

specific against colds, and Morell preferred to use it (in intramuscular shots of one 2 cc ampoule at a time) instead of Ultraseptyl, as it was non toxic.

Optalidon

(Sandoz, Nuremberg) Painkiller and analgesic. Morell gave Hitler one or two tablets of this for headaches. It was a proprietary combination of amidopyrine and barbiturate, containing 0.05 Sandoptal (a proprietary hypnotic, iso-butylallyl barbituric acid); 0.125 dimethylamine phenazon (Pyramidon); and 0.025 caffeine.

Orchikrin

(Hamma, Olmütz) A combination of all the hormones of males. Potency was increased by the addition of extracts of testis, seminal vesicles and of young bulls. Orchikrin was used in pill form (one pill being equivalent to three grams of fresh testis) and also injected intramuscularly in ampoules of 2.2 cc. Morell's chemist, Dr. Mulli, claimed it had been developed to combat cancer of the prostate. Morell suggested to American interrogators that he had tried it on Hitler only once or twice to combat fatigue or depression.

Penicillin-Hamma

(Hamma, Olmütz) Morell used this on Hitler on the evening of July 20, 1944, applying it as a powder to a skin wound on his right hand.

Phanodorm

(Bayer-Merck) Cyclobarbitol, a sedative. Indicated: Insomnia or poor sleep quality.

Profundol

(Promonto) A barbiturate sleeping tablet.

Progynon B Oleosum forte

(Schering) Progynon was an ester of benzoic acid and the dihydrofollicle hormone. One ampoule was injected intramuscularly, increasing the circulation of the gastric muscles and preventing spasm of the gastric wall and vessels.

Prostakrinum

(Hamma, Olmütz) A hormone product—extract of seminal vesicles and prostata. Manufactured in pill, dragées and ampoules. One pill was the equivalent of one gram of prostata and seminal vesicles. According to a letter from Hamma to Morell, on June 6, 1941, the pills had a 0.5 gram coating of sugar. For a short period in 1943 Morell administered it to Hitler (two ampoules intramuscularly every second day) to prevent his depressive moods.

Prostrophanta

(Probably made by Hamma, but unlisted in any codex.) Each ampoule of Prostrophanta contained 0.3 milligrams of Strophantin (q.v.) in combination with glucose and vitamin B complex (nicotinic acid).

Quadronox-Tabletten

(Axta) Sedative.

Relaxol

(Fischer) Indicated: for various kinds of constipation. Sangostop A hemostatic.

S. E. E. injections

(Merck) Later known as Scophedal, and controlled by the Narcotics Act. Indicated: pain killer, tranquilliser.

Septoid

(Diewag Chemical Factory, Berlin) Prescribed against Hitler's respiratory infections. A solution of three percent iodine, made up of various iodine salts. The intention was that after instillation, the free iodine would be released and disinfect inflamed areas and increase bodily resistance. Morell injected shots of up to 20 cc intravenously. He also expected the Septoid to retard the progress of Hitler's coronary sclerosis, and he occasionally used it as a substitute for the toxic Ultraseptyl.

Spasmopurin suppositories

Used by Morell against Hitler's epigastric spasms.

Strophantin

This crystalline glucoside was used as a powerful heart tonic after the August 1941 electrocardiogram indicated that Hitler was suffering a progressive coronary sclerosis. For two or three weeks at a time Morell injected intravenously with Strophanthin daily, and he continued this treatment on several occasions to the end of Hitler's life. It was a powerful and direct-acting stimulant. In order to reduce the risk of inducing a cardiac arrest by injecting too high a concentration too fast, it was usually mixed with 10 cc of glucose (sometimes in the form of the commercially premixed Prosthophanta), and both are injected in one syringe.

Sympathol

(Boehringer)(chemical name: Para-oxyphenylethanolmethylamine.)

Used to increase the heart-minute-volume of blood. After 1942 Morell administered ten drops of Sympathol in a solution to be swallowed each day. Sympathol is only one-hundredth as effective as adrenaline.

Tempidorm

(Roland) A barbiturate suppository. Indicated: Insomnia, sleep disorders.

Testoviron

(Schering) Testosterone, the male sex hormone secreted by the testes. Indicated: anigal disorders, depressive conditions.

Thrombovetren

(Promonta) A heart tablet.

Tibatin

A sulphonamide drug.

Tonophosphan

(Bayer) Supplied in 1–2% ampoules or 0.1 gram tablets, Tonophosphan was the sodium salt of dimethyl-amino-methyl-phenyl-phosphinic acid. It was a recognised stimulant for unstriped muscles and was also administered to supply the body

with phosphorus. Morell injected Tonophosphan subcutaneously in Hitler frequently during the latter years of the war.

Tonsiosan

(Schwabe)

Trocken-Koli-Hamma

(Hamma, Olmütz) A coli preparation developed by Professor Laves of the University of Graz, in capsules, and used as a substitute for Mutaflor (q.v.) as the Mutaflor supply dried up during the war.

Tussamag

(Tempelhof) Indicated: Expectoration; acute and chronic catarrh of the upper respiratory tract.

Ultraseptyl

(Chinoin, Budapest) A sulphonamide drug. Its chemical designation was 2- (p-aminobenzolsolfanamido) -4-methylthiazol— Morell would administer one or two tablets to Hitler, each containing 0.5 gram, with much fluid, like fruit juice or water, after a meal, against colds and infections.

Vitamultin-Calcium

(Hamma, Olmütz) Its ingredients varied, but in one form it contained ascorbic acid, calcium, vitamin C and vitamin B₁, and was filled into ampoules of 2 cc. Each ampoule thus contained 0.04 gram vitamin C and 0.36 milligrams of B₁ (aneurin)—minimal quantities which would not even remotely approach the daily needs of an adult male. It is interesting to note that Rudolf Franck's pharmacological handbook lists as further ingredients nicotinamide and a minute quantity of p-amidobenzoyldiethylamino-ethanol hydrochloride (otherwise known as procain, the cocaine-like alkaloid now marketed as Novocaine).

Vitamultin-forte

(Hamma, Olmütz) Ampoules of this were first injected by Morell on March 14, 1944, to combat Hitler's general fatigue. Not listed in any pharmacological handbook, nor are the ingredients evident from Morell's papers.

Yatren

One tablet of Yatren contained 0.25 grams of chinoiforum iodoxychinolinsulphate. Indicated: amoebic dysentery.

* All the unpublished documents listed here are available in the Irving Collection of the Institute für Zeitgeschichte, Leonrodstrasse 46b, 8 Munich 19, West Germany.

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