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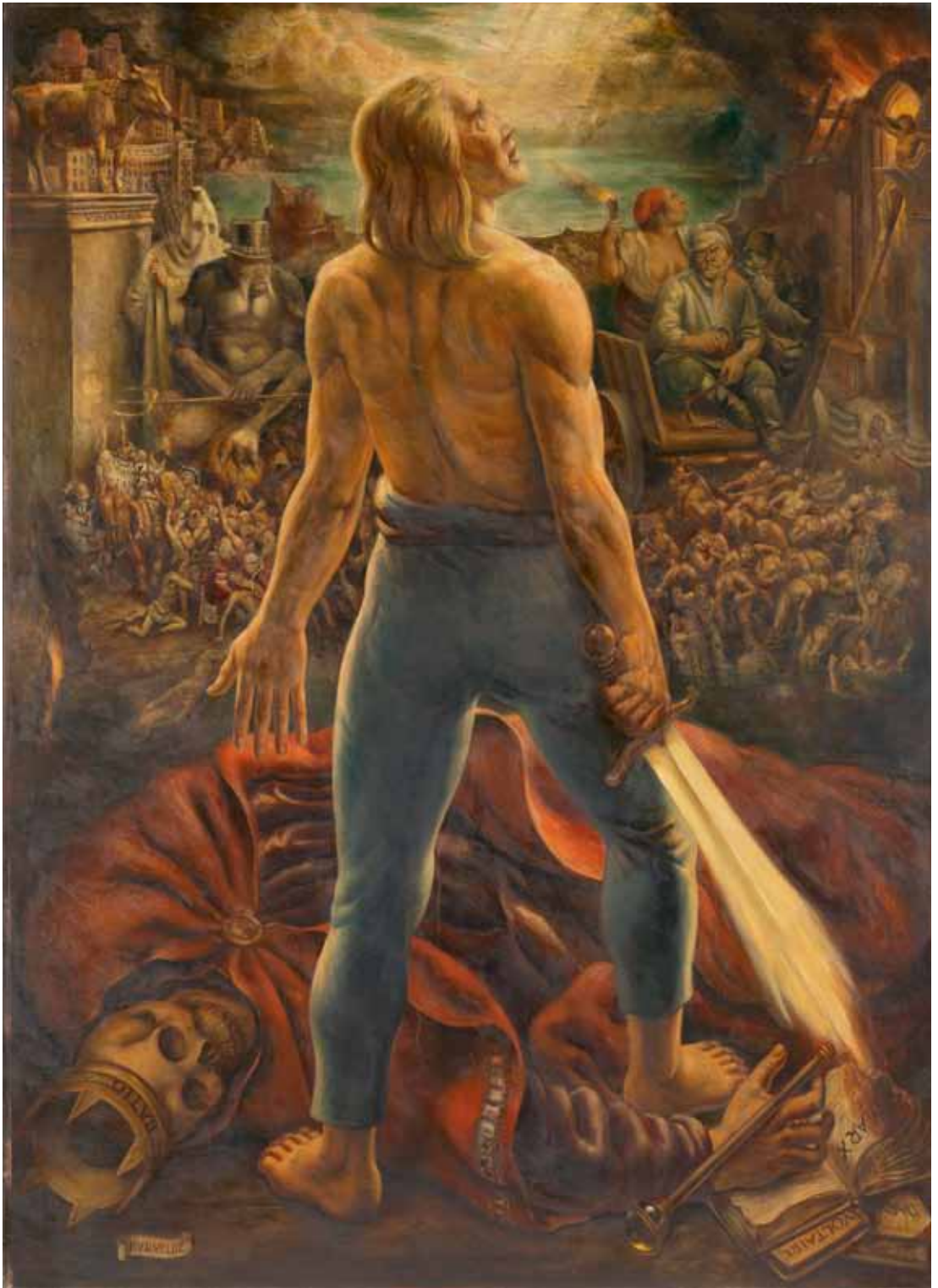
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On *The New Man*

The Interpretation and Function of a

National Socialist Painting in the Past and in the Present

• CLAARTJE WESSELINK •

The war's not over yet.' You will still hear Dutch people say this even now. They mean that the German occupation of their country may be history, but it has a resonance that other events Dutch schoolchildren learn about in their history lessons do not have. It has not yet crystallized into a stable entity in the landscape of the collective memory. More than any other period in history, it is the subject of constant discussion and reinter-pretation. The furore that greeted a work of art in the Rijksmuseum collection illustrates this very clearly. It is the larger than life-size painting *The New Man* (fig. 1), made in about 1937 by the artist Henri van de Velde (1896-1969). In the words of its maker, the work was a 'painting that gave expression to National Socialism'.¹

It was commissioned by the businessman Louis van Leeuwen Boomkamp, whose brother was married to Van de Velde's niece. Patron and artist were both members of the Dutch National Socialist movement or NSB.² Van de Velde had joined in 1933 and was to remain a member until 1945, although he was not active in the party. Standards had fallen over the years, he felt, but he nevertheless remained a member because, so he said, he continued to hope that the NSB would bring about improvements for the arts and artists.³

Fig. 1
HENRI VAN DE VELDE,
The New Man, c. 1937.
Tempera and oil on
plywood, 227 x 172 cm
(incl. frame).
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-2007-1;
purchased with
the support of
the Rijksmuseum
Fonds.

Friends and acquaintances knew him as an erudite, rather unworldly and naive man, who meant no harm.⁴

Van Leeuwen Boomkamp had also joined the NSB in 1933. As he was to say later, 'When I heard Mussert speak in 1933, I was immediately so excited by the prospect of a socialism without hate and strife, but in a harmony of all my fellow countrymen, that during the meeting ... I spontaneously enrolled as a member.'⁵

Another, perhaps more self-interested reason for his sympathy with the NSB was that the party was a fervent champion of the retention of the Netherlands' overseas colonies – a policy that met with considerable support in Dutch East Indian circles.⁶ The Van Leeuwen Boomkamp family had made its fortune in the Dutch East Indies and opposed independence for the country. And lastly, Louis van Leeuwen Boomkamp, like Van de Velde, had a hatred of Communism. Initially Van Leeuwen Boomkamp got ahead in the NSB. He became a member of the Provincial States of North Holland on behalf of the party, and was active in the Nationale Jeugdstorm – effectively the youth wing of the NSB. In the late nineteen-thirties he resigned his membership of the party, in part because it harmed his business interests. Nevertheless, he remained a convinced National Socialist.⁷

When Van Leeuwen Boomkamp moved to the Dutch East Indies in 1940, he gave *The New Man* to Anton Mussert, the leader of the NSB, who was evidently delighted with the picture and hung it in his office in Utrecht. After the liberation of the Netherlands in 1945 it was thought to have been lost, but almost sixty years later it surfaced in Belgium. It was acquired by the Rijksmuseum in 2007. In the media coverage that followed, it became clear that it was not just the subject of the work that aroused contempt. 'The torso is too short, the hands are too big, the pose is contorted. Actually there is nothing about *The New Man* that is right,' according to the NOS news broadcast on 30 May.⁸

The satirist Wim de Bie described the painting as an 'abject piece of kitsch' that belonged not in a museum but in the lavatory of the NIOD, the Dutch Institute for War Documentation.⁹

When *The New Man* was presented, the Rijksmuseum stressed that the work had not been purchased for its art-historical value. In line with the museum's policy of presenting the country's history as well as its art, the work was acquired for the History Department's twentieth-century display. As physical evidence of a dark episode in the nation's history and because it had once hung in Mussert's office, the museum announced, it was manifestly of interest for the historical exhibit.¹⁰ It was consequently to become part of the permanent exhibition in the new Rijksmuseum.

Since the announcement of the purchase was made, *The New Man* has repeatedly been the subject of debate in the media, a debate revolving around the complex iconography of the work. In the past – before and during the war – this iconography had likewise given rise to divergent interpretations. I propose to explore how *The New Man* has been interpreted and evaluated over time. An assessment of this kind

provides an insight into the political and social motives behind the reading and appreciation of art – the way that art is never just art, but a physical bearer of collective and individual identities. The political and moral baggage carried by *The New Man* makes this aspect particularly evident in this painting. I shall also focus on a detail in the picture that has never been described before; it is a significant addition to the corpus of interpretations and sheds new light on the debate about the iconography of *The New Man* that has gone on in the last few years.

Anti-Capitalism, Anti-Communism, Anti-Rationalism

The 'new man' in Van de Velde's painting is a large, blond, semi-naked figure standing with his back to us. He carries a flaming sword, which he points at the charred remains of books by Marx, Darwin and Voltaire that lie at his feet. He stands on a skeleton wrapped in a crimson royal robe. On the skeleton's head is a crown inscribed with the word 'RATIO', a reference to the Rationalism spawned by the Enlightenment. In the background there is an allegory of Capitalism on the left and Communism on the right. National Socialism was fiercely opposed to these two products of the Enlightenment.¹¹

The artist portrayed Capitalism as a Golden Calf on a plinth emblazoned with the word 'VANITAS', a hysterically worshipping mob at its base, the idol Mammon, and looking over Mammon's shoulder a ghostly white apparition with the letter G on its hood. Mammon, the false god of riches and greed in the Bible, wears a top hat with coins around the brim and squats cross-legged on bags of money. He is monstrous, with an animal's claws and pointed ears. Van de Velde may have drawn his inspiration for Mammon from George Frederic Watts's *Mammon* (1884-85) (fig. 2). Watts's Mammon wears a crown of coins with ass's ears, has



Fig. 2
 GEORGE FREDERIC WATTS, *Mammon*, c. 1884-85. Oil on canvas, 182.9 x 106 cm. Compton, Watts Gallery, inv. no. COMWG.49. Photo: Trustees of the Watts Gallery/ Bridgeman Art Library.

moneybags on his lap and claws on his feet. The ass's ears are an unmistakable reference to Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843), an indictment of the industrial society of nineteenth-century Britain.¹² In it Carlyle speaks of 'Midas-eared Mammonism', an allusion to the avarice and stupidity of King Midas.¹³ A metropolis looming up behind the Golden Calf and a Tower of Babel complete the scene.

Communism is symbolized by a Leninesque figure wearing a workman's cap and a French Revolutionary with

her breasts exposed. They sit in a cart drawn by a crowd of people who are sinking into the mire. The communist carries a scourge and a pistol, the woman sticks her tongue out at a burning church. A priest lies dead on the ground before the church and Christ hangs on a collapsing cross. A black-clad skeleton stands beside the cart – perhaps Marx's spectre of Communism that is haunting Europe? On the horizon we see peasants gunned down by soldiers, a reference to the mass collectivization in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and thirties.

It is unclear whether and, if so, to what extent the artist was guided by his client, Van Leeuwen Boomkamp, in painting *The New Man*, but it would appear that the content, broadly at least, reflected Van de Velde's own interpretation of National Socialism. The most important message in the painting is that Capitalism and Communism – both products of the Enlightenment – have a devastating impact on humankind. Communism, moreover, destroys the Christian faith – witness the burning church, the murdered priest and the broken cross. A prewar note made by Van de Velde, who kept diaries on all sorts of scientific and social topics, reveals that he valued the spiritual above the purely material and hence had no truck with Communism: '... he who sees more keenly knows that Christian thinking arises out of a deep feeling, which teaches us that all our thinking and knowing only become conscious in us by the grace of God: rank and wealth count for nothing with God and we are equal in the expectation of his revelation. And the highest goal is the spiritual wellbeing / awakening from which material order will come. Communism, however, arises from turning our thoughts away from this divine source mentioned above and placing this reason / thinking (ratio) above everything and so we are equal, since this reason causes the boundaries of rank

and riches to disappear and the highest goal is material wellbeing, from which spiritual wellbeing can stem.¹⁴

In a later note, written in 1942, he again denounced this one-sided materialism. This time he did not associate it with Communism, seeing it rather as a consequence of the modern, rational science that had developed since Descartes. ‘Since Descartes, our learning has turned away from the spiritual life and is now chiefly concerned with analyzing matter, [forgetting that this matter can only ever be an image of the Spiritual world]. In a sort of overrating or sole acceptance of the sensory, pushing aside the transcendental.’¹⁵

The views he expresses here put the anti-Communist and anti-Rationalist aspects of the painting in perspective. The Belgian art historians Jos Brebels and Jan Vaes have rightly pointed out that Darwin’s book is shown as trash in the picture for the same reason. This may well surprise today’s viewers. If any movement embraced Darwin’s ideas, surely it was National Socialism? ‘In our view, however,’ write Brebels and Vaes, ‘it is Darwinist monism that the painter had in his sights, a wholly materialistic world view: only matter, dead stuff, said Darwin, lies at the basis of everything that is and of evolution. This reduction to a single principle, to matter, nullifies the old distinction between God and the world, between mind and matter.’¹⁶

The New Man

In the autumn of 1939 *The New Man* was shown along with some other works by Van de Velde in the Amsterdam gallery owned by Van de Velde’s brother-in-law Carel van Lier. The fact that Van Lier was Jewish evidently did not trouble the National Socialist painter. They were regular visitors in one another’s homes, and Van de Velde lent his brother-in-law money for the gallery on a number of occasions.¹⁷ Van Lier did not survive the war. In

February or March 1945 he died of hunger and exhaustion in a German concentration camp. His business was continued for a while after the liberation, but without the prewar success, and it closed down for good in 1954.¹⁸

Van de Velde’s painting did not have a name when it was exhibited, but three of the four reviewers who covered the show called it *The New Man* (*De nieuwe mensch*).¹⁹ It comes as no surprise that the work should be given this title. The ‘new man’ theme was extremely popular in the years between the wars – just as it had been around the turn of the century in reaction to the modernization of society. After the moral and material upheavals of the First World War, Europe in the twenties and thirties was marked by economic crises and turmoil in national and international political relations. Surrounded by sweeping advances in technology, people felt displaced. Many began to believe that the old world was rotten, without prospects, and that radical change was needed. New parties and movements emerged on the left and right of the political spectrum, all calling for a new world and a new man.²⁰ In 1931 the artist Harmen Meurs wrote, ‘The current international problems, the changed concepts of religion, philosophy, the arts, sciences and so on have displaced, changed or destroyed established prewar values, caused other ideals to be born, other possibilities created! Every nation in this conglomeration of postwar global difficulties was compelled in this regard to thoroughly consider and revise its own governance and spiritual state.’²¹

Artists and writers, from the avowedly progressive to the very conservative, reflected on the current circumstances in their work and devoted their talents to picturing and describing this ‘new world’ and ‘new man’ that were so fervently desired.²²

Fig. 3

EL LISSITZKY,
Neuer / New Man,
 1923.
 Lithograph,
 53 x 45.5 cm.
 Eindhoven,
 Collection Van
 Abbemuseum,
 inv. no. 264.
 Photo: Peter Cox,
 Eindhoven.



In 1920, for instance, the communist El Lissitzky wrote, ‘The artist constructs a new symbol with his brush. This symbol is not a recognizable form of anything in the world – it is a symbol of the new world, which is being built upon and which exists by the way of the people.’²³ His lithograph *Neuer / New Man* (1920-21) expresses this view (fig. 3). The German artist Heinrich Vogeler, who – traumatized by his experiences at the front – converted to pacifism and Communism during the First World War, travelled through

the Soviet Union in the 1920s. He described and illustrated his impressions in his book *Reise durch Rußland. Die Geburt des neuen Menschen* (1925). ‘An artist, an unpolitical communist philosopher goes to Russia as a seeker,’ runs the opening sentence of his preface. ‘He is not one of those casual observers, who is shown things; instead, he goes to work in a business, to take part as a responsible collaborator in shaping the new society.’²⁴ The drawings in the book have titles like *Kulturarbeit der*

Studenten im Sommer (The Cultural Work of the Students in Summer) and *Arbeitererholungsheim in der Krim: Parkweg* (Workers' Holiday Home in the Crimea).²⁵

In the progressive art movement De Stijl, we again see this longing for a new, better mankind and world expressed in word and image. In 1920 Mondrian mused, "This new man must certainly be entirely "different" from that of the past. The "new man" does all the material work, but he does it out of "necessity". He does it just as well, but he regards it differently. He lives in the material without enjoying it or suffering from it in the old way: he uses his physique like a perfect machine ... without being a machine himself. It is precisely this that is the difference: before, man himself was the machine, now he uses the machine, be it his own physique or the machine he has made. As far as possible he gets the latter to do the rough labour, while he concentrates on his inner self. In the final analysis his soul is also a "machine" to him: he himself becomes conscious mind. In art this difference can be described as: the old art is unconscious representation of harmony through consciousness within the material aspect, the new, in contrast: representation of pure, balanced proportion through consciousness of mind."²⁶

The conservative German thinkers Oswald Spengler and Ernst Jünger dubbed their new man *Tatsachenmensch* (the realist) and *Arbeiter* (the worker) respectively. These characters were combative, tough and averse to the individualism of the 'bourgeois' Weimar democracy. They were appropriated by Nazi ideologues.²⁷ Artists like Leni Riefenstahl and Arno Breker gave artistic expression to the National Socialist new man. He was not just aggressive and tough, he also possessed particular 'racial characteristics' – he was 'Aryan'. This Aryan type can be recognized in the blonde embodiments of fire, water, earth and air in Adolf

Ziegler's *Four Elements* (c. 1937), which hung above Hitler's mantelpiece (fig. 4).²⁸ Poignantly, the Expressionist sculpture on the cover of the catalogue of the infamous *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition in 1937 – organized by this same Ziegler – is called *Der neue Mensch*. After its appearance in the exhibition, the work fell prey to Nazi iconoclasm. Its maker, Otto Freundlich, was killed in Majdanek in 1943.²⁹

A Painting 'that cannot be "read" in five minutes'

The prewar reviewers at Van Lier's gallery must have thought that *The New Man* was an appropriate title when they contemplated what was – in the phrasing of the time – a 'healthy' figure

Fig. 4

ADOLF ZIEGLER,
The Four Elements:
Fire, Water, Earth
and Air, c. 1937.
Oil on canvas,
170.3 x 85.2 cm,
171 x 190.8 cm,
161.3 x 76.7 cm.
Munich, Bayerische
Staatsgemälde-
sammlungen –
Pinakothek der
Moderne, inv. nos.
11931, 11925, 15348.
Photo: bpk.



and his 'degenerate' environment. None of them seems to have recognized in the figure a missionary for National Socialism. According to *Telegraaf* critic Kasper Niehaus, *The New Man* was 'an image, an extension of the life of our eventful times and an avowal, albeit perhaps more of the man than the artist or more of the creator than the maker'. The critic wrote of Van de Velde: 'He left his ivory tower, descended into the busy streets, mingled with the people and was at one with them. He renders an account of the moderns, of our time, in his paintings.'³⁰ In the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (*NRC*) the work is even described as a 'modern-day pendant' to a picture of Christ in the same show.

At that time Van de Velde was an eminent artist with a respected oeuvre (fig. 5).³¹ The reviewers who saw Van de Velde's *New Man* at Van Lier's gallery in 1939 consequently took it very seriously and examined the iconography in detail. Overall their final judgement of *The New Man* was not bad. The *NRC* concluded, '... ultimately so much is risked and gained in this large composition that it would be unjust not to put up with some flaws into the bargain.'³² The *Algemeen Handelsblad* felt the work was 'certainly seriously meant, composed cleverly and with care in accordance with a traditional view', but that it 'did not rise above the very creditable'.³³ Most unimpressed was the Socialist daily *Het Volk* – the





Fig. 5
HENRI VAN DE VELDE,
*Elizabeth and the
Muses*, 1930.
Oil on canvas,
105 x 115 cm.
Arnhem, Museum
voor Moderne
Kunst Arnhem,
inv. no. GM 2011.112.

only paper that seemed to harbour any suspicions about the artist's message. 'Now where else have I heard about book burnings?' wondered the journalist and musician Paul Sanders in his cynical description of the painting. He linked the form and content of the work to Van de Velde's 'growing aversion to our own times'.³⁴ We know that, compared with his colleagues, Sanders was extremely astute and critical. When Richard Strauss, the president of the Reichsmusikkammer (the State Music Bureau set up by the Nazis), went to the Netherlands on the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1934, Sanders was the only person

to criticize the visit. He also led the organization of the 1936 exhibition *De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur (D.O.O.D.)* – The Olympics Under Dictatorship. ('Dood' is the Dutch word for death.) This show was designed as a protest against the Olympic Games in the Nazi capital Berlin that same year (fig. 6).³⁵ Historian Pauline Micheels says of Sanders, 'His views on the situation in Germany testify to excellent information and he reveals a keen insight into the balance of power in Nazi Germany.'³⁶

To the modern viewer it seems extraordinary that most art critics in 1939 completely overlooked the Nat-



ional Socialist connotations of *The New Man*, but this can be explained in hindsight. The image contains no overtly National Socialist references. The subjects of anti-Communism, anti-Capitalism and anti-Rationalism were understood and endorsed by many people in the thirties. The style, moreover, was typical of the time. A heroic male figure like this could equally well have featured in a Communist artwork, for instance – Harmen Meurs's 1936 painting *Protest Against Nazi Terror* (fig. 7) is a case in point.³⁷ The reviews reveal that the pictorial idiom we now find overblown and tawdry, and immediately associate with Fascist art or Socialist Realism, was accepted in the 1930s. The reviewers reduced what they saw to what they knew – although they did not find it easy: the *NRC* spoke of a work 'that cannot be "read" in five minutes nor described in five lines'.³⁸

There is no reason to think that the critics would have been aware of Van de Velde's membership of the NSB. Party members did not advertise their involvement. It was not accepted, particularly in the late thirties, and revealing it would consequently be ill-advised on commercial grounds.³⁹

It appears that the art critics, who knew Van de Velde as a respected painter, simply did not look in that direction. In this sense, *The New Man* is similar to the 1937 *Self-Portrait with a Black Headband* by the Fascist sympathizer Pyke Koch. Nowadays this painting is widely interpreted as a political statement, but when it was donated to the Centraal Museum in Utrecht in 1937, the press likewise failed to make a link to Fascism.⁴⁰

Secret Forces:

a Judeo-Masonic Conspiracy?

The National Socialist nature of *The New Man* might well have become clear if any of the prewar reviewers had been familiar with the meaning of a subtle detail. As we have seen, the anti-Capitalist message in the painting is conveyed by Mammon sitting on moneybags, the ghostly white figure

Fig. 6

CAS OORTHUYS AND JO VOSKUIL, *Poster for the exhibition De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur (D.O.O.D.)*, 1936. Lithograph, 84 x 60 cm. Amsterdam, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, inv. no. bg D10/178. © Cas Oorthuys / Nederlands Fotomuseum.

Fig. 7

HARMEN MEURS, *Protest Against Nazi Terror*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 114 x 87 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4860.



Fig. 9
 JACOPO TINTORETTO,
*Adoration of the
 Golden Calf*, 1546.
 Oil on canvas,
 1450 x 580 cm.
 Venice, Church of the
 Madonna dell'Orto.
 Photo: Bridgeman
 Art Library.

and the Golden Calf with a reckless mob at the base of its plinth. All four reviewers identified the white figure as a follower of the Ku Klux Klan. Niehaus – the only one of the four to do so – did mention and question the letter G on the figure's hood. Had the

figure been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, it would almost certainly have had the organization's distinctive cross on its robes, not a G. The letter G is not used as a symbol in the Ku Klux Klan.

The letter is, however, an important symbol in Freemasonry.⁴¹ It usually stands for geometer or God. The G in a triangle we see in Van de Velde's painting also occurs in Freemasonry. In the manual *The Mysteries of Freemasonry* (1852) we read: 'The triangle, or Delta, is the mysterious figure of the Eternal. The great letter G, placed in the centre of the triangle, signifies "Great Architect of the Universe", who is God; and in this ineffable name is found all the divine attributes. This letter being placed in the centre of the triangle, is for us to understand that every true Mason must have it profoundly in his heart.'⁴²

In Fascist and National Socialist circles, Freemasons were often portrayed as exclusivistic, avaricious, power-hungry cosmopolitans who operated on the sly. In 1921 Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg published *Das Verbrechen der Freimaurerei* (The Crime of Freemasonry). Freemasonry was outlawed in the Third Reich and Masons were sent to concentration camps.⁴³ Historian Jasper Enklaar demonstrates that anti-Masonic views were likewise an important factor in Dutch National Socialism – particularly in the second half of the thirties.⁴⁴ This stigmatization explains why Van de Velde added the letter G to the white figure in the anti-Capitalist scene in his National Socialist painting. The partial concealment of the figure, lurking behind Mammon, seems designed to convey the obscure character of its activities.

We also see that the white figure is pointing at the Golden Calf. It is quite likely that Van de Velde, with his sound knowledge of art history, had looked at the work of predecessors like Poussin and Tintoretto, who had recorded this biblical subject





Fig. 8

NICOLAS POUSSIN,
*The Adoration of the
Golden Calf*, c. 1633-34.
Oil on canvas,
153.4 x 211.8 cm.
London, The
National Gallery,
inv. no. NG5597.

in a similar manner. In their work, too, figures point encouragingly at the calf (figs. 8 and 9). This pictorial vocabulary is also found in the work of the Expressionist Hendrik Werkman,

Van de Velde's contemporary but his political and artistic antithesis (fig. 10).

Its close proximity to the white figure and the Golden Calf also lends the figure of Mammon extra signifi-



Fig. 10

HENDRIK WERKMAN,
The Golden Calf, 1943.
Decoration on the
panel of a cupboard,
26 x 40 cm.
Private collection.

cance in the painting. Mammon, the false god of wealth and greed, had been associated with Judaism countless times in the past.⁴⁵ The Golden Calf, too, was often linked to the Jews and the usurious practices they were accused of indulging in.⁴⁶ In the late nineteenth century, for instance, the German poet Theodor Fontane (1819-1898) wrote of the Jews, 'They dance and murder around the Golden Calf.'⁴⁷ The German professor of literature Norbert Mecklenburg says of Fontane's work, 'The Golden Calf as god of the Jews was a central anti-semitic ideologeme that could make traditional Christian anti-Judaism with its anti-Mammonist components interface seamlessly with modern anti-capitalist and racist antisemitism because of its biblical origins.'⁴⁸

Harking back to this imagery, which constantly resurfaces in history, in 1944 the National Socialist periodical *De Schouw* printed a verse by the seventeenth-century poet Jacobus Revius (1586-1658): 'It is not so strange that the Jews profiteer/ When they sell and buy: since they guzzled/ The powder from the Golden Calf: there burns in their breast/ Alas, an endless thirst for gold ...'⁴⁹

Freemasonry was also repeatedly and adversely linked to Judaism. In National Socialist ideology, Masons and Jews were tarred with the same brush – as money-obsessed cosmopolitans who undermined the national interest, going about their business like assassins, and working hand in glove in their pursuit of world power.

In 1936 someone calling himself 'Redemptor' published a book entitled *Geheime machten. De weg naar de bevrijding* (Secret Forces. The Path to Liberation). 'Redemptor' was one of the pseudonyms used by the publisher and journalist Arie van der Oord, a supporter of Fascism and National Socialism. His book is a long-winded diatribe against Jews, Freemasons and Marxists. 'We shall demonstrate here,'

he wrote, 'that all Freemasonry nowadays is a tool of Jewish world imperialism and is used when the Jew does not want to show his ugly face. ... Capitalism was the first tool of which the Jews availed themselves in their plans for world domination. When that ceased to be sufficient, they invented Freemasonry, and after the world had become ungraspable again, they launched Marxism.'⁵⁰

The author also lamented what he saw as the 'pernicious spirit of atheism, materialism, Mammonism'⁵¹ that had taken the place of faith. 'Whereas in the past there was a longing for God, now the desire for money prevails! Where Capitalism reigns unchecked, materialism rules and the people live in slavery! The legitimate dissatisfaction of such an enslaved people leads to Marxism and hence to ruin: Capitalism is to blame for all this and then it gets no more than its just deserts, when, as in Russia, all its property is taken away. But Communism is just a continuation of Capitalism by other means; both are wholly materialistic. Communism could not have been anything but materialistic, because it had a Jew for a father.'⁵²

I am not suggesting that Van de Velde was familiar with this little book. Taken in conjunction with numerous reports in Dutch newspapers in the thirties and forties, it does, though, show that the Judeo-Masonic construct was a common form of framing for National Socialists.⁵³ This would seem to be the only way to understand the combination of Mammon, the Golden Calf and the white figure with the letter G in a triangle on its hood in *The New Man*.

This argument is further underpinned by a drawing owned by the artist's son. It, too, makes an unmistakable connection between Mammon, the Golden Calf and Judaism. Its composition corresponds only in part to that of *The New Man*. The central figure, for instance, is not a hero; it is a woman

wearing a necklace inscribed with the letters 'NSB'. There are workers and intellectuals, who are linked to one another by the woman. People are being tortured on a platform. What does largely tally with the final version of *The New Man*, though, is the Capitalist tableau in the lower left corner. A group of people elbow one another out of the way to worship the Golden Calf. Behind them sits the Mammon figure with his moneybags and coin-encircled top hat. In this study the figure at Mammon's shoulder is not a ghoul with a G on its robes, but a man with pointed ears holding a mask in front of his face. The vague

outlines of a Star of David can be made out on his chest.

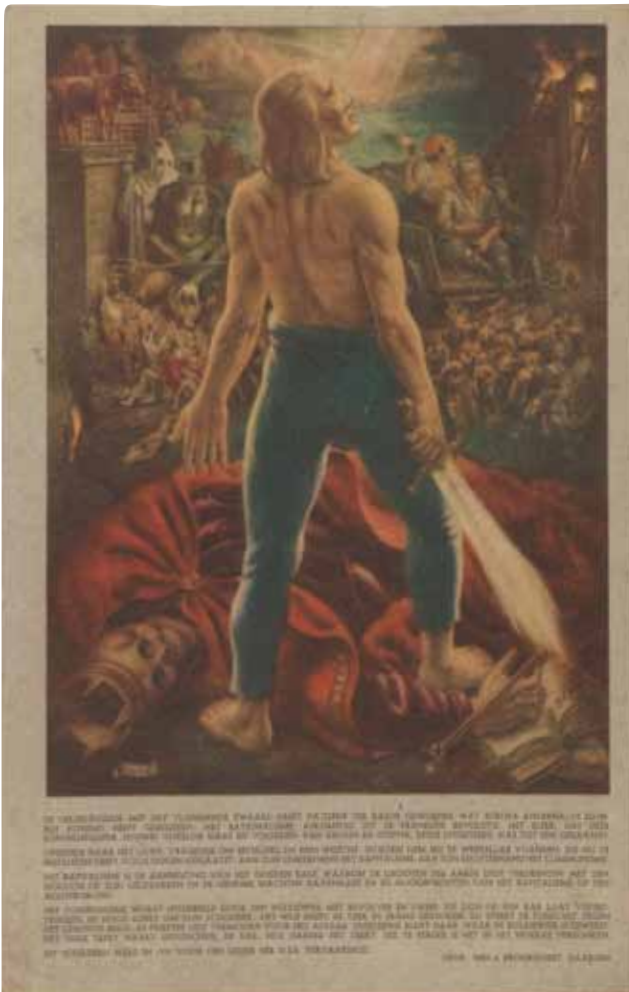
The present owner was not prepared to make an illustration of the drawing available for this article. Because of the overall difference in composition, he does not believe that it is a preliminary study for *The New Man*. It seems to me, however, that this sketch was part of the preparatory phase that eventually culminated in the painting. It is not clear what led the artist to decide on the final composition. Arnold van de Velde also insists that the symbol on the masked man's chest is not a Star of David. He contends that it is a square and compasses, the universal symbol of Freemasonry. To my mind, however, the visible lines of the upper left point rule out the possibility that this is a square and compasses. Besides, the whole pattern of lines corresponds with the symmetrical hexagram of the Star of David, not with the Masonic symbol.

Later Meanings

During the war *The New Man*, meanwhile acquired by Mussert, became a tool of NSB propaganda. The NSB's publications department made 40 x 60 and 21 x 32 cm reproductions with an explanation stating that Van de Velde painted *The New Man* for Mussert in 1933 (fig. 11).⁵⁴ The historian Kees Zandvliet suggests that the year it was made and the client who commissioned it were altered for propaganda purposes. This meant that Van de Velde and Mussert could be portrayed as visionaries, who knew as early as 1933 that National Socialism would triumph.⁵⁵

As far as the substance goes, the descriptions printed on the reproductions of *The New Man* differ hardly at all from those of the prewar critics. There are references to the 'real enemies', Communism and Capitalism, the people who, 'cast out naked', sink into the morass and 'Rationalism, spawned by the French Revolution', which 'although outwardly whole and

Fig. 11
Postcard of
the painting by
Henri van de Velde,
The New Man, 1942.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-2007-30;
gift of the Nederlands
Instituut voor
Oorlogsdocumentatie
(NIOD).



carrying a sword and sceptre, had already wasted away to a skeleton'.⁵⁶ The interpretation of the white figure beside Mammon does, however, differ from the reviewers'. The NSB sees in it the 'secret forces' – the title of Redemptor's book. This would appear to confirm the thesis that the white figure personifies Freemasonry.⁵⁷ It is not clear whether Van de Velde wrote the text himself or made suggestions for it. After the liberation a 'lithographic stone, dimensions 50 x 35 cm, allegorical NSB picture' was found at his home.⁵⁸ It is possible that this was the stone that was used for the smaller posters.⁵⁹

At the time of the liberation, *The New Man* was protected from potential looters of the NSB stronghold, and eventually ended up in Belgium. The work is occasionally mentioned in postwar (art) historical literature, usually with a comment to the effect that it was probably lost.⁶⁰

Some authors changed the title to *National Socialist Allegory* or *The Triumph of National Socialism*.⁶¹ This reflects the 'right side/wrong side' mentality of the postwar era: people wanted clarity about the 'wrong' – that is to say collaborationist – overtones of the not overtly National Socialist work. Van de Velde made another propagandist painting, which he sold to the art department in 1942. At the time it was called *The Angel of Justice* (fig. 12). It shows an angel against the background of a city in flames. The angel holds a set of scales, tilting to one side. On one side of the scales lies a banderole with the inscription *Oh, vain and arrogant London! Weighed in the balance and found wanting*.⁶² After the war the government, which inherited the work from its National Socialist predecessor, listed it as *The (Pro-German) Avenging Angel*.⁶³

Van de Velde had meanwhile been arrested in May 1945 because of his membership of the NSB and spent over a year in gaol. The tribunals that



Fig. 12

HENRI VAN DE VELDE,
The Angel of Justice,
1942.
Oil on canvas,
120 x 88 cm.
Rijswijk, Rijksdienst
voor Cultureel Erfgoed
(RCE), inv. no. K 864.

heard the cases against NSB artists automatically imposed the severest sentence, which meant that they could not exhibit or receive government commissions for ten years.⁶⁴ This penalty aside, Van de Velde was to exhibit very rarely after the war anyway. As a 'collaborationist' artist he was ignored by the art world, and the Realist style in which he worked fell out of favour – not least because it was the only style approved by the Nazis.⁶⁵

Recent Meanings

When *The New Man* resurfaced in 2004 and particularly when the Rijksmuseum bought it, there was a good deal of excitement in the Dutch media – something that unfailingly happens when anything relating to the war and its legacy comes up. The press referred to a ‘Nazi painting’ and an ‘NSB artist’. The museum extended the title, adding the words ‘onward to the National Socialist world order’, thus ensuring that the National Socialist significance could not escape the public’s notice. In its annual reports for 2006 and 2007 and the presentation of the painting in 2007, the museum stressed the period when the canvas hung in Mussert’s office and was reproduced for propaganda purposes.⁶⁶ After all, the work was to become part of the historic display of the twentieth century, representing wrong-doing.⁶⁷ The subject of the war still touches a raw nerve in the Netherlands; it is *the* moral point of reference for the nation.⁶⁸ In one sense this collective trauma lies far in the past, but in another it is very recent indeed. Some victims and perpetrators, whose lives since the war have been greatly affected by their experiences and actions during it, are still alive. Their children make a significant contribution to the public debate about the war. Whereas their parents usually looked to the future and wanted to let the subject of the war lie, they, in contrast, often want to speak out. It is their way of dealing with it. This is particularly true of the children of Jewish victims⁶⁹ and, to a lesser extent, of those of members of the NSB and ss.⁷⁰

Henri van de Velde’s son Arnold expressed his displeasure at the extended title of *The New Man* that the Rijksmuseum had come up with, and the way the painting was portrayed in publications and the media. He maintains that the work is not National Socialist and that it was ‘kidnapped’ by the NSB during the war.⁷¹ At the

end of 2010, in response to Arnold van de Velde’s protest, the Rijksmuseum decided to restore the painting’s original name. For the rest, the museum rejects his interpretation.

At the moment, *The New Man* is no longer part of the plans for the semi-permanent exhibition that will be on show to the public once the renovation is complete and the Rijksmuseum reopens. These two changes of mind – the reversion to the old title and the dropping of the painting from the permanent exhibition – sparked a new public debate. Some people felt that the latter decision, like the former, had been taken as a result of Arnold van de Velde’s objections.⁷² The Rijksmuseum insists that the two things are not related. There had been a changing of the guard in the museum, and new ideas about the way to present the occupation years had been developed. The current intention is to display two objects that bear direct witness to German wartime propaganda and the Holocaust in the room devoted to the Second World War: they are a chess set that refers to the Blitzkrieg of 1939-40 and a concentration camp jacket worn by a Jewish woman deported from the Netherlands. Further considerations, according to curator Harm Stevens, were the sheer size of *The New Man* and the widely-held view among the museum staff that the painting is simply not very good.⁷³ Presenting the picture as a primarily historical object could not suppress the feeling that essentially it is a work of art. And as such, the most prominent national art museum is not felt to be the right place for it.

The developments of the last few years – the purchase of the painting and the public response to it, the actions and reactions of those involved – are perhaps typical of the way the war is dealt with in our time. To some the occupation is an abstract concept in which emotions are barely engaged, to others this episode plays a painful

and significant role in their lives. More than sixty-five years after the liberation, the spectrum of generations and perspectives is very broad, and this causes friction in dealing with and interpreting the war.

Although *The New Man* will not be on permanent display when the Rijksmuseum reopens, it will continue to be loaned for exhibitions. In 2007 it featured in an exhibition – *Held* (Hero) – the Rijksmuseum staged in Amsterdam’s Nieuwe Kerk, which explored heroism and hero worship in the Netherlands. In 2011 it hung in an exhibition titled *Stemmingmakerij. Voorwaarts achterwaarts in de moderne kunst* (Rabble-Rousing. Forwards Backwards in Modern Art) in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague. The museum’s aim was to show political and politicized art in conjunction with the styles artists had chosen to convey their message. *The New Man* was pivotal to the exhibition. The museum’s website stated that Van de Velde had glorified ‘destructive Nazi ideology’ in his work.⁷⁴ The painting is not only presented there as a symbol of Mussert’s movement, supported by the painter and his client, it seems that it is also being associated with the Holocaust. However, the work predated the Holocaust, so that cannot be the subject of the painting.

The collective memory – for which the media are an important barometer – and historiography are two different things.⁷⁵ Historians aim to put historical developments and motives in perspective. In historiography, the distinction between a Nazi and a member of the NSB like Van de Velde is relevant. The former conjures up an image of a rabidly anti-Semitic, uniformed figure who was actively engaged in appalling crimes. This does not apply to Van de Velde, as clearly emerges from postwar statements by other party members and acquaintances.⁷⁶ Similarly, terms like ‘Nazi painting’ and ‘traitor’ are

too imprecise for historiography. When it comes to the collective memory, this distinction is less relevant, as is evident from the reactions to the purchase of *The New Man* and the way it was interpreted by the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague. The emphasis here lay on the moral significance of the war in today’s society, and the painting was ascribed a connotation that transcended its iconographic meaning.⁷⁷

What should the Rijksmuseum do? If there is one institution that can safeguard the underlying meaning of *The New Man*, it must surely be the Rijksmuseum. What we are talking about here is National Socialism, as interpreted in the late thirties by an artist and his client. Anti-Capitalism, anti-Communism and anti-Rationalism were all important factors. Anti-Masonic and anti-Semitic sentiments also appear to have been significant, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate in this article. However, the elimination of the Jews sought by Nazism played no part in it, which means that, contrary to what the Gemeentemuseum seems to have suggested, the painter was not glorifying this in his work. This does not alter the fact that a connection can be made between ‘destructive Nazi ideology’ and the ideas expressed in *The New Man*. The best that can be said of Van de Velde is that he shut his eyes to the ever increasing anti-Semitism in his party and its collaboration with the German occupiers. Furthermore, the moral message conveyed by a description like the Gemeentemuseum’s has an indisputable function in society.

The Rijksmuseum can also explain other meanings that have been attached to *The New Man* over the years. The interpretations of the art critics in the late thirties, for instance, tell us that National Socialism was less coherent than it has been remembered since then. It does not appear to have been recognized in *The New*

Man. Like a wolf in sheep's clothing, the painting elicited well-disposed reactions from three of the four reviewers.

The painting can also provide a platform for the further exploration of the NSB's propaganda machine, the personality cult surrounding Mussert and the catastrophe to which National Socialist anti-Semitism led. At the same time it may give us an insight into the way the war is dealt with in today's society and its moral significance. It is precisely because the work's iconography and biography have made it the bearer of all these stories that the Rijksmuseum should perhaps ask itself whether the repository really is the best place for it when the museum reopens.

NOTES

- 1 National Archives, Ministry of Justice – Centraal Archief Bijzondere Rechtspleging 1945-1952 (hereafter referred to as NA, CABR), inv. no. 97179, supplementary official report and examination of witnesses in the case of H. van de Velde, 17 July 1946. With thanks to Arnold van de Velde and Kees Zandvliet for allowing me to examine the documents in their archives, and to Bas van Lier, Harm Stevens and Frank van Vree for their valuable comments on the earlier versions of this article.
- 2 For a biography of Van Leeuwen Boomkamp see K. Schmidt, *Om het behoud van Indië. De bewogen geschiedenis van een Amsterdamse koopmansfamilie*, Almere 2010.
- 3 NA, CABR, inv. no. 97179, official report on H. van de Velde, 5 November 1945.
- 4 B. van Lier, *Carel van Lier. Kunsthandelaar, wegbereider 1897-1945*, Bussum 2003, pp. 100-01; C. Wesselink, "'Uit ons werk, uit ons land, uit onze samenleving!' Het omstreden erfgoed van Henri van de Velde", in F. van Vree and R. van der Laarse (eds.), *De dynamiek van de herinnering. Nederland en de Tweede Wereldoorlog in een internationale context*, Amsterdam 2009, p. 158.
- 5 'Toen ik in 1933 Ir. Mussert hoorde spreken, was ik meteen wel zo geboeid door het vooruitzicht op een socialisme zonder haat en strijd, maar in een harmonie van alle volksgenoten, dat ik mij staande die bijeenkomst ... spontaan als lid opgaf.' Schmidt, op. cit. (note 2), p. 73.
- 6 R. te Slaa and E. Klijn, *De NSB. Ontstaan en opkomst van de Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging, 1931-1935*, Amsterdam 2009, pp. 677-78.
- 7 Schmidt, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 77-79, 94-95, 139-40.
- 8 'Het lijf te kort, de handen te groot, de houding verkrampt. Eigenlijk klopt er niets van *De nieuwe mens*.' See http://www.nos.nl/nosjournaal/artikelen/2007/5/30/300507_nsb_schilderij.html (consulted 12 June 2008).
- 9 See Wim de Bie's weblog, *Bieslog*, 31 May 2007: <http://bieslog.vpro.nl/programma/bieslog/news.jsp?news=34973380> (consulted 21 May 2008).
- 10 *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Jaarverslag 2006*, p. 30.
- 11 Te Slaa and Klijn, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 226-30, 725-34.
- 12 Tate Gallery, <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?cgrouppid=999999961&workid=15998&searchid=9819&roomid=false&tabview=text&texttype=7> (consulted 19 February 2012).
- 13 T. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, London 1870, p. 41. See also pp. 24, 228, 243, 257.
- 14 '... hij die scherper ziet weet dat het

- christelijke denken voortkomt uit een diep sentiment, hetwelk leert dat al ons denken en weten slechts door God's genade in ons bewust wordt: Zoo telt voor God geen stand of rijkdom en zijn wij gelijk in afwachting van zijn openbaring. En als hoogste doel is de geestelijke welvaart/ bewustwording waaruit de materiele orde zal komen. Het Communisme echter komt voort uit het afwenden van ons denken van deze bovengenoemde Goddelijke bron en het stellen van dit verstand / denken (ratio) boven alles en zoo zijn wij gelijk, daar dit verstand de grenzen van stand en rijkdom doet verdwijnen en als hoogste doel is de materiele welvaart gesteld, waaruit een geestelijke welvaart kan voortkomen.' Arnold van de Velde private archive, note by H. van de Velde, undated (probably 1933).
- 15 'Onze wetenschap heeft zich na Descartes van het geestelijke leven afgewend en bemoeit zich thans hoofdzakelijk met het ontleden van den stof, [vergetend dat deze stof toch slechts een afbeelding van de Geestelijke wereld kan zijn]. In een soort overschatting of alleenaanvaarding van het zinnelijke met opzijde stelling van het bovenzinnelijke.' Arnold van de Velde private archive, note by H. van de Velde, 11 May 1942.
- 16 'Ons inziens is echter het darwinistisch monisme gevisieerd, een zuiver materialistische wereldbeschouwing: alleen de materie, de dode stof, aldus Darwin, ligt ten grondslag aan al wat is en aan de evolutie. Deze reductie tot één beginsel, tot de materie, heft de oude tegenstelling tussen God en de wereld op, tussen geest en stof.' J. Brebels and J. Vaes, "De nieuwe mensch" van Mussert door Henri van de Velde of de fascinatie voor het Fascisme', *Van tijd tot tijd* 1 (2004), no. 1, p. 28.
- 17 Van Lier, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 56, 92, 101.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-15.
- 19 K. Niehaus, 'Drie groote nieuwe werken door Henri v. de Velde', *De Telegraaf*, 3 October 1939; Anonymous, 'Henri van de Velde en Quirijn van Tiel. Nieuwe werken bij Van Lier', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 October 1939; PFS [Paul Sanders], 'Kunst, die betoogt en andere, die raadsels opgeeft. H. v.d. Velde en Quirijn van Tiel', *Het Volk*, 11 October 1939. The review that did not use this name was Anonymous, 'Henri van de Velde. Kunstzaal van Lier', *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 6 October 1939.
- 20 A.A. de Jonge, *Crisis en critiek der democratie. Anti-democratische stromingen en de daarin levende denkbeelden over de staat in Nederland tussen de wereldoorlogen*, Assen 1968, pp. 5-10, 24-27; Te Slaa and Klijn, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 38-43; A. Ouwkerk and L. van Tilborgh, *Een schilderij centraal. Zelfportret met zwarte band van Pyke Koch*, exh. cat. Utrecht (Centraal Museum) 1980, pp. 15-16.
- 21 'Dehedendaagsche internationale problemen, de veranderde begrippen van: religie, filosofie, kunsten, wetenschappen enz. hebben de stellige, vroegere waarden van voor den oorlog verplaatst, veranderd of vernietigd, andere idealen doen geboren worden, andere mogelijkheden geschapen! Elk land in deze conglomeratie van de ná-oorlogsche wereldmoeilijkheden werd in dit verband genoodzaakt zijn eigen huishouden en geestelijken staat grondig te bezien en te herzien.' H. Meurs, 'Harmen Meurs', in P. Citroen (ed.), *Palet. Een boek gewijd aan de hedendaagsche Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, Utrecht 1981, p. 71 (*editio princeps* 1931).
- 22 For a comprehensive discussion of this subject see J. Clair (ed.), *The 1930s. The Making of the 'New Man'*, exh. cat. Ottawa (National Gallery of Canada) 2008.
- 23 M. Tupitsyn, *El Lissitzky. Beyond the Abstract Cabinet. Photography, Design, Collaboration*, New Haven/London 1999, p. 9.
- 24 'Ein Künstler, ein unpolitischer, kommunistischer Philosoph kommt nach Rußland als Suchender. Er ist nicht einer jener vorübergehenden Spaziergänger, dem die Dinge gezeigt werden, sondern er geht in einen Betrieb, um als verantwortlicher Mitarbeiter an der Gestaltung der neuen Gesellschaft zu wirken.' H. Vogeler, *Reise durch Rußland. Die Geburt des neuen Menschen*, Steinbach etc. 1974, p. 5 (*editio princeps* 1925).
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 'Die nieuwe mensch moet inderdaad geheel "anders" zijn dan die van voorheen. De "nieuwe mensch" verricht alle materiele werkzaamheden, maar hij verricht ze uit "noodzaak". Hij verricht ze evengoed, maar hij staat er anders tegenover. Hij leeft in het materiele zonder er op de oude wijze van te genieten of er door te lijden: hij gebruikt zijn fysiek als een perfecte machine... zonder zelf machine te zijn. Dit is juist het verschil: voorheen was de mensch zelf machine, nu gebruikt hij de machine, 't zij zijn eigen fysiek of de door hem gemaakte machine. Deze laatste laat hij zoveel mogelijk den ruwen arbeid doen, zichzelf concentreerende op het innerlijke. In hoogste instantie is hem ook zijn ziel

- “machine”: hij zelf wordt bewuste geest. In kunst laat dit verschil zich omschrijven als: de oude kunst is onbewuste beelding van harmonie door bewustheid in het materiele, de nieuwe daarentegen: beelding van zuiver evenwichtige verhouding door bewustheid van geest.’ P. Mondriaan, ‘Natuurlijke en abstracte realiteit’, *De Stijl* 3 (1920), no. 3, p. 28.
- 27 F. Boterman, ‘Oorlog als bron van zuiverheid. Ernst Jünger’s conservatieve revolutie’, in R. van der Laarse et al., (eds.), *De hang naar zuiverheid. De cultuur van het moderne Europa*, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 271-80; F. Boterman, *Oswald Spengler en Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Cultuurpessimist en politiek activist*, Assen 1992, pp. 153, 320.
- 28 J.C. [Jean Clair], ‘Adolf Ziegler’, in Clair, op. cit. (note 22), p. 217.
- 29 M. Sonnabend, ‘Der neue Mensch. Eine Plastik von Otto Freundlich’, in S. Paas (ed.), *Verfolgt und verführt. Kunst unterm Hakenkreuz in Hamburg 1933-1945*, exh. cat. Hamburg (Hamburger Kunsthalle) 1983, pp. 86-87; H. Falkner von Sonnenburg and P.-K. Schuster, ‘Vorbemerkungen zum Thema’, in P.-K. Schuster (ed.), *Nationalsozialismus und ‘Entartete Kunst’. Die ‘Kunststadt’ München 1937*, Munich 1987, p. 11.
- 30 ‘... een beeld, een verlenging van het leven van onzen bewogen tijd en een bekentenis, zij het wellicht meer van den mensch dan van den kunstenaar of meer van den kunstenaar dan van den artist’. ‘Hij verliet z’n ivoren toren, daalde af in de drukke straten, mengde zich onder de mensen en was een mensch met hen. Hij geeft rekenschap van den modernen, van onzen tijd in z’n schilderingen.’ K. Niehaus, ‘Drie groote nieuwe werken door Henri v. de Velde’, *De Telegraaf*, 3 October 1939.
- 31 C. Denninger-Schreuder, *Schilders van Laren*, Bussum 2003, p. 159.
- 32 ‘... tenslotte is met deze groote compositie zoo veel gewaagd en gewonnen, dat het onbillijk zou zijn, eenige gebreken niet op den koop der geheelen toe te nemen.’ Anonymous, ‘Henri van de Velde. Kunstzaal van Lier’, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 6 October 1939.
- 33 ‘... stellig ernstig bedoeld, knap en met zorg volgens een traditioneele opvatting in elkaar gezet en geschilderd’ is, maar ‘zich niet boven het zeer verdienstelijke’. Anonymous, ‘Henri van de Velde en Quirijn van Tiel. Nieuwe werken bij Van Lier’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 October 1939.
- 34 ‘... waar hoorde ik toch meer over boekverbranding spreken...?’ ... ‘toenemende afkeer van onze eigen tijd’. P.F.S. [Paul F. Sanders], ‘Kunst, die betoogt en andere, die raadsels opgeeft. H. v.d. Velde en Quirijn van Tiel’, *Het Volk*, 11 October 1939.
- 35 H. Henkels and K. Zijlmans, ‘In Memoriam Paul F. Sanders’, *Jong Holland* 2 (1986), no. 4, p. 58; P. Hofland, ‘De Olympiade Onder Dictatuur’: bestuur, cultuur en openbare orde in de jaren dertig’, in B. Dokter and C. van Lakerveld (eds.), *Een Kunstolympiade in Amsterdam. Reconstructie van de tentoonstelling D.O.O.D. 1936*, Zwolle 1996, p. 12.
- 36 ‘Zijn beschouwingen over de situatie in Duitsland getuigen van uitstekende informatie en hij toont een scherp inzicht in de machtsverhoudingen in Nazi-Duitsland.’ P. Micheels, *Muziek in de schaduw van het Derde Rijk. De Nederlandse symfonieorkesten 1933-1945*, Zutphen 1993, pp. 58, 70-71.
- 37 Ouwerkerk and Van Tilborgh, op. cit. (note 20), pp. 6-12.
- 38 ‘dat zich niet in vijf minuten laat “lezen” noch in vijf regels laat beschrijven’. Anonymous, op. cit. (note 32).
- 39 J.T.M. Houwink ten Cate and N.K.C.A. in ‘t Veld, *Fout. Getuigenissen van NSB’ers*, The Hague 1992, pp. 27-29.
- 40 C. Blotkamp, *Pyke Koch*, exh. cat. Arnhem (Gemeentemuseum Arnhem), Utrecht / Arnhem 1982, p. 56.
- 41 With thanks to W.J. Hanegraaff, A.W.F.M. van de Sande and J. Snoek for their valuable observations.
- 42 G.R. Crafts, *The Mysteries of Freemasonry. The Morgan Exposé*, Kila 1993, p. 171 (reprint of editio princeps 1852).
- 43 A. Gallatin Mackey and H.L. Haywood, *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*, Whitefish 2003, vol. 3, p. 1402; R. Melzer, ‘In the Eye of a Hurricane: German Freemasonry in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich’, in A. de Hoyos and S. Brent Morris (eds.), *Freemasonry in Context. History, Ritual, Controversy*, Lanham 2004, pp. 99-102.
- 44 J. Enklaar, *Vrijmetselarij en nationaal-socialisme in Nederland, 1930-1940*, Utrecht 1987 (master’s thesis Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht), passim.
- 45 With thanks to Rob van der Laarse for his suggestions on this subject.
- 46 C. Heni, ‘German Ideology: Understanding Ahasver, Mammon, and Moloch’, *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 2 (2010), no. 1, pp. 63-68.

- 47 'Ums Goldne Kalb sie tanzen und morden.' Heni, op. cit. (note 46), p. 67. For an in-depth exploration of Fontane's ambivalent attitude towards Judaism see M. Fleischer, *'Kommen Sie, Cohn'*. *Fontane und die Judenfrage*, Berlin 1998.
- 48 As quoted in Heni, op. cit. (note 46), p. 67.
- 49 'Dat Joden woekeren met copen en ver-copen/ En is niet al te vremt: want, sedert datse sopen/ Het gruyts vant gulden calf, soo brant haer inde borst/ Eylacie, na het gout, een eyndelose dorst.' As quoted in J. van Ham, 'De Joden in onze letterkunde', *De Schouw* 3 (1944), no. 3, p. 139.
- 50 'Wij zullen hier aantoonen dat de geheele vrijmetselarij tegenwoordig een werktuig is van het joodsche wereld-imperialisme en gebruikt wordt, waar de joodsche tronie zich zelf niet wil laten zien. ... Het kapitalisme was het eerste werktuig, waarvan de joden zich bedienden bij hun plannen voor wereldbeheersing. Toen dat niet voldoende meer was, vonden zij de vrijmetselarij uit, en nadat de wereld weer onoverzichtelijk was geworden lanceerden zij het marxisme.' Redemptor, *Geheime machten. De weg naar de bevrijding*, The Hague 1936, p. 57.
- 51 'verderfelijke geest van atheïsme, materialisme, mammonisme'. Ibid., p. 89.
- 52 'Waar vroeger het verlangen naar God was, heerscht nu de zucht naar geld! Waar het groot-kapitalisme ongehinderd regeert, daar heerscht het materialisme en leeft het volk in slavernij! De gerechtvaardigde ontvreedenheid van zoo'n volk in slavernij, leidt tot marxisme en daarmee naar den ondergang: de schuld daaraan draagt dan het kapitalisme en dat krijgt dan slechts zijn verdiende loon, als hem, zooals in Rusland, alle bezit wordt ontnomen. Maar het Communisme is slechts een voortzetting van het kapitalisme met andere middelen; beide zijn zuiver materialistisch. Het Communisme kon niet anders zijn dan materialistisch, omdat het een jood tot vader had.' Ibid., p. 93.
- 53 A search operation in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB, Royal Library) online newspaper database using the terms 'jodendom' (Judaism) and 'vrijmetselarij' (Freemasonry) in the 1930-45 period yields dozens of hits that confirm this.
- 54 Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies (NIOD), Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging archive, access no. 123, Kennisgeving Materiaaldienst NSB, inv. no. 853, 28 November 1942.
- 55 K. Zandvliet, 'De nieuwe mensch. Historische topstukken van het Rijksmuseum', *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 16 (2007), no. 5, pp. 48-49.
- 56 See for example the copy held by the Streekarchief Midden-Holland, which can be viewed online on <http://www.groenehartarchieven.nl/afbeeldingen/affiches/4-1> (consulted 30 January 2012).
- 57 The KB newspaper database also yields numerous hits for the 1930-45 period in which the term 'secret forces' is used in regard to Freemasons and Jews.
- 58 NA, CABR, inv. no. 105737. Letter from the Nederlands Beheersinstituut (NBI) to the public prosecutor for the Province of Utrecht, 16 September 1946.
- 59 'lythografische steen, maat 50 x 35 cm, allegorische NSB-voorstelling.' Cf. Zandvliet, op. cit. (note 55), p. 48.
- 60 See the illustration in K. Dittrich et al. (eds.), *Berlijn-Amsterdam 1920-1940. Wisselwerkingen*, Amsterdam 1982, p. 13; H. Mulder, *Kunst in crisis en bezetting. Een onderzoek naar de houding van Nederlandse kunstenaars in de periode 1930-1945*, Utrecht/Antwerp 1978, p. 63; Ouwkerk and Van Tilborgh, op. cit. (note 20), p. 16; A. Venema, *Kunsthandel in Nederland 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 1986, p. 404.
- 61 Mulder, op. cit. (note 60), pp. 63, 74, mentions both titles. See also Ouwkerk and Van Tilborgh, op. cit. (note 20), p. 16; Venema, op. cit. (note 60), p. 404.
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