

# Repatriation of Art from the Collecting Point in Munich after World War II

**Craig Hugh Smyth**

REPATRIATION OF ART  
FROM THE COLLECTING POINT IN MUNICH

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Background and Beginnings

With Reference especially to the Netherlands

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## Foreword

It has been a touching experience to lecture in honor of Horst Gerson. I came to value him most highly as scholar, teacher and person at the time of his Visiting Professorship at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts and always wished that he had stayed. But it was a special boon for him and for the Netherlands that he was at Groningen. For the Horst Gerson Lectures, established in his memory, many congratulations and thanks are due to all concerned. My own thanks go especially to Professors H.W. van Os and Lyckle de Vries for their part in the kind invitation of the Gerson Lectures Foundation and to Gary Schwartz, who oversees the Foundation's publications. The warm welcome and care that Professor van Os arranged for my wife and me during our week in Groningen are a joy to remember.

If it had not been for the invitation to give a Gerson Lecture specifically on the subject dealt with here, I would not have taken the subject up, because I assumed that everything important about it had been put on record. Not so, it turns out. To find and record something new about the origins of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service in the Second World War has been satisfying. At the same time it has been a privilege to become more fully aware of the uniqueness and achievements of the service and call attention to them. It has also been gratifying to recall the collecting point at Munich and the people who made it possible.

By good fortune I have had the benefit of guidance to archival materials concerning the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service from Lynn Nicholas of Washington, D.C. For four years she has carried out an exhaustive exploration of these materials in preparation for a book on the service. Her knowledge of them is surely incomparable. I am most grateful to her. Michael J. Kurtz of the National Archives, author of a book on the restitution of art after the war, also helped me find my way: my thanks go to him and to his work. To Mason Hammond, key figure in the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service, I am very grateful for documents, photographs and good discussions. Katherine Rorimer and Thomas Carr Howe, Jr. let

me keep books that are rare now for longer than I should have kept them, because I thought it well to have them at hand. I appreciate this greatly. I much appreciate the loan of photographs from J. Carter Brown, Giles Constable, Celia Sachs Stillwell and Arthur Wheelock. To Erika Hanfstaengl I owe many thanks for lending me photographs and her copy of the daily diary of the staff of the collecting point at Munich. It has been rewarding to be in touch with her about this lecture. I record my thanks to her for her help and, more to the point, for her indispensable part in the work of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service at war's end.

It became time to start work on the lecture while I was a Visitor in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton and time for me to prepare it for publication while in residence as Kress Professor at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts of the National Gallery of Art, known as CASVA. Thanks to Professor Irving Lavin in the first case and to Dean Henry Millon in the second, these institutions gave my efforts every advantage. I appreciate the care that Jerry Mallick of the National Gallery has taken with my orders for photographic prints. It was Ann Gilkerson of CASVA who saw me through the final preparations for sending off the manuscript. Without her understanding, attention to detail, and coordinating skill I could not have met the deadline while at the same time meeting another deadline for an exhibition. I am indeed grateful to her. Finally, I reserve many thanks for those whose help I have been lucky to have in putting the whole text into the word processor and on paper: first Geraldine Di Cicco of Lawrenceville, then Cecelia Gallagher, Monica Brune and Helen Tangires of CASVA. They have been remarkable in their support.

It should be added that, for publication, the text of the lecture is a bit longer than when it was delivered. I have filled in some details that an hour-long lecture could not accommodate. Yet a lecture it remains, much of it 'in the form of memories,' as the Gerson Lectures Foundation specifically requested.

## Repatriation of Art from the Collecting Point in Munich

My first visit to Holland was in October 1945. I came as part of a small military delegation from Munich to attend a ceremony in Amsterdam, a ceremony which the United States ambassador to the Netherlands described two days later in a dispatch to The Honorable, The Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.:

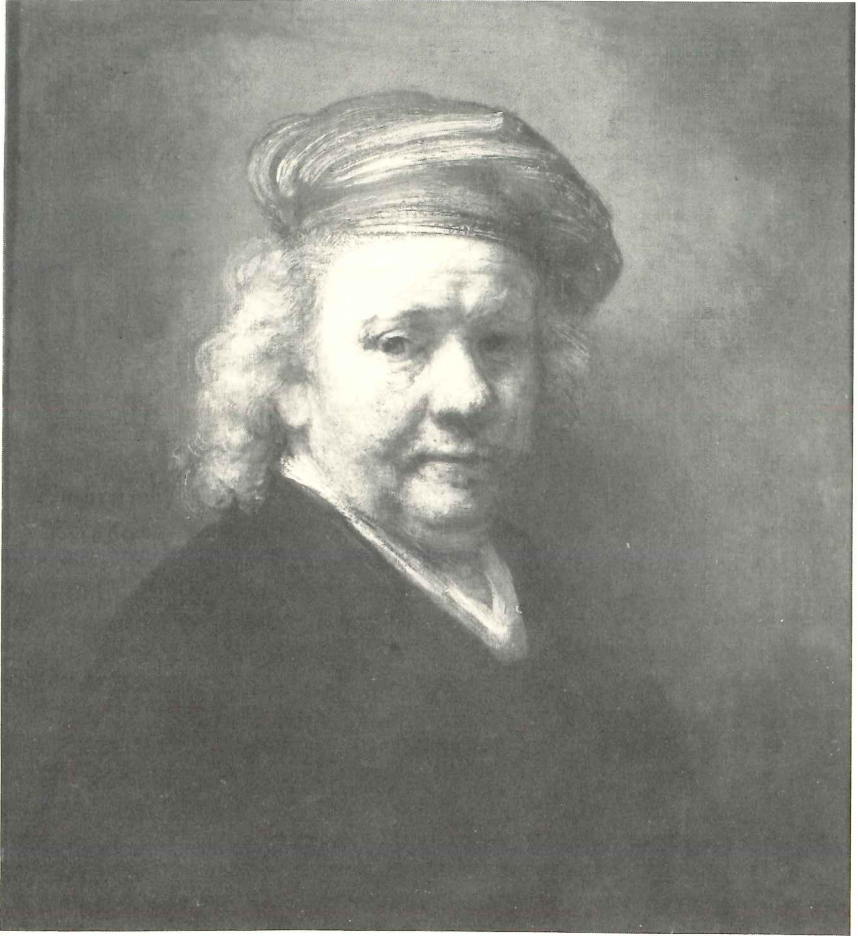
I have the honor to report that on Wednesday, October 24, there was held at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam a ceremony in celebration of the restoration to the Dutch of 26 pictures by Dutch masters which had been looted from Holland by the Germans and have been recovered by American military authorities in the American military zone in Germany.

Following the ceremony the guests and the audience were escorted by officers of the museum to a gallery in which the recovered pictures had been put on exhibition. It was explained that nearly all ... had been found in depositories in Austria and in southern Bavaria; that American officers of The Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Commission had brought them from the places where they had been found to Munich, where they had been identified.... Outstanding among them were, for example, Rembrandt's last 'Self-Portrait', dated 1669 [fig. 1]; Rembrandt's 'The Peacocks'; Rembrandt's 'Clemency of Titus'; Rubens's 'Diana Bathing'; and Jan Steen's 'Iphigenia'.

The ambassador went on to say:

This 'preview' was followed by a luncheon, which was extended by the Netherlands authorities, in the 'Rembrandt Room' of the museum. It was stated that this was the first time that a meal had ever been served on the premises of the Rijksmuseum. There were present at the luncheon some thirty persons. One feature of the luncheon was the use, in the service, of linen, silver and glass which are 'museum pieces.'





1 Rembrandt, *Self Portrait*. 1669.  
(Mauritshuis, The Hague).

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I can testify that it was a heart-warming occasion. It cannot have been easy to provide a luncheon for thirty people when food was still scarce. Afterwards I can remember our hosts saying how difficult it still was to find ordinary food in the markets. That evening they gave us oysters, venison and plovers' eggs — substitute fare: I have not forgotten it.

The ambassador — Stanley K. Hornbeck — enclosed for the Secretary of State a summary of his own address at the ceremony. He reported having said in the course of it:

The masterpieces of Dutch art ... brought back ... were in a legal sense the property of various ... individuals and organizations but they were in a moral sense a property and a concern of all civilized peoples.... [Their] recovery and restitution..., effected by personnel of the armed forces of the United States and of the Netherlands, [are] a projection of the successes which had been achieved by the armed forces of the United States and of the Netherlands [and] by the armed forces of the Allies collectively.... General Eisenhower ... not able to be present ... had sent [a message]: 'I regret that I am unable to attend the exhibition of repatriated Dutch Masters ... but I am glad that I have been able to assist you in their recovery....'

The ambassador also summarized the address of the Netherlands Minister of Education, Professor van der Leeuw, who expressed appreciation, not only for 'the work done by the officers of the United States forces in the European Theater who had taken care of the tracing, collecting, and returning of these properties,' but also 'for the preparatory work ... done by the British and the Americans. For what had now been brought back we had to thank General Eisenhower, who took the initiative.... We [the Dutch] ... now hoped that a regulated flow of transport would bring back ... a great part of ... [what] had been stolen.' The ambassador wrote that, even as the ceremony ended, 'another installment, carried by two military trucks, had just arrived at the museum.'

The ambassador's dispatch serves to introduce topics I want to touch upon. The dispatch is in Washington's governmental and military archives, in the vast material that is concerned with the protection and salvage of monuments, art and archives in war areas and with postwar restitution.<sup>1</sup> This archival material is beginning to be studied. On the basis of it a

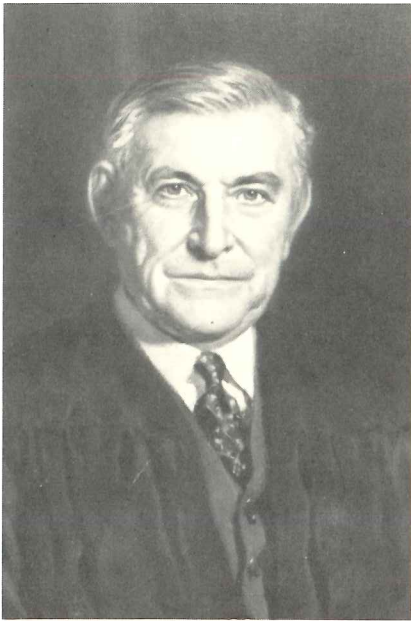
scholarly book has just been published about American restitution policy by Michael J. Kurtz.<sup>2</sup> Lynn Nicholas of Washington, D.C. is preparing another scholarly book on the history of the whole effort, including a detailed and comprehensive account of the work of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service in the American and British (and Canadian) armed forces — known, for short, as the MFA&A Service. On the other hand, historians who are engaged now in intense new study of the Allied occupation of Germany — historians on both sides of the Atlantic — do not appear to have begun giving consideration to the role of MFA&A in the occupation.

I am not a historian of MFA&A or of the occupation. I was asked to lecture because of having been a participant — a lieutenant on duty in the United States Naval Reserve who was transferred, in the closing days of the war, from naval duty to the MFA&A Service of the United States Army in Europe and there assigned to establish the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich, in the United States zone of occupied Germany. This I did in June 1945, heading the collecting point until April 1946, when, with the requisite service points, I received orders from the Commander of U.S. Naval Forces, Germany, relieving me from active duty to go back to civilian life. The return of art to the Netherlands began from the collecting point in Munich in October 1945. It is because I was one of those who took part in returning art in the early days of restitution and shared in preparations leading to restitution that I have been invited to speak. There are not many of us left.

I shall speak in particular about the collecting point in Munich as I knew it at first hand, but I shall not begin by speaking about it. On being invited to lecture, I decided to try first to pin down precisely where the initiative arose for establishing the MFA&A Service, from which the collecting point derived. It was not the initiative of the Supreme Commander General Eisenhower — *pace* the Minister of Education — even though Eisenhower was admirable in his support and implementation of the MFA&A mission.

It has long been a matter of public record that in the month of August 1943 President Roosevelt established an unprecedented United States Government bureau entitled the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas — known generally as the Roberts Commission after its Chairman Owen J. Roberts, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> It was this Commission that brought about the creation of the MFA&A Section of the United States Army and a corresponding section of the British Army.

It is also a matter of public record that the Commission was the result of a request to President Roosevelt from the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Harlan F. Stone (fig. 3). Chief Justice Stone was Chairman *ex-officio* of the trustees of the National Gallery of Art in Washington. In this capacity he wrote to the President on 8 December 1942,<sup>4</sup> proposing the appointment of a government committee that would function 'for the protection and conservation of works of art and of artistic or historic monuments and records' in war areas. His request also provided for a second function: 'to aid in salvaging and returning to, or compensating in kind, the lawful owners



2 Owen J. Roberts, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Chairman of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Historic Monuments in War Areas.

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3 Harlan F. Stone, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (Figs. 2-3 courtesy of United States Supreme Court Historical Society, Washington, D.C.)

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of such objects which have been appropriated by the Axis powers or by individuals acting with their authority or consent.' Restitution was part of the concept from the start.

The Chief Justice asked that Britain and the Soviet Republic be requested to form similar committees, or commissions, to act with that of the United States, all three then 'to work with the appropriate branches' of their respective armies 'for the purpose of furnishing to the general staff of each Army museum officials and art historians ... who could, if desired, be attached to general headquarters of armies on active combat in the European theatre of operations.'

President Roosevelt was receptive and replied immediately to say so. But there was delay, while the Department of State and the military Joint Chiefs of Staff considered the matter.<sup>5</sup> The Joint Chiefs were concerned about possible hindrances to military aims from such a program. Finally, the American Commission was appointed on 23 August 1943.<sup>6</sup> The Commission was then able to be instrumental immediately in the creation of an MFA&A Service of the United States Army and was responsible for naming officers and enlisted men already in the armed forces who had qualifications for the work of this service. The Commission helped form MFA&A policy. It also became the clearing house for information prepared by two committees of scholars for use in the field: a committee of the American Council of Learned Societies and a committee at Harvard University. These scholar-committees provided maps showing cultural sites and monuments for the guidance of air commanders and lists of monuments, sites, collections and repositories for the use of MFA&A officers in the field during and after combat. The Commission also set wheels in motion for collecting information that could be helpful for restitution and for establishing principles that might govern restitution. Not least, it undertook to persuade the British and Russians to follow suit.

The British did follow suit. The Russians did not. The British appointed, on the one hand, a commission concerned chiefly with planning for restitution and, on the other, a highly placed Archaeological Adviser to the War Office concerned particularly with the protection of monuments, fine arts and archives. Soon there were British MFA&A officers as well as American. American and British MFA&A officers began working in a coordinated effort under the same high military command. They were active first in Italy. For the invasion of Europe in 1944 they were assigned to armies in the field, to the Army groups, to headquarters of the European Theater of Operations, and to the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force, called SHAEF.

Thus, in northern Europe, for the first time in war, the protection of cultural material was fully incorporated into the armed forces from the very outset of the military campaign:<sup>7</sup> MFA&A participated in planning at Supreme Headquarters before the campaign began and was part of the armies at every major level. Meanwhile, other MFA&A personnel represented the Supreme Commander to missions of France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Norway.

Whereas in the Italian campaign the top MFA&A officer was American with a British deputy, at SHAEF for the European invasion the top officer was British: Lieutenant Colonel Geoffrey Webb, in civilian life a noted historian of medieval architecture. General Eisenhower gave MFA&A notable support. Just before D-Day he issued a message to commanders which includes these words:

Shortly we will be fighting our way across the Continent of Europe in battles designed to preserve our civilization. Inevitably, in the path of our advance will be found historical monuments and cultural centers which symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve.

It is the responsibility of every commander to protect and respect these symbols wherever possible.

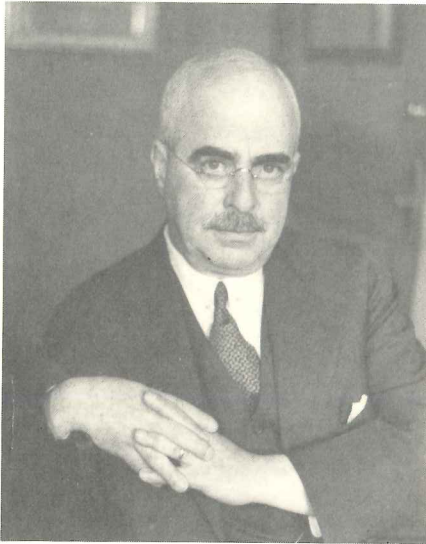
After the war, the American Commission published a report of its history and activities including a summary of MFA&A field operations during hostilities and during the early months of the occupation of Germany.<sup>8</sup> It is the fundamental early reference work. There is also a British report by the Archaeological Adviser to the War Office, Lieutenant Colonel Sir Leonard Wooley, excavator of Sumerian sites.<sup>9</sup>

The question I now asked was how all this began. From where came the *idea* of having the American Commission, the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Service in the armed forces, and the committees of scholars to supply essential information?

My search for the answer was rewarded by finding a letter in the National Archives dated 10 September 1943, eighteen days after the Commission was established. The letter is from a member of the Commission, Paul J. Sachs. Sachs was Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard and Associate Director of Harvard's Fogg Museum of Art (fig. 4). Despite this lowly title, he was looked upon as the dean of the museum world in the United States. He was famous as a teacher and connoisseur and was coauthor of the catalogue of drawings

in the Fogg, a landmark among catalogues. His letter is addressed to Lieutenant George Stout, United States Naval Reserve, on duty, with flight status, at the Naval Air Station, Patuxent River, Maryland. Stout was there working on camouflage and the installation of instruments in observation airplanes. Sachs's letter contains these words:

I should have written to you some time ago to tell you that your 'brain child' has finally taken shape.... Not only is this commission the result of your great thinking and clear statements at the time of the Metropolitan meeting just after Pearl Harbor, but in a very true sense you seem to me the real father of the whole show.... It is my deliberate opinion that the appointment of this Commission is due to your initiative, imagination and energy.<sup>10</sup>



4 Paul J. Sachs, Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University. (Courtesy Celia Sachs Stillwell.)

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5 George Stout, Head, Department of Conservation, Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University. (Cover of *Studies in Conservation*, May 1966.)

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You will hear of George Stout at other times as I proceed. I shall introduce him now. Stout was a Midwesterner, from Iowa (fig. 5). Before the war he was head of the laboratory for conservation at Harvard's Fogg Museum of Art. There he had introduced the scientific study of techniques in art. In 1932 he founded the innovating periodical *Technical Studies*.<sup>11</sup> It existed for ten years, until Stout went into the Navy. Through this short-lived periodical, he had a profound influence in Europe and America on the theory and practice of art conservation — on its development as a discipline having a strong scientific component, concern for the history of techniques, and respect for the history of art, besides requiring aesthetic sensitivity and a high order of craftsmanship. Stout trained conservators. Study with him was a great experience in their lives. For Stout was a leader — quiet, unselfish, modest, yet very strong, very thoughtful and remarkably innovative. Whether speaking or writing, he was economical with words, precise, vivid. One believed what he said; one wanted to do what he proposed. He had served in World War I; he was 44 when the United States entered World War II.

Typical of Stout was his reply to Paul Sachs three days after Sachs wrote to him about his 'brain child': 'Something far below the average set of brains is needed to figure out what ought to be done. Getting it done is what counts.'<sup>12</sup>

As to 'getting it done,' initially the people most responsible were Paul Sachs (as Stout's words must have been meant to emphasize), Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Stout himself, although Stout would never have volunteered this to anyone. Taylor was a large, energetic figure of cultivated mind and telling pen (fig. 6). Taylor, as well as Sachs, must have been present at the meeting Sachs referred to, the meeting with Stout at the Metropolitan Museum just after the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. Therefore, like Sachs, Taylor must have been party to Stout's 'brain child' from the start. It was Taylor who finally made the most decisive move on its behalf.

I have not discovered every step during the next months immediately after the meeting at the Metropolitan. One step was Stout's publication in January 1942, right after Pearl Harbor, of a paper, 'The Preservation of Paintings in Wartime.' This appeared in his periodical *Technical Studies*.<sup>13</sup> Finally, by November 1942, momentum had fully gathered. In that month Taylor went straight from a meeting with Sachs at Harvard to Washington, taking a memorandum.<sup>14</sup> He talked first with the director of the National Gallery of Art, David Finley. Finley made an appointment for him to see Chief Justice

Stone. In the National Archives there is Taylor's draft for a memorandum to President Roosevelt, dated 24 November 1942.<sup>15</sup> It is written with Taylor's animation and dramatic flair. Chief Justice Stone agreed to bring the matter to the White House and discuss it with President Roosevelt, after informing the National Gallery trustees. Thereafter, David Finley and his Chief Curator John Walker saw the Chief Justice and endorsed Taylor's recommendation.<sup>16</sup>

On his return to New York, Taylor talked with the president of the Archaeological Institute of America, William Bell Dinsmoor, Professor of Greek Archaeology at Columbia University (fig. 7), who had apparently first



6 Francis Henry Taylor, Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

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entered the discussions with Stout, Sachs and Taylor in November 1942.<sup>17</sup> He, too, then went to Washington, saw the Chief Justice, and presented his own memorandum.<sup>18</sup> Stout had sent Taylor's memorandum to the Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, Herbert Lehman, former Governor of New York State. Stout then sent to Taylor a draft of a new memorandum of his own.<sup>19</sup> Stout wrote it for use in high places. In January 1943 this memorandum, signed now by Stout, Sachs and Harvard Professor George Chase, went to the head of the American Council of Learned Societies, known as the ACLS.<sup>20</sup> The result was most important.

On 27 January 1943 the executive committee of the ACLS met to consider the Stout memorandum and thereupon appointed two scholars to determine how best to put it into effect: Professor Dinsmoor and Professor Charles Rufus Morey, chairman of Princeton's Department of Art and Archaeology. The outcome was one of the two committees of scholars, this one known as the ACLS Committee on Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas. It supplied the bulk of the information for work in the field. Headed by Dinsmoor, with Sachs, Taylor, Finley and Morey among its members, it was the core of the effort.<sup>21</sup> In July 1943 — almost two months before President



7 William Bell Dinsmoor, Professor of Greek Archaeology, Columbia University. (Courtesy Columbia University, New York.)

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Roosevelt finally appointed the American Commission — Dinsmoor's ACLS committee began to furnish the Army with maps and information as to monuments to be protected, the work of a group of scholars gathered by the Committee in New York, using the scholarly resources of the Metropolitan Museum and the Frick Art Reference Library.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, in March 1943 Paul Sachs formed at Harvard the other committee of scholars. This committee began immediately to prepare lists of monuments. Headed by Sachs and W.G. Constable, curator at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, with Hugh Hencken of Harvard's Peabody Museum as its Executive Secretary, it dispatched a list for Sicily in June, three weeks before the invasion.

In May 1943 an officer was ordered to Africa as Adviser on Fine Arts and Monuments to the U.S. Army about to storm Sicily: this was Captain Mason Hammond of Air Force Intelligence, Professor of Classics at Harvard in civilian life. Captain Hammond (later Major and finally Lieutenant Colonel) was the first monuments officer of the United States in the field — again, well before Roosevelt appointed the American Commission and before an MFA&A Section existed in the Army. He was sent because of the interest and concern aroused by the efforts to establish the Commission. It was President Roosevelt himself, apparently, who saw to it that Hammond was sent.<sup>23</sup>

When the Commission at last came into existence, both the ACLS Committee and Harvard Committee channeled their services through it. The Commission included, appropriately enough, Sachs, Taylor and Dinsmoor, as well as Justice Roberts as Chairman, David Finley as Vice-Chairman, Herbert Lehman and, not least, the Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish. As for George Stout, he would be transferred soon from naval duty to the new MFA&A Service.

The initiative we have traced to Stout was momentous, with no exact precedent for its concept or its motives. Stout had written in his memorandum: 'To safeguard these things will show respect for the beliefs and customs of all men and will bear witness that these things belong not only to particular peoples, but also to the heritage of all mankind.'<sup>24</sup> The universality of this outlook is striking. The theme was taken up by Morey, when he wrote a pamphlet on the subject for Cabinet members, the Congress and other government officials. He referred to art and architecture as 'the common cultural heritage of the human race,' to the libraries destroyed in Eastern Europe as 'repositories of what the human race has achieved.'<sup>25</sup>

There was a precedent, to be sure, for protecting art in wartime: the German Denkmalschutz in World War I under Professor Paul Clemen of Bonn, who had written about Denkmalpflege as early as 1898.<sup>26</sup> Some, perhaps all, of the organizers of the Allied effort were aware of this precedent.<sup>27</sup> In 1940, too, there began an effort at organized Kunstschutz — apparently confined this time to France, Belgium and Italy. No effort was made in the east. In Poland, for example, the Nazis sponsored only destruction and looting — purposeful, wholesale, devastating. The Nazis looked to cultures west of Germany with some respect; they looked upon cultures to the east with scorn.<sup>28</sup> Linked closely to Kunstschutz in France was a project of art history: to photograph and study art and archives bearing on relations between German and French art in the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> The operation could not keep from being infected by the Nazi program of looting and wartime purchases, even though the scholar originally in charge of Kunstschutz in France, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich, was entirely opposed to this program. He was dismissed on this account.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast, the prime movers of the Allied effort sought to conserve cultural materials of *all* kinds in *all* war areas. And they also wanted the repatriation of all such materials that the Nazis had taken away, because, to use the words of Taylor's memorandum, they were 'part of the spirit and heritage of these subject peoples.'<sup>31</sup> These were aims sufficient unto themselves. It was a deep satisfaction for military personnel in the MFA&A Service to be part of an operation which they saw to be pure in heart.

Of course, growing social and cultural awareness certainly conditioned this development. In the aftermath of Napoleon's looting there had grown the concept of the artistic integrity of nations. There was the Brussels conference of 1874. Around 1900 came The Hague convention for the protection of historic monuments, arts and cultural institutions in wartime. In 1937 the League of Nations drafted an international agreement on such protection. It was never ratified; but several nations, including the United States and the Netherlands, announced adherence to its principles.<sup>32</sup>

In my view, it is especially noteworthy that the Allied initiative in World War II came first from a conservator — from a man whose career was dedicated to preservation and who had been one of those most responsible for creating a new breed that preferred the name conservator to that of restorer. The Allied effort was for conservation — preservation — first of all, for repatriation second. The successes of this effort are a monument to the conservation movement in our century, the movement to which Stout himself had already contributed so much.

I have been considering until now the original initiative. The successes flowing from it were many. But not all was success. Damage from air bombardment was immense. Yet it is true that in France, where saturation bombing was not the norm, the greatest Gothic monuments were spared, except in Rouen. Also, military personnel in MFA&A served under difficulties. Most did not have high enough rank to make their work easy.<sup>33</sup> They were always few in number in comparison to the areas they had to cover and for the amount of work they had to do.<sup>34</sup> They lacked sufficient help. Stout had stipulated ten enlisted men to each officer,<sup>35</sup> but an officer was lucky to have one or two enlisted men. Transportation was frequently insufficient and sometimes lacking entirely.

One MFA&A officer was on the staff of each Army Command. From there he worked in the field, in the zone of combat as well as behind it, seeking to avoid damage to monuments, works of art and archives.<sup>36</sup> Then, when fighting had passed, he sought to protect monuments, art and archives that survived, arrange for emergency repairs, and record and report damage.<sup>37</sup> His work was afterwards continued as soon as possible by other MFA&A officers, those belonging to the Communication Zone, behind the advancing armies.<sup>38</sup>

Frequently MFA&A personnel needed to be everywhere at once. It has been calculated that after D-Day they averaged visits to 60 towns and 125 sites per man per month.<sup>39</sup> One such visit, for example, was the emergency mission of Lieutenant George Stout, now MFA&A officer of Twelfth Army Group, and the First Army's monuments officer Captain Walker Hancock, sculptor in civilian life, to the quarry caves at St. Pietersberg near Maastricht in September 1944. Great collections were stored there — from the Rijksmuseum, the Mauritshuis and the Frans Hals Museum, among others. Communications had been cut. Sabotage and vandalism were feared. Thanks to this mission, military guards were assigned to the repository.<sup>40</sup> A later mission in Holland was that of British monuments officer E.K. Waterhouse, early in May 1945. No historian of Renaissance or Baroque art needs to be told who he is — in civilian life a famous and respected scholar. Waterhouse stayed in Holland a month, reporting on damage and looting, on all he could learn about looting, German purchases and the people involved. His reports exist in Washington's archives, fascinating reading now in their characterizations of people and situations.<sup>41</sup>

Two MFA&A officers were lost in service: Major Ronald E. Balfour of the British Second Army, Fellow and Tutor at King's College, Cambridge, killed

by shellfire, and Captain Walter J. Huchthausen of the Ninth U.S. Army, American art historian, caught by a machine gun while in a cul-de-sac between the American and German front lines. Huchthausen was in a jeep driven by Sheldon Keck, then an army enlisted man, later a lieutenant, afterwards very well known as an American conservator. Before the war he had been a student of Stout's at Harvard.

MFA&A fieldwork ranged from routine to extraordinary. Routine was the problem of keeping troops from billeting in historic buildings and enforcing precautions if they had to stay.<sup>42</sup> A vivid description is given in the book *Survival* by army Lieutenant James J. Rorimer,<sup>43</sup> curator of medieval art at the Metropolitan Museum and years later that museum's director. I learned the satisfaction of success in this routine endeavor when substituting one evening for the Bavarian MFA&A officer and achieving the removal of infantry troops from the fragile interior of the Amalienburg pavilion. They had begun to billet there for the night, lighting fires in the fireplaces to cook supper — an alarming sight.

Examples of the extraordinary were so many that extraordinary may not be the right word. A book entitled *Défense de l'art européen* by John Skilton records his effort in the MFA&A Service to gather shattered, scattered fragments of two hundred sculptured figures of a famous shrine in Brittany during a lull in combat, making eventual reconstruction possible. Later Skilton did much to save Tiepolo's greatest ceiling decoration by roofing the Treppenhaus of the Residenz at Würzburg under daunting difficulties — eventually floating wood down river to the city.<sup>44</sup>

In conquered Germany protection of monuments and first aid to monuments could no longer be the principal mission. Destruction was too vast, and moreover the MFA&A now had the enormous responsibility of finding the locations of repositories of art and archives, and protecting these from loss and deterioration. Over a thousand repositories were found in Germany — a number huge by comparison to the officers and enlisted men assigned there to MFA&A. German public and private collections were stored in these repositories and also in some cases the art and cultural materials that had been looted by the Nazis from countries they overran.

Captain Walker Hancock, for example, picked up information at Aachen by good fortune in October 1944 about a repository in a copper mine at Siegen. Arriving there with the First Army in early April 1945, he and again George Stout found hundreds of paintings, sculptures and works of decorative art from German museums so damaged by dampness that they had to

be evacuated to safety as quickly as could possibly be arranged.<sup>45</sup> There is a view of General Eisenhower inspecting one of the several mines that MFA&A officers took under guard (fig. 8). By now the high command was much aware of the importance of MFA&A's new responsibilities.

In Paris Lieutenant Rorimer, to take another example, had succeeded in learning from a heroic French museum person, Rose Valland, about repositories near Füssen, where trainloads of loot had been sent from France by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg, the ERR, official Nazi looting organization. Moving up with the Seventh Army, Rorimer reached these repositories at the earliest possible moment in late April 1945 and secured them with guards. At the castle of Neuschwanstein, the most spectacular of the repositories, Rorimer found not only a horde of crates containing French collections of Jewish ownership, but a systematic ERR catalogue of looted works and two ERR staff members, with more records. The ERR had referred to this looting as having 'a value hitherto unknown to art research.' Their loot was destined chiefly for Hitler's museum at Linz.<sup>46</sup>

Early in the German campaign Captain Robert K. Posey of General Patton's Third Army, architect in civilian life (fig. 9), had found out about two huge secret repositories in the salt mines at Alt Aussee and Bad Ischl, south of Salzburg — where the great concentration of Nazi loot was stored as well as art from Vienna's museums.<sup>47</sup> The Nazis had planned to blow up these repositories. Posey was the first MFA&A officer to reach Alt Aussee, working to secure it from sabotage and theft. Rorimer arrived at Bad Ischl. Among thousands of works in the salt mines were the van Eyck altarpiece from Ghent (fig. 10), Michelangelo's *Madonna* from Bruges, and Vermeer's *Artist in His Studio* from the Czernin Collection, Austria. Posey and Rorimer (fig. 11) both reached Berchtesgaden, where their main concern was the Göring Collection. Göring himself had brought it to Berchtesgaden by train in the war's last days.<sup>48</sup>

Early in 1944, during planning for the occupation of Germany, there was a policy branch of MFA&A at Supreme Headquarters, SHAEF, in England, headed by Major Mason Hammond,<sup>49</sup> who had been the first monuments officer, in Sicily (fig. 12). Hammond's branch considered what initiatives would be necessary in Germany to protect art and cultural materials against 'loss, removal, concealment, damage, and deterioration' and also to hold loot for repatriation. This branch recommended, among other things, 'warehousing' — showing that the need for storage depots, later called collecting points,





8 General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, General Omar N. Bradley, and Lieutenant General George S. Patton, Jr. of Third Army inspecting repository of art in German mine. (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.)

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had been foreseen long in advance of reaching Germany.<sup>50</sup> 'Post Hostilities Planning' at SHAEF in the summer of 1944 included the drafting of a directive to MFA&A (Germany) that opened with the words: 'It is the basic policy of the Supreme Commander to take all practicable measures to facilitate the eventual restitution of works of art and objects of scientific or historical importance which may have been looted from Allied Governments or Nationals.'<sup>51</sup> At Supreme Headquarters, by March 1945, there was a high civilian adviser on policy concerning monuments, fine arts and archives in the occupation: John Nicholas Brown (fig. 12).<sup>52</sup> In his thoughtful analysis of the role MFA&A would soon have, Brown pointed out that in the occupation responsibility of the armies and military government would begin to change 'from protection to custody.'<sup>53</sup>

After the end of hostilities, for reasons of both protection *and* custody, the establishment of collecting points was officially requested by the chief of MFA&A at headquarters of the U.S. Forces European Theater, Major Bancel La Farge, architect in civilian life, a man of energy, strength and good judgment (fig. 52); and a directive to this effect was issued by SHAEF.<sup>54</sup>

More MFA&A officers and men had always been needed. As war's end approached in Europe, the U.S. Army and Navy were able to transfer to MFA&A service a few more officers who had been deemed qualified.<sup>55</sup> At this time the Navy ordered several officers from naval duties to SHAEF for MFA&A duty, including myself. I was transferred to SHAEF in the company of another naval lieutenant, Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., director in civilian life of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, a man remarkably familiar with European collections. From SHAEF we were ordered to report to the Frankfurt headquarters of the U.S. Forces, to report there to the MFA&A section under Major La Farge. From that headquarters Howe was assigned to evacuating great repositories. After the war he published a book about this experience.<sup>56</sup> I was assigned to Munich, to establish a collecting point.

Naval Lieutenant George Stout, of all people, signed the request for our assignments. When we arrived at Frankfurt, he was with Major La Farge. Monuments Officer of the Twelfth Army Group, he had long before been transferred from naval air to MFA&A. He had advised on the American Commission's choice of qualified officers; he had prepared the manual used by MFA&A in the field, entitled *First-aid Protection of Arts and Monuments*; and he had himself been in the field with the armies from Normandy on. I am sure no one in the armed forces knew that the whole operation was his 'brain child.' Modest as he was, he would have said nothing about this to anyone. In Germany it was he who worked out the difficult evacuation procedures as reposi-

tories began to be discovered — at the Siegen mine, for instance, or at the potash mines at Merkers, where the Third Army's Captain Posey, to his astonishment, had found the collections from the great museums in Berlin plus one hundred tons of gold bullion.<sup>57</sup> Just before our arrival in Frankfurt, Stout had been to Austria in order to inspect the salt mines at Alt Aussee and Bad Ischl and plan their evacuation.

No one had yet considered exactly how an art collecting point should be organized. A depot had just been started by Captain Hancock at Marburg for things from the mines at Siegen and Bernterode. There would later be a collecting point at Wiesbaden, mostly for German-owned art, especially the art from Berlin found at Merkers and art from Frankfurt museums, but part-



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9 Brigadier General Jay W. MacKelve, followed by Captain Robert K. Posey, MFA&A officers with the Third Army, emerging from the Steinberg Salt Mine at Alt Aussee after inspection of art repository. (From *Town and Country*, Sept. 1945.)

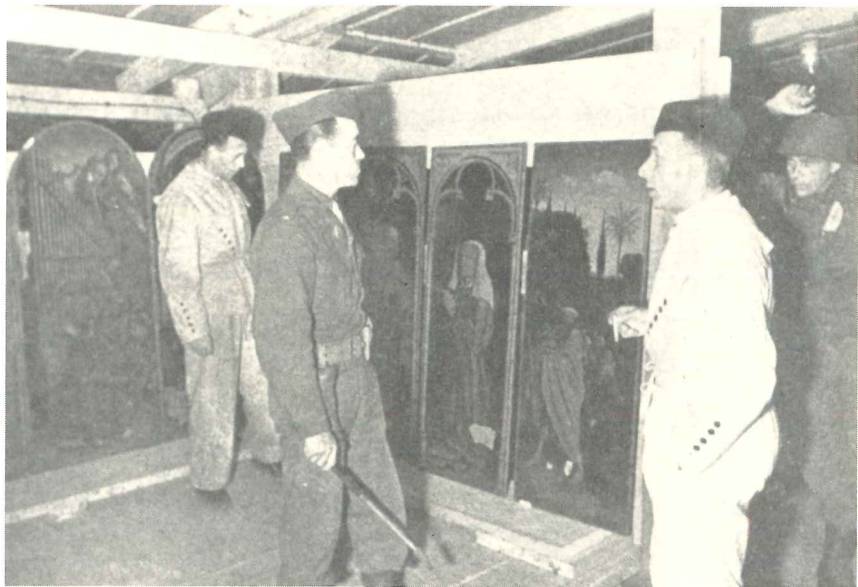
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10 Lieutenant Daniel J. Kern, MFA&A officer of the Bavarian Regional Military Government, examining panels of the Ghent altarpiece in Alt Aussee mine. (From Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 1946.)

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11 Lieutenant James J. Rorimer, MFA&A officer of the Seventh Army, examining looted Rothschild jewelry of the Renaissance. (From James Rorimer and Gilbert Rabin, *Survival*, 1950.)

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ly also for looted art. There would also be a collecting point at Offenbach for books and archives — including much material from Holland. Stout and La Farge stressed to me that the Munich collecting point must serve both for immediate, safe storage and as a long-term repository and center for cataloguing loot. They wanted it to begin receiving art from Alt Aussee and other repositories within two weeks at the latest.<sup>58</sup>

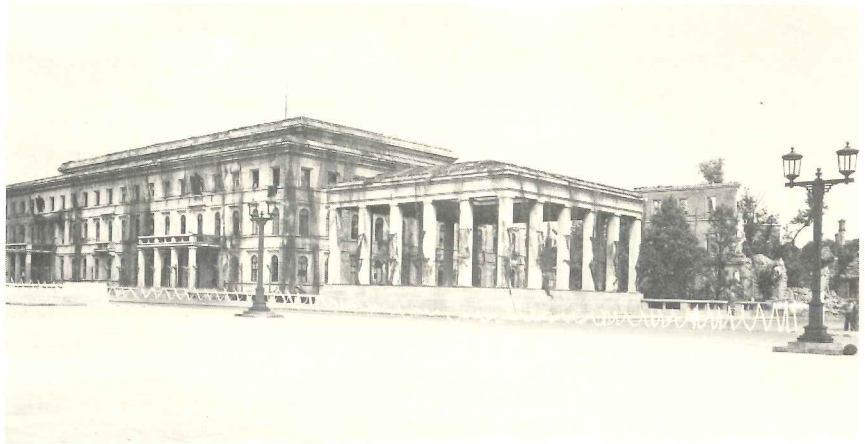


12 Major Mason Hammond, Colonel Henry C. Newton, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, Lieutenant Calvin Hathaway, Lieutenant Kenneth Lippman of the MFA&A Branch of the United States Group, Control Council (Germany), SHAEF, Bushey Park, England, March 1945. (Courtesy Mason Hammond.)

On 4 June 1945, while being driven to Munich over rough roads in a jeep, I spent the day considering what was to be done. Plainly, the Munich depot must be large, safe and ready to keep perfect track of very many objects. When studying to be an art historian, I had not thought much about the organization and administration of museums. But in 1941 I had joined the staff of the newly opened National Gallery of Art in Washington and was there for a year before leaving for the Navy. I absorbed a good deal about museum management at the National Gallery — probably even about accession numbers. One result of the ride from Frankfurt to Munich was a numbering system to identify each object and the repository from which it came.<sup>59</sup> It was gratifying when this numbering system became the one used at other collecting points.

Lieutenant Rorimer of the Seventh Army met me in Munich.<sup>60</sup> I had known him before the war, a discerning museum man of enterprise and talent. His army was moving out of Munich shortly; the Third Army was moving in. Rorimer hurried me to see the building he particularly recommended for the collecting point: one of the two principal structures in a complex which had been the Nazi party headquarters for Germany. The building was the Nazi *Verwaltungsbau* (administration building). The other principal structure was the *Führerbau*. Both faced the *Königsplatz* and looked alike (figs. 13-14). Munich had fallen a month earlier. American troops were now billeted in the *Verwaltungsbau*. The troops' commander had been having records in the *Verwaltungsbau* burned, and Rorimer had stepped in to stop this.<sup>61</sup> The *Verwaltungsbau* had the virtue for our use of being a very large building by Munich standards. Both it and the *Führerbau* had suffered less than the Old and New *Pinakotheks*, which were in ruins. Rorimer's choice seemed the right one, and it turned out to be so. He told me he had already asked SHAEF for approval of his choice and had received it, showing me then a dispatch signed 'Eisenhower,' designating especially the *Verwaltungsbau* as the collecting point.

It would need more than one lecture to recount in detail the history of the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich even during its earliest months. But I can offer vignettes of its beginnings and early days. In this undertaking, my memory has been helped by my monthly reports, which are in Washington's archives (Appendix III),<sup>62</sup> and also by notes I made at the end of each day as to what had been accomplished — a work diary — and by daily lists of what had to be done (loose-leaf pages from a small notebook, always carried in a pocket).<sup>63</sup>



13 The Nazi party's administration building ('Verwaltungsbau') viewed from across the Königsplatz, with the two Nazi monuments ('Ehrentempeln') at left (leveled and removed soon thereafter).

14 The Führerbau from the Königsplatz (with covering of camouflage) with one of the 'Ehrentempeln.'

In the diary notes of 5 June, the first full day in Munich, there is a list of the things that it seemed essential to accomplish in order to establish a suitable collecting point (Appendix II). I shall enumerate various items from that list and from the daily 'to-do lists' and then tell how some of the goals envisaged were achieved. This should provide some informative glimpses of the beginnings of the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich.

First on the first day's list was: 'procuring [the] buildings' — buildings, not the building. Despite the dispatch from Eisenhower to the Seventh Army, there was no doubt that authorization would now have to be obtained from the Third Army — authorization to be able to use not only the Verwaltungsbau, but also the Führerbau (and the service building containing the heating plant that went with these two). The Third Army's Captain Posey, who was familiar with the German repositories of art, confidently predicted the need for all the space that these buildings offered. He forwarded a request to this effect to the high command of Third Army. Authorization did not come quickly — not for ten days, notwithstanding continual efforts and requests. It finally arrived just three days before the first truck loads of paintings drove in from the salt mines on 17 June. I shall explain the delay later.

Next on the list was 'getting the present occupants out of the buildings, without,' I was cautious to write, 'doing so more quickly than General Meyers [their commander] desires.'

After that, came: 'making general inventory [of the contents of the buildings] ... and procuring personnel for this.' Both buildings were said to have held art from Hitler's collection, including loot. The Führerbau (next door to the Nazi party's old Braunes Haus) was Hitler's headquarters as party chief and the place where the Munich Pact was signed — by Chamberlain and Daladier, Hitler and Mussolini — in 1938. Works of art and documents might conceivably still be there, even though the Führerbau and Verwaltungsbau had both reportedly been sacked by the populous and displaced persons after Munich's fall. The Verwaltungsbau had housed the central administration of the Nazi Party and the party's files, including records of all its members. At least something of all this documentation could be there, a matter for Army Intelligence to examine.

Fourth, and intimately connected, was 'cleaning ... under close supervision as soon as troops were out [and] securing personnel for this.' Because both buildings had been rifled and because the U.S. troops billeted there seemed to have had free rein (figs. 15-16), conscientious, reliable work parties were needed to clean the buildings and put their contents in order.





15 A room as found in the basement of the  
Nazi party's administration building.

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Before the buildings were assigned as the collecting point, the Bavarian MFA&A officer, army Lieutenant Daniel J. Kern, had procured someone to try to gather any surviving records of art objects that had been in the Nazi complex and to begin arranging materials that might turn out to be of importance. On taking over the buildings, it was necessary to interest Army Intelligence in coming to reassemble and remove the Nazi Party's files, especially the register of the Nazi Party membership, formerly filed in rows of cabinets (fig. 17). Following a week's work by personnel from the Intelligence Research Center G-2, Third Army, we then continued with two German archivists to find and gather party records. These materials were thus available for reference, I expect, when the time came for the Military Government's program of denazification.



16 An office as found in the Nazi party's administration building.

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High on the list was security. As soon as the U.S. infantry troops were out, a detachment of military guards would be needed, a battery or more of soldiers, for protection against vandalism and theft — and not only guards, but also barbed wire fencing. The Third Army produced guards soon after it authorized use of the buildings. But the fencing could be had only after prodding over a period of days (fig. 18). The Army command was not always quick to act for an operation having to do with art and archives run by an officer without high rank. Nevertheless, in all dealings with the Army I had one great advantage: I was Navy. It was possible to win sympathy for a naval person in the Army. Moreover, as I was not expected to know how the Army worked, I could manage regularly to go to the top, not up the chain of command.



17 Cabinets for files in the Nazi party's administrative building.

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We billeted the guards first in the Führerbau, then in the party's post building (figs. 19-20), as soon as it could be put in adequate condition. The post building (referred to sometimes in early reports as the powerhouse building) also housed the army drivers and the detail of guards assigned to the army trucks bringing art from repositories.

All entrances and all passageways connecting the buildings to other parts of the Nazi complex needed to be found, closed and secured. For this, building plans were needed, and eventually were located. Army engineers were found to take care of such security measures. Necessary, too, were searches for explosives by an Army bomb-squad. The squad found explosives, left by the Nazis, in the cellars and underground passages. But the squad did not find everything. Very sad to say, weeks later a worker's helper was killed in the cellars by explosives that had not been discovered. Another bomb-squad had to be called to renew the search.

A most important item of the first day's list was weather proofing — repairing roofs, filling windows (fig. 21). For this, shops had to be set up, a carpenter shop for instance (fig. 22). Building materials for such work had to be found — a high priority from the outset — and also labor. Materials were



18 Gallery I (the renamed Nazi administration building) with newly erected barbed wire fencing and around-the-clock guards from the Third Army.

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19 The post building (with Gallery I in the distance).

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20 The courtyard of the post building before repairs, a guard at left and guard vehicle at center.

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21 Gallery II (the renamed Führerbau) with newly filled windows of storage rooms.

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always a problem. They were needed everywhere. Labor, however, was not at first in short supply. Yet it had to be recruited with all care and control, in order to eliminate Nazi party members and find people who were trustworthy. These problems were dealt with thanks to the cooperation of Army Intelligence. In the very first days civilians had to be found who could begin to be cleared by Army Intelligence for work at the collecting point.

It goes without saying that the collecting point could not be established without German personnel — from laborers to specialists in construction and maintenance to people professionally knowledgeable about works of art. For at the start I was alone, and although on the sixth day another naval officer arrived and in July we finally acquired for a short time three enlisted men, MFA&A's need for more military personnel was never clearer. At Military Government there was one MFA&A officer, army Lieutenant Kern (fig. 10); he



22 Carpenter shop, newly set up in the Power House.

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was responsible, however, for all of Bavaria. The Third Army had Captain Posey, but he was urgently concerned with repositories. Both were helpful, yet each had his own work. With Posey was one enlisted man: Lincoln Kirstein. To anyone acquainted with ballet in America, his name is revered now as the greatest of its patrons; among essayists of our time his name is equally famous. Even before the war he was already well known. It seemed a miracle that he was there. No one could have been more helpful and knowledgeable — working behind the scenes to get all possible cooperation and support for the collecting point from offices of the Third Army.

To help locate German personnel with non-Nazi records, the Army had ‘white-lists’ covering a wide range of professions and skills. After these lists were consulted, possible candidates were interviewed. If an interview was promising, then it was the work of army specialists to investigate and determine as accurately as possible the candidate’s record in respect to the Nazis, to ascertain whether or not he or she should be employed. It was immensely helpful that the ACLS Committee in the United States, with the aid of German refugees, had suggested names of art historians and museum people whom MFA&A could turn to with confidence.

Needed first of all was an architect, to oversee repairs. After interviewing various candidates, none satisfactory, I had luck in learning about a promising possibility as early as the fifth day: an architect named Dieter Sattler, living in the countryside far from Munich, who had been unable to practise under the Nazis. On the sixth day, out of the blue, came naval Lieutenant Hamilton Coulter, architect in civilian life, just transferred from naval duty elsewhere to MFA&A in the U.S. Army and sent to Munich to be the collecting point’s second officer — executive officer, in naval terminology. This good, discerning man would concentrate especially on supervising the repair of the buildings. On the seventh day architect Sattler was brought in by army jeep. With Sattler’s help, Lieutenant Coulter took on the search for labor and materials and prepared all the plans for making the buildings weatherproof and usable. Later Lieutenant Coulter also took on the preparation and briefing of the convoys when they began to take art back to looted countries (fig. 23). Sattler, a grandson of Adolf Hildebrand, proved to be energetic, capable, perceptive, gentle. Afterwards he went into public life, became head of cultural affairs in the Foreign Office of West Germany, and was West Germany’s ambassador to the Holy See when he died.

Coulter and I became firm friends. Despite our intentions and the regulations for dealing with German personnel, we also came to think of Sattler,

working with us day after day, as a friend. In September 1945, Captain George T. Lacey U.S. Army was added to assist Lieutenant Coulter in the direction of building repairs and maintenance (fig. 24). Thereby Coulter was freer to devote part of his time to being liaison officer to the representatives of looted countries, when these began to arrive at the collecting point in September and October, and to direct the first restitution convoys.

Maintenance people had to be found. Among them we would need electricians to repair wiring for lighting the buildings and engineers to overhaul and activate the formidable power plant of the collecting point (fig. 25). Specially qualified persons were needed for these tasks. There turned out to be no solution except, with Military Government permission, to use at first electricians and engineers who knew the inner workings of these buildings — Nazi employees, therefore, for whom we undertook most careful security precautions.

All around the buildings, in the cellars and at the entrances, were placed army guards. Eventually at the entrances were also posted German policemen. With this combination, we calculated, there could be greater care (fig. 26).



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23 Lieutenant J. Hamilton Coulter USNR,  
second officer of the Munich collecting point,  
instructing convoy drivers.

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24 Captain George T. Lacey, U.S. Army,  
third officer of the collecting point, with  
architect Sattler.

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In the early days, despite all precautions, there was a theft. Because the storerooms were checked continually, we knew when the theft occurred and discovered how: a workman had lowered several paintings from a window left uncovered when the captain of a new battery of guards, suddenly substituted by Third Army for the original battery, made a mistaken and unannounced change in the military posts we had designated around the buildings. One post had been left unmanned. As a result, we resolved on adding an *inner* ring of guards, inside the buildings, carrying keys to all the storerooms. These guards were old, long trusted guardians of the Alte Pinakothek (fig. 27).

But most important of all, we would need personnel for the main work of the collecting point: people qualified for curatorial duties — for the work of registrar, for example — later also for assistance to representatives of countries occupied by the Nazis, when representatives arrived to identify looted works of art as their patrimony and verify the identification. By the fourth day in Munich I had seen two people who were to become mainstays of the collecting point: Dr. Karl Theodor Müller, curator of the Bavarian National



25 Interior of the Power House of the Nazi complex.

26 Guards at the front entrance of Gallery I: two U.S. Army enlisted men and a German policeman.

Museum, later that museum's director and the author of the Pelican volume on medieval sculpture; and Dr. Erika Hanfstaengl, art historian, whose father was a respected anti-Nazi, later to be the first post-war director of the Alte Pinakothek.<sup>64</sup> Müller became an effective and wise 'first curator of the collecting point,' a post he filled until the autumn of 1945, when his own museum needed him. Thereafter he became a frequent consultant. Dr. Hans Konrad Röthel of Nürnberg took Müller's place. In later years Röthel was to be curator of the Alte Pinakothek and then director of the Lenbach Museum. Erika Hanfstaengl — conscientious, able, of balanced judgment and at once serious and outwardly light-hearted — became the chief German administrative assistant of the collecting point, heading the German staff. Not long after, the former chief of the Graphische Sammlung, Dr. Thomas Muchall-Viebrook, could be made second curator. Ultimately Dr. Peter Halm, respected curator of the Alte Pinakothek, was added.



27 One of the guards of the collecting point's storerooms.

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Needed also were people for secretarial and administrative functions; eventually, by the time restitution was well under way, there was a secretarial pool (fig. 28). There had to be files and filing: for inventories of art in the collecting point, for documentary data collected on the ownership of objects. The records of the collecting point were kept in what we called the registrar's office (fig. 29) — a room transformed in some few weeks from a ruinous burned-out space (fig. 30), thanks to Lieutenant Coulter, Sattler and the workmen. Documents, on the other hand, were put in a special room under lock and key.

Morning conferences with the curatorial and administrative staff took place daily. The collecting point was run in regular consultation with staff. It would never have functioned if Coulter and I had not delegated to that staff responsibility for the execution of our decisions, made more often than not after consultation.



28 The collecting point's secretarial pool.

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Experienced handlers of art were needed (figs. 31, 55). On the thirteenth day handlers were brought — from a firm whose workers Army Intelligence found were not Nazis — to begin unloading the first trucks from Alt Aussee. The following morning, on the fourteenth day, unloading began. We were just within the two-week limit that had been set at the outset to prepare for the arrival of the first loads. The army's trucks, assigned for many weeks to this duty, were driven by army enlisted men, mostly black, who were notably conscientious and skillful in bringing their unusual cargoes over roads that were difficult, especially those in the mountainous terrain near the Austrian salt mines.

Most important, Lieutenant George Stout was at the salt mines, directing the loading of the trucks with the aid of a staunch infantryman, Lieutenant Steven Kovalyak. Kovalyak had been assigned to Stout for weeks and had become expert in packing and moving art. They were joined for a time by Lieutenants Thomas Howe (fig. 32) and Lamont Moore, head of the National Gallery of Art's Education Department before his army service. These two had earlier evacuated to Munich a repository at Hohenfurth in Czechoslovakia and, with Kovalyak, would later evacuate the Göring collection, found near Berchtesgaden (fig. 33).<sup>65</sup>

Before any loads began to arrive in Munich, Stout had come for a night, in order to help plan the procedures for handling art safely on its arrival at the collecting point. Surely no one of his time could have been more expert in this regard. On arrival, objects were unloaded from the trucks into a hall of one of the two main buildings (fig. 34); they were labelled with arrival numbers; and an arrival card was attached to every object, describing it and its condition briefly. Thereupon each object was moved with its arrival card to a storage room; the room number was entered on the card; and the card was sent to the office of the registrar. In the storage rooms pictures had temporarily to be leaned against the walls, since at first there were no racks (fig. 35). Sculpture, too, went temporarily to rooms without racks (fig. 36). Some truck loads consisted partly or entirely of crates of objects. On arrival, crates were stored without being opened (fig. 37).<sup>66</sup> (Sometimes there were surprises. One morning, as we unloaded a truck from Berchtesgaden in the bright sun, we came to Göring's 'Vermeer.' It looked untrustworthy to all who were supervising the unloading. None thought that it could be by Vermeer — although this was several weeks before the story broke about van Meegeren's forgery of Vermeers. Göring's van Meegeren could not hold up in the sunlight.)



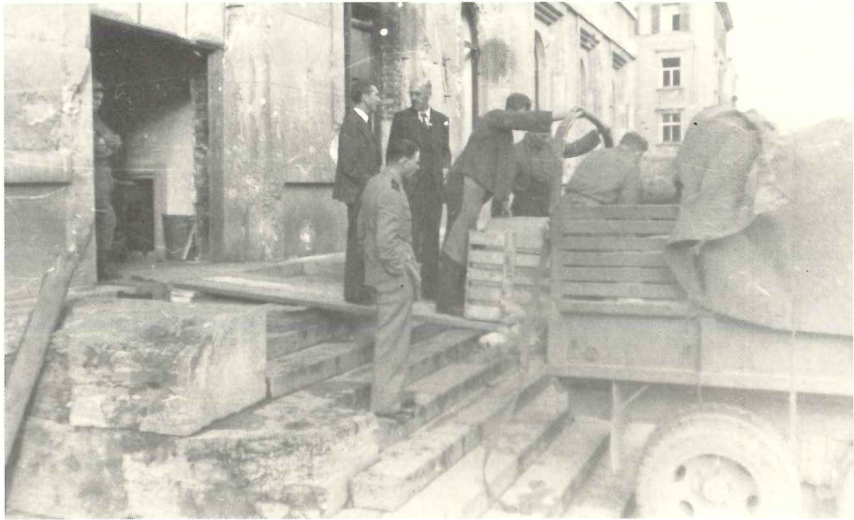
29 The registrar's office in Gallery I, housing the collecting point's files.

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30 The room pictured in fig. 29 as found, before repairs for use as an office.

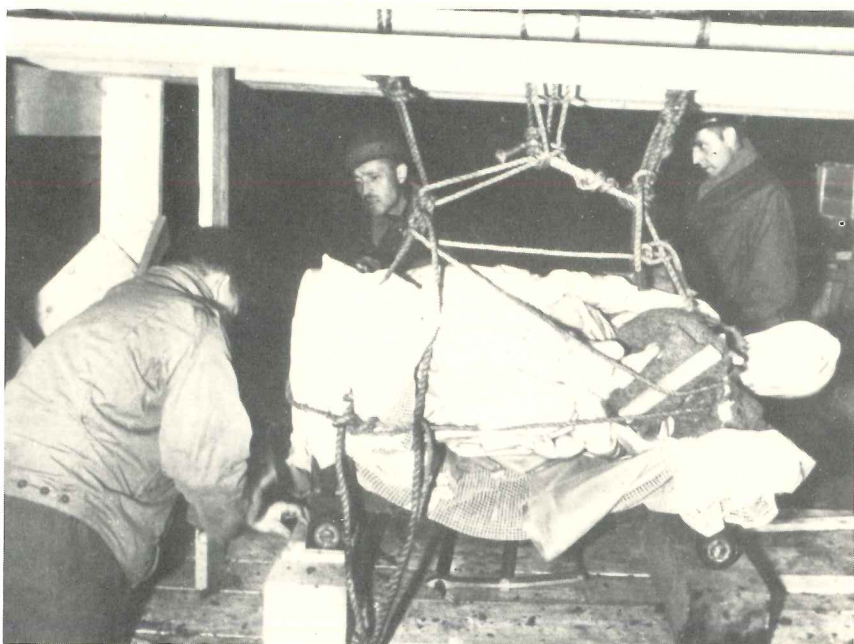
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31 Handlers at work under the supervision of Lieutenant Coulter and curator Röthel.

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In order to store objects properly, a high priority from the start was to build racks for painting and sculpture. In time the carpenters produced efficient storage rooms (figs. 38, 39, 40). A conservator had to be found for first aid to any objects in dangerous condition. One was retained on call as needed. He belonged to the staff of the Alte Pinakothek. There is a photograph of him in the room assigned to first-aid conservation at the collecting



32 Michelangelo's *Madonna* from Bruges, being packed at Alt Aussec by Lieutenant Stout (center) with the aid of Lieutenant Howe (right).

33 Lieutenants Kovalyak, Moore and Howe in an army billet at Unterstein, while evacuating the Göring collection. (Courtesy Thomas Carr Howe, Jr.)

34 The arrival hall of Gallery I: the numbering and preliminary cataloguing of art objects on their arrival.









35 An early storage room for paintings at the collecting point, before racks could be constructed.

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36 An early storage room for sculpture at the collecting point, before racks could be constructed.

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37 A storage room with unpacked crates of objects at the collecting point.

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38 A small storage room for paintings at the collecting point, with newly constructed racks.

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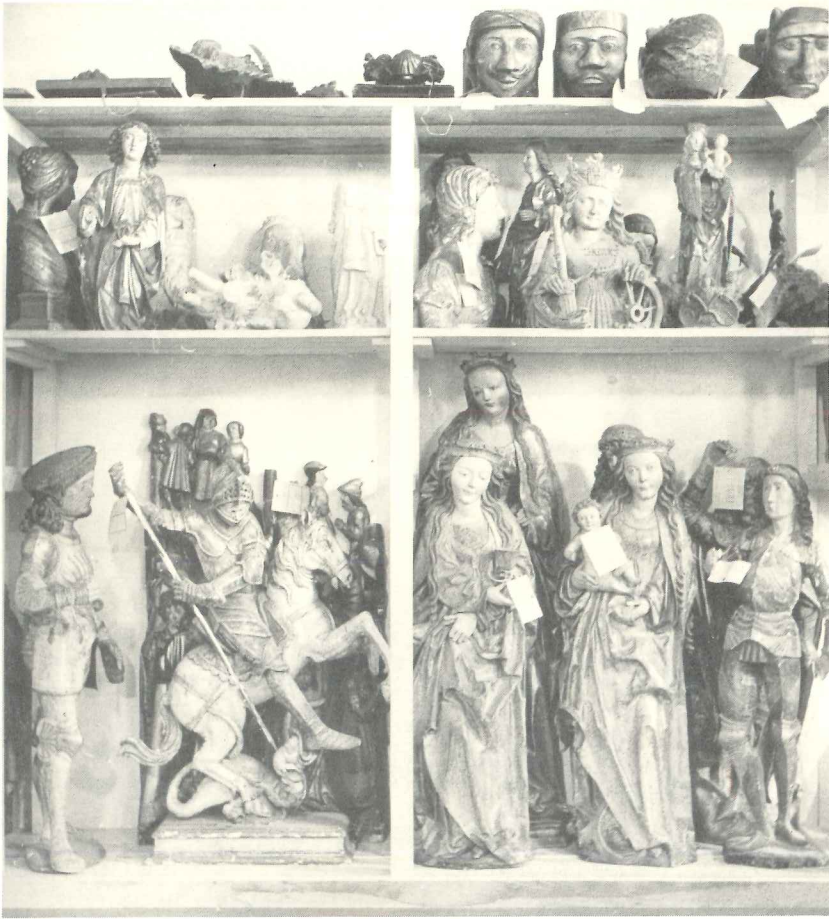


point (fig. 41) with Leonardo's *Lady With the Ermine* from Cracow, stolen by the infamous Nazi governor of Poland, Franck, and found in Bavaria by Lieutenant Kern. The conservator is seen treating a Bellotto from Warsaw for flaking paint. Above at right is the Budapest *Portrait of a Man* attributed to Giorgione.

The collection of the Budapest National Museum had been found in Bavaria, sent there as Russian forces came west. At the order of the Third Army's Captain Posey, Howe had brought it to the collecting point.<sup>67</sup> Among the well-known objects included was, for instance, the bronze horse and rider often attributed at that time to Leonardo. People in the collecting point obviously discussed such notable problematic works. In order not to have interruptions in the work day, discussion had to be limited to evenings. We designated one evening a week when staff might convene to look at objects and speak about them informally with each other, with the collecting point's officers, and with representatives of looted countries when these began to be part of the collecting point.

It was plain from the start that a photographer would be needed in the process of inventorying and identifying objects. After trying several candi-



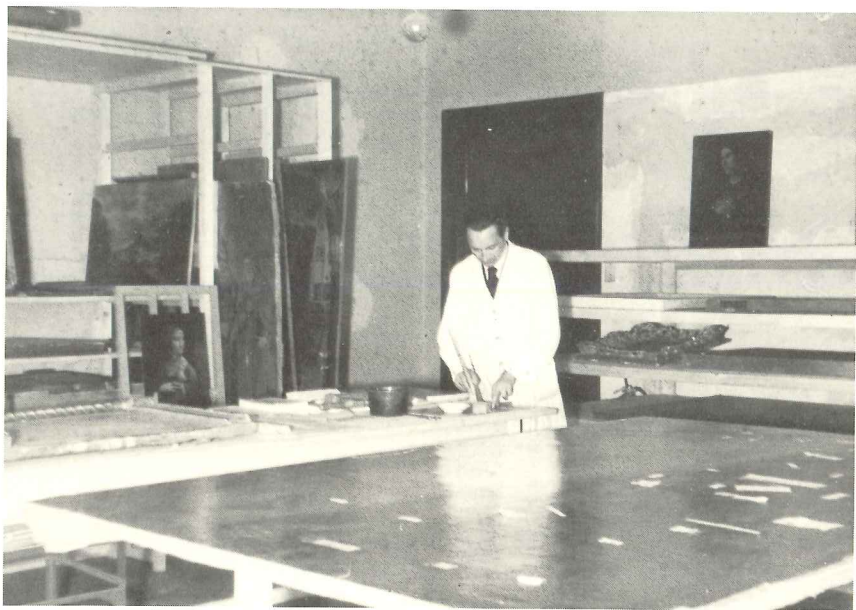


39 A large storage room for paintings at the collecting point, with newly constructed racks. (From Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, 1946.)

40 A storage room at the collecting point, with newly constructed racks for sculpture.

dates, we were succesful in bringing Hans Felbermeyer from the French zone, a photographer with a satisfactory record and known for his work with the archaeologist Ludwig Curtius. There is a photograph of his studio — showing the seated bronze *Hermes* from the Archaeological Museum in Naples, stolen by the Göring Division, its head broken off at an old crack, but mendable (fig . 42). Along with the bronze there came from Naples, for instance, Titian's *Danae* and Colantonio's *St. Jerome* as well as many things from Monte Cassino.

We would need a librarian and a library, when a library could be formed, to help with identifying objects. A library was put together with the help of Theodor Müller, using principally books of the Pinakothek and the Bavarian National Museum. This became the only workable art library in Munich. It was housed in the collecting point where the Nazi Party's library had been and where the library of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte is now (fig. 43). It was the predecessor of the library of the Zentralinstitut, just as the collecting point was the parent of the Zentralinstitut itself. But more of this shortly.





41 First-aid conservation of a Bellotto from Warsaw. In the background, Leonardo's *Lady with the Ermine* from Cracow and the *Portrait of a Man* from Budapest, attributed to Giorgione.

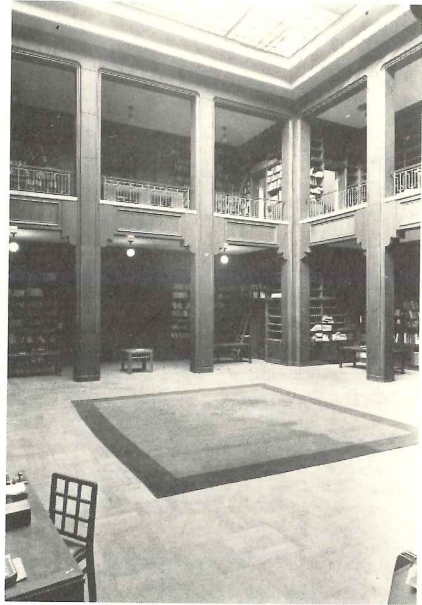
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42 The photograph studio of the collecting point, with the *Hermes in Repose* of the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum, from the Naples Archaeological Museum.

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43 The library in Gallery I of the collecting point, assembled to help with restitution.

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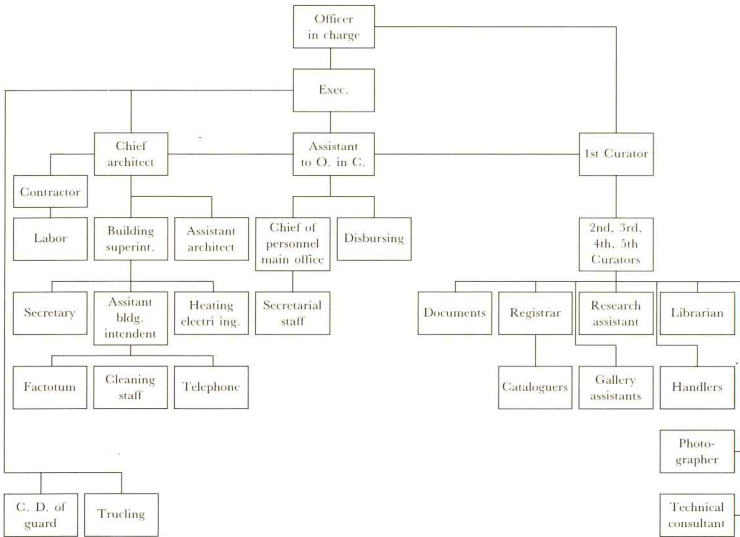
I have been speaking mainly of personnel and needs of the collecting point for which they were hired. By the time we sent the first load of 26 paintings back to Holland in October 1945, the collecting point had 107 civilian employees — from curators to the kitchen staff who fed the civilian personnel at lunchtime in the post building. For the personnel to function in an orderly, efficient way, it had to be clear who was responsible to whom and for what: hence our table of organization, made early in the summer as a guide (fig. 44). For once, a project concerning art did not worry about funding. Funding had to come from the Bavarian state, with the government's paymaster himself part of the staff. Also, there were 114 temporary employees repairing the buildings for winter: masons, plumbers, glazers, carpenters, sewer layers and unskilled laborers. There was thus a total of 221 civilian employees in all — plus Lieutenant Coulter, Captain Lacey, myself, and the one remaining American enlisted man of the three whom we had managed to have transferred to us from the infantry: Ole Risom, Dane by birth and education, who spoke German and dealt evenly and efficiently with all concerned. In addition, there was an army battery in residence, providing the guards under its captain. It had been a swift growth.

To be sure, there were delays and difficulties, perhaps the most notable of these at the very beginning. Authorization to have the Nazi buildings was not forthcoming for ten days, as I have said. A high officer of General Patton's staff had come to inspect the buildings on my fifth day in Munich, in order to judge, he said, whether they were suitable for an art collecting point, but really, as it turned out, with the intention of taking them over as the headquarters of Third Army and General Patton himself. I met him at the buildings, bringing with me an officer with more rank than mine from military government, and argued that, since Munich was in ruins, these were the only buildings in the city where great amounts of art — we emphasized its value — could now be safely stored in spaces large and small, with ready-made library space, with sections in good enough condition to permit quick preparation for the first loads that were scheduled to come within eight days. Not least, Twelfth Army Group had given approval. For five more days no word came. Each day we pressed for an answer. On 14 June, three days before Stout sent the first truckloads from the salt mines, authorization finally arrived. General Patton established his headquarters outside the city, on Tegenseerlandstrasse.

Apart from our need, I have always thought it better for the occupation that the Nazi headquarters, symbol of terrifying dictatorship and so promi-

ment in the city, were not the headquarters of our commanding general. Knowing the population was watching and listening, it seemed best to re-name the Verwaltungsbau and the Führerbau Gallery I and Gallery II, in the expectation that the news would spread as a peaceful sign. Not much later, we removed the buildings' Nazi eagles with their swastikas.

In the weeks thereafter, not only loot, but various Munich collections were brought back from repositories in the country and stored in Galleries I and II: collections of the Alte Pinakothek (including rolls of the huge Rubens canvasses), the Neue Pinakothek, the Graphische Sammlung, the Theater Museum, the Glyptothek and the Münz-Sammlung. In the autumn a new MFA&A officer for Bavaria, Captain Edwin C. Rae, professor in civilian life at the University of Illinois, undertook to make possible a small exhibition for the public in a gallery of the Haus der Kunst, consisting of some pictures of the Alte Pinakothek.<sup>68</sup> The MFA&A in other German cities organized similar public exhibitions from local museum collections. The role of MFA&A in the occupation and military governments of Germany is worth some attention by historians. It was a positive element in preparing the ground for the



44 Table of organization.



reconstruction of postwar Germany from the ruins.

The collecting point itself was a part of that preparation. I can remember thinking, when first inspecting the Verwaltungsbau in June 1945, that in times to come this was the likely place for postwar study of the history of art to begin. For it would be a weatherproof building with an art library and space for seminars, probably the only such place in Munich for some years. By the autumn of 1945 we had with us, as I shall describe, representatives from the looted countries, to identify works of art for repatriation. The library was being used for the efforts of these representatives and by the staff assigned to them. All met often in the library while working. Study material and the atmosphere for study were already in being. It was natural to begin to think of the future. What had been developing could be the beginning of something positive.

We began to talk during that autumn of an institute for the future, to help revive one aspect of German cultural life. The German staff members involved at first were especially Erika Hanfstaengl, Hans Konrad Röthel, Wilibald Birkmeyer, Bock von Wölffingen and Karl Theodor Müller. Later, in the winter of 1946, Wolfgang Lotz came to Munich; he was taken on by MFA&A of the Bavarian Military Government and joined the talk. Lotz, one day to be director of the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, had in mind the model of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. By March 1946, the idea of a central institute for the history of art had developed, especially under his influence, to the point at which a first step might be taken to see if there were a suitable candidate for director acceptable to all concerned — to Military Government, scholars from allied countries, German scholars. One scholar's name recurred continually, that of Ludwig Heydenreich. Since he might qualify and since he was in Italy, with which there was no direct communication yet, I went to find him before leaving for the United States and learn if he might be interested. He expressed definite interest. I do not know what followed or when Heydenreich was approved. Months later his appointment was announced.

The Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte was later inaugurated in Gallery I, while the collecting point was still functioning.<sup>69</sup> As the collecting point grew smaller in the following years, Gallery I became chiefly the home of the Zentralinstitut and of the Munich museum whose works were housed there until their own buildings were fully repaired. In the end Gallery I was left to the Zentralinstitut alone and is its home today (thanks, one might say, to General Patton's forbearance).

Restitution had been on the minds of Stout and his co-planners, and it was on the agenda of the American Commission from the start. The Commission believed that everything acquired during Germany's occupation of other countries should be returned, whether stolen outright or purchased. For its part, the British Commission had concerned itself much with restitution problems since its formation in 1943. Even earlier, in 1942, the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education had considered restitution and reparations. In April 1944 an Allied Commission (called the Vaucher Commission) was formed to study these problems and collect information to help them at war's end.<sup>70</sup> As late as 1 June 1945, John Nicholas Brown, adviser to the U.S. top command, assumed there would be an Inter-Allied Restitution Commission to administer restitution and adjudicate claims.<sup>71</sup> The commission was never created, because an inter-allied agreement could not be reached.<sup>72</sup> John Nicholas Brown was convinced that in any case a start should be made under a policy of Ad Interim Restitution,<sup>73</sup> which would repatriate identifiable objects of outstanding importance, like the van Eyck altarpiece from Ghent, at the earliest opportunity.

But, as it turned out, in July 1945, at the time of the Potsdam Conference, President Truman decreed a policy of unilateral restitution from the United States Zone. This policy provided for the identification and repatriation of all works stolen or purchased from public and private collections in countries overrun by Nazi Germany. The United States would thus begin restitution on its own.<sup>74</sup> Decisions taken at the top suddenly landed upon the collecting points, in addition to the tasks of restitution, a kind of *de facto* responsibility for restitution as well.<sup>75</sup>

A documents center was established in the Munich collecting point to help with restitution. This housed documents collected in Germany and Austria — especially by the team of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, which had interrogated persons involved in Nazi looting, and by Lieutenant Walter Horn, art historian from the University of California at Berkeley, a prodigious sleuth.<sup>76</sup> All the ERR documents from Neuschwanstein were also sent to the collecting point.

For the time being restitution was to be understood as provisional, subject afterwards to reconsideration in cases where there turned out to be doubt. The countries concerned were invited by United States authorities to send expert representatives to help identify what should be repatriated. At the collecting point in Munich we would provide the representatives of each country with a curatorial assistant, secretarial help, an office, and space in which to

bring together in one place the objects thought to be identifiable for repatriation to the country concerned.<sup>77</sup> The curatorial staff had now to be increased to serve the representatives. Each country was to have, as it were, its own area of the Munich collecting point, with an assigned curator.

From France came three representatives: first Captain Hubert De Brye of the French army, responsible for transport to France but knowledgeable in matters artistic; next Major Pierre Duchartre, expert in the decorative arts; and finally Captain Marcelle Minet, in civilian life the curator of the David-Weill collection. They were assigned Dr. Bock von Wölffingen, young art historian, later a curator of the Alte Pinakothek (figs. 45-46). From the



45 French representative Captain Marcelle Minet, working with curatorial assistant Bock von Wölffingen, in the area of the collecting point assigned to France.

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Netherlands came Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Vorenkamp, Royal Netherlands Forces, who had for some years been professor at Smith College in Massachusetts. He was also assigned a young art historian, Dr. Willibald Birkmeyer, later on the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles (fig. 47). From Belgium came Lieutenant Jean Lemaire, third from right in a photograph that expresses the friendly spirit prevailing among the representatives and MFA&A personnel (fig. 48). At times Paul Coremans, renowned Belgian conservator, was also present. Representing Poland was Captain Carol Estreicher, author of *The Cultural Losses of Poland*, indefatigable in searching out the property of his country (fig. 49).<sup>78</sup> The representative who eventually arrived from Czechoslovakia was Dr. Erik Winkler: to him we assigned Muchall-Viebrook as assistant (fig. 50). Russia sent Professor



46 Major Pierre Duchartre of France viewing a painting of the Infanta Margarita, School of Velazquez, on one of the easels designed to enable representatives, in their own areas of the collecting point, to examine paintings of widely varying sizes.



47 Lieutenant Colonel Vorenkamp of the Royal Netherlands Forces in his office at the collecting point, with his curatorial assistant Willibald Birkmeyer.



48 Left to right: Captain Marcelle Minet of France, Lieutenant Smyth, Captain Hubert de Brye of France (above), Lieutenant Colonel Alphonse Vorenkamp of the Netherlands (below), Lieutenant Doda Conrad (second officer of the collecting point after Coulter's departure for the United States in November 1945), Lieutenant Jean Lemaire of Belgium, Lieutenant Charles P. Parkhurst USNR, MFA&A officer evacuating repositories, and Major Pierre Duchartre of France on the steps of the collecting point.

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Victor Lazareff — but for a short stay only. Talking with that great scholar was a revelation.

August 1945 saw the first day of restitution: on 21 August the Ghent altarpiece left for Belgium by air with Captain Posey. Its ten crates were sent to the plane with great care but without ceremony (fig. 51). When the Bruges *Madonna* also left for Belgium some days later, there was a small assemblage to watch (fig. 52), including Major Bancel La Farge of MFA&A headquarters; the well-known philosopher George Boas, U.S. Naval Attaché in Belgium;



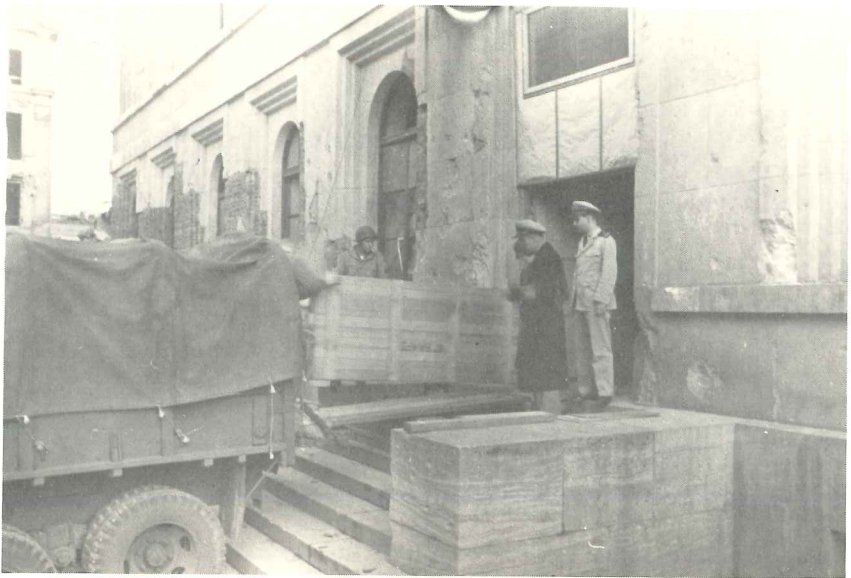
49 Captain Carol Estreicher of Poland (second from left) in front of one of the Bellottos from Warsaw with first curator Röthel (left), Dr. Edgar Breitenbach (middle) of MFA&A (investigator, later named acting director on Smyth's departure in March 1946), and Erika Hanfstaengl, assistant to the collecting point's officer-in-charge.



50 Captain Eric Winkler of Czechoslovakia with his curatorial assistant Thomas Muchall-Viebrook.

and two representatives of the U.S. military zone of Austria under General Mark Clark: Major Ernest De Wald, who had served as MFA&A officer under Clark up through Italy, professor at Princeton in civilian life, and Andrew Ritchie, talented museum man. There had been no need to unpack the Bruges *Madonna* at the collecting point after Stout had packed it in the mine (fig. 53). When my duty at the collecting point ended in April 1946, the representatives of the various countries and staff gave me at parting a memento of their disappointment, a picture showing a wrapped object – the Bruges *Madonna* by Christo, so to say.

Procedures were now worked out for other shipments. During September



51 A case containing a panel of the Ghent altarpiece being loaded at the collecting point on 21 August 1945 for return by air to Belgium (Lieutenants Howe and Smyth at right).



52 Gathered for the departure of Michelangelo's *Madonna of Bruges*: from left to right, Lieutenant Colonel Ernest De Wald, MFA&A officer U.S. Forces Austria; unidentified Belgian officer; Captain Kovalyak; Lieutenant Smyth; Dr. Andrew Ritchie (attached to MFA&A, U.S. Forces, Austria); Commander George Boas, U.S. Naval Attaché, U.S. Embassy, Belgium; Major Bancel La Farge MFA&A, Headquarters 12th Army Group, U.S. Forces Europe.

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53 The *Madonna* of Bruges being loaded aboard a Belgian truck.

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54 Boxes being packed with small paintings in Gallery I for a restitution shipment.

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55 Crates being packed in Gallery I for a restitution shipment.

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56 A shipment by truck departs across the Königsplatz.

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57 A restitution shipment being turned over to France at the collecting point, French Lieutenant de Brye at right. (The loading portal now has a wooden roof and walls for work in bad weather.)

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58 A restitution shipment to France being loaded aboard a French train.

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59 The first, token shipment to the Netherlands of twenty-six paintings, being loaded aboard an airplane of the U.S. Army at Munich, with pilots, Lieutenant Colonel Vorenkamp, Lieutenant Smyth and an unidentified Hollander present.



60 Dutch restitution convoy outside Gallery I.

Major General Bull and Brigadier General Adcock of the United States Forces European Theater made a visit to the collecting point, together with Colonel Dalferes of the Third Army, to make an inspection and discuss means for the speedy return of art to owner countries — that is to say, to the countries from which the works had departed during the war. At the outset and for months thereafter restitution could focus on works of art that did not present problems as to country of ownership.<sup>79</sup> The course to be followed for identifying country of ownership was decided on: initial identification of objects in the storerooms on the basis of identifying marks, confirmation through documents, followed by removal of objects that passed these first tests to the collecting rooms of the countries concerned, full review there of documentation and the preparation of a property card for each object giving the documentation, and thereafter reviews of the identification by the officer-in-charge of the collecting point in consultation with the representatives concerned. Monetary value did not enter. It was not part of the collecting point's operation to ascertain, estimate or record the value of art objects while they were in its custody or when they were repatriated.

The techniques for packing paintings for shipment were established (figs. 54-55). Packers began to prepare shipments. In late September token shipments were made to France and Belgium (fig. 56). The first shipment to France went in trucks of the United States Army, accompanied by Lieutenant Coulter. Other French shipments soon followed by train under French auspices (figs. 57-58).

On 27 September Lieutenant Colonel Vorenkamp arrived from the Netherlands. The first token shipment of twenty-six paintings left for the Netherlands on 8 October by U.S. Army airplane (fig. 59), to be followed by a shipment on 19 October in trucks supplied by Holland — the one that arrived in Amsterdam on the day of the ceremony. There were five shipments to the Netherlands by the end of 1945 (figs. 60-61).

I want to remark in closing that by the time of the ceremony on 24 October in Amsterdam, George Stout, the principal source and the example *par excellence* of the MFA&A, had finished retrieving stolen art from the salt mines in Austria and was in Japan.<sup>80</sup> There he and his assistants, under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, were charged with 'the definition of policy, the outlining of procedures, the drafting of directives to commanders of occupational areas.' Once more MFA&A officers had as their first objectives: 'to record damage done by combat operations and military occupation, the

prevention of further damage, and the location and security of any looted objects.<sup>781</sup> It is gratifying to have been able to recall what we owe to George Stout.<sup>82</sup>



61 The morning of a shipment by truck to the Netherlands: Lieutenant Colonel Vorenkamp with Coulter (now Lieutenant Commander), and curatorial assistant Birkmeyer.

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## Notes

1 National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 239, Box 28. The ambassador's account lists by name a number of the hosts and guests who were present. I am grateful to Lynn Nicholas for telling me of the existence of this dispatch.

There are two main masses of material on these matters in Washington's archives: in the National Archives, Record Group 239; and in the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, Ardelia Hall Collection, Record Group 260.

References to material in these archives are cited in footnotes hereafter as follows:

National Archives, RG 239 and

National Records Center, RG 260.

2 Michael J. Kurtz, *Nazi Contraband: American Policy on the Return of European Cultural Treasures, 1945-1955*, New York and London (Garland Publishing, Inc.) 1985 (hereafter cited as Kurtz 1985).

Most of what is said in the present lecture about the background of restitution from the U.S. Zone of occupied Germany is covered by Kurtz. I therefore restrict specific references to Kurtz's book in my footnotes to material there that I want to stress for its pertinence to the main concerns of the lecture.

3 The history of the American Commission is given in the *Report of the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas*, Washington, D.C. (United States Government Printing Office) 1946. This is the report submitted by Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts to the President of the United States on 30 June 1946 on behalf of the Commission, of which Roberts was Chairman (hereafter cited as *Report of the American Commission* [1946]).

Most of the material for the brief history of the MFA&A Service that introduces this lecture is to be found in the *Report of the American Commission*. Hence, I do not cite the report repeatedly in my footnotes, but instead reserve the footnotes chiefly for passages of the report that I want stressed, for documentation on the report when that documentation seems of particular interest for the main concerns of the lecture, and for material not found in the report.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 1 (for the full text, see National Archives, RG 239, Box 51).

5 Kurtz 1985, p. 66.

6 A letter to President Roosevelt from the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, dated 21 June 1943, recommended formally the appointment of the Commission, its membership and its functions (National Archives, RG 239, Box 12). See also Kurtz 1985, pp. 67-70.

7 As underlined by Marvin C. Ross, 'SHAEF and the Protection of Monuments in Northwest Europe,' *College Art Journal* 5 (1946), pp. 119-22.

8 As cited above in note 3.

9 The report of the Archaeological Advisor to the War Office, Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Wooley,

*A Record of the Work Done by the Military Authorities for the Protection of the Treasures of Art and History in War Areas*, London (His Majesty's Stationery Office) 1947. Wooley also had the title Chief of the MFA&A Branch in the British Element co.

10 For the full letter (National Archives, RG 239, Box 51), see Appendix I.

11 *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts*, William Hayes Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, issued quarterly from 1932 to 1942.

12 For the full text of Stout's letter (National Archives, RG 239, Box 51), see Appendix I.

13 *Technical Studies* 10 (1942), pp. 161ff. It was followed by a pamphlet, *Emergency Protection of Works of Art: Notes prepared during a conference held at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 9-21, 1942* (instead of an author or editor, there is a list of members of the Department of Conservation at the Fogg, with Stout at the head).

14 In this and the following paragraph the order of events is as recorded chiefly in a letter from Francis Taylor to Paul Sachs, dated 4 December 1942 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 53).

15 National Archives, RG 239, Box 51.

16 This we learn from the minutes of a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art of 1 December 1942 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

17 Kurtz 1985, p. 61.

18 Chief Justice Stone's letter to the President of 8 December 1942 mentions that he has 'been in consultation' with Professor Dinsmoor.

19 Letters of 5 and 30 December 1942 from Stout to Lehman and to Taylor (National Archives, RG 239, Box 53).

20 *Report of the American Commission* (1946), p. 33; Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on Protection of Cultural Treasures in War Areas, 'Minutes of the First Full Meeting — on June 25, 1943,' p. 1 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 12). The memorandum of Stout, Sachs and Chase also went to Francis Taylor (in his position as head of the American Association of Museums) and to William Dinsmoor.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

22 The work of the ACLS committee is described in William Bell Dinsmoor's 'Report of the Chairman of the Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies on Protection of Cultural Treasure in War Areas,' dated 14 August 1944 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 12). See also Dinsmoor's 'Summary [of the Committee's work] for the month of July, 1943' (*ibid.*) and 'Minutes of the First Full Meeting' (cited in note 20 above).

23 In addition to the *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 47ff., see *Report by Professor Mason Hammond on his Work in Italy, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives* (National Archives, RG 239, Box 27) and especially p. 5.

24 See citation of footnote 19; also the *Report of the American Commission* (1946), p. 33.

25 'Minutes of the First Full Meeting' (cited above in footnote 20), its Appendix E.

26 Paul Clemen (ed.), *Kunstschutz im Kriege: Berichte über den Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf den verschiedenen Kriegsschauplätzen und über die deutschen und österreichischen Massnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung, Rettung, Erforschung*, in 2 vols., Leipzig 1919. Volume 1 deals with measures taken on Germany's western front, volume 2 with those on the east. (I am grateful for this reference to both Lynn Nicholas and Willibald Sauerländer.) Idem, 'Frankreichs Führerstellung in der Denkmalpflege,' in Paul Clemen, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Düsseldorf 1948, pp. 143-59 (originally published in 1898, this article traces the precedence of France in the protection of monuments and art objects by a state). Idem, *Der Zustand der Kunstdenkmäler auf dem westlichen Kriegsschauplatz*, Leipzig 1916. (This reference I owe to Professor Sauerländer. It is a report of destruction, defensive in tone.)



27 Walter W.S. Cook of New York University wrote an approving memorandum to David Finley 'concerning activities in the preservation of works of art by Germany in the first World War' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 51). There is positive estimate in *Copy of Report by Professor Mason Hammond on his Work in Italy, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives* (National Archives, RG 239, Box 24), pp. 1-2. Dinsmoor, however, characterized the German precedent as 'a tardy effort to stay some of the damage which Germany had wrought upon the world' (his report of 1944, cited above, p. 2). See also Kurtz 1985, pp. 6-7. Stout himself was aware of the efforts to protect art during the Spanish civil war and called attention to them in his article of 1942 (see note 13 above).

28 Kurtz 1985, pp. 40-46 gives a summary account.

29 See the memorandum signed by Franz Graf Wolff Metternich, dated 1 September 1940 at Paris and headed: 'Der Beauftragte für Kunstschutz beim OKH. Bericht über den Einsatz des kunstwissenschaftlichen Arbeitsstabes in Frankreich' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 70).

30 Kurtz 1985, p. 38; Rose Valland, *Le front de l'art*, Paris 1961, pp. 33-37. (I am grateful for this reference to Lynn Nicholas.)

31 See the citation of footnote 14 above.

32 Kurtz 1985, pp. 3-6 gives a summary of this history.

33 See a memorandum of 28 July 1944 from David E. Finley to John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War (National Archives, RG 239, Box 17). Material in this section of the lecture is treated more fully in the *Report of the American Commission* (1946). On the matter of the rank of MFA&A officers, for instance, see that *Report*, p. 121.

For a summary account of the whole MFA&A operation, see Janet Flanner, *Men and Monuments*, New York 1947, pp. 266-90.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 105-06, 121.

35 In Stout's letter of 19 October 1943 (Appendix I).

36 See, for instance, Robert K. Posey, 'Protection of Cultural Materials during Combat,' *College Art Journal* 5 (1946), p. 127.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-30. See also Walker Hancock, 'Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany,' *ibid.*, pp. 271-311, for a vivid account of this and other aspects of MFA&A service in the field.

38 Ralph W. Hammett, 'Comzone and the Protection of Monuments in Northwest Europe,' *College Art Journal* 5 (1946), pp. 123-26; Kurtz 1985, p. 74.

39 The *Report of the American Commission* (1946), p. 105.

40 *Ibid.* I am grateful to Walker Hancock for details in this case.

41 National Archives, RG 239, Boxes 27 and 70.

42 For instance, Hammett (cited in footnote 38 above), pp. 124-25.

43 James J. Rorimer, in collaboration with G. Rabin, *Survival: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War*, New York 1950.

44 John D. Skilton, *Défense de l'art européen: souvenirs d'un officier américain 'spécialiste des monuments'*, Paris (Editions Internationales) 1948.

45 Hancock (cited in note 37 above), pp. 279-80, 287-93, 300-07.

46 For Rorimer's account, see his book (cited in footnote 43 above), pp. 114, 160-90.

47 Lincoln Kirstein, 'The Quest of the Golden Lamb,' *Town and Country* 100 (1945), pp. 115, 182-89, 198. For the report by Captain Posey, see National Archives, RG 239, Box 27 (I owe this reference to Lynn Nicholas); also Posey (cited in footnote 36 above), pp. 130-31.

48 Kirstein (as cited in the previous note); Rorimer (as cited in footnote 46 above), pp. 151-53, 194-95; *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 138ff. Lieutenant Charles L. Kuhn

USNR, from MFA&A at SHAEF, made an early inspection of these sites.

49 In early 1944 Major Hammond's branch of Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives at Supreme Headquarters was in the Interior Division of the German Country Unit, SHAEF Special Staff. On 22 August 1944 it became part of Property Section of the Military Government Division 'A' of U.S. Group Control Council, on 25 November 1944 a branch of the Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division of the U.S. Group Control Council (Germany), and on 15 October 1945 the MFA&A Section of the Restitution Branch of the Economics Division of the Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.): see Mason Hammond, 'Report on the MFA&A Branch for Period 25 November 1944 to 4 October 1945,' addressed to Director, Reparations, Deliveries and Restitution Division, U.S. Group Control Council (Germany), APO 742, U.S. Army, p. 1 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 70; RG 260, Box 139, folder 139-5) and *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 123-25.

50 Draft Directive, to the US (UK) (USSR) Commander-in-Chief on *Control of Works of Art and Monuments*, dated 14 September 1944, p. 2 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 5).

51 The draft is attached to a memorandum of 5 August 1944 from Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force, G-5 Operations Branch, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives, over the name of Lt. Col. Geoffrey Webb (National Archives, RG 239, Box 5).

52 Mr. Brown's title was Advisor on Cultural Matters to the United States Group, Control Council for Germany (*Report of the American Commission* [1946], p. 10).

53 The memorandum dated 1 June 1945 from John Nicholas Brown, MFA&A Branch, Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution Division of the U.S. Group Control Council (Germany), to the Deputy Military Governor, Headquarters U.S. Group Control (Germany), 'Subject: Responsibility of U.S. Military Government in the Field of Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 70), p. 2.

54 Communication dated 20 May 1945 to Commanding General, 12th Army Group, APO 655, Headquarters, 21 Army Group, signed T.J. Davis, Brigadier General, USA, Adjutant General, 'By directive of the Supreme Commander,' 'Subject: Protection of Repositories of Works of Art and Archives in Germany' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 70; also National Records Center, RG 260, Box 82, folder 6).

55 *Report of the American Museum Commission* (1946), p. 18.

56 T.C. Howe, Jr., *Salt Mines and Castles*, Indianapolis 1946.

57 The *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 132-33, 138. The holdings found at the Merkers mine were evacuated to Frankfurt in April 1945 and in August 1945 were moved to the Central Collecting Point at Wiesbaden (*ibid.*).

58 An account of the establishment and work of the collecting point at Munich is included in the *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 144ff.

59 The numbering system is described in my first report to the Commanding General U.S. Forces, European Theater, for the period 4 June to 2 July 1945 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 72): see Appendix III of this lecture, item 1.

60 See Appendix II, item 1; also Rorimer (as cited in footnote 43 above), pp. 217-19 and his report of June 1945 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 27 — a reference I owe to Lynn Nicholas).

61 Rorimer (as cited in the previous footnote), p. 218.

62 Appendix III includes the monthly reports covering the period from 4 June through October 1945 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 72) — namely, the period of the development of the collecting point up to the time of its first shipments of art to the Netherlands.

63 In future, just as a matter of record, photocopies of both sets of notes will be deposited in a Washington archive.

64 Erika Hanfstaengl had attended Wellesley College. Eberhard Hanfstaengl had been director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin and was forced from office. (He is not to be confused with the Nazi, Putzi Hanfstaengl.) See Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg 1949, especially pp. 58 and 92, and Alfred Hentzen, *Die Berliner Nationalgalerie im Bildersturm*, Cologne and Berlin 1971, pp. 34, 62-63.

65 Howe (as cited above in footnote 56), pp. 105ff., 187ff.

66 This was in keeping both with the later recommendation of John Nicholas Brown (that whenever cases could be identified by mark or number, they not be opened [Memorandum of 27 July 1945, National Archives, RG 239, Box 70]) and with subsequent orders, of a similar nature, concerning restitution procedures (cited in footnote 76 below).

67 Howe (as cited above in footnote 56), pp. 68ff.

68 *Ausstellung bayerischer Gemälde des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Haus der Kunst, Westflügel, München (under the Auspices of Office of Military Government for Bavaria, Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives), Eröffnung 17. Januar 1946. Also published in English. See also *The Bavarian* 2, 4 (24 January 1946), p. 8.

69 Craig Hugh Smyth, 'A New Institute of Art History in Munich,' *College Art Journal* 6 (1947), pp. 298-300.

70 It is striking how many were the committees and commissions that were primarily concerned before the war's end with plans and preparations for restitution: see the account of them in the *Report of the American Commission* (1946), pp. 24-30 and Kurtz 1985, pp. 85ff.

71 John Nicholas Brown, Memorandum of 1 June 1945 (cited above in note 53), p. 4 and Memorandum of 16 August 1945 to Commanding General, U.S. Group (Germany), giving his final report on his tour of duty (National Archives, RG 239, Box 70), p. 10. See also Hammond, 'Report on MFA&A Branch for Period 25 November 1944 to 4 October 1945' (cited above in note 49), Annex XX, p. 2.

72 Kurtz 1985, pp. 85-101.

73 Brown, Memorandum of 1 June 1945 (cited above in note 53), p. 4.

74 Steps leading up to the decision to proceed unilaterally with cultural restitution in the U.S. Zone are given in 'Report on MFA&A Branch for Period 25 November 1944 to 4 October 1945' (cited in footnote 49 above), especially pp. 4-5. There is a sort of postscript to earlier plans for restitution and to the Potsdam ruling in 'Draft Minutes of the 19th Meeting of the Commission [for Protection and Restitution of Cultural Material of the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education] held at No. 20 Princes Street, W.1 on Friday 7th September, 1945' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 6).

75 Directive of 15 September 1945 by Command of General Eisenhower to Commanding General, Western Military District, signed by R.B. Lovett, Brigadier General, USA, Adjutant General, Headquarters, U.S. Forces, European Theater, 'Subject: Return of Looted Works of Art to Owner Nations' (National Archives, RG 239, Box 41).

76 *Report of the American Commission* (1946), p. 147.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

78 Charles (sic) Estreicher (ed.), *Cultural Losses of Poland: Index of Polish Cultural Losses during the German Occupation, 1939-1944*, London (1944).

79 As foreseen in Brown's Memorandum of 16 August 1945 (cited in footnote 71), p. 10 and in the directive of 15 September (cited in footnote 75).

80 Memorandum for Members and Advisors of the American Commission, dated 15 December 1945, p. 1 (National Archives, RG 239, Box 12).

81 *Report of the American Commission* (1946), p. 158.

82 After returning to civilian life, Stout was once more at Harvard for a year, then became director of the Worcester Art Museum and later of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. While in this last post, he helped found the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.



*Appendix I*

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Exchange of letters between Paul Sachs and George Stout

(National Archives, Record Group 239, Box 51)

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*CONFIDENTIAL*

September 10, 1943

Lieutenant George L. Stout, USNR  
A. E. D. S.  
Naval Air Station  
Patuxent River, Maryland

Dear George:

The weeks have passed without my writing to you although you have been repeatedly in my mind and I have missed you, both in connection with Fogg matters and war matters.

I should have written to you some time ago to tell you that your 'brain child' has finally taken shape in an official kind of way and, as you know, the President has appointed an American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in Europe with Mr. Justice Roberts as Chairman, and I have been asked to be a member of that Commission and I have accepted.

I have also been asked by Mr. Justice Roberts to act as a committee of one to supply the names of personnel for the General Staff of the Army qualified to cooperate with respect to the protection of works of cultural value in countries occupied by the Army of the United Nations. Needless to say, I brought up your name at our first meeting, and I have this day sent a letter to Washington as per copy enclosed. Whether anything will eventually come of it, and, if so, when; whether you would be interested if asked, etc. etc., I do not know. It seemed to me, however, that I ought to post you at once because not only is this commission the result of your great thinking and clear statements at the time of the Metropolitan meeting just after Pearl Harbor, but

in a very true sense you seem to me the real father of the whole show, and my further thoughts are, I trust, clearly expressed in the copy of the letter which I am sending you. Supposing you were asked to go into this work and, for want of a better term, 'on the technical side,' who are the people in this country who, in your opinion, would be best qualified to work under your guidance and under your direction. I should like two lists:

*List A:* Those now serving in the United States armed forces in this country or in any part of the world.

*List B:* Those not yet in the armed forces but whose services might be enlisted in due course.

In every instance in addition to the man's professional qualifications and training, may I have your estimate of the man's character; his present rank in the armed forces if you happen to know it; and his address. If you are not too hopelessly busy, I trust I may count on your early cooperation.

I want to repeat even at the risk of being more long-winded than is my habit that it is my deliberate opinion that the appointment of this Commission is due to your initiative, imagination and energy.

I have been so damn busy all summer that I have only had an occasional glimpse of Margaret. Now that the Winthrop situation has been completely handled, those of us who have been occupied with that matter for the last three months hope to get a little breathing spell. I am planning to get away with Meta on this day, but any letter from you will be promptly forwarded to me. I also hope to turn up at Dumbarton Oaks about October first, if not sooner, and if it is at all possible, I should like to have a good talk with you at that time.

I hope that all continues to go well with you and that you get good reports from home.

With warm greetings,

Devotedly,

[Paul J. Sachs]

U.S. NAVAL AIR STATION  
PATUXENT RIVER, MARYLAND

AEDS

13 September 1943

Prof. Paul J. Sachs,  
Fogg Museum of Art,  
Harvard University,  
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Paul:

It has done me a lot of good to get your letter of the 10th. First, it is good to hear from you, and, second, it is good to know that the job on conservation of monuments is going forward with you in the saddle. I am getting off this answer at the earliest possible moment, and I know that you will slide over my awkward manipulation of the typewriter.

I congratulate the U.S. Government and the chairman of the American commission on getting you to serve. You are kind to give me so much credit in getting this work under way, but you magnify it one hell of a lot. Something far below the average set of brains is needed to figure out what ought to be done. Getting it done is what counts. A long time ago I figured out that it would be nifty to have a machine that would wash dishes, but that didn't help anybody.

You ask whether I would be interested in doing this kind of work. Of course I would. If the time comes when I'm needed for it, I'll be ordered to do it and that will be o.k. with me. It looks like my cup of tea. Luckily, my duty now is along old lines — paint and color — and I like it. But we're all pieces of gear and fitting. We can be changed and moved about pretty handily.

The lists of persons I know who would be qualified to work on the technical side will be very short. Before going into them, I want to make sure that I have a reasonably clear notion of the job to be done. This, I take it, is strictly a program of protection and salvage. The aim would be to hold the status quo of monuments at the time of Allied occupation, and to do all possible to insure that they met with no damage as the result of occupation. If I am right about that, a small complement of officers and a moderate complement of enlisted personnel ought to be able to handle the work in cooperation with officers and men assigned to military government.



*List A:* Those (whom I happen to know) now serving in the armed forces of the United States.

Starr, Richard, lieut., USNR. When last known about, stationed in Washington, D.C. His field experience would make him valuable.

Cross, Harold F., lieut., USNR. U.S. Naval Air Station, Patuxent River, Md. An architectural student and museum restorer with some years of experience.

Keck, Sheldon. When last known about, was expecting to be commissioned in the army. Could be reached through the Brooklyn Museum.

These men would be able, by their training and experience, to do the kind of work which seems indicated. Exact addresses in the cases of Starr and Keck could be had from the Bureau of Naval Personnel, in Starr's case, and from the corresponding Army agency for Keck. Further data about their fitness could also be examined at these sources by the proper authorities.

In *List B*, I can put only one name: Pease, Murray, Metropolitan Museum of Art. He would make a capable officer. These names are all familiar to you. I know a few other museum technical men who might be used, but none in the service or likely to fit well in it. There should be an architectural engineer, but I do not know one. He would have to be found.

Enlisted personnel would be very important. Such a unit would need transportation and mechanics to take care of it, yeomen for paper work, a few men who knew something about photography, packers, carpenters, masons, and a few good heavy workmen. These could be trained shortly to do this special job. Some knowledge of languages, particularly among officers and yeomen (I don't remember the Army equivalent of a yeoman) would be well to shoot at, but official dealings with civil authorities would, I suppose, be taken care of by military government officers.

Let me know when you are to be in Washington, and if it is on a week end, I shall try to get up for a session. We are not far by air.

Affectionate greetings to you and Meta,

Yours,

[George L. Stout]

U.S. NAVAL AIR STATION  
PATUXENT RIVER, MARYLAND  
AEDS

19 October 1943

Professor Paul J. Sachs,  
Fogg Museum of Art,  
Harvard University,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dear Paul:

This afternoon I had a chance to talk with Mr. Huntington Cairns and with Murray Pease. Mr. Cairns gave us some idea of how matters stand with regard to technical field protection of monuments and said that the next step was only waiting on a settlement of the personnel question.

In that connection I urged on him the importance of an adequate complement of enlisted personnel, set up from the start as part of the whole project. I need not argue the point with you. There will be field work to get done. It will be in areas where all available personnel will be on duty. Special personnel is required. Mr. Cairns asked me to mention this requirement to you so that it can be embodied in the original request.

To develop it a short way further, I can outline a few general qualifications. *Number.* At the minimum there should be ten to each commissioned officer; twelve would be better; sixteen would not be too many. *General training.* Raw recruits would not do. The men will need to have general army training, with or without field experience. They should know the school of the soldier, of the rifle, of small arms, and how to live and work in the service. *Special training.* Only about half would need to have special training. These could be selected from service records and aptitude tests by any method the army uses. Such vocations as packer, mason, mover, paper-hanger, sign-writer, taxidermist, and stock-keeper might be among them. Important would be two or three men (or women) capable of office work — typing and filing. And very important would be three or four men who had some experience in photography.

It would be hazardous to accept a vague promise that men would be assigned in the field. They are all needed where they are. Unless a directive

sets up a complement, it will be almost impossible to pry them loose. Without adequate personnel to dig in and do the work quickly, the work can not get done, the officers will be helpless, and the commission will look foolish.

Special liaison will need also to be directed, for example, with the Air Forces for study of reconnaissance photographs and with the Signal Corps for development of photographic records.

Special equipment will be needed — pages of lists of it. What, in the Navy, we call a 'project order' would be required to take care of its procurement.

These details are too many for me to take up now, but I wanted to get the general problem off my mind. I wish you could be here.

One small matter if I am to be in the show. I am under orders 'to duty involving flying as a technical observer.' It seems to me important, for purposes of observation and mobility, that my flight status should be retained. I understand, of course, that I should continue to be a naval officer and in naval aviation.

Murray Pease has had a hard decision to make because of the status of his work at the Metropolitan. I did not press him, but when we separated he seemed inclined to go in with this project.

Truly, your obedient servant,  
[George L. Stout]

U.S. NAVAL AIR STATION  
PATUXENT RIVER, MARYLAND  
AEDS

25 October 1943

Professor Paul J. Sachs,  
Dumbarton Oaks,  
3101 R Street, NW,  
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Paul:

Your encouraging letter of 21 October is received. I have just written to Jack Thacher asking him to wire me for you if I am needed in Washington this week. The week is crowded and I have told him the difficulties.

Saturday night he and I had a session over the field salvage of monuments. To my surprise he said that he would be willing to go into this job. He could certainly be used. As a liaison officer his knowledge and special talents would be invaluable. Moreover, from his vantage point in the Navy Department, he could help speed the framing and authorization of the original directive.

At the risk of being tedious, I want to say again that the framing of that directive is vital. Personnel, equipment, liaison, priorities, articulation of organization, financial allowance, all have to be figured in. To do all this now will save time and prevent frustration. It will also provide for extension of the salvage service as or if conditions demand.

On general lines I suppose that we can look towards a system of operation in which emergency salvage would be the rule — keep the things from further harm as much as possible, clear the record, and turn the restoration over to the civil authorities. Well, the Germans have got their salvage troops and we'll probably live to see a fine spread of white-wash.

It is good news that Murray Pease will make himself available.

Yours,  
[George L. Stout]

## Appendix II

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Smyth's diary entries of the first two days in Munich,  
including day of arrival, 4 June 1945

(Transcribed from papers in his possession,  
but soon to be deposited in Washington.)

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### 4 June<sup>1</sup>

1700 Arrived Det E1F3 [the Military Government Detachment for Bavaria]. Billed.<sup>2</sup> Had meeting with Lt. Kern [MFA&A officer for Bavaria] and Lt. Rorimer concerning choice of repository in Munich. Lt. Colonel Kurtz, Property Control Officer [in the Military Government], stated that decision on the choice should be made immediately so that it could be requisitioned. After supper, went with Lt. Kern and Lt. Rorimer to inspect Haus der Deutschen Kunst and the Nazi Verwaltungsbau. Agreed with Rorimer and Kern that the Verwaltungsbau was the better prospect. Spent the remainder of the evening with Lt. Kern, who gave me the background material concerning administrative channels at this detachment and the history of the work in this area. Rorimer and Kern both favored one building only.

### 5 June

0815 Talked with Lt. Colonel Kurtz and Lt. Kern on the proper way of obtaining Verwaltungsbau. Moved into office with Lt. Kern. 1100 meeting with Colonel [Charles] Keegan [Military Government's commanding officer] in presence of Lt. Kern, who arranged the meeting. Presented him with the picture of the purpose of the repository, informed him about SHAEF directive concerning the establishment of such a central collecting point. Presented him with a summary of the immediate problems: (1) obtaining the Verwaltungsbau (2) obtaining materials to make it ready (3) arranging for the proper security. With regard to obtaining the Verwaltungsbau, he suggested a letter to 3rd Army Group for Captain [Robert K.] Posey. He also suggested not to try and dispossess present occupants of Verwaltungsbau, 2nd Battalion, 79th Inf. Regiment, since they will leave this week. He suggested Lt. Colonel De Pew for materials, and said that no special security would be necessary when the present occupants move out.

Visited Det F1F3 in Munich to see Capt. Laughlin, Exec. Officer about

procuring architect. Laughlin sent me to the Public Utilities officer, Captain \_\_\_ Prince who arranged to find 3 well recommended architects as soon as possible.

Called Captain Posey, who informed me that Third Army was arranging to take over for the repository two buildings, the Führerbau and the Verwaltungsbau, Königsplatz, Munich. Told him of the letter of request going up from here.

Lt. Kern prepared for me a formal request to Third Army for the Verwaltungsbau for Colonel Keegan's signature in reference [to] order to armies from 12th Army Group to this effect.

Made full summary of problem for my use:

1. Procuring buildings.
2. Getting present occupants \_\_\_ out, without doing more quickly than General Meyers desires.
3. Making general inventory as soon as the building<sup>3</sup> is in our hands, and procuring personnel for this.
4. Cleaning whole building under close supervision as soon as troops are out — or earlier on the ground floors; securing personnel for this work.
5. Security during transfer of building — while troops move out.
6. Security after transfer of building.
  - (1) Barbed wire.
  - (2) Location of entrances and passageways.
  - (3) Possible bricking up extra entrances.
  - (4) Locks — the question of keys and whether there are duplicates in the possession of former officials.
  - (5) Getting a special detachment of trained MPs under an officer to furnish security night and day on both buildings.
7. Obtaining an architect to direct repairs to roof, windows etc. and construction of racks, and to direct construction for security measures.
8. Obtaining plans of buildings to enable arrangements for security — and plans for the use of the buildings.
  - 8a. Ascertaining exactly where money for repairs, cleaning, alterations etc. is coming from.
9. 1st meeting with the Bürgermeister:
  - (1) to apprise him of the repository.
  - (2) to arrange for materials: lumber, brick, etc. order first installment.
  - (3) to arrange for labor.

- (4) to talk to him and building commissioner about architects, superintendents, building engineers.
- 9a. Planning with architect general plan of arrangement for art to meet specifications provisionally drawn up by me.
- 10. Second meeting with Bürgermeister — with chosen architect.
  - (1) to tell what I want in
    - Materials.
    - Labor.
  - (2) to tell when I want the job done of
    - a. Weather proofing.
    - b. Securing.
    - c. Building racks.
- 11. Beginning repairs — roof, windows, etc. pumping out lower basement (flooded when fighting fire).
- 12. Beginning racks.
- 13. Choosing repository personnel: (a) Arranging through Munich Arbeitsamt to get persons named by me, and to furnish other qualified personnel for interviewing. (b) Interviewing. (c) Getting choices properly examined and cleared politically.
  - note: Personnel necessary, as now foreseen:<sup>4</sup>
- 14. Acquisition of office equipment not already in building.
- 15. Putting heating and humidifying plants [centered in the service building] into working order.
- 16. Acquisition of research library.
- 17. Acquisition of technical equipment for
  - (1) Photographic laboratory.
  - (2) Restorers [i.e., conservators] shops.<sup>5</sup>
  - (3) <sup>4</sup>
- 18. Installing alarms or phones for guards.
- 19. Acquisition of Filing equipment for registrar and setting up in accordance with accession plan.
- 20. Printing of accession-filing cards.
- 21. Printing of restorers cards.

1 The entries are reproduced in full, with brief explanatory insertions added within brackets where necessary.

2 Billeting was routine: on an upper floor of one of the row houses requisitioned for billeting officers of Detachment E1 F3, 3rd European Civil Affairs Regiment, APO 650, U.S. Army. I remained there until ordered to the United States for return to civilian life.

3 The use of both the plural and singular in this entry stems from the realization that, although both the Verwaltungsbau and the Führerbau would be requisitioned, it would be necessary to concentrate on readying one building as quickly as possible to receive the first loads of art coming very soon and to house collecting point offices. The first building to be readied would be the Verwaltungsbau, since it was in better condition than its counterpart.

4 Item not completed.

5 The word 'conservator' would nowadays be used for the person engaged for first-aid protective measures, not 'restorer,' which was then the word in general use because traditionally restorers undertook whatever conservation was done.



*Appendix III*

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Monthly Reports from the Central Art Collecting Point, Munich,  
4 June 1945 up to the beginning of October, when the  
first shipment of art left for the Netherlands

(National Archives, Record Group 239, Box 72)

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HEADQUARTERS  
DETACHMENT E1 F3  
COMPANY F, 3RD ECA REGT.\*

CHS/msr  
APO 658  
28 July 1945

*Subject:* Semi-Monthly Report on Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives for  
Period Ending 2 July 1945.  
*To:* Commanding General United States Forces, European Theater,  
APO 757, U.S. Army.  
*Through:* Commanding Officer, Detachment E1 F3, 3rd European Civil  
Affairs Regiment APO 658, U.S. Army.

The following report concerns the establishment of the Central Art Collecting Depot in Munich and covers the period of four weeks from 4 June 1945 through 2 July 1945. Lt. Craig Hugh Smyth, USNR, arrived in Munich on 4 June to begin the project as officer-in-charge. He was joined by Lt. J. Hamilton Coulter, USNR, 10 June 1945. Both officers are on duty with the Bavarian Regional Military Government, Detachment E1 F3.

Since his arrival, Lt. Coulter has taken particular charge of the architectural aspects of preparing the repository, arranging for the repair of the Repository buildings and obtaining labor and materials. A separate report

\* The monthly reports were typed originally by the collecting point's German secretarial pool. Peculiarities in typing that resulted have been mostly retained in these transcriptions.

is being submitted by Lt. Coulter on the Developments in these phases of the work.

Sometime before 4 June, two buildings in Munich had been selected as suitable for a central art repository. The two buildings chosen are known as the 'Verwaltungsbau' and the 'Führerbau' on the Arcisstrasse at the Königsplatz and are the two principal structures in a complex of buildings which formerly were the Headquarters of the Nazi Party.

Lt. Smyth's instructions from Major B. La Farge, MFA and A Officer, 12th Army Group, were to work for the designation of the two buildings as a central art repository and then to prepare them as storage-point for immediate use and also as a long-term repository and cataloguing center.

#### *I. Acquisition of the Buildings.*

On 5 June 1945 Col. Keegan, Commanding-Officer, Detachment E1 F3, requested the CG, Third U.S. Army, to release the buildings to this Detachment for use as a repository. Shortly thereafter word was received from Captain Posey, MFA and A officer, Third Army, that the Third Army had been directed to assign them for this use and that G-5 Section Third Army, had requested Accommodations Section, G-3, to reserve them.

On 6 June acting on telephonic directions from Third Army G-5 Section, to take the buildings into formal property Control for use as a depot, the Property Control Officer Det. E1 F3 took immediate steps to get clearance with the Seventh Army, which was at that time in Munich. Concurrence of the CG, Seventh U.S. Army, was obtained.

On 8 June it was learned that concurrence had not yet been obtained from CG Third Army U.S. and the following day the Accommodation Officer, G-3 Section, Third Army, visited Munich and inspected both buildings to ascertain what other uses could be made of them. At this time it was emphasized, that they were the only buildings in Munich which could provide sufficient storage space and, at the same time, could meet the principal needs of a central collecting point as to fire-proofing, readiness for immediate emergency storage, adequate heating plant, library space, space for work shops, convenient storage rooms, freight elevator etc. While waiting for the final decision the Property Control Officer acted in accordance with the Blocking and Control Law, Number 52, and took both buildings, with the adjacent Powerhouse into formal control.

On 14 June verbal information was received via Captain Posey that they had been definitely [designated] by the Third Army as a Central Collecting

Point and that written approval was to follow. Until the status of the repository was settled by the Third Army Approval, it was impossible to complete any permanent measures for procuring labor, materials, or security guards.

## II. *Present status of the Repository.*

The present status of the repository can be described as follows. It is held by and administrated under the Bavarian Regional Military Government, Detachment E1 F3, to which both Lt. Smyth and Lt. Coulter are assigned in temporary duty in the MFA and A Section under Lt. Kern. The Detachment administers the repository under the supervision of the Third U.S. Army. The Property Control Officer of the detachment holds the buildings and delegates the management of them to Lt. Smyth. As a result for practical purposes the latter, as MFA and A Officer, is in charge of the repository buildings, employees, and contents under the supervision of the Military Government Detachment and the Third Army.

Civilian employees, both permanent staff and contractors and laborers, are procured by the Bavarian Military Government, Detachment through Lt. Smyth and Lt. Coulter, and are paid by the German Bavarian Government. Materials are likewise paid for by the Bavarian Government, are procured by the contractors, and are requisitioned by the Third Army in cases where materials have been frozen.

## III. *Evacuation of Former Occupants.*

Before the buildings were taken over, they were occupied by the second Battalion, 179th Infantry Regiment, 45 Division. The C.O. was informed that 13 June would be the latest possible date for evacuating the buildings. The battalion moved out on that date, although the buildings were not approved as a repository until the following day.

## IV. *Security Guard.*

Efforts were made to procure a strong security guard to take over as soon as the buildings were evacuated. The membership files of the Nazi Party, which are said to have been found in the Verwaltungsbau in their entirety, when the buildings were captured, had never been officially removed. Large portions of these files remained, as well as a considerable collection of art objects stored in the cellars. Nearly all windows and entrances to the upper basement were broken and open. In addition, unobstructed underground passages led into the buildings from many other Nazi owned structures in the

vicinity and from several points in the open surrounding areas.

On 13 June, when the buildings were evacuated, a temporary guard was procured through the Town Major. Since it was rather small, unofficial arrangements for a larger temporary guard of 30 men were made with the Commanding officer of the unit providing the guard.

On 15 June, after the buildings had been definitely reserved, a request was sent from Colonel Keegan to CG, Third Army (Attention AC of S, G-5) requesting a permanent security guard, which for the time being should man 23 posts. The majority of these posts were located in the Verwaltungsbau and Powerhouse in as much as it was planned to use the Führerbau to billet the guard temporarily.

On 18 June the new guard moved into the Führerbau, from which it will move as soon as permanent quarters are made ready in the Power-House. It consists of a Battery and one half from the 571 at AAA AW Battalion SP. With the completion of all safety measures some posts will be changed and the number somewhat decreased. With the beginning of work in the Führerbau, however, the guard is being increased there.

#### V. *Other security measures.*

In addition to posting the guard, steps were taken to have the underground passage-ways blocked with barbed wire barriers and to have high barbed wire fences erected around the Powerhouse, Verwaltungsbau and Führerbau. All personnel come and go through two entrances. The underground passage-way, connecting the three buildings, has been left open, so that the three buildings are for all practical purposes, combined in one.

Other security measures have been as follows: The names of all persons entering and leaving the buildings are entered in a control-book. All packages and hand-bags are searched. All personnel entering buildings must carry building-passes, issued by this office. An engineering detail was obtained to examine the buildings and passage-ways for explosives and booby-traps. As the result of this search a considerable amount of German ammunition was discovered and removed from the buildings. Lights were placed on each side of the buildings to illuminate the surrounding area at night. A Fire-Bill was begun and new carbon dioxide extinguishers ordered. Care has been taken to hire only non-Nazi personnel. Arrangements have been made with CIC to screen with art-objects while they are in the yard, a special security detail is assigned as guard.

#### VI. *Renaming of the Repository Buildings.*

It was decided to discontinue the use of the Nazi names for the repository buildings and refer to them collectively as 'The Gallery', to the Verwaltungsbau as Gallery I and to the Führerbau as Gallery II. It was considered that the people of Munich are bound to discover something about the present use of these buildings and that in this city, always a center of art, the name 'Gallery' would serve to allay dangerous curiosity.

#### VII. *The status of employees.*

All employees, with two exceptions to be mentioned below, are paid directly by the Kultusministerium of the German, Bavarian Government. The Bavarian Government is furnishing a financial representative to arrange all financial matters and pay the employees. A number of the employees were already in the pay of Bavaria before coming to the Gallery, and since their work here is similar to that for which they have been previously hired, their status remains the same.

Before the repository had been definitely assigned, a number of temporary employees, who were needed immediately, were arranged for through the Oberbürgermeister of Munich.

By this arrangement these employees were able to begin work as soon as the buildings were definitely assigned.

Prior to the arrangements with the Kultusministerium two employees were hired via Detachment E1 F3 and now will be transferred directly to the Bavarian payroll.

#### VIII. *Organization of Personnel.*

A chart showing the organization of personnel is enclosed. On this chart two main departments are shown:

1. The curatorial department, under which are all sections having to do directly with art.

2. The department for the repair and maintenance of the buildings.

There are also two [other] departments:

1. The disbursing department and

2. A department comprising a personnel manager and secretarial staff.

As is evident from the diagram, for the present Lt. Smyth is particularly concerned with the curatorial department, while Lt. Coulter has as his particular responsibility repair and maintenance.

## IX. *Obtaining of Personnel.*

Personnel employed at present belong to two categories:

1. Those who are permanent staff;
2. Contractors and labourers, who are hired only until their work is done.

In obtaining the permanent staff several sources have been useful. 1.) The SHAEF white list of art-personnel was helpful in locating Dr. Lill, who gave advice about art specialists. 2.) From the Oberbürgermeister of Munich the names of reliable architects were obtained and also the inventory, cleaning personnel, and archivists. 3.) Application was also made to the Arbeitsamt of Munich, but no satisfactory personnel were found.

The following is the permanent staff employed as of 2 July.

*Assistant to the Officer-in-charge:* Dr. Erika Hanfstaengl, a trained art-specialist, — father formerly director of Berlin National Gallery.

*Chief architect and assistant to the executive Officer:* Dr. Dieter Sattler.

*First Curator* (especially for sculpture and painting): Dr. Karl Theodor Mueller. Since several years chief Curator of the Bavarian National Museum.

*Second Curator* (especially for graphic art and painting): Dr. Thomas Muchall, for some years Chief Curator of the Graphische Sammlung in the Neue Pinakothek.

*Third Curator* (especially for Kunstgewerbe): Dr. Hans Konrad Roethel, Curator at the German Museum, Nürnberg.

*Registrar in charge of cataloguing:* Dr. Anton Eckardt.

*Assistant registrar:* Mrs. Gabriele Peters from the Deutsches Museum at Munich.

*Librarian:* Miss Elga Böhm.

*Gallery assistant* (to aid in the receiving of loads, numbering of crates and items, arranging library-books etc.): Mr. Brumbauer, Mr. Ottner, Mr. Riedelsheimer, from the staff of the Pinakothek.

*Chief of all personnel* (and in charge for secretarial staff): Dr. Luise Laporte, reader and translator for a publishing company.

*Financial manager and Disbursing official:* representative of the Bavarian Finanzministerium, Anton Radlmeier.

*Building superintendent:* Hans Schutzbier.

*Assistant Architect:* Karl Dusch.

*Assistant Building Superintendent:* Max Renner.

*General Factotum, Locksmith etc.:* Joseph Löb.

*Foreman of the art-handlers:* Fritz Döbler, from the Munich moving firm Wetsch.

After buildings have been completely repaired, Dr. Sattler together probably with Dusch and Schutzbier, will no longer be employed.

X. *Preparation of the buildings for immediate use.*

The first loads of art-objects arrived on 17th of June. To prepare the buildings for immediate use the following steps were taken:

Cleaning personnel and inventorists to catalogue the content of the buildings were put to work; movers arranged a series of rooms as storage place; phones were ordered; moving equipment including dollies and matting were procured from the firm Wetsch. During the last two weeks, the staff has used spare time to clear future storage rooms of furniture, and to gather, sort, and store all objects of art which were found in the buildings at the time they were taken over.

XI. *Safeguarding archives in the Gallery.*

Before the buildings were assigned as a repository, Lt. Kern had procured a man to gather and put in order records, found in the buildings, of art objects owned by the Nazi Party in Munich and also to arrange books and other valuable material which had been scattered about. Since then two German archivists have been hired to find and gather all valuable papers.

On 14 June arrangements were begun with the Intelligence Research Center G-2, 3rd Army, for Army personnel to reassemble the remains of the NSDAP-files; this work was completed after nearly a week, and it is expected, that these files will be removed by the Documents section, G-2, Third Army, in the near future.

XII. *Receiving and stowing of art-objects.*

The following system is in effect for unloading, cataloguing, and storing of crates and individual objects: 1. As each object leaves the truck, it is checked against a list of the truck's contents. 2. On reaching the handling room, it is labeled with its 'arrival-number', and a cataloguing card (see enclosure) is marked with the same number and attached to the object by a gallery-assistant. 3. This card is afterwards filled out by one of the curatorial staff with a brief description of the item and its condition. 4. The item, together with its card, is then removed to its storage room, where the room-number is entered on the card. 5. The card itself is finally taken to the registrar's office for filing.

A daily inspection of the storage rooms is made by the curatorial staff, and the temperature and the relative humidity are recorded in several representative rooms.

For the present no cases are being opened. No picture racks have yet been constructed. Pictures arriving without cases are leaned in small groups against the walls of the storage rooms.

### XIII. *The indexing system.*

A numbered designation is given to each object or crate when it enters the depot.

A sample designation would be *399/Aussee 41*. This designation is derived from the fact that the object was the 399th item to enter the depot and the 41st item from Alt-Aussee. If the item is a crate containing several objects, each object, when it is unpacked, is given the designation of the crate plus an additional number. Thus, the first object unpacked would be *399/Aussee 41/1*, the second *399/Aussee 41/2*, etc.

It is planned to have the following separate files:

1. *The arrival-file*, already described above, for cataloguing items on their arrival and before any detailed information is assembled.
2. *A file for each individual object* on which description, photograph, condition, and all information concerning ownership and history can be entered. Copies of this file will be forwarded to the U.S. Group C.C. It is planned to arrange this file by repository. This will be the principal file.
3. *A file by artist, country and period*, consisting of small cards containing only the briefest information, to be used solely for reference to the principal file.
4. A similar *file by presumed owner*, using the same form of card as file Nr. 3, again only for reference to the principal file.
5. *A file by storage-room number*, using the same type of card as file 3 and 4.

A daily record is kept by the registrar's office indicating the number of objects each day, the arrival numbers assigned, the source, and the authority under which the objects were brought to Munich.

### XIV. *Billeting of truck-drivers and traveling security-guard.*

Billets for the negro truck-drivers who transport art-objects from the depots to Munich have been arranged in the Power-house. Billets are also reserved regularly for the security-guard, which comes with each convoy. Drivers and guard mess with the troops assigned to the repository, extra rations being provided by the Third Army.



XV. *A canteen for the German employees.*

In order to make it possible for the German employees of the repository to work a full day, it has been arranged that the German Bavarian Government shall set up and operate a self-supporting canteen in the Power-house building; food for this canteen will be provided by the German Bavarian Government.

Craig Hugh Smyth  
Lieutenant, USNR  
Monuments, fine arts  
and archives officer

HEADQUARTER  
THIRD UNITED STATES ARMY  
G-5 SECTION  
APO 403 U.S. ARMY

*Subject:* Monthly Report on Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives for period ending 31 July 1945.

*To:* CG, Third U.S. Army, APO 403, U.S. ARMY (ATT.: AC of S, G-5).

The following is the second monthly report on the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich and covers the period of four weeks from 2 July through 31 July 1945. Lt. J. Hamilton Coulter, USNR, second in charge at the Collecting Point, is submitting a separate report as before, which covers specifically the repairs being made under his supervision to the repository buildings.

I. *Further preparations of the buildings at the Collecting Point.*

The preparation of the buildings at the Collecting Point continued:

The lower cellars of Gallery I were cleared of refuse, and the cleaning of Gallery II was completed. Temporary repairs to the windows of offices and storage rooms were carried out, and large quantities of furniture cleared from the storage spaces. Offices and central catalogue rooms were prepared and the fitting-out of a workroom for the photographer was begun. Space in the Powerhouse building was prepared for the employees' canteen. The reconditioning of this building including repairs to windows, plumbing, and roof was begun in order to make it suitable for billeting the security guard. Repairs to the Gallery I continued, the governing purpose being to keep these repairs as simple as possible consistent with making the building weathertight and readying it for heating during the winter. Estimates were begun of the amount of coal required to maintain a temperature of 5° centigrade in the principal storage rooms during the winter, and to heat offices and troops' quarters to the minimum temperature necessary for carrying on work.

II. *Receiving and storing of art-objects.*

As of 31 July, 6022 items, comprising unpacked art objects as well as large cases containing many objects, had been received at the Collecting Point. The record of the number of items received from every source is enclosed. The majority of the art brought to the Central Collecting Point during July consists of looted objects from the repositories at Alt-Aussee and Hohenfurth and items

from the Göring Collection found in Berchtesgaden. There were also a few truck loads from Gufflhamm, consisting of paintings and books in the collection of Heinrich Hoffmann, and several loads from Bad Ischl, including crates of manuscripts stolen from Kremsmünster in Austria, and the famous Altar by Altdorfer from the monastery of St. Florian. Among works of outstanding importance brought to the repository during this period are the Ghent Altar by the Van Eyck brothers, the Bruges Madonna by Michelangelo, 'An Artist in his Studio' by Vermeer and the collection of objects stolen from Monte Cassino in Italy.

Gallery II was opened for storage and the Göring Collection housed there.

The average temperature for the month of July in the storage rooms was 22 degrees centigrade. The average relative humidity was about 72%. The variation in humidity from day to day was slight.

For storing tapestries and rugs moth proofing material was obtained.

The condition of objects arriving at the Collecting Point has been in general excellent, except for some condensation of moisture on paintings due to a sudden change in temperature on leaving the salt mines. Many items from the Göring Collection, however, were in poor condition owing to their erratic history prior to falling into Allied hands. Almost none of the Göring pictures were framed; a considerable number had abrasions and scratches, and many showed bullet holes.

### III. *Plans for the care of art objects in serious condition.*

No repairs have been undertaken at the Collecting Point, and it is not planned to make any repairs, except where the condition of an object is such that there is danger of further deterioration.

In cases where the condition of objects makes it unsafe for them to travel without some emergency treatment, it is considered that the owner government will wish to have the decision as to whether emergency measures should be taken or not.

A technical consultant has been engaged. He is not regularly employed but available when needed for consultation or repairs.

### IV. *Security Guard.*

The troops of the Security Guard were moved from their temporary billets in Gallery II to their permanent quarters in the Powerhouse building. Guards were posted in the interior of Gallery II before storage was begun there.

#### V. *Other Security Measures.*

In addition to the security measures described in the first report on the Collecting Center, the following steps have been taken:

The wire barriers in the underground passageways and the barbed wire fences around the repository buildings, which were begun in June, were completed. Windows bordering on the street were blocked up with sheet metal. Daily inspections of all barriers and fences were instituted. Electric lights were installed on the fences to illuminate the surrounding areas. Lists of all personnel permitted to enter the Gallery have been placed at the entrances to enable the guards to check incoming and outgoing persons. A special telephone-system has been installed which connects key guard posts with the Sergeant-of-the-Guard and the Officer-of-the-Day. Check points have been set up at certain vital places within the compound to search personnel going between buildings.

Locks have been begun on offices and storage rooms and a special guard posted outside offices, until locks can be repaired.

The following fire precautions have been taken: Carbon Dioxide extinguishers were obtained and installed on floors where objects are stored. Fire hoses were tested and put in order. A fire bill was completed. This bill has been set up so that any fires in the storage areas would be fought with Carbon Dioxide extinguishers. A study of the fire precautions taken was made by the Public Safety Officer and Fire Chief in the Munich Military Government.

On 20 July there occurred an explosion in the lower basement of Gallery I. One German civilian was killed. The explosion appears to have been accidental. A box of hand grenades, overlooked by the bomb disposal detail which searched the building in June, was the cause. A copy of the report on this accident is enclosed. As a result, a second engineering detail composed of two bomb disposal squads was obtained to re-examine the premises. On this occasion each room was checked off on a plan of the Galleries after the room had been searched.

A request was submitted on 23 July 1945 that a Security Survey be made of the Central Collecting Point by a security specialist, in order to ascertain what further steps could be suggested to provide for every contingency in the future.

#### VI. *Personnel.*

New personnel taken into the employ of the Central Collecting Point during July are:

*Photographer:* Wilhelm Baur

*Typist and interpreter for officer-in-charge:* M.S. von Redwitz

*Typist and interpreter for executive officer:* Agnes von Rechberg  
*Typist for the building superintendent:* Ruth Grzybowski  
*Representative of the Bavarian Finanzministerium:* Anton Radlmeier (to arrange all financial matters and pay the employees)  
*Assistant to the financial representative:* Thea Seybold  
*Operator of employees' canteen* (run by German Bavarian Government): Georg Ott

*Assistant Registrar:* Dr. Renate Haars (in place of Mrs. Gabriele Peters)  
*Technical Consultant:* (on call when needed, but not regularly employed) Hermann Lohe, restorer at the Pinakothek

In addition, two enlisted men were assigned to the Central Collecting Point:

*Assistant to the officer-in-charge:* Buckingham, R.J., Pfc from USFET  
*Assistant to the Executive Officer:* Risom, O.C., Pfc.

#### VIII. *Financial arrangements.*

All employees as well as repairs and maintenance are paid for by the German Bavarian Government. In accordance with the pay grades established by the Bavarian Government, the financial representative of the Bavarian Government has set up the pay rolls which were approved by the Officer-in-charge. The financial representative has also submitted a budget for the Central Collecting Point for the Financial Year 1945. The budget is enclosed.

Dr. Hanfstaengl, civilian assistant to the Officer-in-charge, was designated to sign all contracts with personnel and to sign all bills, after submitting them for approval.

#### VIII. *Safeguarding Archives found in the Collecting Point.*

The remains of the NSDAP files, which had been found in the buildings of the Collecting Point, were assembled and removed by the Documents Section, G-2, Third U.S. Army. Arrangements were also made with this section to examine all other documents and valuable papers found and collected by the civilian archivists, employed for this purpose at the Collecting Point. All material which is considered important will be removed by the Documents Section.

All books concerning the Nazi movement which were found in the building have been gathered in one place, preparatory to turning them over to the Documents Section.

IX. *Assembling of Research Library and Records.*

It has been arranged to have pertinent sections of the library of the Pinakothek brought to the Collecting Point as the nucleus of a research library. This is to be supplemented by sections from the library of the Bavarian National Museums and, if necessary, from the Germanisches Museum in Nürnberg, the Academy of Art, and the State-school for Industrial Art in Munich. Experts have been sent to separate and prepare for shipment to the Gallery the desired books from the Pinakothek and the Bavarian National Museums.

Records concerning looted art objects have been found in Alt-Aussee and Hohenfurth and are now at the Collecting Point. Records and photographs of all art objects in the possession of the Nazi party in Munich were found in the repository buildings and have been put in order for reference. Together with the Einsatzstab Rosenberg records found in Füssen, these form a useful file for identifying the owners of looted works of art.

X. *Preparations for beginning restitution.*

A survey of uncrated art objects was begun to determine ownership in preparation for the beginning of the restitution.

XI. *Photography.*

A photographer is now employed at the Central Collecting Point, and as it is now foreseen, his work will be to make:

1. A record of the condition of art objects, when necessary.
2. catalogue-photographs for the individual objects file, to be used when description is not sufficient for accurate identification.
3. documentary photographs of the Central Collecting Point.

Until the dark room is equipped, arrangements have been made to use the photographic facilities at the Dörner Institute for developing and printing.

Craig Hugh Smyth  
Lieutenant, USNR  
Monuments, Fine Arts  
and Archives Officer

*Central Collecting Point, Munich  
Budget for the Financial Year 1945*

Munich, 17 July 1945

*To be submitted to Lt. C.H. Smyth*

For the Gallery I have drawn up a budget for the financial year 1945 (until 31.3.1946). This provides in detail for the following items of expenditure:

I.	<i>Expenditures for personnel and administration:</i>		RM
	Assistant-work done by people, who are not state officials (employees and workmen)		90.000. –
	Subsidies for employees and workmen		500. –
	Remuneration for transferred officials and employees (damages paid on account of separated households)		<u>2.262.</u>
	Sum I RM		92.762. –
II.	<i>Material Administration-expenditures:</i>		
	Office-wants:		
	a) Fares, transport- and freight-expenses	30.000. –	
	b) Writing- and drawing material	150. –	
	c) Printing- and bookbinding (file-cards)	500. –	
	d) Equipment with utensils and accessories (especially for the photographic and emergency repair work)	15.000. –	
	e) Repairs and maintenance of utensils (typewriters)	1.000. –	
	f) Supply with periodical, printing-regulations, etc.	200. –	
	g) Telegraph and telephone expenses	<u>20.000. –</u>	
			66.850. –

Management of plots and rooms		
a) Heating	70.000. –	
b) Electric light and power	55.000. –	
c) Cleansing, scavengering, water-supply	<u>25.000. –</u>	
		150.000. –
Various expenses (contribution to canteen)		900. –
Maintenance and repair of the collections		<u>5.000. –</u>
Sum II RM		222.750. –

III. *Singular expenses (which occur but once):*

Restoration of the former party-buildings occupied by the Gallery (repair of air- raid damages) =		
	Sum III	500.000. –
	Sum II	222.750. –
	Sum I	<u>92.762. –</u>
	RM	815.512. –

On my verbal report the Bavarian Ministry of Finance has allotted for the time being a credit of 350.000. – for the personnel- and material expenses of the Gallery at the 'Bayer. Landeshauptkasse.' To cover the said expenses the Gallery has at its disposal a pay-office installed by agreement with the Ministry of Finance and connected with the post-check-office. This pay-office provides also the remuneration of the employees and labourers employed by the Gallery.

2. The pay-office has drawn up a scheme to settle the pay of the people who are to be employed. We beg to ask you to accept this plan after verbal discussion. For each member of the working-unit a general working-contract, respectively a special contract has to be signed. These contracts will be submitted as soon as the salaries are fixed.

3. The payment of expenses, among them also the salaries of the employees and labourers, depends on the substantiation of their actual correctness and on the granting of a pay-order through the Gallery. The pay-office will make the necessary notes on all bills and records. We beg to ask for an instruction, who (either you yourself as officer-in-charge of the Gallery or another person indicated by you) should sign the pay-order of the Gallery.

4. For the installment of a post-check-account

a) the owner of the account

b) the persons authorized to sign must be indicated.



ad. a) I beg to ask for a consent to indicate 'die Galerie, München Arcisstrasse, (former Verwaltungsbau).'

ad. b) I beg to indicate a second person who — besides the person superintending the pay-office — may be authorized to sign at the post-check-office.

signed: Radlmeier

HEADQUARTERS  
EASTERN MILITARY DISTRICT  
APO 403

HFA/CHS/msr  
4 October 1945

*Subject:* Monthly Report on Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives for period ending 31 August 1945.  
*To:* U.S. Forces European Theatre (Main) APO 757, U.S. Army (att. Officer of Military Government U.S. Zone.)

The following is the third monthly report on the Central Collecting Point in Munich and covers the period from 1 August through 31 August 1945.

*A. Administration*

I. *Personnel.*

1.) U.S. Personnel

During August one new enlisted man, Schmidt, G. Sgt, was assigned to the Collecting Point on temporary duty from USFET. The list of the U.S. personnel now at the Collecting Point is therefore as follows:

Lt. Craig Hugh Smyth, USNR

Lt. J. Hamilton Coulter, USNR

Schmidt, Gerlot, Sgt.

Buckingham, Russel J., Pfc.

Risom, Ole C., Pfc.

2.) German Personnel

Additions to the civilian specialist staff during August are:

*Librarian:* Dr. Walter Tunk (doctor in Fine Arts, Theology and Librarian science)

*Temporary assistant to Librarian:* Wilhelm Wimmer

*Photographer:* Johannes Felbermeyer (from the German Archeological Institute in Rome) to take the place of Baur.

*Gallery assistants:* Konrad Wissmeyer and Joseph Ehrnsberger

In addition a change has been made in the position of two of the specialist personnel:

Miss Elga Böhm, formerly Librarian, is now Registrar.

Dr. Eckardt, formerly Registrar, is now Research Assistant.

The administrative staff is the same as described in the first and second report on Collecting Point.

In addition to the principal administrative personnel there listed, there are also employed permanently at the Collecting Point the following:

<i>Heating staff:</i>	seven men
<i>Electricians:</i>	three men
<i>Movers and packers:</i>	eight men from the firm of Wetsch
<i>Cleaning personnel:</i>	the number varies. The personnel is supplied by a cleaning firm.

During August there were added nine former civilian guards of Bavarian State Museums to take over the patrolling of the interiors of the Collecting Point from the military guard.

## II. *Buildings.*

### 1.) *Security*

The unit providing the military guard was changed, and a new unit consisting of B Battery from the 390th Battalion, 26th Group took over 8 August.

Inasmuch as it was felt that a continuity in the command of the guard and, in so far as possible, in its personnel is desirable to insure a consistently high standard of security, an effort was made to have the former guard remain. This was unsuccessful.

During the month former civilian guards of State National Museums were employed to take over the guarding of the interiors of the repository in the day time, and arrangements were made for a night interior guard from an old German security firm. A soldier guard is still maintained in the lower basement of both storage buildings. Military guards are stationed as before on each side of each building and at entrances. No persons are allowed to enter without special building passes, which are checked by the guards against a list of authorized personnel. All are searched on entering and leaving. Military check-points are set up at vital places within the compound to search personnel going between buildings.

On or about 15 August four paintings were stolen from the Collecting Point. The paintings stolen are small. They include a landscape attributed to Hubert Robert, an English XVIIIth century mezzotint, and a panel in the style of Fra Angelico, which was considered by an expert on its arrival to be a XXth century copy. The identity of the fourth painting, which had not yet

been removed [from] its package, is unknown. Investigation by CID and German civilian police indicates that the theft was probably committed by labourers working on repairs in the repository buildings. At the time of the theft the unit providing the military guard had just been changed. Thereafter one post had been removed, without the knowledge of the authorities of the Collecting Point, on orders of an inspecting officer who had been sent to survey the security situation with the new guard. This post was a check-point between buildings and also guarded an important stretch of fence. The indications are that the stolen pictures left the compound from a window situated beyond this check-point and that the elimination of the guard post rendered the repository vulnerable. The theft was accomplished when the locks on the store room doors had not yet been completed. It was therefore possible at the time for someone to enter the storage rooms and remove an object, provided he could elude the soldiers who until the locks were completed patrolled every floor. The police investigation has been thorough and is still in process.

As soon as locks were finished, all keys to the storage rooms were placed in a special room under the control of the military guard. No one but authorized personnel can obtain a key. A written record is kept of every occasion on which a storage room is opened and of the movement of every object within the repository. A constant inventory is conducted.

2.) *Repairs*

In the beginning of the month of August it was apparent that the procurement of additional materials, for necessary repairs, had become increasingly difficult due to the freezing of building supplies by order of Third United States Army. A request for the release of essential materials with a requisition was submitted through channels to the commanding General, United States Army on 3 August 1945. Of the essential materials requested, such as supplies for masons, carpenters, glazers, painters, roofers and electricians, the only materials made available were 2 barrels of tar, 915 pounds of assorted nails and screws, and 2000 sq. ft. of plywood. It was only after the receipt of a letter from Headquarters USFET, dated 23 August 1945, that the Collecting Point was given a priority high enough to make procurement of essential supplies from Third Army sources possible. By the end of the month the following materials had been made available:

- |            |          |
|------------|----------|
| A) Glue    | 100 kg   |
| b) Linseed | 1,012 kg |
| c) Screws  | 270 gros |

d) Nails	715 Kg
e) Gypsum	10 tons
f) Roofing tiles	15,000
g) Wallboard	2,000 sq meters
h) Putty	5,000 kg
i) Paint	1,150 kg

The same difficulties were encountered in the procurement of sufficient labor. The matter was brought to the attention of the Labor Officer of Det. E-201, Det. S-2 S-213, the Town Major, and the Munich Arbeitsamt. During the course of the month an increase of 14 construction workers was noted, this being due, in-part, to the hiring of an additional firm of heating contractors and a firm of roof repairers. At the end of the month the following personnel was employed:

a) Masons	7
b) Carpenters	14
c) Plumbers	10
d) Electricians	3
e) Locksmiths and metal workers	7
f) Glazers	3
g) Roofers	2
h) Unskilled labor	13
	<hr/>
	Total 59

The following additional personnel is essential for the Completion at the repairs:

a) Masons	8
b) Carpenters (rough woodwork)	6
c) Carpenters (finished woodwork)	11
d) Plumbers	4
e) Locksmiths and metal workers	7
f) Glazers	2
g) Roofers	8
h) Unskilled labor	21
i) Painters	4
	<hr/>
	Total 61

The progress in the matter of repairs expressed in man hours is as follows:

a) Masons and unskilled labor	2980	hours
b) Carpenters	2536	hours

c) Plumbers	1428	hours
d) Electricians	576	hours
e) Locksmiths and metal workers	1176	hours
f) Glazers	344	hours
g) Roofers	96	hours
h) Painters	24	hours
Total	<u>9160</u>	hours

Labor has been divided approximately equally between the repairs to the Postbau where the 200 troops, detailed as the guards, are billeted, and Gallery I. As the result of masons' work the provision of adequate toilet- and bathing facilities in the Postbau is about 60% completed. The installation of a photographic studio and darkroom in Gallery I is about 85% completed. The carpenters have repaired windows and doors in the Postbau and Gallery I, so that both buildings will be weatherproof before frost. Their work in the Postbau is about 80% completed and in Gallery I about 25% completed. The installation of toilet- and bathing facilities in the Postbau is about 60% complete. The repair to and the draining of the heating system in Gallery II has been undertaken. This work is about 20% completed. The electricians have completed about 70% of their work in the Postbau and have almost completed the electrical installation in the photographic studio and darkroom in Gallery I. The locksmiths have been installing locks, hinges and handles on windows and doors in the Postbau and Gallery I. The metal-workers have made and installed iron window grills for the ground floor of the Postbau and, in addition have put back in place, and repaired, four steel trusses that support two skylights essential to roofing in Gallery I. They have also assisted the glazers in reglazing the skylight in the library of Gallery I. The windows of the Postbau are about 60% glazed and those of Gallery I are about 10% glazed. The glazing of the library roof in Gallery I is about 80% completed. The roofers have made preliminary repairs to the roofs of the Postbau, Power-House and Gallery I. The lack of progress on the part of some of the buildings trades is due to a lack of materials or labor or both.

The transportation of building materials by military trucks has been obligatory due to the restrictions on civilian travel and the lack of civilian vehicles. Four 3 ton military trucks driven by French drivers have been allocated to this activity for periods of ten days, after which time new trucks and new French drivers were assigned. The difficulties of language and the constant changing of trucking personnel has resulted in serious delays and confusions.

The progress of repairs to the buildings has been seriously hampered by the lack of an adequate staff of military personnel to supervise the work in its early stages.

3.) *Heating supplies*

A request was submitted for 700 tons of coal sufficient to maintain a temperature of 5 centigrade in the principal storage rooms during an average winter and to heat officers' and troops' quarters to the minimum temperature necessary for carrying on work. This estimate is based on a plan to heat only one of the two storage buildings. All objects which will be seriously endangered by cold and humidity are to be gathered in the heated building.

III. *Receipt of documents.*

Several documents were brought to the Collecting Point from Berchtesgaden late in July and in early August. These include:

1. A photographic catalogue of paintings designated for the Linz Museum, volumes 1-8, 26-28, 30, 31, and one index of volumes 1-20. These were found in Hitler's library in Berchtesgaden.
2. Albums of photographs of Carinhall.
3. Volume II of a catalogue of art objects seized in France, listing works of artists from I-Z.
4. An album of photographs of paintings from the Alphonse and Louis Rothschild Collections in Vienna.
5. A similar album of paintings of the Austrian Collection of Gutmann, Kornfeld, Aldor, Altmann, Pilzer, and Kulka.

During July documents were brought from Alt-Aussee. These include the following:

1. Master list and complete inventory of the contents of chambers at the Alt-Aussee mine.
2. Receipt-lists of the various transports of the Hitler-Collection in Alt-Aussee.
3. Lists of transports from Kremsmünster to Alt-Aussee, Thürental, Hohenfurt.
4. Lists concerning the Lanckoronski-Collection stored at Alt-Aussee and Immendorf.
5. Inventory of Hitler-Collection from Munich.
6. Delivery-lists from the Dorotheum at Vienna.
7. List of modern pictures purchased by Hitler.
8. Certificates about the storing of different transports.

9. Records concerning the removal of art objects from Hohenfurth to Alt-Aussee (Mannheimer and Rothschild Collection).
10. Documents about the Mannheimer Collection stored in Alt-Aussee.
11. Reports and records concerning the Ghent Altarpiece and Bouts.
12. Lists and records of art objects from Notre-Dame at Bruges.
13. Records about pictures requisitioned and stored by the SS-Reichsführer.
14. Records about the Gutmann Collection.
15. Records about Monte Cassino.
16. Lists and inventory of the numismatic collection in Linz, transported from Hohenfurth to Alt-Aussee.
17. Inventory of stored objects from the Hitler-Collection, Monte Cassino, Krakau, and Gutmann Collection.
18. List of objects stored away in Monsberg.
19. Records about the storing of objects at St. Agatha and Ischl.
20. Records about the Hitler-library at the Villa Castiglione, Gmunden.
21. Inventory of objects stored at Schloss Kogl.
22. Report about the storing of objects from the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna.
23. Report about the transport of the Altdorfer panels from Aussee to Lauffen.
24. Inventories of miscellaneous collections.
25. Handwritten inventory of industrial art and sculpture of Rothschild Collection and P.K.
26. Copied records of objects from Austrian monasteries: Hohenfurth, Kremsmünster, St. Florian etc.
27. Inventory of Göring Collection at Unterstein.
28. Information on pictures in the Goudstikker collection.
29. Inventory collections: Gutmann, Fürst, Pick, Kuffner, Haas, Thorsch.
30. Catalogues of the Goudstikker Collection.

#### IV. *Important visitors and events.*

On 14 August Lt. Col. Mason Hammond visited the Collecting Point with a French Mission, consisting of Lt. Col. Georges Bousquet, Major Pierre Duchartre and Com. Rose Valland.

On 21 August the Ghent Altar by the brothers van Eyck was sent from the Collecting Point to Belgium and delivered there by the Third U.S. Army.



## V. *Miscellaneous.*

### 1. Assembling of Research Equipment.

Pertinent sections of the library of the Pinakothek including general reference books, monographs on individual artists, and catalogues of collections and sales were brought to the Collecting Point and arranged for immediate use.

### 2. Preparations for Restitution.

Works of art taken from Monte Cassino and the 18 objects belonging to National Collections of Belgium were brought together and inventories on the Official Property Cards were being completed.

Easily identifiable French objects were being collected and final inventories of them made preparatory to the first shipment to France.

### 3. Preparations for Documents Center.

It has been proposed by USFET and agreed upon that the Central Collecting Point shall house all documents pertaining to stolen art and that this Documents Center shall be available for use of authorized investigators as well as for identifying looted objects at the Collecting Point. It is expected that photographic copies will be made of the documents for use at higher echelons.

### 4. Storage.

The first racks were installed in storage rooms.

## B. *Summary of Operations.*

### I. *Numbers of Objects on Hand.*

The total number of cases and uncrated works of art received at the repository as of the end of August 1945 was 7893.

The total number from each individual repository is listed as follows:

<i>Altaussee</i>	3689
<i>Berchtesgaden</i>	2388
<i>Schupfing</i>	62
<i>Berchtesgaden (Hofer)</i>	3
<i>Walchensee (Almas-Dietrich)</i>	7
<i>Guffelhamm (Hoffman)</i>	92
<i>Munich (Heilmannstr. 5)</i>	21
<i>St. Agatha (Goisen)</i>	12
<i>Rosenheim</i>	3
<i>Alte Pinakothek</i>	1

<i>Immelborn (near Bad Salzungen)</i>	5
<i>Munich (Tengstr. 10)</i>	4
<i>Bad Ischl</i>	88
<i>Hohenfurth</i>	1033
<i>Landshut (General Wlassow)</i>	20
<i>Munich (Frau Wenneck)</i>	10
<i>Grassau (Museum)</i>	82
<i>Wappen (Austria)</i>	14
<i>Munich (Franck Collection)</i>	6
<i>Munich (Objects found in the Collecting Point when it was taken 20th Corps)</i>	337 16

The total number of books brought in for storage to the repository is about 1900, coming from the libraries of Göring and Hitler.

The total number of cases and uncrated works of art *on hand* as of the end of August was 7867.

The total number of individual objects inventoried on Property Cards preparatory to restitution during August was 58. This work was just beginning. All objects are summarily inventoried on their entrance into the repository.

The number of photographs produced during August was about 30.

Craig Hugh Smyth  
Lieutenant USNR

J. Hamilton Coulter  
Lieutenant USNR

HEADQUARTERS  
EASTERN MILITARY DISTRICT  
APO 403

CHS/amr  
8 December 1945

*Subject:* Monthly Report on Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives for period ending 30 September 1945.  
*To:* U.S. Forces European Theatre (Main) APO 757, U.S. Army (att. Officer of Military Government U.S. Zone.)

The following is a detailed report on the Central Collecting Point in Munich for the month of September 1945 and supplements the summary report of September, submitted earlier.

*A. Administration*

*I. Personnel.*

*1.) U.S. Personnel*

Capt. George T. Lacey, U.S. Army, arrived early in the month and became assistant to Lt. J. Hamilton Coulter, USNR, in the direction of building repairs and maintenance. Lt. Coulter was thereby enabled to act as liaison officer with the foreign representatives, in addition to supervising the architectural and building office.

*2.) German Personnel*

Additions to the civilian specialist staff during October were:

*Documents curator and analyst:* Horst Eduard Wiemer

*4th Curator:* Dr. Karl Birkmeyer

The total number of civilian personnel permanently employed at the Collecting Point as of the end of September was ninety-four (94).

The number of employees in each category is as follows:

Civilian Director	1
Curators	4
Research assistant	1
Cataloguers	2
Librarians	2
Photographers	1

Documents curator	1
Secretaries	5
Architects	2
Architect Assistant	1
House Management:	
a. building superintendent	1
b. canteen	2
c. heating staff	10
d. electricians	3
e. factotum	1
Gallery assistants	5
Archivists	2
Art movers and handlers	7
Day time civilian guard	9
Night time civilian guard	10
Telephone operator	1
Disbursing office	1
Cleaning staff	<u>20</u>
	94

The average number of temporary civilian employees, principally contractors and laborers, during September was hundred ten (110).

## II. *Buildings.*

### 1.) *Security*

The civilian guard consisting of former guards of State National Museums and watchmen has proved very satisfactory. All storage rooms are locked, and no one is allowed to enter them without special authorization. Inspectors supervise both night and day guards. The addition of the interior civilian guard made possible the reduction of the entire soldier guard to approximately 135 men.

It was discovered during September that in the early days of the operation at the Central Collecting Point one picture was missing during the unloading of a convoy. The loss took place 10 July 1945. Immediate search and checks were made at the time, and a written report was made immediately to the director of the Collecting Point, which, through an oversight, did not come to his attention. The identity of the picture is not known. It was checked off

on the bill of lading as having been unloaded from the truck but was missing in the handling room. It is possible that the item did not arrive at all but was an error in the bill of lading and was checked off by mistake.

2.) *Repairs*

It was only after the receipt of a directive from Headquarters U.S.F.E.T., dated 23 August 1945, that the Collecting Point was given a priority high enough to make procurement of sufficient labor and building materials possible from Third Army sources. As a result of the establishment of this high priority, marked progress was made during September. It was thereby assured that, barring further setbacks, the buildings, comprising the Collecting Point would be made weatherproof and secure in all respects before the beginning of seriously cold weather.

Wire glass, window glass, tar, and tar paper for temporary roofing were acquired in quantities sufficient to complete the work. Enough wood was procured to fill future requirements.

As a result of the directive from U.S.F.E.T., it was possible to add 52 persons to the force of labor already engaged in making building repairs. At the end of the month of September the following personnel were employed:

a)	Masons	9
b)	Carpenters	26
c)	Plumbers	13
d)	Electricians	3
e)	Locksmiths and Metalworkers	16
f)	Glaziers	3
g)	Roofers	8
h)	Painters	7
i)	Tilesetters	2
j)	Unskilled Labor	24
	Total	111

Progress in the matter of repairs expressed in man hours is as follows:

a)	Masons and Unskilled Labor	4568	hours
b)	Carpenters	3592	hours
c)	Plumbers	1680	hours
d)	Electricians	336	hours
e)	Locksmiths and Metalworkers	2088	hours
f)	Glaziers	296	hours
g)	Roofers	760	hours

h)	Painters	704	hours
i)	Tilesetters	40	hours
	Total	14,064	hours

This is an increase of 4,904 man hours since the end of August 1945.

During the month repairs progressed as follows:

*Gallery I:*

The glazing of the skylight over the Library was completed. All available wireglass was installed over the two large stairhalls, and other portions of these roofs have been securely roofed and covered with heavy tarpaper. At the end of the month the patching of the flat sheetmetal roofs was about 50% accomplished. The glazing and repair of windows continued as well as the repair of interior doors and the construction of wooden racks for the storage of pictures. The photographer's studio and darkroom were completed. Tunnels, as well as several windows in the first basement, were bricked up. The electrical system was put in operating condition.

*Gallery II:*

At the end of the month the repairs to the heating system were about 50% complete. Temporary repairs were made to exterior windows and interior doors of storage rooms.

*Postbau* (military guards' billets, civilian canteen, quarters for engineering superintendent):

An entirely new tile roof over the North wing was completed. Cracks in the walls and ceilings were repaired. The repair and glazing of exterior windows was 70% completed. Iron grilles have been installed in all groundfloor windows facing the street. The installation of adequate toilet and bathing facilities for the troops was 90% accomplished. The main feed pipes of the hot water heating system have been insulated. Additional electric outlets have been installed in the carpenter's shop to permit the installation of additional woodworking machinery.

*Powerhouse:*

Repairs to the tile roof were undertaken. The fire boxes of two of the eight boilers, which will be used for heating during the winter were made smaller to reduce coal consumption. Electrical repairs to the automatic boilerstoking and coal-handling machinery were begun.

The transportation of building materials by Military trucks continued. The four 3 ton Military trucks, driven by French drivers became so un-dependable that an arrangement was made with Transportation Section,

G-4, to furnish trucks, as required, on a day-by-day request basis. This arrangement was an improvement, although the difficulties of language and the constant changing of trucking personnel have remained serious obstacles to smooth operations.

3.) *Heating supplies*

The request for 700 tons of coal to maintain the necessary temperature in the Collecting Point during the winter was approved, and 450 tons were delivered.

III. *Receipt of documents.*

During the month of September the following documents, principally relating to looted art and to German purchases from conquered countries, were received at the Central Collecting Point.

- 1.9.45 From Füssen (Neuschwanstein)
  - 1. 1 cupboard with ERR-records of French collections sequestered by Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France.
  - 2. 12 boxes containing ERR file cards for individual objects sequestered by Einsatzstab Rosenberg, arranged according to collectors (so-called 'Sammler-Kartei'). This individual object file is very close to being complete.
  - 3. Photo-files (both prints and negatives) of individual objects sequestered by ERR, arranged by collections and objects. Negatives appear to be nearly complete.
  - 4. Card-file: Index of collections sequestered by ERR.
  - 5. Folders, probably belonging to the Rothschild collection, with photographs.
- 17.9.45 From Third U.S. Army, Special Interrogation Center, Alt Aussee (through the courtesy of Lt. W. Horn, MFA&A, USFET).
  - 1. Carinhall II. Green album of photos No 1-217, missing photos No. 31, 32, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 95, 101, 130, 132, 151, 175, 176, 177, 213. (Already mentioned in the August report.)
  - 2. Carinhall: White folder with photos. 41 photos, mostly annotated by Hofer. (Already mentioned in the August report.)
  - 3. Dienststelle Muehlmann, den Haag, 'Erwerbungen Dezember 1940-März 1941' (large folio with 51 pages, enclosed list of purchase-prices or estimated values).
  - 4. Two boxes containing card file of Armor Collection, Linz No.

- 1-794, 805-1294; incomplete.
5. One batch of photos, with annotated file-cards, of works sold principally to Linz by Haberstock.
  6. Typewritten list in brown folder of all Linz paintings at Alt-Aussee (71 sheets).
  7. Posse, 3 Reports (bound in grey card-board):
    - a. Viennese confiscated collections
    - b. Landesmuseums of Ostmark
    - c. Linz inventory of paintings as of 31.7.40.
  8. Printed catalog of Rothschild Collection, Vienna 1939 (Enclosed Memorandum from Dr. Michel and 'Schüssel zu den Eintragungen im gedruckten Rothschild-Katalog').
  9. 3 packages of negatives from Füssen, comprised of items from the Einsatzstab Rosenberg sent to Linz Collection and to Göring Collection.
- 22.9.45 From Seventh U.S. Army, Docs. (via Lt. T. Rousseau jr. USNR. OSS.)
1. Limberger Card-file of Göring pre-war collection (148 cards).
  2. One pile of sheets of a Göring catalog (photos missing).
  3. List of Christmas presents given by Göring.
  4. Orange-folder (Miscellaneous, 120 sheets).
  5. Folder concerning the Renders collection (Belgium).
  6. File with various documents:
    - a. various inventories (195 sheets)
    - b. Lists of presents given to Göring (59 sheets)
    - c. Expertises (4 sheets)
    - d. Lists of objects (Fräulein Limberger) 46 sheets
    - e. Italy: 35 sheets
    - f. Switzerland: 7 sheets
    - g. Belgium: 9 sheets
    - h. France: 41 sheets
    - i. Germany: 54 sheets
    - k. Holland: 43 sheets
  7. Yellow folder with various inventories.
  8. Summary list of paintings (concerning Göring collection).
  9. Correspondence concerning Göring collection.
  10. Correspondence between Voss and Hofer.
  11. Folder concerning Goudstikker collection.



- 25.9.45 From Third U.S. Army, Special Interrogation Center, Alt-Aussee, via Lt. S. L. Faison USNR, OSS (taken from Neuschwanstein-Füssen on 11 July 1945).
1. Small card file of French collections confiscated by ERR.
  2. Various cards as follows: HA 1 - HA 51, UNB 322 - UNB 354, PR 125 - PR 169; SEL 527 - SEL 558. Rosenberg-Bernstein Bordeaux 1 - 31; Tausch 1-14.
  3. Black folder of documents pertaining to works of art selected for the 'Führersammlung' from ERR.
  4. Folder entitled 'Treuhanengesellschaft Bruessel.'
  5. Bound grey notebook, 'Verzeichnis der von der deutschen Botschaft beschlagnahmten Bilder' (concerning French objects).
  6. Folder 'Offizielle Beschwerden' containing Bunjes reports.
  7. 29 folders relating to exchanges of ERR objects and photographic album.
  8. 1 case of photographic negatives, miscellaneous categories.
  9. Folder labelled 'Leistungsberichte.'
  10. Green-bound folder of photographs.
  11. Folder labelled 'Verzeichnis der ausgeliehenen Kunstgegenstände.'
- 26.9.45 From Third U.S. Army, Special Interrogation Center, Alt-Aussee, via Lt. S. L. Faison (on loan from Lt. W. Horn, Inf. MFA and A, USFET for eventual delivery for the Collecting Point):
1. Register kept by Hans Reger at the Führerbau.
  2. Bills and lists about works of art, purchased for the Führerbau collection July 1938 - December 1942.
  3. Cardboard box of miscellaneous documents belonging to Heinrich Hoffmann.
  4. Two ledgers belonging to Frau Maria Dietrich.
  5. One file of receipted bills for paintings bought in France by Frau Maria Dietrich.
- 26.9.45 From Third U.S. Army, Special Interrogation Center, Alt-Aussee Lt. S. L. Faison:
1. Lists of European Art dealers given by the Vaucher commission (number of pages according to index).
  2. Detailed interrogation report No. 12. Subject: Hermann Voss. (15 pages and 4 attachments).
  3. Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 1. Subject: Activity of the

- Einsatzstab Rosenberg in France (number of pages according to index).
4. Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2. Subject: the Göring Collection (174 pages).

In the same file:

- a. 'Liste der für die Sammlung des Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring abgegebenen' ... ' (so-called Attachment 5).
  - b. '1. Nachtrag der für die Sammlung Göring abgegebenen Kunstgegenstände.'
  - c. Addendum No. 1 to Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2. The Göring Collection (12 pages).
5. Attachments No 1 - 70 to the Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 5 missing here, is in the same file with the Consolidated Interrogation Report No. 2.

Most of the above mentioned documents being confidential or secret, a special room with iron cupboards was designated for them.

#### IV. *Important visitors and events.*

During the month, the Collecting Point was visited by Major General Bull accompanied by Brigadier General Adcock, A.C. of S., G-5, United States Forces European Theatre, and Col. Dalferes, A.C. of S., G-5, 3rd United States Army. An Inspection was made of the repository and means for the speedy return of art to owner nations were discussed.

Lt. Col. Ernest De Wald and Mr. Andrew G. Ritchie of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section, United States Forces Austria, visited the Collecting Point in connection with the transfer of looted art belonging to western Europe from repositories in Austria to Munich and the return to the custody of USFA of objects, presumably of Austrian ownership, previously removed from repositories in Austria to Munich.

On 20 September the first shipment of looted works of art was sent to France. This was a token load consisting of seventy-one (71) paintings of high quality from French private collections and was transported in United States Army trucks.

On 22 September a similar token shipment of eighteen (18) works of art was sent to Belgium. This load consisted of paintings belonging to the Belgian Nation and included among other works four wing panels of the Louvain Altarpiece by Dirk Bouts.

On 27 September there arrived at the Collecting Point Lt. Col. Alphonse P.A. Vorenkamp, Royal Netherlands Forces, to begin his stay as official representative of the Netherlands Government. On the same day arrived also Capt. Hubert de Brye of the French Army, who is to be in charge of arranging transport for future shipments to France, both from Munich and from Füssen.

#### V. *Restitution.*

In addition to the token shipments to France and Belgium, token loads for Holland and Czechoslovakia were prepared and the collection for the first regular French shipment was begun.

The duties of the curatorial staff were divided in order to take care of incoming shipments and the research and preparation for outgoing transports to owner nations. Collecting rooms were established for each looted nation to which identified objects are brought in preparation for final inventoring and shipment. An office has been prepared for each foreign representative adjoining his collecting room.

The procedure used for preparing restitution shipments is briefly as follows:

The contents of a given storage room is examined with respect to ownership by a curator, who inventories each object on a Property Card. Preliminary identification of ownership is made on the basis of identifying marks, and the cards are arranged by room, according to owner. A confirmation of identification is made by the study of documents, bibliography, and by consultation with the foreign experts. The storage room is then cleared, identified objects sent to the collecting rooms of the countries concerned, and all objects not identified by this first cursory examination are placed in special storage rooms for study. The Property Card inventory of identified objects is completed in the national collecting room by the nation concerned. The receipts and information lists concerning the works of art to be restituted are prepared. An information list is furnished with each load to the owner country and consists of a list of each object in the shipment, together with the name of the presumed owner, a brief history of each object while in German hands, the Munich Collecting Point number, and a running number to indicate how many objects have been restored from Munich to the owner nation concerned. Before the shipment is packed the correctness of the identification of all objects is reviewed by the foreign representative and the director of the Collecting Point, and questions of emergency restoration are considered.

Packing and loading takes place under supervision of the foreign representative and the curator assigned to him. The receipt is signed after the loading is completed. Except in the case of token shipments, transportation and a considerable part of the packing material are furnished by the owner nation. In cases where the contents of crates are known, the crates are not opened except in a few instances for spot checking.

## VI. *Miscellaneous.*

### 1. *Foreign representatives.*

As mentioned above two representatives from western European nations arrived at the Collecting Point in September, Lt. Col. Vorenkamp from Holland and Capt. Hubert de Brye from France. Each was assigned a collecting room, an office, and a curator.

### 2. *Research equipment.*

The research library which has been set up at the Collecting Point to aid in identification of the ownership of art objects, is now in use.

The records of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg have been assembled in the Central Collecting Point at Munich. Their contents is listed above under 'Documents'. Their completeness will make possible the identification of the great majority of the Einsatzstab Rosenberg loot. Through them it is also possible to ascertain exactly the contents of ERR cases without opening them. The accuracy of the records is determined by spot checking.

Other documents collected in Munich as an aid to identification are listed above and in the August report, under 'Documents'.

### 3. *Indexing.*

The system of indexing at the Munich Collecting Point has been simplified so as to include only two files, the *Arrival File* for cataloguing items immediately on their arrival at the repository (see June report), and the *Property Card File* for each individual object. Items are entered in this second file when they are inventoried with respect to ownership, as described above under 'Restitution'. This file is kept by owner-nation, owner, and Munich number.

### 4. *Storage.*

Many storage rooms were fitted out with picture racks during September.

One hundred fifty (150) large safes, weighing approximately one ton apiece, in which the Nazi Party Files were formerly kept, were removed from the main floor and upper cellar to the lower cellar, in order to clear more space for storage. Some safes were kept in place for use in storing silver, jewels, and similar objects.

5. *Photography.*

There is now gathered at the Collecting Point Munich the complete collection of negatives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg. In addition, the negatives of 3800 paintings from the Hitler Collection, including those of the Linz Museum, have been located and are to be brought to the Collecting Point. While in large format, many of the German negatives are not of the highest quality.

Arrangements for photographing at the repository are as follows:

All objects for which no German negative exists in the files are photographed. Fine works of art are re-photographed, when the German negative is unsatisfactory. Details are made from all important pictures, whether or not a German negative exists. With respect to objects in cases which are not unpacked before being returned to the owner-nation, information is sent with the shipment as to whether or not a German negative exists, so that photographs can be made when the objects are uncased.

The difficulties of procuring photographic material and equipment are considerable. This is especially the case with flood lights and fixing salts. Lights have been obtained from the Pinakothek, but cannot be expected to last long.

*B. Summary of Operations.*

(Re-printed from summary report of September submitted earlier.)

I. *Total number of objects on hand.*

The total number of cases and uncased works of art received at the repository as of the end of September 1945 was 8444.

The total number from each individual repository is listed as follows:

Altaussee	3691
Berchtesgaden	2388
Schupfing	62
Walchensee (Almas-Dietrich)	7
Guffelhamm	21
Munich (Heilmannstr.)	121
St. Agatha	12
Rosenheim	3
Alte Pinakothek	1
Immelborn (near Bad Salzungen)	5
Munich	4

Bad Ischl	88
Hohenfurth	1033
Landshut (General Wlassow)	20
Munich (Franck-Collection)	6
Grassau (Budapest Museum)	82
Wappen (Austria)	14
Munich (Frau Wenneck)	10
Munich (Objects found in the Collecting Point, when it was taken over)	340
20th Corps	16
Tutzing	5
Erding	3
Landersdorf	17
Insell	17
Reitenhaslach	188
Kiefersfelden	15
Appercha	71
Ebersberg	11
Wiessee	1
D.P. Camp Czechoslovakia	33
Neuschwanstein	142
Füssen (Rochlitz)	22

The total number of cases and uncrated works of art *on hand* as of the end of September was 8329.

## II. *Inventories.*

The total number of objects inventoried on Property-Cards as of the end of September was 1432.

The total number of objects inventoried during the reporting period was 1374.

The estimated percentage of the total number of cases and unpacked objects brought into the repository until this point now inventoried is 17%.

The estimated percentage of the total which has been inventoried during reporting period is 16.96%.

The number of photographs produced at the repository is about 200.

Inventory cards for all works of art sent back to owner countries from the Collecting Point are being forwarded. The total number of objects returned

so far is 99 works of art and 16 regimental flags and standards (see August report).

Craig Hugh Smyth  
Lt. U.S.N.R.

Repatriation of Art from the  
Collecting Point in Munich after  
World War II

*Background and Beginnings, with  
Reference especially to the Netherlands*

Craig Hugh Smyth

Within weeks after the United States entered World War II in December 1941, a group of American museum curators, art historians and conservators met to find ways of dealing with the wartime threat to art works. Their efforts led to the appointment of Advisers on Fine Arts attached to the fighting units of the American and British armed forces. These officers of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Services (MFA&A) did whatever lay in their power to protect what General Eisenhower called the 'historical monuments and cultural centers which symbolize to the world all that we are fighting to preserve.'

After the defeat of Germany, the MFA&A was charged with locating the German repositories of art and archives, protecting them from loss and deterioration, and returning looted objects to the countries from which they had been removed. Under great pressure of time, a number of Allied collecting points were established, of which the largest was the Central Art Collecting Point in Munich. The author, then a young naval lieutenant, was

given the task of setting up and administering this vast and sensitive operation.

*Repatriation of Art* deals with the background and beginnings of the Central Collecting Point. The account is based partly on the author's own memory and papers, but also on documents he found in the National Archives in Washington. The text of the documents, published in the appendix, provides fascinating reading as well as important new material for understanding a unique chapter in the history of art, warfare and civilization.

Craig Hugh Smyth is former director of the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies (I Tatti), Florence, and Kress Professor at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

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*Cover illustration:* the author supervising the shipment of the Ghent Altarpiece from the Central Collecting Point to Belgium, 21 August 1945.

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