

**THIS MAN RIBBENTROP**

**HIS LIFE AND TIMES**



# *This Man Ribbentrop*

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

BY DR. PAUL SCHWARZ

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**TO GRACIE**



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*Pix*

## *Thespian*

RIBBENTROP AS ACTOR IN AN AMATEUR PERFORMANCE  
IN CANADA, AT THE BEGINNING OF 1914.



Pix

*Actor in love scene*

# „Musikalischer Abend“

zur Feier d. Geburtstages ihrer lieben, hochverehrten Mutter u. Meisterin

## Frau Maria Wilhelmj

veranstaltet von ihrer Tochter und dankbaren Schülerin.

Mitwirkende:

**Frau Elisabeth Boeckne-Wilhelmj**

**Herr Joachim Ribbentrop**

**Herr Dr. Arthur Wilhelmj**

**Annemaria, Gabriele, Frohmut Boeckne.**

**Klavierbegleitung: Frl. von Mikulicz**

1. Zwei Kammerfonaten, Nr. 1 und 6, für 2 Violinen  
und Klavier A. Corelli  
Frohmut Boeckne, Joachim Ribbentrop.
  2. Arie aus „Josua“ J. Händel  
Elisabeth Boeckne-Wilhelmj.
  3. Novelette Nr. 1, f-dur für Klavier R. Schumann  
Annemaria Boeckne.
  4. Sonate für Violine und Klavier, A-dur J. Brahms  
Joachim Ribbentrop.
  5. Lieder J. Schubert
    - a) Nacht und Träume
    - b) Sylvia
    - c) Suleika
    - d) An das Klavier
    - e) Wehmut
Elisabeth Boeckne-Wilhelmj.
  6. Sonate für Violine und Klavier, e-dur J. Händel  
Frohmut und Annemaria Boeckne.
- P a u s e.
7. Drei Terzette,  
gesungen von Annemaria, Gabriele und Frohmut Boeckne.
  8. Vier Wäzler, h-dur, es-dur, g-dur, as-dur J. Brahms.  
Annemaria Boeckne.
  9. „Erkdnig“, op. 1. J. Schubert.  
Elisabeth Boeckne-Wilhelmj.
  10. Drei „Preludes“, c-moll, c-dur, as-dur F. Chopin.  
Annemaria Boeckne.
  11. Lieder:
    - a) Liebestreu J. Brahms.
    - b) Wir wandelten H. Wolf.
    - c) In der Fröhe " "
    - d) Das verlassene Mägdelein " "
    - e) Der Freund " "
Elisabeth Boeckne-Wilhelmj.
  12. Corgo a. d. Konzert Nr. 3, für 2 Violinen u. Klavier J. S. Bach  
Joachim Ribbentrop, Dr. A. Wilhelmj.



*Musician*

PROGRAM OF A "MUSIKALISCHER ABEND" ON JULY 3,  
1921, IN WHICH RIBBENTROP PLAYED FIRST FIDDLE.



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## *Hunter*

COVERT SHOOTING AT ROMSEY, HAMPSHIRE, ENGLAND,  
AS THE GUEST OF LORD MOUNT TEMPLE.





*udru 30. Mai 1997.*

*Jrachus P. Wittig*

*Pater familias*



*European*

*Mourner*

AT THE FUNERAL OF THE MURDERED ATTACHÉ ERNST  
VOM RATH.



*European*

## *Speechmaker*

AT THE DIA DE LA RAZA OF THE IBERO-GERMAN INSTITUTE.



*European*

*Heil Hitler in Ribbentrop fashion*



*European*

*Traveller*

MR. AND MRS. VON RIBBENTROP IN TRAVELLING ATTIRE.



*European*

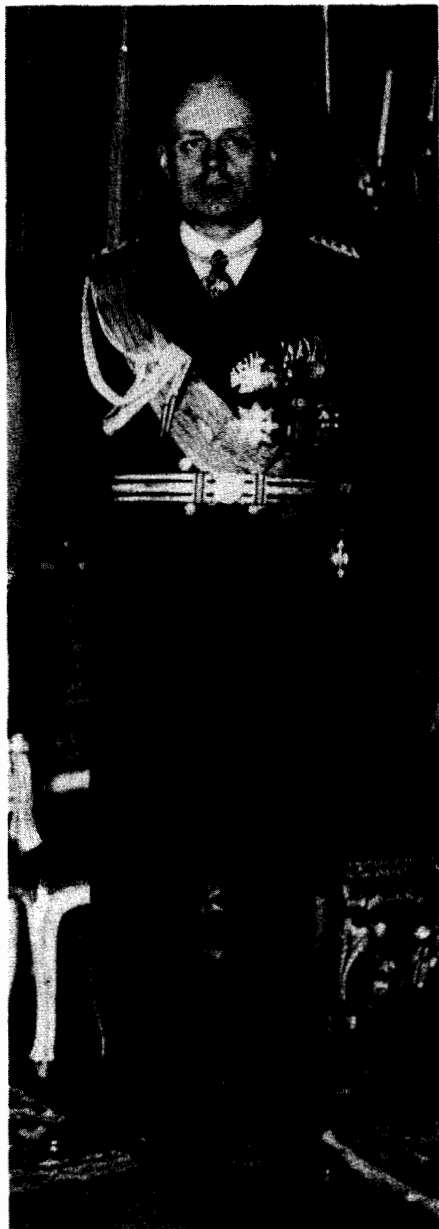
*Reviewing an Italian Guard of Honor*



*European*

## *Host to Royalty*

THE DUCHESS AND THE LATE DUKE OF KENT AS GUESTS OF RIBBENTROP AT THE LONDON GERMAN EMBASSY.



*European*

*Minister of Foreign Affairs*

IN THE OFFICIAL GARB ESPECIALLY CREATED FOR THE  
MEMBERS OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE BY RIBBENTROP.

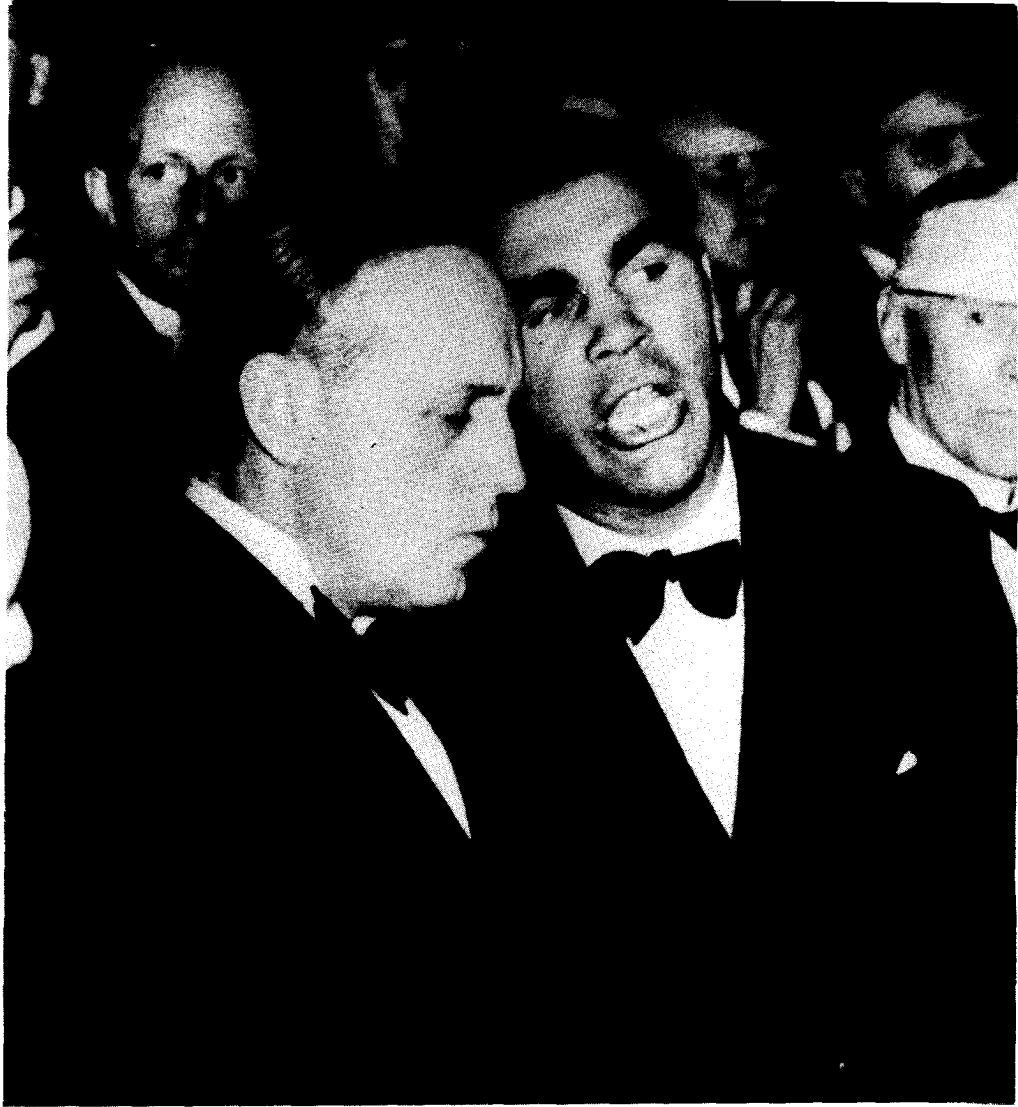




*European*

*Arbitrator*

PROCLAIMING THE DECISION REGARDING NEW FRONTIERS  
BETWEEN SLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY.



*Press Association, Inc.*

*Sports Fan*

MAX SCHMELING EXPLAINS TO RIBBENTROP THE INTRICACIES OF A BOXING BOUT.



*European*

### *Squire of a stolen castle*

FUEHRER OF THE CROATS, DR. ANTE PAVELIČ, AS GUEST OF RIBBENTROP, LEAVING CASTLE FUSCHL NEAR SALZBURG, WHICH RIBBENTROP GRABBED OUT OF THE AUSTRIAN BOUNTY.



*European*

## *Strategist*

RIBBENTROP AND HITLER AT GERMAN HEADQUARTERS  
SOMEWHERE IN RUSSIA WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS OF  
BATTLE.

## *Introduction*

WRITING a book has never been one of my many ambitions. Friends, enemies, and publishers have occasionally suggested that I write my memoirs. It is possible that such a pastime will attract me after my eightieth birthday, but even then inhibitions will probably hinder me. Some time ago, I found, however, that I had a subject upon which I had to write a book.

Advice has been plentiful. I have been told repeatedly to write in German, my mother tongue, and then to have the manuscript translated into English and rewritten by a professional rewrite-man. I have also been told to write the way the American reader likes—in a fictional form. I have further been advised not to mention too many names, never to use the first person singular, and to forget everything which looks like real research work.

Point one has easily been dismissed. I wrote a few pages in German and had them translated. The result was not my way of expressing myself and bore not the slightest resemblance to my thoughts. I showed this result to a friend who has great publishing experience. The pages went into the wastepaper basket. Then I tried suggestion number two, to fictionize. It did not work either. I felt that there was only one other approach left to me, a less romantic approach perhaps, but, nevertheless, the only approach for me—the way of the biographer-historian.

Surprisingly little has been published about Joachim von

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Ribbentrop's life, and what has appeared in magazine articles is, for the most part, incorrect, to say the least. I have spent some two years in checking what I knew and adding data. The first draft of this manuscript would have filled two large volumes and would have had little interest for anybody. Therefore, I have cut my material drastically and even eliminated several chapters. This will explain why certain details have been omitted.

I have written this history of Ribbentrop for many reasons. The most important is to give future historians hitherto unknown and unpublished details which will add to their knowledge of our times. In doing this, it, of course, was necessary for me to discuss the personal contact I have had with Ribbentrop.

I must warn my readers that this is no record of hero worship. Ribbentrop, I believe, is typical of our times, or rather of a particular aspect of our times. But I do not cherish this aspect. It would not matter very much if this were merely a personal like or dislike, for nobody would then be concerned save myself and perhaps my immediate circle. But disagreement with Ribbentrop's diplomatic performances and his way of life seems to be widespread. Surely one day, my fellow sufferers, and these include more than half the world, will set up a tribunal, one of whose functions will be the just punishment of Ribbentrop, the criminal. There is more than a good chance that he will not be rewarded with social success, in years to come, in the air-conditioned comfort of some picturesque Elba or St. Helena. If my book contributes anything to prevent such an idyll, I am content.

And I have personal reasons. This man Ribbentrop now heads the German Foreign Office, the department to which I gave the twenty best years of my life. German foreign policy did not always look quite as savage as it does now.

## INTRODUCTION

The good old *Auswaertiges Amt*, the German Foreign Office in the *Wilhelmstrasse*, was a place in which professional pride was so strongly entrenched, that outsiders sometimes wondered whether anything would ever succeed in ruffling its complacency. It was a place, however, where, despite the customary intrigues which one finds in every Foreign Office throughout the world, you could always count on the basic honesty, objectivity, and efficiency of the old-fashioned German official. Making Ribbentrop boss of this distinguished department smacks of "entrusting the garden to the care of the goat." Having witnessed this rape of a once decent institution, this rape with all its terrible implications for the world at large, my turn has come to cry out, *¡accuse!*

I knew Ribbentrop in the days previous to his meteoric rise, and it was not difficult to see, even then, what sort of man he really was. Nor has the Foreign Office ever been completely taken in by him. To this day, certain ones of the ever-dwindling old guard suffer while executing the crimes which he ordains. As long as it was possible to get news directly from my former colleagues in the Foreign Office, I received it. And there was never the slightest indication that the great man was ever considered by anybody but his personal henchmen as anything but an irresponsible and reckless nincompoop.

That does not necessarily imply that some of the Foreign Office old guard have the same low opinion of Hitler as they have of Ribbentrop. If all of my former colleagues would have responded to Nazism as other decent people have, if all of them had refused to serve Nazism, I would have dedicated this book to the memory of the *Auswaertiges Amt* I knew and respected. This I unfortunately cannot do.

Seen from America, Europe's nightmarish experiences seem

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to lack foundation. They seem a mere revival of old hatreds and obsessions the world at large has long outgrown. But one has to come to America to see human history as a bubble in an ocean of time, intensely interesting and yet not worth this mortal fuss. In America, there is also the possibility of forgetting that your neighbor votes another ticket than you do.

And for another American truth I am grateful. I know of only one instance, in America, when a man is called names which would make Goebbels jealous. It is when that man becomes President. But America does not find it necessary to put the name-caller into a concentration camp. This is one reason that a personality like Roosevelt survives the name calling much better than Hitler does regimented adoration. This is Liberty too.

But while we European blockheads lose our woodenness in America, there remains much that keeps us tied to our origins. It is well that we have to go through a cooling-off period of five years before we can become citizens. It takes time to shed the old skin and to digest the new impressions. I think I have reached the point where a new skin is covering my not inconsiderable frame. I feel, at last, that I have become one with my new home. In a sense, this book is a belated farewell to Germany. With this book I sever the last ties which bound me to the country I served in its days of glory and sorrow.

At my age it is not easy to undergo the transformation from a citizen of the old world to a citizen of the new. But I have taken the process seriously. I have travelled through all the forty-eight states of the Union, and I have entered each of the forty-eight capitals. I have watched the people who came to this country after me—the recent émigrés,



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and I have watched the progeny of previous immigration waves. I have seen the people of the United States in flophouses and palaces, on lonely highways and among skyscrapers, during prosperity and depression. My ambition was to become one of them. I threw myself into the melting pot, and I believe that it has done its work. This conviction gives me a more secure, a more joyous feeling than any I have ever experienced.

Many people have cooperated in my undertaking. I feel that I should call my helpers "unknown soldiers of democracy and liberalism." There were those who sent me information out of the very monster's den in the *Wilhelmstrasse*. Ever more draconic rules against this helpful practice were issued, until I received a letter from Switzerland: "You will understand, my dear friend, that with the Fatherland at war, I shall have to cease our correspondence. Besides, one is threatened with the executioner's axe. You know, I am not a coward, but I have a family."

There were also Canadians who willingly responded to my questions. To them I owe the information regarding Joachim's brilliant debut in Ottawa. Only one letter from Canada was couched in rather succinct language. It ran, "My friends and I decided early in the war not to give any information whatsoever about our association with and recollections of the Nazi Foreign Minister." And that was that.

Many of my former colleagues, the "German liberals in exile" as well as active German diplomats passing through New York, have supplemented my material on Ribbentrop. Even a policeman who guarded the German Consulate at 17 Battery Place was obliging enough to direct visitors who

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wanted to chat with me, either to my apartment or to the place where I was in the habit of lunching. Then discussions on past and present days took place. Sometimes these led us to closed doors, unrevealed mysteries. Sometimes they led us to painful conclusions and to debatable points. But there was never any disagreement about the impossibility of making a going concern out of the Frankensteinian monster, Nazism.

The idea of "Man" is to bring a friendlier note into the soulless vastness of the universe. It is preposterous of Man to behave as if the only meaning of his existence were to repeat nature's physical catastrophes. But this is what Ribbentrop and his gang pride themselves on doing and will be doing until Man's better nature has found the weapons to exterminate them.

There was a grave obstacle in my undertaking. My English is below average. To write a book is difficult even in your mother tongue. If the language is not your own, it becomes a fearful problem. For as much as the problem has been solved at all, I have to thank my wife, who comes from one of the ancient English families and who was therefore singularly well equipped to assist me with valuable suggestions. I also have to thank a man who started out by rewriting what I had written and took a lively interest not only in the style but also added to the substance of the book. I would have liked to give the full name of this collaborator, but he objected because members of his family are still in Germany.

I can only hope that my readers will enjoy this book as much as I have enjoyed writing it.

**THIS MAN RIBBENTROP**

**HIS LIFE AND TIMES**



# I

## *The Ribbentrop I Met*

MAY, usually a fair month in Germany, looked grim in 1919. On May 7, the terms of the Versailles Treaty had been published. And these terms, their hardness by no means softened by their icy, legalistic verbiage, chilled every German heart. Many of the most ardent pacifists, people like the late Prince Karl Max Lichnowsky who during the war had published a pamphlet in which he, the former German Ambassador to London, had held the Kaiser's regime responsible for the war, turned in horror to the rapidly increasing group which wanted such terms rejected. The first elected chief of the German Republic, Friedrich Ebert, also thought it impossible for Germany to shoulder so heavy a load of privations and humiliations. And even Philipp Scheidemann, the Chancellor, a socialist like Ebert, joined Hindenburg and the officers of what was left of the German army in opposing acceptance. "The hand shall wither which signs such a treaty," cried Scheidemann dramatically.

The press, which for a time had been hopeful, became aggressive, and public feeling was desperate. Only extreme leftists, the *Unabhaengige Sozialdemokraten* (independent socialists) and the communists, advocated surrender. This, in their opinion, would hurt the bourgeois class more than the proletariat. Resumption of hostilities was openly discussed.

Hindenburg, as Commander in Chief, signed a report to the Government which was naturally pessimistic as to the possibilities of armed resistance. He ended the report with these words, "As a soldier I cannot help feeling that it is better to perish in honor than to accept a disgraceful peace."

There were only a few who did not lose their heads in this crisis. One of them was Matthias Erzberger, a leader of the Catholic Party which was called *Zentrum* in Germany. Erzberger appeared mediocre. He was not a type which would normally set the German imagination on fire, but he was level-headed, an indefatigable worker, an imperturbable optimist, and a believer in divine providence. Erzberger more than anybody else swung the majority of the newly convoked National Assembly in Weimar into acceptance of the inevitable. When the pressure became overwhelming, Ebert, who to the last thought that there might be a way of avoiding the fateful decision, telephoned to Hindenburg at the Army High Command in Kolberg. Hindenburg handed the telephone to General Wilhelm Groener. Groener said bluntly that to resume war against the victorious Allies was out of the question. That was the decision in itself. During the night of June 24, 1919, the National Assembly voted for acceptance of the Dictate of Versailles. A great burden was lifted from the minds of the Allies, while the parliamentary regime in Germany started its frail existence cursed with obligations under which it would eventually perish.

It was difficult to work with the new ministers. They were suspicious because they were inexperienced. A real parliamentary regime was something nobody in Germany knew much about. The harassed dignitaries lived in constant fear of losing their coveted posts through trickery and intrigue. They distrusted everyone, particularly their own subordinates. Erzberger was the only exception.

Erzberger was now Minister of Finance, and he was very influential. I remember that a group of officials, with whom I frequently discussed the situation, had devised a project which needed the approval of the Treasury. We wondered how we could interest Erzberger. At last we approached an outsider, an important industrialist named Ottmar Strauss. He was known to lunch occasionally with Erzberger at a restaurant in the city. Ottmar refused to interfere but invited some of us to lunch with the Minister. It worked. We got the decision we needed within a few hours.

At the particular restaurant to which Ottmar took us, there was hardly anything to eat. We were happy if we could get an *Eintopf*, a kind of broth containing the remnants of the week's meagre menus. They had been *Eintopf* too, so that one *Eintopf* really evolved from the preceding one. This undoubtedly proves that Goebbels, who claims to have created this Spartan dish, never ate in Berlin *circa* 1919.

There was another reason which made it interesting to come to this restaurant. We formed a round table which slowly grew and even attained influence in government circles. A few officers of the former General Staff joined us, but only two or three were really in our confidence. Occasionally one or the other of Ottmar's many acquaintances came to our table, but they were not treated too cordially. Ottmar sensed this, so he rarely invited "strangers." He used to warn me beforehand, so that I could advise the *Stammtisch*, as a round table is called in German, to refrain from discussing anything which should not be heard by outsiders.

I recollect most vividly Ottmar ringing me up in the first days of July, 1919 and telling me that he had had to invite a young officer to lunch as he had no other opportunity of seeing him during the day. I asked why the meeting with this "stranger" could not be postponed. But Ottmar insisted

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that he had to see the man, one of Erzberger's acquaintances.

The Minister had asked him to try to get some kind of a job for this young officer who was on the verge of being demobilized. He had been in Turkey and had an excellent knowledge of French and other languages. Erzberger had mentioned, in his letter of introduction to Ottmar, that the young man came from one of the *Offiziersfamilien*, one of the families in which a military career was traditional. Furthermore, the bearer of the letter had some experience in foreign countries and could, therefore, possibly be used in the export business. "Treat him kindly," added Ottmar. "I owe it to Erzberger to be of help to him. You may find it interesting, too, to chat with him, since you yourself have been in Turkey. By the way, his name is Ribtropf or something like that. I don't have Matthias' letter at hand."

Promptly at one o'clock the young officer appeared in our restaurant, asked for me, and introduced himself very formally, in the military manner, as *Oberleutnant* Ribbentrop. He sat next to me at table. He was not very sure of himself, and he spoke slowly, using very correct language. His German had a slight English accent. I mentioned it to him. He answered that he had studied in London and before the war, had lived in Canada. During that initial conversation, he told me that he had been in Turkey during the last years of the war and that in Constantinople my name had been mentioned to him quite often by some of my Embassy colleagues.

Then he played up a little incident which had occurred during Christmas, 1914. It had taken place on the Turkish front and it had resulted, much to my bewilderment, in my becoming the first civilian of World War I to be decorated with the Iron Cross. I told him that this incident was not worth mentioning, for not a single shot had been fired, and the whole affair had been a matter of luck.



Our conversation was interrupted when one of the *Stammtisch* officers in mufti announced that it was his birthday. He ordered a bottle of *Henkell Trocken*, a sparkling wine which had the reputation of being the finest in Germany. But when we emptied our thimbleful portions, Ribbentrop remarked, "You have to admit that there is no comparison to the real French stuff." This uncalled-for observation irritated us, for to praise the superiority of French wines, not to speak of drinking them, "was not done" as far as patriotic Germany facing annihilation by France was concerned. Ottmar, who had entered, in the meantime, overheard Ribbentrop's statement and agreed with him. He fancied French pre-war champagne of a well-known vintage, but unfortunately he could not get any of it. Ribbentrop immediately promised that he would see to it that his host received price quotations on his favorites. And with this offer, Ribbentrop instantly won Ottmar's heart. As for me, I must admit that Ribbentrop failed to interest me very much. I thought at that time that he was rather a bore.

With regard to a job, Ribbentrop did not make any headway. He suggested to Ottmar that he send him to Canada or the United States to make use of his alleged connections with "everybody of importance in commerce and industry." The cautious Ottmar reasoned, however, that it would be very difficult to find new markets for German industrial products at that time. Even if buyers could be found, he decided, they would probably prefer to come to Germany to investigate the possibilities of prompt deliveries before signing contracts. If the connections Ribbentrop claimed to have had been in South America and if his "perfect knowledge of languages" had included Spanish and Portuguese instead of English and French, then the question would have been worth discussing.

The *Stammtisch*, which officials had nicknamed *Das Grab*

*der Tugend* (virtue's tomb) because we had occasionally used tricky ways in order to get speedy decisions, lost its influence after the post-war revolutionary riots abated and order became the rule rather than the exception. Instead of guiding perplexed Ministers of State through the dark, it became a social affair. Some of the officers remained after lunch, which slowly improved, for a game of bridge, at that time a favorite game.

This idyllic existence was, however, badly shaken—first by the uprising of dissatisfied officers and soldiers against the Republic, an event which was called the *Kapp Putsch*, and secondly by the murder of our friend and protector, Matthias Erzberger. This occurred in a lonely spot in the Black Forest. The two incidents were connected by the fact that one of the mutineers of the *Kapp Putsch*, a Captain Ehrhardt who had fought in the pay of the Baltic “barons” against the Bolsheviks, had trained organizations for purposes such as those. One of them, the Organization Consul, furnished the two men, Schulz and Tileßen, who ambushed and killed Erzberger. The Chancellor, Dr. Joseph Wirth, appointed me as special delegate to the investigating board which collected all the facts it could find about the murder. The assassins had escaped with the help of Wilhelm Frick, then Assistant to the Chief of Police in Munich, and since 1933, Minister of the Interior in Hitler’s cabinet. Frick had provided the criminals with regular German passports under false names. They fled to Hungary, where they lived, feeling very patriotic, until Hitler recalled them to Germany to shower them with honors and glory.

One of the backers of the crime was Manfred von Killinger who came to be rather well known in the United States as German Consul General in San Francisco before Captain

Wiedemann took his place. Killinger is now Hitler's emissary to Roumania. There is irony in the fact that Killinger's immediate superior is now the same Ribbentrop who began his career clinging to the coat tails of the man the amiable Killinger eliminated in so brutal a fashion.

Erzberger was a German patriot. The argument which motivated him during the Versailles negotiations was that the project under discussion was helping the cause of the Fatherland. He worked while others talked, danced, or mutinied. But he had signed the armistice and throughout Germany was blamed for the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Why the victorious powers insisted on discrediting the young German Republic in the eyes of the people by forcing it to humiliate itself in Versailles, instead of putting militarists like Ludendorf into this awkward position, is one of history's mysteries.

While investigating the murder, we felt that several of the minor police officials were conspiring with the culprits in hushing up incriminating facts. Munich had an especially bad record in this respect. We soon found out that Dr. Wilhelm Frick was responsible for all the leaks which put the gang on the alert. The relations between Prussia and Bavaria were, however, strained at that time, and the Reich had no power to interfere with the police executives of these states. Frick was sent to Berlin under the pretext of offering cooperation, but our army friends forewarned us not to let him into our confidence as his affiliations with the Erzberger murderers were well known. We ourselves suspected some leaks from within our own circle, since, despite our caution, Frick was surprisingly well informed. Ribbentrop's name came up again and again in this connection. Our military friends even sent one of their men to Munich to find out. Ribbentrop, who did

not know that he was suspected and may never have heard about this investigation, emerged with his reputation unblemished.

Upon returning from Berlin after attending Erzberger's burial, I became the private secretary to the Chancellor. One of my first duties was to go through the thousands of condolences which Frau Erzberger had received from all over the world. I found that Joachim Ribbentrop had expressed his sympathy in a touching letter. He praised the murdered man as one of the greatest patriots Germany had ever had, and he stressed his personal gratitude to Erzberger whose memory, he claimed, he would always hold in high honor. Does Herr von Ribbentrop remember this now?

The young demobilized officer, after his first interview with Ottmar, had become a frequent attendant at the latter's parties in the Hotel Esplanade. Ribbentrop was, in those days, modest and unassuming. With becoming shyness, he waited and hoped for some gentleman of importance to speak to him or perhaps invite him to play bridge. Superstitious Ottmar asked him to lunch when he feared that there would be thirteen at his table. We finally became so accustomed to this ritual that we nicknamed Ribbentrop *Der Lueckenbuesser*, the stopgap. During the *Kapp Putsch*, Ribbentrop was "out of town." I have already mentioned that some of us were suspicious of him, but Joachim was vouched for by our army friends. They claimed to have a complete list of those who had proven reliable and of the others who had jumped on the Kapp-wagon. When the excitement had passed, Ribbentrop resumed his role as the *Lueckenbuesser* at Ottmar's table.

About six months before Erzberger's murder—which happened on August 26, 1921,—I met the Minister in Schwanenwerder near Potsdam. The occasion was a family celebra-

tion. He, Ottmar, and I sat together chatting in a friendly fashion. Champagne was served—*Henkell Trocken*. “By the way,” Ottmar said to Erzberger, “do you remember that fellow Ribbentrop, the man you sent to me about two years ago? You asked me to get him a job. He has one now.”

“What kind of a job?” asked Erzberger.

“Oh, he has married Annelies, the daughter of my old friend Henkell, the man who manufactures this wine. Otto Henkell asked me for information about his prospective son-in-law.”

“And what references did you give?” I asked.

“Well,” said Ottmar, “I told Henkell that Ribbentrop seemed to be well educated, well dressed, and an ambitious youngster who keeps his word. You remember,” he added, “Ribbentrop did not forget the vintages of the French champagne I liked, and he made it possible for me to buy them. So you see, he keeps his word.”

I met the newly-weds on many occasions during the following year, but not within the circle of people who really counted. Here Ribbentrop was still a stranger. But among the *nouveaux riches*, the plutocratic Berlin set which had come into money quickly and now spent it freely, he seemed very much at home.

This was a time of loose morals. Barriers were breaking down. So-called tea dances went on until all hours of the night and morning. Every day and night Ribbentrop attended one or more of these tea dances. Sometimes he was accompanied by his wife, but more frequently he was alone. He was an excellent dancer and an ardent one. He was always immaculately dressed, and whenever it was opportune he wore tails. He did not seem to care whether his partners were young, middle-aged, or elderly, as long as they hopped and waltzed as assiduously as he did. At that time he seemed to

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favor the bourgeois type. And he seemed to take this dancing seriously, for no matter how gay and spirited the music, there was never a smile on his face. It is little wonder then that many of those who took this art less seriously made fun of him. Ribbentrop was an object of laughter, especially to the young attachés of the Foreign Service who attended all dancing parties *en masse*.

Ribbentrop had one inseparable friend, a Russian Jew by birth, one Hoffelmann. They were about the same age. They wore identical super-smart attire, and they belonged to the lower ranks of post-war café society. Hoffelmann was quite an amusing fellow. They were often seen together, and the attachés referred to them as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. They even had a song about them. Its refrain ran:

"Ribbentrop and Hoffelmann  
Hoffelmann and Ribbentrop."

They hummed this little ditty while dancing. The girls adored it and chuckled while its heroes whirled in non-stop gyrations through Berlin's less exclusive ballrooms.

The years passed, and the Ribbentrops became more firmly settled in German society. During this time, I was, for the most part, away on duty in foreign countries, and when I returned to Berlin, I was busy meeting friends and officials. I avoided afternoon teas and cocktail parties, for they required a lot of time and energy and did not repay me sufficiently in pleasure. But the gossip of the young attachés who yearned for such occasions kept me informed of what was going on. And Ottmar wrote at regular intervals, keeping me posted.

One day he wrote that Ribbentrop had filed a suit against his father-in-law, Otto Henkell. He was suing Otto for arrears in the yearly payments he had promised his daughter Annelies. Ottmar also mentioned Ribbentrop's adoption by

a so-called "aunt." She was a member of one of the three branches of the "titled Ribbentrops," the families with the highly desirable *von* affixed to their name. He said that Ribbentrop had changed the name of his business enterprise from Ribbentrop & Co. to Von Ribbentrop & Co. Dealers as well as customers were amused at this change. In another letter, Ottmar reported, "My old friend Otto Henkell feels very sorry for his daughter Annelies. He wishes that she had never met this man. But Annelies seems to love him, and that is what matters." Ottmar also reported, "Annelies' sister Finn" (at that time Frau Fannie Arntzen, the wife of the oil-merchant Orla Arntzen) "who lives a quiet life in my neighborhood (in Cologne) hates her brother-in-law." But Ottmar, as well as many of my other friends, appreciated Ribbentrop's abilities in the wine and liquor trade.

When I was made German Consul in Colombo, Ceylon, my wife asked Ottmar whether our wine stock would survive the change of climate, Ceylon having the reputation of being the most tropical of all tropical posts. Ottmar's advice was, "Let your husband take up the matter with Ribbentrop. He understands not only the buying but the transportation of wines better than anybody else." So we approached Ribbentrop.

He had our wine stock inspected, arranged the packing, put every bottle in a straw coat, and sagaciously amplified our limited supply with whiskies, brandies, and gin. These, he rightly thought, "open house" in a tropical clime could not do without. Even the bitters were not forgotten. We found everything, plus quite a few *Henkell Trocken*, on the boat which was to carry us to our new post. Better still, after our arrival in Ceylon, we found that the precious Rhine wines had reached their destination without the slightest damage to their flavor.

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Our first official dinner was given in celebration of the first baby born to German parents in Ceylon after World War I. When we drank the toast, "To the first German who entered a British Colony without a passport since 1914," and the rare, old wine was tasted, I whispered, "Prost Ribbentrop, job well done." The *Henkell Trocken* also made a great impression on our guests because of its label, "Germans drink German wine!"

I sent a short letter to Ribbentrop, and in it I told him how successful his handling of the transportation problem had been. He thanked me, ending with, "always at your service" and "hoping to get further orders." Several months later, a native importer in Colombo inquired at the Office of the Consulate whether whisky and gin were also produced in Germany. I knew nothing of this, so I wrote to Ribbentrop, giving him the name and references of the inquirer. Ribbentrop immediately got in touch with the native firm. He also took this opportunity to praise my boosting of the Fatherland's export-trade. He wrote that gin was produced by the Union Distillery in Baden-Baden, property of a friend of his, a Freiherr von Boecklin, and that a good grade of whisky could be obtained from another distillery in the Baltic States. The resultant business for Von Ribbentrop & Co. extended not only to Ceylon but also to Southern India. It must have been considerable. Ribbentrop gratefully praised me all over Berlin. And when the market in *Henkell Trocken* experienced an upswing in those distant parts of the world, Otto Henkell also attributed this to my talents as champion for his products.

Due to ill-health we remained in Colombo for only two years. When our boat reached Naples, I found letters from Ribbentrop and Otto Henkell. They expressed their wishes



for quick recovery. On my arrival in Berlin, an invitation from Otto Henkell awaited me, telling me to make his house near Wiesbaden my home for as long as I cared.

As my wife intended to visit her relatives in England, I was free to accept. I had a glorious time with the Henkell family. Otto Henkell, a typical *bonvivant* with a brilliant Rhenish wit, was as lively as ever. His wife, Kaete, wearing her indispensable monocle, was a charming hostess. Among us were also quick-witted, sarcastic "Finn" Arnzten, the elder sister of Ribbentrop's wife, and also my old friend, Ottmar.

For me, those were lazy days. I loved to chat with Mother Henkell whose vivacity equalled the sparkle of her husband's champagne. Once we discussed the fate of her second daughter, Annelies, and of her ambitious son-in-law, Joachim. As we talked, a shadow fell upon Frau Henkell. She became very serious. She was obviously disturbed.

"You know," she confessed, "my daughter, Annelies, has always been wilful and capricious. I really did my best to prevent her marriage with that adventurer. I detest him. You will not understand me," tears came to her eyes, "I fear for my daughter. But what can a mother do if her child has made up her mind? It is not only the egotism of this Ribbentrop"—she never mentioned him by his first name—"but his reckless, all-consuming ambition which terrifies me. To achieve his ends he would walk over corpses. He does not fit into our family. His most recent trick, letting himself be adopted by one of the titled Ribbentrops, has not only made him, but also us, the laughing stock of his so-called society friends—those dreadful bridge and dancing partners. Don't forget, I am one of the Michels of Mainz, the daughter of the *Geheimrat* Michel. Our relatives poke fun at us because of this 'titled son-in-law!' And the worst of it is that Annelies seems to like it, perhaps only because she knows that it drives

me mad. What will be next? What terrible surprises are still in store for us?"

Of course, I tried to console poor Mother Henkell. I told her not to take the matter so seriously. Did she not find some happiness in her two grandchildren? And Annelies surely loved her Joachim. This happiness should outweigh her own feelings and premonitions. Ribbentrop's eccentricities, his dancing, his social ambitions, his foolishness in running after a title, were comparatively unimportant. After all, these were only *kleine Narrheiten*—small tomfooleries—not worth shedding tears over, especially the tears of a lady such as Frau Henkell, *née* Michel. But Mother Henkell was not to be convinced.

"*Kleine Narrheiten!* I wish it were so. You may know the pleasant side of him, but Ribbentrop is not a little fool. Oh no," she added with a bitter sigh, "he is a nasty fool, a dangerous fool. Believe me, I know him. I can see through him. You will find out one day for yourself. He is an extremely dangerous fool!"

Otto Henkell, Annelies' father, was more reticent in his remarks about his son-in-law. He was somewhat amused by his ambitions. "In business," Otto Henkell told me, "my son-in-law has his own methods. They are not my methods, as everybody knows. They are completely his own. They are so foreign to me that my refusal to make him a partner in Henkell & Co., when he requested it, makes me happier every day. As a partner, I would not have been able to stand him. I am happy that our mutual business contacts are simple and therefore give little opportunity for argument. My daughter will always remain my daughter, and I hope that I shall always have more than enough to leave to her so that she and my grandchildren need never want. His ambitions? Such ambitions as regarding the *von* and his fawning upon aristocrats

for their favors? They make me laugh. Even the Kaiser himself has been polite to Otto Henkell without forcing him to bend his knees. A proud burgher has no reason to climb; it is the sign of bad character if he does. Achievements push a man forward, not toadying."

Finn, Annelies' sister, was the bitterest member of the family. "Let us be content that he is not in sight," she concluded. "He would have spoiled this glorious Sunday." She hastily substituted a more attractive conversational topic than the absent Joachim.

After we were settled in Berlin, we inevitably ran into Joachim von Ribbentrop whenever we attended a cocktail party. That, however, was not very often. But even we noticed that Ribbentrop had considerably changed. Nothing remained of the becoming shyness of bygone days, nothing of his cultivated, almost whispering voice, and not a vestige of his excellent manners. He no longer kept himself aloof from the heated arguments of others. Now he led his own society of *nouveau riche* profiteers and impoverished gentry. Ribbentrop was virtually dictator of this group. He lectured his friends with unnecessary vigor on the dangers of Bolshevism. He boldly outlined the measures which could or should be taken against this "creeping pest." It seemed that he had finally found the platform upon which he could hold his own in post-war Berlin's hectic Vanity Fair. This was certainly not the cultured Ribbentrop I had known, but a loud, boisterous adventurer. The ladies, when asked as to why they had invited him, sighed and said, ". . . but he is such an excellent dancing partner." I now understood Frau Henkell's incessant tears.

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I did not see much of Ribbentrop in those days. When we met, we were polite to each other, but we were not intimates. Later, in thinking back, I remembered that we never sat together when we did meet. We always stood chatting. That in itself seems to indicate that we treated each other with the unrelaxed vigilance of people who belong to different camps.

The doctors continued to be dissatisfied with my state of health. Doctors are that way. They finally persuaded my wife that I should stay in Dr. von Noorden's sanatorium at Baden-Baden. The stay there bored me to death. The only highlights were a few conversations I had with Dr. Gustav Stresemann.

I had known him since our student days in Leipzig. Student reminiscences sometimes prevent one from realizing the genius of a man, but I admired Stresemann and looked up to him. When he invited me to spend an evening with him and his son Wolfgang, I was as excited as ever to see him. Two years had elapsed since we had last been together. Now, when I saw him once again, I felt that I was in the presence of a man marked by death. I tried my best to be cheerful. I reported little incidents which had occurred during my travels in the Far East, and some of these did seem to amuse Stresemann. He even became quite gay. The bottle of Rhine wine, forbidden to both of us by doctor's orders, helped a lot. At the end of the conversation, the Chief of the Personnel Department of the Foreign Office, Dr. Oswald Schneider, appeared. The Minister took this occasion to discuss, in my presence, the possibilities of another post for me. Most of the propositions Schneider made were out of the question because of my health. When New York City was mentioned, with some reservations because of previous obligations, I immediately snapped at it. I was swift to point out that I did not care for

a promotion, that the thing I wanted was an interesting job, and that even the question of rank was of minor importance. A nod from Stresemann, a warning from Schneider that "owing to certain circumstances" I would have to leave within a fortnight, and I received my commission. The following day we booked our passage on the *S.S. HAMBURG*.

We had but seven days to spend in Berlin, and most of the time I was at the Foreign Office receiving the usual instructions, which, at that time, I took most seriously. The last afternoon before our departure, we attended a reception for Ambassador Jacob Gould Schurman at the United States Embassy. We had never met him before, and he seemed to us the very incarnation of American friendliness and hospitality.

As we were leaving the American Ambassador's party, we heard Joachim von Ribbentrop talking to several of his friends. He was explaining to his little circle that Ambassador Schurman was not only inviting "society" to his receptions but journalists—both German and foreign. The Netherlands Legation would never do that, he announced. "But this is American democracy," he added with a shrug. Everyone knew that the Netherlands Legation was the most snobbish in Berlin, and it was obvious that Joachim had evidently received an invitation from this bastion of exclusiveness. We did not say goodbye to Ribbentrop this time.

In December, 1932, three years later, we were on the point of leaving for Mexico to stay there over Christmas, when I received a cable from an old friend, Otto Wolff, suggesting "in the name of our Karlsbad acquaintance" that we should spend our vacation in Berlin. The "Karlsbad acquaintance,"

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the telegram said, wanted to have "a general discussion" with me. This mysterious man was nobody less than Chancellor General Kurt von Schleicher. December 27 saw me in Berlin.

Upon my arrival, I found Berlin a city of rumors, forebodings, wild hopes, and frustration. I went immediately to see Otto Wolff. He told me that two party leaders had suggested my name for a certain Chancellery position. The coincidence of having heard my name on the same day from two party heads had surely given the Chancellor the idea that I would be the right person for the job in question. Schleicher knew that, because of my work with Dr. Joseph Wirth when he was Chancellor, I had had some experience in the particular field. The unusual way of calling me to Berlin through the good offices of Otto Wolff, the industrialist, found its explanation in the fact that Schleicher did not want to let the cable pass through the usual Foreign Office channels. His opponents would have guessed his plan, and they might have ruined it by giving it inopportune publicity.

The details of the Chancellor's plan are of no importance today. The Chancellery and the Office of the President were hotbeds of intrigue and counter-intrigue. The Chancellor, himself, confided to me, in one of our conversations, which "for safety's sake" had to take place in the magnificent house of Otto Wolff in the *Tiergartenstrasse*, that it was Franz von Papen, the ex-Chancellor, who worked against his "*lieber Freund*" (dear friend) Schleicher, whenever he found an opportunity to do so. Schleicher had been in the habit of discussing the most confidential matters with Papen, until he found out that Papen immediately went for a stroll in the Foreign Office garden where his presence seemed quite in order, and he continued to stroll until he saw a chance of entering, unobserved, the neighboring garden of the *Praesi-*

*dentschaftspalais*, the residence of Hindenburg and his son and where Dr. Otto Meissner, expert in political racketeering, was always handy. Papen first sounded out the "old man's mood" before enlightening Hindenburg himself about Schleicher's secrets. Schleicher knew all this, but he took it all too lightly. These details affect Ribbentrop for he was practically the only man who was able to use von Papen as a springboard. It is not one of Ribbentrop's minor achievements, this contriving to get von Papen, the smartest and most reckless of all political gamblers, to assist him in his climb to power.

But at this time, Ribbentrop rarely saw von Papen. They had few things in common. Both had served with the cavalry, von Papen with the *Duesseldorfer Husaren*, Ribbentrop with the *Torgauer Husaren*. Both had served, during the last year of the war, in Turkey, von Papen as Chief of Staff with the rank of a lieutenant colonel in the Fourth Turkish Army, Ribbentrop as a plain lieutenant in some office of the German War Department in the Turkish capital. All the stories about Ribbentrop meeting von Papen when the former was German Military Attaché in Washington and that Ribbentrop had been sent to the United States in a submarine after his return from Canada are pure invention.

But at the time of my discussions with Schleicher, in January, 1933, Ribbentrop was already a member of the Nazi party and was known to have contributed funds to it. Nobody in the party took him seriously. I asked some of my friends what he was doing. His wine business was no longer mentioned; even café society had lost touch with him. I was told, however, that diplomatic receptions retained their ancient lure for him. He had also developed his political connections. Von Papen had now become one of his friends, and he still made speeches against Bolshevism at sumptuous

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dinner parties. One of my old friends remarked, "I am sorry for him. He has plenty of money. He excels in languages. One could have moulded him into a good commercial attaché or even a counsellor of legation, but for this, of course, he should have applied when still young."

On January 20, 1933, I visited von Schleicher to bid him goodbye before my departure for New York. This was the last time I was to see him. My heart was heavy, for I had a premonition of some disastrous fate shaping itself in Germany. Schleicher, himself, realized that the post-war danger zone had not yet been passed. He knew that he was surrounded by enemies. "But Ribbentrop," he said, "that wine merchant? He only uses his brains when he wants to climb. Who can take that creature seriously. He thrives on mud; the flower is quite pretty but the roots are rotten. I tell you, dear Schwarz, I rely on old man Hindenburg. He has so far never deceived me, and he will not deceive me in the future. Between the President and myself there is the comradeship of old soldiers. Hindenburg has no jealousies. He is above them. He is on top, and nobody would even dare to think of pulling him down. It is not only his good conscience that lifts him above all that petty bickering and excitement around him, but he is a symbol. Symbols do not fight, they are fought for." I told him about my previous experience with Ribbentrop, the man who had so successfully transported my wines to the tropics. Schleicher enjoyed the story. "It does me a lot of good," he said at the end of our conversation, "to hear something besides tales about Papen's spy ring. You can be sure that all your visits, except perhaps those you paid me in the evenings at Otto Wolff's home, have been reported to him and his group of adventurers. But *Fraenzchen*, I am sure, will meet disaster in the end. Bon voyage to you." Ten days later the Schleicher government had fallen.



When I left the Chancellery and passed the familiar entrance of the neighboring *Wilhelmstrasse 76*, the entrance of the Foreign Office, I ran into an old friend. He was on his way to lunch and asked me to join him. My friend, an ex-cavalry man, took me to the former *Garde-Cavallerie-Club*, which had changed its name and management during my absence from Berlin.

When we entered, I saw Joachim von Ribbentrop and his special friend, Werner von Alvensleben, lunching. Both turned their heads in my direction at the same moment, nodded, and went on whispering together uneasily. My friend remarked, "Did you see Ribbentrop? He turned red when he saw you, and I can tell you why. He must have some good connections because he has informed von Buelow (the Under Secretary of State in the Foreign Office) that something is going on between you and the Chancellor. He tried to find out whether you were in Berlin on regular leave of absence. It is surprising, but he still is able to have a bad conscience about what he does."

My friend, speaking on, painted a somber picture of Nazi might and its almost inevitable success. Complete triumph was imminent, he said. The month I had passed in Berlin had convinced me that my friend was right. I had warned Schleicher in vain. Ribbentrop knew that I was well aware that the Nazis were ready for a *coup d'état*, and he had therefore resented my visits to Schleicher. But Ribbentrop did not know Schleicher's plans. He did not know that I had been unable to alarm Schleicher, and he was worried for the Nazi battle was not yet won.

I shall never forget this luncheon. On one side were Ribbentrop and Alvensleben wondering what the next hour would bring, and opposite me was my friend already saying farewell to the world we knew and loved. Both of us knew

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that Schleicher was not the man to meet a desperate situation with desperate methods. We were sitting on a powder keg, and all the Papens, Alvenslebens, and Ribbentrops were crawling through the dark, ready to strike the match which would fire it. "The explosion will be terrific," said my friend. "Only a miracle can save Germany and the world." The miracle did not happen. Ten days later, Schleicher was out, sixteen months later—on June 30, 1934—Schleicher was murdered.

That same evening I left for London. My wife and I stayed in London for a few days, visiting friends and relatives. Leopold von Hoesch, our Ambassador, invited me to lunch. "I have to apologize, old friend," he said (we had served together for several months in the Bulgarian capital during World War I), "for not inviting your charming wife, but I wanted to have an informal chat with you." Then he fired question after question at me. I tried to answer them all. He agreed with some of my answers. I told him that I intended to leave the service, but he urged me to stay on for at least some time under any circumstances. "You know," he said, "I believe that we will have to go through a hot but short-lived purgatory of Nazi-domination at home. Their ideas about foreign policy, about international relationships are so childish that they will soon finish themselves. There is only one good rule to be followed during an earthquake—wait until it is over. And earthquakes never go on continuously. The good earth only trembles for some seconds."

During the last days of January, we left via Southampton, and we arrived in New York on February 5. While on board, the skipper entered our cabin one afternoon, highly excited. My wife told him that I was resting. "I must see your husband immediately. Big news from Berlin just came over the radio.

The radio operator and I are the only ones on board who know as yet."

The telegram was in short, plain language: Kurt von Schleicher, the Chancellor, was out. The President had asked Adolf Hitler to form a new cabinet. Captain Koch, the skipper, whom I had known from the days of Constantinople during World War I, added, "I know that you will not agree with this turn in German politics. I do because my children and my wife are Nazis. They laugh at me if my opinions do not coincide with theirs. I am a father, and I want to see my children happy—even if they may be wrong." At this moment, the blushing face of Ribbentrop suddenly flashed before me. I remembered the inquisitive questions of von Schleicher, all the many details I had heard in Berlin about Ribbentrop's activities, his meddling with von Papen, the turn from business and childish social ambitions to politics. Would Ribbentrop be an important figure in this new world? I doubted it, at that time.

On February 5, 1933 our ship arrived in New York's friendly harbor. On April 11, I left the service. The last letter which reached me through the regular dispatch bag was handed to me just before I informed the press of my resignation. It contained only the words: "Ribbentrop seems set to interfere with our department. Von Neurath does not like his looks. You top the list of those whose dismissal is asked by Frick, new Secretary of Interior, on behalf of the party. Watch out!"

I had already finished packing my personal files when the letter arrived. Events, as frequently happens, are swifter than the dispatch bag.

## 2

### *Ribbentrop's Ancestors*

RIBBENTROP'S family was of good, solid, respectable German stock. They were almost unknown before Joachim made the name a byword for unbalanced statesmanship. Certain families are "known" in the way the Roosevelts, Adams, Astors, and Lees are known in America. In the same way one "knew" in Germany certain tribes in good standing and of more or less ancient lineage. In Berlin, one knew mostly, because of the court's presence, the names of Junker families. In Hamburg, Frankfort, and Cologne, one knew the influential and rich burghers. Other names had been made nationally popular by history. The Ribbentrops had never quite made the front-page before Joachim's advent.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had been peasants. Their original name had been Meyer, a very common name in Germany. It would certainly have been most inconvenient for the Nazi movement if it had Schicklgruber and Meyer for its chiefs instead of Hitler and Ribbentrop. But even the name Ribbentrop sounds funny to some Germans and inevitably the town wags made jokes and puns about it. A sentimental and very silly song was in great vogue in Berlin at the time when Neurath's hold on the Foreign Office was waning. "Raindrops, raindrops, knocking at my window, tell me where my sweetheart is?" it ran. "Ribben-

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drops, Ribbendrops, knocking at my window, tell me where my office is?" sang the wits, putting the words into poor Neurath's mouth. The English, of course, made Brickendrop of it and Ribbensnob.

Ribbentrup was really a little freehold or lot on a hill in the tiny principality of Lippe, and Joachim's first recorded ancestor, a Herr Heinrich Meyer, who died in 1597, owned it. His progeny preferred the name of the land they owned to that of Meyer, and the great grandson of the aforementioned Heinrich changed the u in Ribbentrup to o. He was a Justice of the Peace and died in 1735.

But the Ribbentrops can boast of having produced some men of slight importance before Joachim skyrocketed the name to questionable renown. It was Friedrich Wilhelm Christian Johann Ribbentrop who received the coveted *von* on February 6, 1823. This Ribbentrop was quartermaster of the Prussian Army, and a very good one too. He enabled the Prussian armies to get necessary supplies during the long Napoleonic wars. He was also a great friend of both Field Marshal Bluecher and General York, heroes of the wars of liberation. And like so many leading citizens of his day, he was a staunch Freemason and a prominent member of the *Tugendbund*, the League of Virtue, a secret anti-Napoleonic association. Joachim frequently brags of this famous ancestor, but it is absolutely impossible to trace any direct relationship between this patriot and the remote family branch from which Joachim descended.

In fact, if the first *von* Ribbentrop had lived under the Nazi regime, his membership in a masonic lodge would have brought about his immediate dismissal from the army and, as he was a Master of the Lodge, would have caused his being summoned before a special board of investigation. His pension rights would have been curtailed and any further service for

his Fatherland made impossible. The General-Quartermaster's corpse must turn perpetually in its grave every time that Joachim calls himself his descendant. All masonic lodges in Germany are dissolved. Their records and libraries have been seized and destroyed. Lodge brethren are persecuted. The Nazis have established an anti-masonic institute and museum in Erlangen, and they now demand that every German citizen deliver to this Institute all documents and paraphernalia utilized in the practice of Freemasonry. Doubtless, Joachim makes the most of this opportunity to add to his collection of documents relating to his Ribbentrop ancestors. If he intends to publish details on the General-Quartermaster's career as a Freemason, in the *Ribbentrop'sche Familiennachrichten*, the data collected on this side of the Atlantic will cheerfully be placed at his disposal.

After Quartermaster Ribbentrop had established one branch of the family among the nobility, both titled Ribbentrops and commoners coveted military careers. Many a Ribbentrop fought for his German Fatherland with courage and patriotism. A first lieutenant, Karl von Ribbentrop, was among the first to storm the *Dueppeler Schanzen* in the Prussian-Danish war of 1864. The very distinguished decoration, *Pour le Merite*, was the reward for his exploit. In World War I, Captain Rudolf Ribbentrop, Private Heinrich Ribbentrop, and First Lieutenant Kurt Ribbentrop were killed during the initial weeks of the war.

There were also some Ribbentrops active in civilian professions. In the revolutionary days of 1848, a disciple of Hegel's school of Philosophy, Friedrich Christian Heinrich Ribbentrop, found his way to London. This Ribbentrop, a scholar and a fine musician, became a religious pacifist. His theories culminated in the idea that God alone had the power to break the injurious pride of mankind, of the Germans as

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well as the French. He became a missionary, preaching the gospel first at Capetown and teaching the African Negro pupils how to read and write. After a few years, he went to India where he established Fakir House in the town of Chuprah. Here he faithfully practiced his precepts until his death.

India also became the home of another Ribbentrop. In 1867, Berthold Ribbentrop was appointed a forestry instructor for the British Civil Service in India. With great success, he continued this career for thirty-seven years. He then became Inspector General of Forests, residing at Simla. He retired in 1900, as an Englishman, to Kensington and died there shortly before the outbreak of World War I. His *Historical Review of Forest Administration in British India*, published in 1900, is still consulted by experts in this field.

There are quite a number of Ribbentrops in all parts of the world. Some of them have changed their names. There are even some Ribbentrops now in the United States, but not a single Ribbentrop can be found in the lists of Hessians who fought in the British ranks during the Revolution, nor can any be found on the American side.

A number of Ribbentrops came to this country at the end of the last century. There was a Julius Ribbentrop, born in 1853 somewhere in western Germany, who settled as a farmer in Creston, Indiana. He married a certain Anne Hoffman who bore him seven children. There was a Richard von Ribbentrop, one of the titled branch, who came to this country as an engineer and worked in a Newark factory. His son Walter, born in Newark in 1893, became a merchant, but it seems that he left the United States before this War. An Erich Ribbentrop, a pensioner, came to the United States from Wolfenbuettel, the town which once was the home of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. This Erich Ribbentrop and his wife

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settled in Detroit, Michigan. A son, Herbert, was born to them there in September, 1898. The son entered business but cannot be traced further. Another Ribbentrop, of the Wolfenbuettel branch, Heinrich, born in 1890, came to Detroit just before World War I. He got a foreman's job with brake manufacturers. He had two children who were both born and raised in Detroit.

Other branches of the ubiquitous Ribbentrops settled in France. One of them became a well-known art dealer in Paris. But no Ribbentrop, as far as we know, ever went into the wine trade until Joachim came along, and Joachim also became a diplomat and Foreign Minister.

Joachim Ribbentrop's direct lineage shows that all of his forefathers, for five generations, have been officers in the army. Ferdinand Ribbentrop, Joachim's grandfather, was a captain in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. He led the artillery regiment of Brunswick in the famous battle of Vionville. This grandfather was known as an ardent anti-Prussian, and his feelings seem not to have cooled off after his retirement. Living in Hanover, he became a member of the *Welfen-Partei*, a slightly antiquated but extremely honest group of sectarians loyal not to the House of Hohenzollern but to the deposed Kings of Hanover. When grandson Joachim visited Jules Romains, the French author, in the fall of 1934, he said to his host during a discussion about hereditary hatreds, "I am in a fairly good position to know what hereditary hatreds are worth. My people are from Hanover, and my grandfather was a staunch Hanoverian. He said to me again and again, 'Remember, son, that the Prussians are our enemies. They have always been; they always will be. Have nothing to do with them.'"

Joachim Ribbentrop's father, Richard Ribbentrop, born in 1859, also became a professional soldier. He entered the serv-



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ice in 1879 as an ensign in the field artillery regiment in Magdeburg. He was transferred, according to routine, from one garrison town to another, and was a field artillery captain in the fortress of Wesel, in 1891, when he married Sophie Hartwig, the daughter of a local merchant. Two of the three children of this marriage were born in Wesel. The oldest boy, Lothar, was born in 1892 and the second, Joachim, in 1893. A short time later, Richard Ribbentrop was transferred, as a major, to the garrison of Cassel. Finally, as was customary in the field artillery, he went on to Metz. Here, in 1896, Ingeborg was born, and in 1908 the mother of these three children died. Joachim's father then married Olga-Margarete von Prittwitz und Gaffron.

When Richard Ribbentrop passed his fiftieth birthday, he was retired. An honest and hardworking soldier, Ribbentrop's father did not have extraordinary military abilities. But when World War I broke out, he rejoined the army in active service. As a lieutenant colonel, he became the commander of an artillery unit, and he fought with honors in the famous breakthrough battle of Brzezany. After the war, he and his second wife lived in retirement in the small town of Naumburg an der Saale.

It was at Naumburg that Joachim's father died on January 1, 1941, in his eighty-second year. He was not a Nazi sympathizer at the beginning of his son's political career, but the moment the Fuehrer seriously started Germany's rearmament he became an ardent believer in Adolf Hitler's star. And he immediately became a Nazi party member. He died, as the obituary recorded, "with the thought of Germany's final victory and the name of the Fuehrer on his lips." His burial, a simple military funeral, took place "on a hill near the estate of his son Joachim, in Sonnenburg, next to the little spa of Freienwalde. Although the burial was

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postponed for several days, the Fuehrer did not attend. A large army delegation and a group of party members were, however, present. A few minutes after the ceremonies, Joachim had to return to Berlin. The Fuehrer "needed him."

As Joachim's importance in the Nazi party increased, all sorts of people tried to prove or were pleased to admit relationship to him, especially after he was appointed Foreign Minister and it became obvious that he was really one of Hitler's influential friends. The incident involving some of Frau Ribbentrop's relatives is especially interesting.

Old friends in the *Wilhelmstrasse* wrote to me one day that Karl F. von Clemm, a cousin of the former Annelies Henkell, was being supported by Joachim in certain oil deals with the German government. In these deals, Clemm acted as the representative of the late William R. Davis who bought Mexican oil products for Germany in considerable quantities. Karl's twin brother, Werner C. von Clemm, an American citizen, president of the Pioneer Import Corporation, was handling the import of diamonds out of the Dutch and Belgian bounty. He was later condemned for false statements, to the custom authorities, in connection with these transactions. And that Werner C. von Clemm had some definite influence with Joachim von Ribbentrop is proven by the fact that a German Consulate General clerk in New York City was sharply reprimanded by orders of the minister himself, when this cousin of Joachim's wife complained about reluctance, on the part of the Consulate, to comply with his demands.

Joachim's only sister, Ingeborg, is married to a certain Albert Jenke, the son of a German merchant who, for many years, has lived in Constantinople. This Jenke, an engineer by profession, was taken into the German Foreign Service about four years ago. He now is commercial attaché at the

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Embassy in Ankara, but his official residence is Constantinople. It was the Ambassador, Franz von Papen, who obliged Joachim by not only requesting the Foreign Office to appoint Jenke to this post but by demanding that the new commercial attaché be given a formal ministerial rank and title. Even though there was some agitation among the German career diplomats over this appointment, which was called quite openly a corrupt practice, it still did not prevent it.

Two brothers-in-law of Albert Jenke belong to this group of career officials. One is the former Ambassador to Washington, Dr. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, married to Jenke's sister Eva, the other is the former Minister to Bucharest, Dr. Wilhelm Fabricius, married to Martha, another sister of Jenke's. As both diplomats belonged to the so-called "old school," Ribbentrop was somewhat hesitant in proposing them for new appointments, and the Fuehrer himself showed no personal interest in their promotion. Dieckhoff was temporarily added to the staff of the German-French Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden and given some other odd jobs. He is now ambassador in Madrid. Fabricius seems to have been relegated to the sidelines, and he has retired to his residence in Gmund on the Tegernsee in Southern Bavaria.

The Joachim Ribbentrops have five children. The oldest son, Rudolph, called Rudi, was born in Wiesbaden on May 11, 1921. Bettina, the oldest daughter, was born in Berlin on July 20, 1922. After an interval of ten years, a second daughter, Ursula, was born in Berlin on December 29, 1932. Another son, Adolf, named after the Fuehrer, was born in Berlin on September 2, 1935, and a third son, born in Berlin on December 26, 1940, was given the name of Barthold, the traditional first name of many eighteenth-century Ribbentrops and also the first name of the founder of that particular branch of the titled Ribbentrops into which Joachim man-

aged, for certain compensations, to get "adopted" on May 15, 1925.

The oldest boy, Rudolph Joachim, was not yet ten years old when his father joined the Nazi party. The *Hitlerjugend* (youth organization) prescribed a minimum age of fourteen years for admittance into their ranks, so young Rudi joined the *Jungvolk* which included all "able-bodied" children between the ages of ten and fourteen. When he had reached the ripe age of fourteen, Rudi was transferred to the "only and sole organization to bring up, intellectually and physically, the whole of Germany's youth in the spirit of National Socialism."

The *Hitlerjugend* is organized on military principles. The smallest unit is called *Faehnlein*, in emulation of the smallest units organized by sixteenth-century mercenary warriors. Each of these *Faehnlein* is under the command of a *Faehnlein-Fuehrer*. So the lucky superior of Rudolph Joachim, a certain Heinz Thorner, was invited to the house of the boy's parents. Rudi's mother explained to the *Faehnlein-Fuehrer* that her boy's health was somewhat precarious. She suggested that some consideration be taken of this condition. Heinz Thorner gladly promised to do everything in his power, and he kept his word. Rudi's father was very much pleased with this accommodating *Faehnlein-Fuehrer*, and when the latter inquired about the possibilities of getting a good job, he was immediately placed in the *Buero Ribbentrop* which at that time had a staff of about two hundred assistants. His connections with the Ribbentrop family were not severed by this appointment, for Ribbentrop ordered that Thorner should always be at his personal disposal.

When Joachim von Ribbentrop became Ambassador to the Court of St. James and the whole family prepared to move to London, Heinz Thorner was appointed an attaché

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to the German Embassy at Carlton House Terrace. He would have returned with the Ambassador's family to Berlin at the time of Ribbentrop's appointment as Foreign Minister, but unfortunately a search into Heinz Thorner's family tree had uncovered a sad fact. He was not sufficiently Aryan (damaged grandmother) to satisfy the party. Ribbentrop saw to it that Thorner was sent, as an attaché, to the Consulate General in New York City. Here he attended to passport matters and similar clerical work. Without passing any examinations, Thorner was appointed, during the 1940 Christmas holidays, Vice Consul. This appointment created great dissatisfaction among the other officials, especially among those who had been ignored despite regular studies and examinations. Heinz Thorner bragged about his intimate relations with the Ribbentrops. He hinted that his future was safeguarded, for he had been given promises by Joachim himself. Herr Ribbentrop and his wife, he added, knew that he, Thorner, was the only one who could keep Rudi on the right path. Ribbentrop's corrupt tendencies are plainly demonstrated by this story. Men with fewer blemishes upon their family trees were expelled from their hard-earned official positions, and Herr von Ribbentrop was responsible in many of these cases. But, if it was to his personal advantage, he managed to overlook any number of "blemishes."

While his father was Ambassador in London, Rudi attended Westminster, and on his way home from school he often listened to the speeches of the soapbox orators in Hyde Park. Frequently he joined in the discussions. This did not always end in harmony. One of his favorite interruptions was to call the orator a Bolshevik. As Thorner told his colleagues in New York, it was he who called the Ambassador's attention to Rudi's oratorical adventures. Father and son had a lively altercation on the subject of soapbox orators. Thorner was

told to report any repetition immediately. The appointment of Ribbentrop to the Wilhelmstrasse settled the whole matter. Thorner's subsequent fate is unknown to me.

Ribbentrop's oldest daughter, Bettina, was a delicate child. She suffers from a sinus condition, an ailment which she seems to have inherited from her mother. During the time when her father was Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Bettina attended a boarding school in Cornwall, but she felt very unhappy there. She was homesick, locked herself into her room, and declined to join her schoolmates.

In 1936, Bettina had a motor accident. A nervous breakdown followed. Several physicians from Berlin, who have since come to the United States as refugees, have reported that the famous German surgeon, Dr. Ferdinand Sauerbruch, who made a thorough general checkup after the motor accident, recommended an operation. He suggested a certain surgeon of Amsterdam as particularly qualified to perform such an operation but remarked that he was Jewish. In spite of that, mother and daughter travelled to Amsterdam to visit the surgeon (whose name is known to the writer), and there they decided to have him perform the operation. This he did successfully. Mother and daughter registered with the physician under the name of Henkell, Frau von Ribbentrop's maiden name. Only later was the name of the patient on whom he had operated revealed to the surgeon by Professor Sauerbruch. All operation and hospital expenses were paid for in the name of Frau Henkell for her child, Bettina Henkell.

Ursula, the Ribbentrops' younger daughter, is also a very delicate child and under constant medical care.

When the time came for Ribbentrop's second boy, Adolf, to be christened, Frau von Ribbentrop was still a member of the Lutheran church. Her husband had already left the

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church. Nevertheless, Frau Ribbentrop intended to have Adolf baptized in the church of the famous Pastor Martin Niemoeller in whose parish her home in Dahlem was situated. But Niemoeller insisted that her husband return to the Lutheran church before he perform the ceremony. Frau Ribbentrop is said to have tried to induce her husband to comply with the pastor's request, but to no avail. Since Niemoeller stubbornly insisted upon this condition, the baptism took place in another church. When the Fuehrer heard that the child had been named in his honor, he was very pleased. Frau von Ribbentrop told the Fuehrer about Niemoeller's unsympathetic attitude and how the valiant pastor "became more and more a nucleus for dissatisfied elements in the influential Dahlem parish." These hints from the charming and elegant Annelies, for whom Hitler had a particular regard, had the expected effect. Pastor Niemoeller disappeared into a concentration camp.

At the outbreak of World War II Pastor Niemoeller applied, from the camp, for a job in the Navy as a U-Boat commander with the same rank as he had held during World War I. But the Fuehrer, who had reserved personal decision in such matters, refused to grant the commission. Niemoeller is still in the "K. Z." The Fuehrer reached this decision after Heinrich Himmler, Gestapo chief and friend of Joachim von Ribbentrop, submitted a special report. In this report, the dangerous influence of Pastor Niemoeller's sermons on the German upper class was described. It also stated that this refusal to baptize Adolf Ribbentrop was "detrimental to the party interests."

Little Adolf is known to be his father's pet and "the little rascal of the Ribbentrop family." The late father of Joachim von Ribbentrop was in the habit of playing for hours with his little grandson, trying to teach him how to march in the

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military manner and how to salute. Adolf's English nurse who cared for him until the outbreak of this war has also said that he was "a sweet little rascal" who was liked by everybody and who had already learned to sing a few English nursery songs.

Rudi Ribbentrop is now *Unter-gruppenfuehrer der Schutz-Staffeln* (SS.). He seems to be following family tradition. It will be interesting to see what becomes of the Ribbentrop children.



# 3

## *Early Youth, Adventures in Canada, and World War I*

WHEN on May 19, 1891, Richard Ribbentrop, aged thirty-two, married Sophie Hartwig, a local belle of Wesel, a small and unattractive town on the lower Rhine, he or his bride were, in all probability, quite well-to-do. For at that time, the German military code did not permit an officer below the rank of a captain to ask for permission to marry unless he and his bride-to-be could prove that they possessed a *Kaution* (deposit of state guaranteed securities to the amount of 90,000 Goldmarks). The income derived from the interest on such securities was considered the minimum with which to supplement the modest pay a young officer received for the honor of wearing the uniform of the Kaiser's army. The army was extremely cautious in marriage matters. Officers, intending to marry, were obliged to answer many questions regarding their fiancée's families. Both the commander of a regiment and the *Kommandeuse* displayed the greatest interest in the bride-to-be's background. This avid curiosity was frequently quite unwelcome, but Richard Ribbentrop and Sophie Hartwig probably had nothing to hide, for in a small town like Wesel with its population of about 20,000, the few families from which an officer could choose his life partner, were known to every one.

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In 1902, Sophie died of tuberculosis. Her elder son, Lothar, as well as Joachim, seem to have inherited tuberculosis. Joachim was treated for it during his stay in Canada, and his health did improve, for he had a great fondness for outdoor sports. He was an ardent hunter and a fair tennis player. The less fortunate Lothar, who was also in Canada at the outbreak of the war in 1914, was too sick to return surreptitiously to Germany as Joachim did. The Canadian authorities interned Lothar, but in consideration of his condition, they did not place him in a concentration camp. Instead they sent him to St. Agathe's Military Sanatorium in Montreal. After the conclusion of the agreement which permitted transportation of permanently disabled soldiers and internees to Switzerland, Lothar was brought to Lugano, and here he died in December, 1918. He seems to have been a likable chap, according to what Dr. J. Roddick Byers, Medical Officer in charge of Tubercular Troops in Montreal, wrote about him: "I remember him as being one of the nicest boys we had and everybody was fond of Louis, the pet name by which he was known."

Not very much can be said about Joachim's childhood. Owing to his delicate health, he was probably spoiled by his mother and his aunts. He was just one year old when the Ribbentrop family moved from Wesel to Cassel in consequence of his father's promotion from first lieutenant to captain in another field artillery regiment. In 1906, the family moved from Cassel to Metz, in the so-called *Reichslande*, Alsace-Lorraine, which had been annexed by the Reich after the War of 1870-71. It was in Metz that Joachim became a pupil in the *Kaiserliches Lyzeum*, a somewhat pompous name for a grammar school.

Joachim and his older brother Lothar were well liked by their schoolmates. Lothar, it is said, was the better student,

Joachim the more popular. But he was not too bright. He was lazy, saucy, mischievous, and frequently in trouble, but he was also handsome, lively, and cheerful. Obviously his tendency to become a nuisance was offset, at an early age, by the famous Ribbentrop charm. When the charm eventually evaporated, only the nuisance remained.

Papa Ribbentrop was not very satisfied with Joachim's scholastic achievements. For the father, there was only one goal, one profession for a Ribbentrop—the Army. A male Ribbentrop, in good state of health, had to become an officer. The regular way to approach this romantic, if self-effacing career, was the Military Academy, where young boys were strenuously trained for future hardships.

Lothar could not enter the *Kadettenanstalt* because of his health, and Joachim refused flatly to expose himself to the exigencies of Prussian discipline. He found unexpected support in a distant relative whom the children called "Auntie." She lived in the Ribbentrop household for long periods. During these periods, she watched over the three motherless children, even though their father had remarried. Auntie was an old spinster, Gertrude Charlotte von Ribbentrop. It is this lady who transferred her *von* to her undeserving "nephew" in 1925.

Auntie Gertrude loved the Ribbentrop children. She must also have had the means with which to back Joachim in his fight against his father's wishes. The boy played the violin well and showed proficiency in mastering the French language. The latter talent he had ample occasion to practice in Metz where the majority of the people spoke French, their mother tongue. Both Joachim's stepmother and Auntie Gertrude thought it a good idea for Joachim to perfect himself in languages. For that purpose, it was desirable that he attend English, Swiss, or French schools and travel in the world.

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Auntie Gertrude, very anxious to make a cosmopolitan of Joachim, finally succeeded in having him sent to a boarding school at Grenoble, France and later to London.

Not very much is known of these years. Auntie Gertrude provided him with a small allowance, and his father may also have sent him a little money. He was rarely seen in Germany. He found life much more interesting abroad. And his father's second marriage, three years after the death of Joachim's mother, further estranged him. Relations between stepmother and stepson were never too happy.

In 1910, Joachim Ribbentrop went to Canada. Why? What did he do there? Both reasons for his trip and his actions while in Canada are shrouded in mystery. In the biographical sketch which Ribbentrop himself wrote for *Who's Who*, he refers to the Canadian venture as, "four years business in Canada." He has never publicly revealed why he did not finish his course at London University, nor why he failed to give his linguistic studies an official stamp by some sort of examination. It may be that Ribbentrop, who was very young at that time, was lured to Canada by the brothers von Alvensleben, land speculators of good family but shady reputation who fed on greenhorns like Joachim.

About 1910, quite a number of Germans, eager to find fortune abroad, followed the Alvenslebens to the new world. Many of them soon wrote to relatives or friends in Germany for tickets home. Others, too ashamed to admit the collapse of their dreams, tried to earn a living by working for some landowner or on the railroads where unskilled labor was always in demand.

In any case, it is definitely known that Ribbentrop lived in Vancouver at the outset of his Canadian sojourn. That is where one of the von Alvensleben brothers, Alvo, operated a realty business. The other, Eno, was stationed in Berlin

where he planted the bait which caught the adventurous fish. Whether caught or not by the enterprising brothers, Joachim was quite friendly with both of the Alvenslebens in the years after the war. During the war both brothers were interned. Alvo was kept in Canada, and Eno was seized at Gibraltar on his way home to Germany. The latter found himself in an awkward position, for he carried with him plans of Vancouver and other ports where real estate had been acquired for future customers. He would have been court-martialed and shot had not some influential London friends intervened.

Another story about Ribbentrop's reasons for leaving London prematurely claims that Joachim had received an invitation from friends in London to attend a shooting party in New Brunswick and that the Canadian atmosphere fascinated him so much that he stayed on. It is amazing, if the story is true, that this boy of seventeen managed to get such an invitation.

There is still another possibility. Joachim, realizing that his period of army service was upon him, may have chosen to go overseas, for in the days before World War I, young Germans who did not like the idea of serving as *Einjaebrige* (one-year-volunteers) often did this. Remote from the Fatherland, they had to report to the nearest Consulate, and there they could obtain a certificate which freed them, at least for a time, from the draft.

One day, one of Joachim's lady friends teasingly asked him how he managed to enter a civilian occupation at an age when one was really obliged to be in the German military service. He is said to have answered that, not being a strong fellow, he would have been rejected and that anyway there were other ways of serving the Fatherland. Be that as it may, it is known that Ribbentrop secured his first job in Canada by working upon the Quebec Bridge.

This bridge, the largest in Canada, had collapsed, with a loss of many lives, early in 1910. It was imperative that the two banks of the St. Lawrence River be reconnected as speedily as possible. Many European concerns endeavored to get the contract, among them Germany's famous Krupp. The contract was finally given to a Canadian company, The Canadian Bridge Company, formed exclusively for this purpose. In some way or other, the company managed to use the designs and blueprints filed by the Krupp works. The work on the bridge between Three Rivers and Quebec began sometime in 1910. Ribbentrop got a job as a time-keeper with the company of M. P. and J. T. Davis, sub-contractors for the project.

We do not know exactly when Ribbentrop left this job, but the bridge was reopened about the middle of 1911, and we can assume that the work assigned to sub-contractors must have been finished sometime before. In any case, Ribbentrop's next job was with the Canadian Pacific Railroad. When a German journalist who was collecting data on Ribbentrop, asked the new Minister of Foreign Affairs about his previous career, he was told that for about three years Ribbentrop had worked with the builders of the Pacific Grand Trunk Railroad. This obviously includes not only his work in the offices of the Canadian Pacific in Ottawa but also the period he spent with the Davis firm.

Ribbentrop also worked as clerk with Molson's Bank in Montreal for at least a few months, and for a time in 1914 he conducted some sort of private Import-Export Agency. It was in this connection that he proudly referred to himself later as a *selbstaendiger Unternehmer*, an independent merchant. This independent enterprise he speaks of cannot have been very important. What is interesting, however, is that it was concerned with the import of German wines. The total

value of imported German bottled wines into Canada for the fiscal year, ending March 31, 1914, amounted to \$32,333. There were at least ten established firms already handling this business. As a newcomer, Ribbentrop surely could not have received more than an average share. His profits on a yearly basis could not have amounted, therefore, to more than a thousand dollars. It must have been much less, as he was in the business not even half a year. But this superficial acquaintance with the tricks of wine merchants laid the foundation for his swift rise in post-war Berlin.

Ribbentrop was ordinarily not in need of money. The cost of living was cheap in Canada at that time. The exchange value of the Goldmark was a favorable one, and if his benevolent aunt or other relatives provided him with some sort of income, it probably was more than sufficient. But Joachim is not the type of person who would like to remember such support or even be reminded of it.

When Ribbentrop arrived at Ottawa as a clerk for the Canadian Pacific, he had introductions from relatives and friends in Germany to certain officers in the Canadian Militia. He also called at the Governor General's residence and signed his name in the visitors' book. He received the usual invitation to Rideau Hall.

The Governor General of Canada was, at that time, the late Duke of Connaught, the son of Queen Victoria, youngest brother of King Edward VII, and uncle of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The German language still predominated in the household of the Canadian Governor General, who himself was married to the Prussian princess, Louise-Margaret, daughter of the "Red Prince of Prussia," so named because of his Hussar's scarlet uniforms rather than his political inclinations. While the Governor General spoke English with a strong German accent, typical of all the early Windsors, or rather

Coburgs, his wife, Princess Louise-Margaret, born and raised in Potsdam, preferred definitely to use her mother tongue. The entire household at Rideau Hall spoke German as well as English; the personnel, from head cook to the bottle washer, were Germans. Characteristic of the Duchess of Connaught's emotions at the outbreak of World War I was her remark to a Canadian friend, "It is terribly hard for me with my son fighting on one side and my brothers on the other."

Young Joachim, about nineteen at the time, was quite a success at Rideau Hall. He mastered both Canadian idioms, English and French, to perfection. With his charm, his talent for playing the violin, and his good game of tennis, he soon became popular with Ottawa's very best social set. His visits to Government House became rather frequent. The highest officials invited him to their homes. This, in itself, constitutes a remarkable record for a young German boy on his own in a foreign country without any official status, elaborate means, or influential relatives. It was something to brag about, and in later life Joachim always let everyone know that he had been the favorite of the Canadian Governor General, his wife, and their daughter, Princess Patricia. Undeniably, at that time, he was a very agreeable young man, not at all the "Ribben-snob" he became in later years.

There are still many persons in Canada who vividly remember Ribbentrop's pre-1914 days. I have corresponded with several people who attended functions at the Governor's House at the same time as Joachim. As a result of this, I discovered that, "while at the present time there are no records whatsoever at Government House in Ottawa of any activities which took place during the Duke of Connaught's period of office, there is no doubt that Ribbentrop played the violin on one or more occasions, that he was popular with the younger



set, and that his English was regarded as faultless. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia treated Ribbentrop in the same manner as the young Canadians who went to Government House—with a hospitality both charming and gracious. Ribbentrop was no more intimate with them than any of the other guests; as a general rule people in their position would play no favorites, thereby preventing jealousies.”

Some Canadians remember that in Ottawa the Davis family took Joachim under its wing. They also remember him at the famous Rideau Club's tennis tournaments, dances, concerts, and musicales. They remember that he excelled in skating and that the Minto Skating Club was just the right place for him. During Ottawa's "Kermess" festival he was to be found at costume parties in the brocaded velvet coat and white wig of a Louis XV courtier, either kneeling before his lady of the moment or dancing the minuet with her. He is also remembered as a skilled and ardent whist player—bridge, a game in which he excels today, was not the fashion then. His suits were always cut to perfection, and he disliked anyone poking fun at him or his interpretation of the mode. Once, when escorting a lady to a movie, he wore a white linen suit, a garb more suited to the tropics than Ottawa's arctic climate. When Ribbentrop entered the theatre, an usher, baffled by this unusual apparel, approached him and reminded him anxiously that "gentlemen were not permitted to remove their coats." Very much annoyed, Ribbentrop answered, "It seems as though you have never seen a white suit." It took some effort to calm him and to prevent him from leaving the theatre in protest.

Old Canadian friends who met Joachim again, in London, while he was Ambassador, were swift to note how different he was from the charming boy they had known in Ottawa.

“He changed from a pleasant, agreeable companion to a man of exaggerated ego and overbearing arrogance. Indeed, in American parlance, one would describe him as a “stuffed shirt.” This excerpt from one of the letters I received in connection with our Canadian inquiry speaks for itself.

Ribbentrop received the news of Great Britain's declaration of war against Germany on August 4, 1914, while playing on the tennis courts of the Rideau Club. He completed his game, escorted his lady friend to her home, took part in a somewhat hasty farewell dinner at the Château Laurier, said goodbye to some of his Ottawa friends, and was finally taken to the station. Certain friends received letters postmarked New York City from him. How he managed to pass the British control at the Falmouth blockade station remains a mystery, but then, many Germans also slipped through. He probably secured a false passport in New York, a thing which presented little difficulty at that time. And he shipped as a stoker on the Dutch steamship *Potsdam*. Many crews of other neutral ships did this for Germans in those days. Joachim's perfect knowledge of the English language was assuredly of value in this emergency.

A former Canadian official has told me one more story connected with Ribbentrop's Canadian venture. A few years after World War I, the Canadian Under Secretary of State, the late Thomas Mulvey, made a trip to Europe in order to settle questions relating to Canadian sequestered “Enemy Property.” In the Mulvey party was a Major H. Relf. After the war, he served as Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of State and handled certain cases for the office of Custodian for Enemy Property. There were also other experts and assistants with them. The party stayed at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin. One afternoon in May, 1923, a man called on Under Secretary Mulvey at the Hotel Adlon. It was Joachim Rib-

bentrop. Ribbentrop was in search of information concerning certain stock shares his wife had acquired before her marriage. Ribbentrop wanted to know whether Mulvey could release this relatively small amount of alien property. Mulvey, a very responsible official, told Ribbentrop that he would, of course, look into the matter before deciding upon it. Unfortunately, nothing could be traced in the Custodian's lists, so he said that he would have to refer the matter to Ottawa. He assured Ribbentrop, however, that he himself would see to it personally when he returned home. Ribbentrop was asked by Mulvey and the other Canadians to join them for dinner at the Adlon, and he accepted. During the evening, Mulvey, mentioning that he liked good Rhine wine, handed the wine list to Ribbentrop, asking him to make a choice, since he, an expert in the trade, was better equipped to do this than his host.

After dinner, Ribbentrop suggested that the Canadians "make the rounds of Berlin's night spots." They first went to Berlin's famous *Palais de Danse*, later to some of the less prominent places. Everybody enjoyed the evening which ended in the wee hours in Mulvey's suite. At 3 A.M. they parted company. The Canadian Commission had to leave the same morning at nine o'clock via Dresden for Prague, the Czechoslovakian capital. While they were busy packing, a messenger arrived with a wooden box containing several bottles of the same famous Rhine vintage the party had enjoyed the previous evening. Mulvey seemed a little embarrassed when he read the accompanying card. It said, "I wish you a happy trip. Ribbentrop."

"Can I accept such a gift?" Mulvey asked his companions.

"You should not if you intend to release the shares," was the advice.

"Well, I won't, so I will keep the wine," Mulvey answered.

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The last sentence in a letter from a lady who kindly answered some questions we asked her regarding Ribbentrop's Canadian episode reads, "Everyone who knew and liked Ribbentrop when he stayed in Ottawa now agrees that the real purpose of his remaining in Canada was espionage. Nobody sensed it at that time, but considering all he has done since then, they probably are right." I cannot agree with this. Facts definitely exclude spying. Nobody in Germany, in the years prior to the outbreak of World War I, had ever given a thought to the possibility of the United States joining the Allies. Canada in those days was not considered to be a military power of importance. With a militia of about 3,000 men, nobody foresaw the part she played in World War I. If details were needed regarding Canada's war potentialities, the shrewd German Intelligence Service would have placed the task in the hands of an experienced military man, not in those of a youth.

As far as can be ascertained, it does not seem that Canadian Intelligence officers believed that Ribbentrop was a member of the German Secret Service. If they had held this belief, they would have immediately arrested him at the outbreak of the war. As previously mentioned, Joachim did not leave Ottawa secretly. As a matter of fact he was short of cash at that time, and he borrowed ten dollars from James Sherwood, son of the Chief of Canadian police, Sir Percy Sherwood. When the Canadian newspapers reported the appointment of Joachim as Ambassador-at-large, Sherwood jokingly mentioned the money Ribbentrop owed him to Dr. Ludwig Kempff, German Consul General in Montreal at that time. In some way the British Foreign Office learned of it during Ribbentrop's visit for the discussions on the 1934 Naval Agreement in London. The Department of External Affairs in Ottawa apparently received a hint that any mention of this

debt in the press was not desirable. But it is a well-known fact among German officials that Kempff reported the matter to the *Wilhelmstrasse*.

Back in Germany, Joachim enlisted in the famous *Torgauer Husarenregiment Nr. 12*, and received hurried military training. In the first days of October, 1914, a reserve body was sent to join this regiment at the front. Joachim was one of the reserves, and he saw action in Russia and Poland. He became an officer and was awarded the Iron Cross second class. He did not get the more coveted First Class until early in 1918, when he was no longer in active, front-line duty but occupying a desk at the Ministry of War. This assignment was mostly concerned with translations.

It was in the beginning of 1918 that Desk Lieutenant Joachim Ribbentrop was ordered to move from the Ministry of War, in Berlin, to the offices of the same Ministry in Constantinople, the Turkish capital. The German army command had decided upon another military advance against Suez and great preparations were being made for this purpose. No real cooperation from the Turks could, however, be gained. This military undertaking is recorded in the literature of World War I as *Expedition F*. Its commander was General Erich von Falkenhayn.

Since many of the Turkish War Department's officers were acquainted with the French language, it was thought that Ribbentrop could be useful in Constantinople. He served there under a Major Meyer. This Major was in charge of the economic section, and he vainly tried to squeeze some fodder for camels and horses and foodstuffs for officers and men out of the impoverished Turks. *Expedition F* stood, however, under an evil star. Military experts agree that it would have failed even if the Turkish allies had completely cooperated. Joachim lived during his entire stay in the *White House*. This

house had belonged to Sinocoglou, a Turk. Having been confiscated by the authorities, it now served as mess and boarding house for a group of German officers.

When, at the beginning of October, 1918, Turkey was forced to approach the Allies for an armistice, the German officers were asked to leave their homes immediately. Room was needed for the British officers who were on their way to the Turkish capital. The Germans had only a few hours to pack their belongings, and they were left without shelter. Ribbentrop and his orderly had great difficulty in finding some kind of lodging, for the hostile population blamed, not without justification, their plight on the Germans. Finally, they were lucky to meet an acquaintance of Ribbentrop's, the Jewish manager of a German banking institute, who felt sorry for the helpless officer and his orderly and quartered them temporarily in his own home. With the entry of the allied forces into Constantinople, the German officers and men were taken to Moda, a town on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, to await repatriation. This repatriation took some time.

The exact date of Ribbentrop's return to Berlin is not known. One only knows that one day in January, 1919 he rented a small room in a boarding house in the *Meinecke-Strasse*, one of the quiet streets in Berlin's West End. He immediately reported to the Ministry of War and got a position, owing to his knowledge of French and English, in the section preparing for the peace discussions. His experiences on the road back had most certainly made it mercilessly clear to him what the lost war meant for Germany. He also realized at that time that he would have to find a new profession, a new way of earning his living. And the outlook was certainly not a bright one.

But for the time being, Ribbentrop, like many of his

brother officers, was busy in the War Department. The section for peace preparations grew and grew. When the German delegation for the Versailles peace conference was lined up, the Ministry of War delegation consisted of three commissioners, General Hans von Seeckt, Major Draudt, and a Captain Fischer. There were, of course, a few orderlies and some clerical staff with these military commissioners, but of the one hundred and eighty persons who left Berlin as members of the entire delegation, there were only eleven who could be classified as members of the Ministry of War. Among these must have been Joachim Ribbentrop, since he says in his *Who's Who* biographical statement that he served as "A. D. C. to the German Peace Delegation." It is strange, however, that not one of the official or unofficial publications relating to the German delegation lists Ribbentrop's name. I have approached nine people who were present at the Paris Peace Conference, some as commissioners, some as experts, others as members of the clerical staff, but not one of them remembers that Ribbentrop was on the staff of the German delegation. Not one of them even recalls hearing his name at that time. It has been suggested that Ribbentrop was used as a courier. Several couriers were not on the staff of the delegation originally but were sent from Berlin as they were needed. Under these circumstances Ribbentrop's assertion in the English *Who's Who* and in its German counterpart, *Wer Ist's*, may be true.

# 4

## *Marchand de Vins*

MANY people who live through the fevers of war enter peace and find it humdrum and prosaic. That is true even if you belong to a victorious nation. How much truer this is if your nation is defeated. Thousands of German officers had to be sent into the wilderness of civilian life with nothing but a small pension to live on, a pension that would have been insufficient at any time but was especially so when inflation made all money illusory. Some of these discharged officers entered universities and engineering schools to prepare for new vocations. Others joined the *Freikorps*, mercenaries who fought in the Baltic States against the Bolsheviks. They were promised that they would eventually receive land grants from which to make their livings. Others went to colonial regions, and there became planters and overseers. And there were those who became profiteers and sold second-hand armaments. Rifles and ammunition were in great demand by certain groups which prepared revolutions and uprisings in Central and South American Republics; by Arabian dealers for Ethiopia or Ibn-Saud; by the Baltic States; and even by buyers from the West Indies for trans-shipment to Mexico. The goods desired could be procured from armament stocks which, if not otherwise disposed of, would fall into the hands of the dreaded *International Commission*. If



one had the right connections it was possible to prevent the Commission from gaining possession of these arms, a patriotic deed combined with lucrative business. Not only that, but it was practically the only way of getting possession of *Edelvaluta* (foreign currency). A certain amount of "working capital" was necessary for the transactions, as heavy costs for transporting the goods had to be advanced, bribes paid, workers hired. Some of the arms awaited more active days on the estates of big landowners, mostly ex-officers.

Some discharged officers traded in shoes and stockings, in vegetables or sausages, wines and spirits, but for many there was only one way left, marriage into some profitable business.

Joachim, as we know, chose a combination of both of the latter possibilities. When Ottmar Strauss bluntly asked him how he had earned his living before the war's outbreak, Joachim told him that he had sold German wines in Canada during the last months of his stay there. "Cobbler, stick to your last," was Ottmar's advice. And Joachim decided that wines were once again to be his business. At least it was one trade in which a certain turnover was always possible—especially at a time when easy money was being made by unscrupulous people who were only too eager to spend it in frivolous diversions. Ribbentrop was clever enough to see that he had only to get "the real stuff" produced in France and Great Britain, and his fortune would be made. Even the great Goethe in *Faust* says:

"A German can't endure the French to see or hear  
Yet drinks their wines with hearty cheer . . ."

The Army of Occupation's officer's messes had more than enough liquor. The obvious thing was to bribe the sergeant in charge of the supplies. Then one could get hold of anything for which the German customer or rather the German

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profiteer who wanted to enjoy his unexpected affluence longed. Furthermore, this merchandise was inexpensive for it came into the country free of duty. Anybody could see this opportunity, but only a few were alert enough to grasp it. And Joachim was certainly alert.

In the first business of this nature Ribbentrop was the broker, Ottmar Strauss the buyer, British sergeant the seller. The object of the deal were six cases of *Moët et Chandon*, *Ponsardin*, vintage 1911. The commission Ribbentrop made in this transaction was equivalent to some \$66. Not so bad for a beginner. The deal mentioned was executed in July or August, 1919. At the end of that same year Joachim Ribbentrop was already registered as a legitimate firm with the proper authorities, and this registration was published in the official journal.

A Major Roehrs was at that time one of Ribbentrop's friends. He had not been as fortunate as Joachim in beginning life anew, but this mattered hardly at all for he had no ambitions and knew how to arrange his way of life to suit his reduced means. Some of Major Roehrs' friends remember that he was not very optimistic about Ribbentrop's business transactions, but he concluded, after discussing the vagaries of the wine trade, that for a man with Ribbentrop's social ambitions there was but one thing to do. Joachim must marry a rich girl. It was not long before Joachim did this very thing. On July 20, 1920, he married Otto Henkell's daughter, Annelies, and Otto was, of course, not only one of Germany's foremost manufacturers of sparkling wines but a man of considerable means and excellent social standing.

We know that Henkell did not thoroughly approve of this union. When one German industrialist deplored his own daughter's decision to marry an "adventurer unknown to him," Otto Henkell consoled his friend by saying, "Did my

daughter Annelies do anything else? Parents," he added, "seem to have no say at all anymore as far as their children's future is concerned." But when the same friend implied that at least Otto Henkell got a son-in-law who probably would make a good business partner, Henkell, without hesitating a moment, answered, "Ribbentrop may have been able to infatuate my daughter, but he will never fool me into taking him as a partner." No, Otto Henkell did not make Joachim a partner. But he helped his son-in-law in many other ways.

In those days, the import of foreign alcoholic beverages into Germany was practically a monopoly of the *Weinhandlungs-Gesellschaft m.b.H.*, a great wine trading company. This company was entitled, in principle, to import foreign products, but as a semi-governmental institution it was not allowed to make use of such rights, since no foreign currency could be made available for the purpose. There did not exist, at that time, any commercial treaty between France and Germany, and it was to the German government's interest to stop the buying of all French merchandise, because prevention of such buying was the only economic weapon Germany had against France. The only way of importing foreign liquors into Germany was, therefore, under certain Versailles Treaty stipulations. These stipulations were known as *Loch im Westen*, "the hole in the Western frontier." Henkell and Ribbentrop both knew, however, that one day normal trade relations would be re-established. Directly, or with his father-in-law's help, Joachim contacted Baron de Mun, one of Pommery & Greno's leading men; Sir Alexander Walker, of Johnnie Walker whiskies; and many others. Soon, all German agencies for these firms were held by Ribbentrop & Co.

Joachim's career, in the wine trade, was further helped by several lucky coincidences. Otto Henkell & Co. were represented in Berlin and throughout the greater part of Prussia

by an old, well-known firm of excellent reputation, Johannes Muther & Co. Otto Henkell asked his venerable friend, Johannes, to keep an eye on his son-in-law's business transactions, to give him advice, to teach traditional usages, and to warn him when necessary, but to come to Otto Henkell personally when anything occurred which he did not wish to tell Ribbentrop directly. Muther and his confidential clerk, Schoeneberg, took the newcomer under their paternal care, but both decided that Joachim would not be a desirable partner in their own business transactions.

After Muther's death, Schoeneberg became the sole owner of Johannes Muther & Co. Schoeneberg, fond of gambling, lost a considerable amount of money one night in one of Berlin's flourishing and luxurious casinos. He saw no other way out but to confess his troubles to Otto Henkell. Otto promised to arrange everything if Schoeneberg agreed to one condition—Joachim was to become a full-fledged partner. The ancient firm of Johannes Muther & Co. changed its name to Schoeneberg & Ribbentrop.

This partnership started at a most opportune moment. The ban on alcoholic beverages of foreign origin ended on January 1, 1924. Now it was possible to import the "real stuff" legally. The so-called French Chartreuse, a sweet liqueur distilled in Spain, had, for almost a century, had an excellent market in Germany, and Ribbentrop held the agency. He also held the agency for the famous Meukoff brandy.

Germans living in foreign countries, especially in the tropics, were always fond of Scotch and Soda. Ribbentrop, through his father-in-law, got the agency for Johnnie Walker, next to Black and White the most popular Scotch in Germany. And he represented Baron de Mun of Pommery & Greno champagnes. This friendship and business connection seems to have survived the German invasion of France during

World War II. One of the first measures taken in occupied France was the creation of an organization of French champagne producers. Baron de Mun was elected president, and Ribbentrop's wine trade friends benefited.

All of these agencies were monopolies. No competition against Ribbentrop & Co. and Schoeneberg & Ribbentrop was possible. The hotel or restaurant which preferred a competitor's whisky was excluded from getting Chartreuse or Meukoff and vice versa. These methods were not to everybody's liking, but nobody was in a position to object. It was strictly within the law in Germany. Whoever disapproved was requested not to place orders.

Changes in partnership, in proxy, in capital stock, reorganization, bankruptcy, and all hazards which may occur in a company, have to be registered in Germany with special courts, and such registrations are published in the court's official publication, the *Handelsregister*. To verify a fact in this *Handelsregister* is not an easy task, since the entries are not printed in alphabetical order. But I have learned that Ribbentrop & Co. changed its name on successive occasions and finally became the *Impegroma, Import and Export Grosser Marken*, the Import and Export of Well-known Brands. All partnerships in this enterprise were dissolved on October 17, 1931. Since then Joachim von Ribbentrop has been the sole owner of the firm. That Joachim's political career did not stop his business in alcoholic beverages is known, because his firm issued a price list as recently as 1937. At that time the firm was run by Wolfgang Michel, a relative of Joachim's wife. The *Deutsches Reichsadressbuch*, 1937 issue, as well as the *Berliner Adressbuch*, 1939 issue, list *Impegroma*. The Berlin telephone directory of 1940 records that the firm's number is "Pallas 3747."

Ribbentrop's exclusive agency rights in prominent foreign

liquors assisted him considerably in his social ambitions. Successful businessmen liked to have their cellars filled with Pommery & Greno, Meukoff, Chartreuse, Johnnie Walker, and the others. They also preferred to deal directly with the original importer, for this made their buys less expensive and assured them of getting the "real stuff." The obvious thing to do then was to be on friendly terms with Ribbentrop. And Joachim played his cards well. People who treated him as a social equal were sure of prompt delivery and of preferential treatment in prices and qualities.

Social ambitions more than anything else were also behind his numerous attempts to break into Berlin's diplomatic set, a task in which he finally succeeded. The first foreign mission in which he managed to get a foothold was the American Embassy. It was, of course, very difficult to get the members of the American Embassy as customers. American prohibition laws made it an unwritten rule that no alcoholic beverages were to be served on official occasions. Furthermore, in accordance with international custom, foreign missions all over the globe had the privilege of importing anything they wanted free of duties and taxes. But even if one could get only a cup of tea, Ribbentrop thought it useful for him and Annelies to be seen in the reception rooms of the American Embassy, and it certainly did prove to be useful.

One of the first diplomats to whom Ribbentrop was introduced by America's exceedingly popular Ambassador, Jacob Gould Schurman, was the British Ambassador, Lord D'Abernon. The following day, Ribbentrop rushed to the British Embassy, the Baruch Hirsch Strousberg's old palace, to leave cards. Lord D'Abernon, unable to recollect where he had met this polite new acquaintance, asked his secretary who it was and what reason this person, whom he did not know, might

have for paying this formal call. Was the unknown some new *Wilhelmstrasse* official?

"No," answered the secretary, "I know the man. He is an ambitious wine merchant, and he probably hopes to be invited to dinner or at least to a reception given at the Embassy."

"Oh, now I remember. I met him yesterday at tea at the Schurmans. Yes, he is a wine merchant. The American Ambassador told me so. But do I have to invite a wine merchant, if I have no business with him?" asked Lord D'Abernon with a resigned voice, for he had decided that in Berlin everything was possible. We do not know the secretary's reply, but the Ribbentrops were put on the prospective invitations list. Next to their names was noted, "only R," meaning "reception only." The Ambassador also left cards at the Ribbentrops. Politeness required that. The Ribbentrops also left cards at the Czechoslovakian Legation, the Dutch, the Polish, the Austrian, and others. The Czechoslovakian Minister did not invite Joachim at all.

Ribbentrop seemed to have reached the height of his social ambitions when he was "adopted" and so "ennobled" in 1925 by his "auntie," Gertrude von Ribbentrop, a member of the youngest of the three titled Ribbentrop lines. This spinster had always had a weak spot for Joachim, and financial reasons cannot be excluded, at least as a possibility, as one of the reasons for this transaction. One source of information affirms that Gertrude once remarked that Joachim had not fulfilled any of the promises he had made when the adoption had been arranged. Be that as it may, in the legal protocols which are

part of the process of adoption, Gertrude is mentioned as "aunt" of Joachim Ribbentrop, Joachim as "nephew" of Gertrude. This, to put it mildly, was misrepresentation on both sides.

Gertrude was the daughter of Major General Sigismund von Ribbentrop who was titled in 1884. She had one brother and one sister, but neither one was related to Joachim's father or mother. Since the affidavits accompanying the process of adoption had to be made under oath, this falsification of kinship could be looked upon as a criminal offense.

The documents relating to the adoption had to be filed with the editors of the *Gotha'sches Taschenbuch der adeligen Haeuser (Almanach de Gotha)*. Not everyone of noble birth is listed every year, and the three titled branches of the Ribbentrop family were listed for the last time in 1932. Up to that time, the adoption of "nephew" Joachim by "Auntie" Gertrude was not accepted by the *Gotha* editors. And their decisions in such matters are law. The *Gotha* for 1932 does not list Joachim as a titled person, but mentions his name only in an appendix to the "aunt's" name. The editors, even at this critical point, begrudge him the decisive attribute, the *von*. They merely note that this man "calls himself" *von* Ribbentrop, and that he is a former Prussian first lieutenant. The editors of the *Gotha* not only refuse to recognize Joachim's title, but they also refrain from listing his wife and children.

Joachim himself seems to have believed, and surely continues to believe, that this adoption was a legal transaction. He not only changed his firm name from Ribbentrop & Co. to von Ribbentrop & Co., but he proclaimed this change in a solemn circular letter which he sent to all of his business friends and connections. In some cases, Joachim even an-



nounced this all-important change to some of his more intimate friends by special handwritten letters.

Count Maxence de Polignac, one of Pommery & Greno's partners, revealed, in an article in *Paris Soir*, that Joachim had made his change of social status known to him "*par une lettre très aimable.*" In this missive Ribbentrop attributed his sudden elevation to his bravery in World War I. He did not write one word about adoption. The whole letter to Polignac is a complete lie, a silly lie. Anybody acquainted with the principles of the Weimar Republic knows that a patent of nobility was possible for commoners only by adoption and that the creation of a new title "for deeds in World War I" or for any other achievement was a sheer impossibility.

A few titled Ribbentrops are known to have commented on the deal between nephew and Auntie Gertrude. But a real storm broke out only when Joachim *von* Ribbentrop applied for membership in the famous Union Club, the Berlin equivalent of the Jockey Club in Paris. Many of the Union Club's members were legitimate princes and counts, many others were just plain bourgeois. Some of Ribbentrop's friends were on the admission committee, but there were so many objections against Joachim's admission that a lengthy debate developed during which the whole scheme of acquiring a title by way of adoption was widely criticized. The meeting ended with the blackballing of Joachim by a great majority of the committee. This was a blow to Joachim. His reputation had been definitely damaged.

Joachim went to an old acquaintance, a member of the Admission Committee, the Secretary of State in the Prussian Prime Minister's office, Dr. Robert Weismann. Weismann naturally knew the whole story. He told Joachim that it was extremely difficult to revoke the Admission Con-

mittee's decision, for the adoption affair had brought to light many personal animosities which were not easy to dissipate. He also pointed out that Joachim had no legitimate racing connections. He suggested that Joachim buy a share in some racing stable and then try to win Franz von Papen's friendship. Von Papen was, at that time, an ordinary member of the Catholic wing in the Prussian diet, but he was one of the Union Club's leaders. This Joachim did successfully. Papen handled the whole matter with great skill, and at the next meeting the Admission Committee reversed its first decision. Joachim, a partner in a racing stable, was admitted.

Now Joachim developed his contacts with the young *Wilhelmstrasse* attachés, especially those in the protocol division. These youngsters kept him posted, in advance, about coming social events in the diplomatic set, visits of foreign statesmen, and important concerts of foreign artists. Joachim wanted to be seen everywhere, and his system proved to be utterly successful. He called for the young attachés in his own little Ford, took them home after various functions, and obligingly saved them trouble and expenses in many ways. They repaid him more than they knew.

He now developed an interest in foreign politics. He became acquainted with some of the *termini technici* and was able to take part in conversations on foreign problems. He grew increasingly intimate with his attaché friends. He invited them to his home, a beautifully managed and extremely hospitable household where champagne was always served. Leaving cards at Ribbentrop's Dahlem villa became part of the customary routine for diplomatic beginners. Once, one of the attachés asked a ranking official whether he thought that it would be right to leave his card. "Of course," was the answer, "for an attaché it will always be useful to be invited there and to make new contacts. But don't forget that

Ribbentrop only invites somebody if he thinks that this will be advantageous to him. That man is a very ambitious fool of good appearance and manner, but one always has to be on one's guard with him."

After 1929, anti-Bolshevism was again the fashion in German society circles. Business deteriorated; capitalists trembled. Every strike, every demand on the part of labor signified Bolshevism. New organizations against the "Bolshevistic danger" sprang up, and they received abundant means for their activities. Ribbentrop became one of their loudest advocates. One could not talk with him without being bullied into some declaration against the "Bolshevistic pest." This was his political doctrine, his party program. Nothing interested him unless it included the battle cry, "Down with the Bolsheviks!"

Until 1929, Ribbentrop had not belonged to any political party. Friends who knew him intimately called him a royalist, because he bowed before the Crown Prince and his sons, and because he often went out of his way to be recognized by them. His fondness for being in command or next in command would, at any rate, have prevented a successful party career. Parliamentarianism in Germany was a continuous fight between the bosses or *Bonzen* and newcomers who coveted their positions. The bosses always won.

That Ribbentrop really felt and behaved like a royalist is testified by a reliable Englishman, one of Joachim's earlier business acquaintances, Francis Redfern, member of the board of Distillers, Ltd. Ribbentrop invited Redfern to dinner in one of Munich's leading hotels. Just before entering the dining room, Joachim, without a word of explanation, left his guest and rushed to the staircase. There he waited in an attitude of ecstasy until a certain gentleman had descended. Ribbentrop bowed in deep respect and was re-

warded with a benevolent nod. Then Ribbentrop returned to his guest, apologized for his sudden departure, and told the Englishman that the man had been Prince Eitel Friedrich, "son of our Kaiser." He added, "as a royalist I had to express my reverence."

A year or two later, Francis Redfern met Ribbentrop again in Berlin. Speaking about the political situation, Redfern mentioned that British public opinion did not understand the way in which the Jews were ill-treated by the Nazis. Joachim answered, "Don't take that so seriously, Mr. Redfern. We just use antisemitism as one of our campaign slogans for inner consumption." Somebody in Ribbentrop's company remarked on that occasion, "We would even prefer to preach a crusade against the Catholics, but there are too many of them."

It may be appropriate to add here a few remarks about Joachim's contacts with Jews. Jewish society was prominent in Berlin, and Joachim was always right in its midst. As a matter of fact, his Aryan friends were not very numerous. One of his Aryan acquaintances, Count Oscar von Platen-Hallermund, former Chamberlain of the Kaiser, once said to Joachim, "It seems to me that I am the only Christian friend you have," a remark which caused much hilarity at one of the receptions Ribbentrop attended.

After finally being admitted to the Union Club, Joachim sought the company of the Weinbergs and the Oppenheims, great racing families. His connections with Jewish bankers were numerous. At the dinners of the von Goldschmidt-Rothschilds, the von Friedlaender-Fulds, Ottmar Strauss, the Guttmanns, and the Herzfelds, Joachim and Annelies had the time of their lives.

Shortly before the Nazis assumed power, Joachim discussed the antisemitism of the Nazi party with a group of his Jewish friends. "I have reason to believe," he said, "that

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Hitler heeds my advice. Don't make the mistake of taking his antisemitic utterances too seriously. It is more a political gesture than actual opinion, and, besides, it will only have its effect on the 'Eastern Jews,' the immigrants from Poland and Roumania, not on those of long standing in Germany herself. He knows very well that the percentage of Jewish dead in the last war was even higher than the percentage of Aryan German aristocrats."

After the Nazis reigned supreme in the Reich, Ribbentrop was still seen in the company of his Jewish friends. On the "Day of the Boycott," April 1, 1933, Ribbentrop invited a group of Jewish friends to lunch in the Hotel Adlon. This caused some excitement among the Nazi bigwigs. Hitler himself, it was reported, reprimanded Joachim for this tactless action. Ribbentrop came out of Hitler's room "flabbergasted."

On the other hand, when on the occasion of a chamber music concert at a party given in his honor while he was Ambassador to London, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's music was played, Joachim remarked ostentatiously, "Even here one cannot escape this Jewish music." He also frequently spoke of Jewish atrocity propaganda and about Jewish influence in international politics. He liked to make questionable jokes about the Jewish descent of fellow guests he had met at dinner or during a week-end. But he has also been known to help a few Jews in their horrible plight. One day, the daughter of a well-known German banker, whose house Joachim had frequented, came in tears to the passport department of the London Embassy. Her father and her brother had died suddenly in Berlin a few days previously, and her old mother was left all alone there. Being a refugee, the lady was not allowed, under threat of concentration camp, to enter Germany. The official in charge of the pass-

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port division finally took the case to Ribbentrop himself. Joachim immediately took up the receiver to his long distance telephone which connected his desk directly with Berlin, and called his intimate friend, Himmler, the Gestapo chief. Within a few minutes, the lady was told that a special permit would be issued to her and that the German border authorities would get instructions not to molest her. Upon her return to London, the lady reported that she had been treated with the utmost politeness by all German authorities.

Ribbentrop's first customer and later on one of his most intimate friends, non-Aryan Ottmar Strauss, wrote in October, 1933, "This fellow (Joachim) really behaves like a gentleman towards me. He always addresses me in his letters as 'My dear Friend,' and we even *thee* and *thou* each other. I really think he is reliable. Of course, he may be in a difficult position should somebody report this to his party friends." In the autumn of 1937, the same man wrote, "Joachim behaves like a swine. After all, haven't I done everything for him I could in the days when he needed help? Do you remember the day when he came looking for a job? How often did I help him out! I never would have expected this. A secretary of the Consulate General in Zurich just called me up and informed me that 'Herr von Ribbentrop is unable to answer your letter.'"

The Berlin physician who took care of the younger children of the Ribbentrops was a Jew. He always, as he himself testified, was treated with the greatest regard. The children were all well-behaved. Joachim accompanied his quarterly checks with little notes. Characteristic of them is, "for excellent services for which not only my wife and I but also the children are thankful to you."

A young German who lived in London during Joachim's term as Ambassador at the Court of St. James tells an amus-

ing story. This youngster, Friedrich Wilhelm Schneider by name, suffered terribly one night from toothache. He went to a pharmacy, got the address there of a neighboring surgeon-dentist, and had the tooth pulled. Seeing the typical German neck of his patient, the dentist asked him what nationality he was and when told showed him a personal letter from Ribbentrop, in which he extended thanks for the good man's excellent repair work. "As my means and time were very limited," the young German related, "my dentist bill was just added to that of the Ambassador. And who was the dentist? A Jew who had his practice in Haymarket."

All this does not sound quite as inhuman as one would expect from a typical Nazi, but Joachim was, in the first years of his party affiliation, not a typical Nazi. He slowly became one as his star ascended. He found that he could buy fantastic power by religiously repeating the language of guttersnipes and by persuading himself that he believed the fanatical nonsense of his boss, Hitler. To what extent his limited intelligence capitulated before the obsessions of his Fuehrer is well documented by a report Victor Leopold de Lacroix, the French minister in Prague, made on February 7, 1939, to the *Quai d'Orsay* and which is printed in the French Yellow Book dealing with the origins of World War II. Monsieur de Lacroix describes the impression the Czech Foreign Minister took home from a visit to Berlin, a few weeks before the occupation of Prague.

Franz Chvalkowsky, the Czech minister, went to Berlin to discuss serious business. But to his bewilderment, Hitler and Ribbentrop were interested only in screaming denunciations of the wicked Jews. There was a Herr Friedmann and a Herr Butter in the employment of the Czech government. This colossal offense unbalanced the minds of the German leaders. "One has to exterminate that rabble," they cried.

“Germany cannot have amicable relations with a state which permits the Jews to have any influence whatsoever, whether in the field of commerce or because they hold official positions!”

Hitler and Ribbentrop regretted the “philanthropy” they had so generously displayed in the treatment of the Jewish question. “Don’t emulate our sentimentality,” they warned Chvalkowsky. After Ribbentrop had shown, for so many years, a marked preference for social intercourse with Jews, it was perhaps to be expected that he would advise Chvalkowsky to exterminate the Aryans. But no, it was Friedmann and Butter who suddenly endangered the safety of the German Reich while their Berlin co-religionists had endangered only the digestion of Herr Ribbentrop with their sumptuous dinners. Chvalkowsky hastened to dismiss Friedmann and Butter, but it was not enough to prevent Hitler from entering the Hradschin, in person, a few weeks later.



## 5

### *Ribbentrop Joins the Party; First Contacts with Hitler; Helping the Party into the Saddle*

WHAT individual had the doubtful privilege of persuading Joachim von Ribbentrop to become a party member? This question was eagerly discussed during the early days of Nazi rule. Another question also interested people. Through whom did Ribbentrop meet Hitler or Hitler meet Ribbentrop for the first time? Seven Greek cities fought over the honor of being the birthplace of Homer. Italian and Spanish historians still battle over Christopher Columbus' native land. There will be nothing of this kind as far as Ribbentrop's party affiliation is concerned because the answers are known. It was Count Wolf Heinrich von Helldorf who introduced Joachim into the party. It was Vicco Alexander von Buelow-Schwante who praised Ribbentrop's abilities and knowledge of languages when Hitler was looking for somebody who could read the London *Times*.

Count Helldorf was an ex-World War I volunteer. He entered the regiment of the *Thueringer Husaren* at the same time that Ribbentrop joined the *Torgauer Husaren-Regiment Nr. 12*. Helldorf became a cadet at the same time as Ribbentrop, but he became a lieutenant some months before him. They became friends. After the war Helldorf, dis-

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charged from his regiment under the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty, joined the *Freikorps Rossbach* which fought against the communists at Munich, Halle, or wherever a fight was going on. Helldorf also belonged to the band of rebels who, under Kapp, tried to terminate the Weimar Republic. When the *Kapp Putsch* proved a failure, he, as a member of the *Rosbacher* and as one of the organizers of the rebellion, had to flee to Italy. An amnesty allowed him to return to the Fatherland. The *Rosbachers* were reorganized and financed by certain industrial groups and landowners who saw in such "private armies" protection against the menace of communistic uprisings. When these uprisings did not materialize, industrials and landowners alike became tired of feeding the *Soldateska*. The *Rosbachers* dissolved. Helldorf and some of his comrades found shelter and pay with the Nazi party's own military organization. In 1930, he became head of the *S. A. Gruppe Brandenburg Berlin* and personal secretary to Hitler.

It was at this time that Count Helldorf and Joachim von Ribbentrop met again and renewed their friendship. Their mutual hatred of communism became a strong connecting link. Helldorf, ever short of money, occasionally received help from Joachim. Discussing the communistic movement, Helldorf explained to Ribbentrop that only Adolf Hitler's party with its armed force and its growing membership could save the Fatherland. He strongly hinted that it was Joachim's duty to join the party. Ribbentrop felt like doing so, but at that time commercial interests had the upper hand. Many of his most important customers were Jewish.

"How can you expect to do business with Jews if you are a Nazi?" he asked Helldorf. He would join the party but only if his action were kept secret. Helldorf, eager to get this promising and wealthy prospect into the party,

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was accommodating. Could Ribbentrop not join the party under a *nom de guerre*? Only the initial had to be the same. This was done in order to establish the exact date of the entry. Even in 1930, party membership was far from a social asset, and until the day the party assumed power only a few intimates knew that Joachim was a party member.

He was seen, however, with Helldorf quite often at the bar of the *Kaiserhof*, even on the day when it became temporary *S. A. Hauptquartier* for the organization of the first anti-Jewish riots on Berlin's *Kurfuerstendamm*. But Helldorf was never seen in Ribbentrop's home. Annelies seemed to dislike him and his gang. Count Helldorf, moreover, had not the slightest vestige of social standing.

Vicco Karl von Buelow-Schwante did belong to the gentry. A captain in the cavalry horse guard, wounded in the early days of World War I, the son of one of the leading generals of the Kaiser's army, Vicco became attaché at the German Legation in Bucharest toward the close of 1915. In spite of not having passed any of the required examinations for the diplomatic service and seemingly not in the mood to prepare for them, he was transferred to the Embassy in Vienna. The Buelow tribe had many prominent members in the Foreign Service. They kept an eye on Vicco and arranged for him to remain on the shores of the Danube. In the summer of 1919, he visited relatives in Salzburg, and here he made the acquaintance of an elderly lady of noble parentage. He accompanied her on her return to Vienna. He demanded and received, owing to his diplomatic status, a reserved compartment in the overcrowded train. Other passengers who had to stand in the corridor of the car opened the door with an inspector's pass key, unfortunately at a moment when the loving couple might better have been left alone. An official report about the "incident" was brought

to the attention of the Foreign Office. To avoid disciplinary proceedings, poor Vicco had to resign. For the time being, his diplomatic career was ended.

At the age of twenty-eight, with the return to a military career blocked by the harsh regulations of the Versailles Treaty, with no chance of finding a hiding place in a governmental office, and with no qualifications at all as a basis for some other position, Vicco's future looked very dark. The pension which Germany paid to her discharged army officers was meager. Some of Vicco's friends were in the illegal second-hand armament business. Vicco had the right connections; Joachim had the necessary funds. As long as it lasted, the business was a profitable one. The cloak of patriotism even served to secure the cooperation of local police forces. When the proper authorities, the Department of the Interior, finally intervened, some of the small fry were caught. The bigger fish, those with the right connections, were warned in time. The whole armament "trade" was soon forgotten.

Vicco had always been a good spender, and he had never thought to save for an emergency. Fortunately for him, Buelow's tribe was a very large one. He was invited to stay with relatives and friends, and somehow he managed to struggle along. In 1925, his problem of finding means for a comfortable life in keeping with his social standing was solved. He married the widowed Countess von Roedern, née von Schubert, sister of the Secretary of State in the Foreign Office, Karl von Schubert. The Schuberts were intermarried with the Stumms, the famous coal barons. His influential new relatives soon settled Vicco's troubles. The dowry of his wife was more than sufficient to allow him to acquire the Schwante estate, not far from Berlin. As was the custom, he supplemented the name of his estate with his inherited

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name, and he became Karl Alexander von Buelow-Schwante.

Vicco originally belonged to the *Stahlhelm*, the organization of German World War I veterans. He also had close contacts with some of the Nazis. One day, Rudolf Hess introduced him to Hitler at Berlin's Hotel Kaiserhof. Someone had told Hitler that Vicco had formerly served in the German Foreign Office. Adolf, by way of conversation, happened to mention that he had no gift for languages nor anybody at his disposal who really could read *Le Temps* and the *Times* for him. Only Rudolf Hess could and he, Hitler added, was not available for such work.

Vicco showed Hitler one of the circular reports Joachim sent out, at irregular intervals, to his business friends abroad, reports which also dealt with the European situation in general, and with Germany in particular. These reports contained unusually shrill warnings about the growing danger of Bolshevism. Hitler enthusiastically responded to Ribbentrop's circulars. Vicco lauded Joachim's knowledge of facts and languages, and if Hitler had failed to recognize Joachim's genius when he was introduced to him by Helldorf, our hero certainly scored when he made his appearance under Vicco's sponsorship. A man who mastered an international idiom with such ease as revealed through the circulars and was at the same time a party member was a new experience for Hitler.

Most of the men around Hitler were disliked by Ribbentrop, nor did they seem to take an interest in him. This is the main reason why Joachim, even months after the Nazis came to power, was practically unknown in the party ranks. He himself really hated "this clubfoot dwarf," as he is said to have characterized Goebbels. He instinctively disapproved of Goering who behaved so arrogantly toward him. And Frick, now Secretary of the Interior of the Reich, was to Joachim "a kind of provincial postmaster." But Hitler, yes

Hitler, seemed to be a genius in spite of his physique, in spite of the dandruff on his collar, in spite of his abominable table manners. Hitler was, in Ribbentrop's opinion, the coming man. He obviously had to be cultivated. But one had to try to keep away from all those other uneducated, bad-mannered henchmen.

This contact between Ribbentrop and Hitler, arranged and fostered by Vicco, proved very profitable for the ambitious Joachim. Ribbentrop later on broke with Vicco completely in a quarrel over that ever unimportant "*question de protocol*," what to wear when visiting the Pope in the forenoon. This break came despite Vicco's great hospitality at castle Schwante, despite Ribbentrop's participation in the second-hand armaments deals, and despite the backing Vicco had given him in the days when Ribbentrop's adopted *von* was not recognized by those who had inherited their titles.

It was in the spring of 1932 that Hitler was, for the first time, a dinner guest in the Ribbentrop household at Dahlem. Hitler liked Annelies from the beginning. It was Annelies, by the way, who told one of her friends that she had to cancel another engagement, because Herr Hitler, the man about whom so much was being said, was to be their guest. "We cannot invite anybody to visit with him," Annelies added, "because he is a little peculiar. He eats only vegetables and fruits, declines wines and champagne, does not even touch beer, and talks for hours about what he thinks will be the future of our world. He has not been abroad at all, and listens attentively, therefore, to Joachim's descriptions, especially about life and conditions in France and England."

Only once did Vicco von Buelow-Schwante and his wife join Hitler at dinner in the Ribbentrop villa, and on one other occasion did Joachim's father, retired Lieutenant Colonel Richard Ribbentrop, take part in such a dinner. Oc-

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asionally the children attended with their English nurse. None of the Henkells met Hitler at Dahlem, nor did any of the Foreign Office attachés so accustomed to invitations to Joachim's table. There was only one person in the Foreign Office reported to have met Hitler through Ribbentrop at one of these dinners, and he is Reichsfreiherr Alexander von Doernberg zu Hausen-Dittershausen, at that time Secretary of Legation.

This man Doernberg, known among his colleagues as "*der lange Sandro*" (Sandro the tall—his height is over six feet eight inches) comes of a family intermarried with many noble houses throughout the world. His mother was the Princess zu Erbach-Schoenberg, his grandmother born a Princess of Battenberg. Some of his aunts are living in London, one of them reportedly in Kensington Palace, the former home of Royalty. Another of Sandro's aunts was lady-in-waiting in Princess Beatriz' household. Sandro was nicknamed "*Der rote Turm*" (the red tower) on account of his shining red hair. His first endeavors toward entering the Foreign Service, around 1925, failed. There was a long list of applicants at that time, and Sandro's noble connections were more of a hindrance than an asset. When Ago von Maltzan, then Secretary of State, was appointed Ambassador in Washington, he advised Sandro to come along with him as private secretary without pay and without rank. Sandro consented and learned some of the diplomatic technicalities. He was not married at that time and had sufficient means to live in comfort. He enjoyed working with his friend, Ago. After von Maltzan's death—he was killed in an airplane crash—Sandro once more tried to enter the Service, but the list of applicants was closed. Finally, supplied with a letter of introduction, he appeared before Robert Weismann, Prussian Secretary of State. Weis-

mann rang up Eberhard von Stohrer, then Chief of Personnel. Stohrer said that there was no chance of accepting Sandro at the moment.

"You know that the applicant is taller than you are," Weismann told von Stohrer, who himself reaches well over the six foot mark.

"Impossible," Stohrer answered, "but if he really is, he may have a chance." The "red tower," surpassing the Chief of Personnel by more than two inches, was admitted to the *Forellenzucht* (trout hatchery), and he passed his examinations and became a Secretary of Legation.

In October, 1928, Sandro married Gisela-Maria Hackeleer-Koebbinghoff, a schoolmate of Annelies. The Ribbentrops were passionate bridge players. So were Sandro and his wife. The Dahlem villa bridge table became the basis for the Ribbentrop-Doernberg friendship. Friendly relations between the two families still exist.

When Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop very formally dismissed Chief of Protocol Vicco Karl Alexander von Buelow-Schwante in 1938, Sandro became Vicco's successor. It seemed that Sandro had turned Nazi in the meantime, and the nickname "red tower" was soon forgotten.

From its very beginning, Annelies reciprocated the affection that Hitler felt for her. She personally attended to the man with the funny mustache and the long monologues. He was served the best asparagus, mushrooms, and his favorite sweets heavy with rich whipped cream. When "He" was the guest, *Rollenhagen*, in Berlin's *Tauentzienstrasse*, and *Borchardt*, in the *Behrenstrasse*, delivered the most succulent fruits available. Chocolate was served in place of coffee. Even



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the flowers and other table decorations were arranged according to his taste. Annelies hinted occasionally, with a wink at her favorite guest, that this fork should be used or that that spoon would be more correct. She had educational ability, and Hitler was an attentive pupil.

Hitler felt at home in the company of the Ribbentrops. He appreciated associating with people of *guter Kinderstube* (good breeding). He was not overfond of his boisterous, loud, old party friends who ridiculed his views on art. In the Ribbentrop villa, French furniture and French tapestries dominated. Annelies was very proud of her collection of landscapes by a French painter, Auguste Flameng. These pictures were also liked by Hitler. That their taste was similar in pictures is hardly flattering to Annelies.

He claimed that he had personal contacts with many important men in London and Paris. He bragged about his friendship with English lords and French counts, and he mentioned that all of these high-ranking men would be natural allies in the coming battle against Bolshevism. Yes, Joachim knew how to handle them, speak to them, and how to use them.

Joachim was also a good listener. Hitler has an exceptional memory for any printed thing once it has aroused his interest. What he knew about diplomacy and its methods was, at that time, the result of his reading. He had not studied any volumes so thoroughly as the writings of the Florentine, Niccolò Machiavelli. Hitler, who occasionally calls himself Machiavelli's pupil, knows practically every line of the Florentine's books and is able to quote long passages from them.

Not only did Hitler and Ribbentrop agree on many of the Florentine's principles, but they discussed all of his theories with great seriousness. That a reorganization of

German Foreign Policy methods seemed necessary to both can be accepted as a natural consequence of their common ideas. Ribbentrop's "special *Buero*" is one result of these common ideas.

It is noteworthy that despite their many points of contact, Hitler and Ribbentrop avoided being seen together on intimate terms. No discussions on matters of diplomacy or foreign policy ever took place between the two in front of Hitler's henchmen. Annelies told her friends, with pride, that she was the only person who was allowed to be present when such discussions took place. Hitler was, to her the pupil, and Joachim, his teacher. She even occasionally mentioned that Hitler's reason for visiting them was possibly "to enlarge his knowledge of foreign politics." The friendship grew apace.

What were the decisive factors that placed the Nazis in power and brought in Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich, in spite of Hindenburg's previous assertion, "that this Bohemian corporal was not even fit to become Postmaster"? Kurt von Schleicher's endeavors to reorganize his cabinet and embark on a policy which would neutralize the Trade Unions and other leftist groups as well as the Junkers and the rightist industrialists were hampered by President von Hindenburg's growing distrust. The President was influenced by land-owning friends.

These Junkers knew that Schleicher was in favor of various projects for the settlement of the small land holders in Germany's eastern provinces. They also believed that he would try to exact, from the owners of large estates, certain tributes from their property for this purpose. This was quite

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different from the usual procedure of asking financial help from governmental institutions. Even expropriating bankrupt estates for such settlement purposes become a possibility. The mismanagement of the so-called *Osthilfe* (financial help for landowners in the eastern provinces) had been investigated secretly by a parliamentary committee. Its report contained many accusations of corruption, misuse of funds, bribery of officials. Even Hindenburg's own son, Oscar, was involved in this scandal. If Schleicher had used this ticklish report as a weapon against the Junkers, a great public scandal would have followed, and many of these highly-placed offenders would have found themselves in jail. Schleicher had become dangerous, and Franz von Papen was itching to become Chancellor again, either with the Nazis on his side or without them. The Nazi party was involved in dangerous controversies in its own ranks. These were partly a result of Schleicher's endeavors to split the party and partly because it was bankrupt. At every street corner, uniformed party members stood shaking collecting boxes pathetically. This was the proper psychological moment to muzzle Hitler by bringing a few of his henchmen into the new cabinet, in which the rightists—Junkers and industrialists alike—would dominate. Would it be possible to make such a deal with Hitler?

The decisive step against Schleicher's plan was a secret conference between Hitler and von Papen. It was held in the home of the Cologne banker, Baron Kurt von Schroeder, on January 8, 1933. High officials and politicians vary in their stories of how this important conference was brought about.

Schleicher had at his disposal the excellent Army Intelligence Service. Its members made snapshots of all persons who entered the Schroeder mansion on that fateful day.

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Joachim was not among them, but Werner von Alvensleben, one of his most intimate friends, was. In any case, the meeting brought about full understanding, at least in principle, between von Papen and Hitler.

Other conferences between the two conspirators followed the first one. They were held mostly at Ribbentrop's Dahlem villa where Hitler felt at home, and it is safe to assume that Joachim, not Werner von Alvensleben, was Hitler's right-hand man on these occasions. Von Papen was convinced that he had all the trumps in his hands. Sensing Hindenburg's growing distrust of Schleicher and having the support of Otto Meissner, Hindenburg's trusted Secretary of State, von Papen, playing calmly against the Chancellor's panicky moves, felt that he was bound to win. And on January 28, 1933, after Schleicher's demand, that the Reichstag be dissolved, was coldly rejected by the President, Schleicher was out of office.

Joachim von Ribbentrop's name was not mentioned in those days of political turmoil, but Werner von Alvensleben's was. Because it was in the *Herrenklub* that Papen did his political scheming, a place where Werner von Alvensleben was spending most of his afternoons, everyone came to believe that the Cologne conference had been Werner's deed. Nobody had heard anything of the meetings at the Dahlem villa. Many of Hitler's lieutenants who were, of course, jubilant about the result achieved were not aware of Ribbentrop's importance. Consequently, they were entirely in the dark about the role which the Ribbentrop home played. Because of this, Ribbentrop and Alvensleben became unfriendly. Werner von Alvensleben, who nearly became a victim of the June, 1934, purge, was mentioned from the rostrum of the *Reichstag* by Hitler as "a dangerous, intriguing person." It is not known whether he is still alive.

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Ribbentrop's ill feeling for those who claimed a share in the preparations of the Hitler-von Papen deal is best explained in a sentence written in his own hand and included in the biographical data of his career, published in *Wer Ist's* (the German *Who's Who*). It reads, "Through his (Ribbentrop's) mediation, beginning in the summer of 1932 and continued until January 30, 1933, the Hitler Government was formed. The decisive meetings took place in the Ribbentrop home at Berlin-Dahlem. From those days, Ribbentrop has been a collaborator of the Fuehrer in matters of foreign policy."

# 6

## *Ribbentrop Builds Up His Own Organization*

IN THE first weeks of Nazi domination the Hitler-Ribbentrop relationship seemed to hit a snag. This may have been due to Ribbentrop's disappointment in the way affairs were handled in public after the Third Reich was launched. Only the Nazi chieftains, Goering, Goebbels, Frick, Rosenberg, and their associates were eulogized in the newspapers. Too, everyone, save Ribbentrop, got some sort of post, either in the new cabinet, or as the head of one of the organizations within the party itself. Some even received offices in both. This, of course, wounded Joachim's vanity. He did not take part in the torchlight procession when the joyous Nazis paraded under the historic *Brandenburger Tor* and before the Presidential Palace, hailing Hitler and Hindenburg. But he viewed it together with Putzi Hanfstaengel from a window in the Hotel Kaiserhof.

A few weeks later, mass murders of political opponents set in on a large scale. Men were beaten up. Many were tortured and mutilated for life in the barracks of the SS. Troops and at the Gestapo. Terrorism against the Jews threatened to develop into a massacre. Even personal Jewish friends of Joachim's, whom he knew to be honest men and good patriots, were "shot while in flight" or vanished without trace. He called at the Chancellery, hoping to do some-

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thing about all this. Hitler, the person for whom he believed he had worked loyally and successfully, did not receive him. Indeed he sent word "that the Chancellor could not be disturbed at the present time and that it was impossible for anybody to see him if not specifically by the order of the Chancellor himself."

Ribbentrop went home to sulk. About a week later, he was asked to call on Hitler. Adolf proposed that Joachim should, in the future, cooperate closely with Alfred Rosenberg in all foreign affair matters. As Rosenberg was the *Reichsleiter*, the "Leader" of the *Aussenpolitischen Amtes der Partei*, this meant little else than Ribbentrop's subordination to Rosenberg.

Joachim and Rosenberg had certain views in common. Both were ardent haters of the communistic philosophy, and Ribbentrop, like Rosenberg, was devoured by an instinctive abhorrence of Soviet diplomatic representatives. To both, these men heralded the real deluge. According to Ribbentrop, they exemplified the worst and the most dangerous disease of mankind, Bolshevism.

Rosenberg made it a point to study Ribbentrop. He recognized that Ribbentrop was a possible competitor for his position as Hitler's chief adviser in foreign affairs. Still it was Ribbentrop who through endless, flattering speeches was able for a time to neutralize Rosenberg's instinctive enmity. But as the situation developed, "Apparatus Number One" (Rosenberg's department was known by this name) became less and less important numerically, despite its already small proportions, while Joachim built up his own *Buero Ribbentrop*. Ribbentrop's motives were clear from the very beginning of the formation of the *Buero*. His constant denunciations of the *Wilhelmstrasse's* methods were useless if he could not show the Fuehrer that he was able to do better.

Besides, by forming a *Buero* for himself he rid himself of Rosenberg's supervision. A sort of feud went on between some of the less intelligent underlings of both organizations, but Rosenberg had no interest in pettiness. He placed the cause of the party and Nazi ideals above his own ambitions. Ribbentrop's trickery soon overshadowed Rosenberg's loyalty.

But at first, Ribbentrop seemed to comply with Hitler's desire that he cooperate with Rosenberg. Soon, however, he found arguments for his personal advancement. These arguments presumably were, "You (meaning Hitler) and your apostles are talking about Great Britain, France, and the United States, but none of you really speak the languages of these countries, to say nothing of your ever having lived abroad. Some of you may have been born on foreign soil and may think you know, but this untutored, inexperienced knowledge has no practical political value. I do know, however. For example, let us take Rosenberg whom you believe to be a genius in solving foreign political problems. He is certainly a man with great gifts, a man with real political instincts, and I can only express great admiration for his talents. Still, his orientation and knowledge are limited to the East. He may be of essential use if and when Eastern problems have to be dealt with, but our first moves are necessarily toward the West, for Germany's fate must primarily be based on a better understanding with this western world."

There is no doubt that these arguments impressed Hitler. It is true that Hitler had originally destined the Russian born Rosenberg as Foreign Minister of the new Reich, but for the time being, the first months after the Nazi accession to power, Hitler had instinctively decided to leave the old *Wilhelmstrasse* setup as it was. This he deemed politic.

Rosenberg did not press for clarification of any of the issues, but one of his personal friends, Kurt Luedecke, did.



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Luedecke had lived in the United States as a reporter for the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, and he hoped to get some sort of special position in the diplomatic field. Luedecke was, at one time, a friend of Julius Streicher, the chief pornographer and Jewbaiter of the party and the editor of the Nürnberg publication, *Der Stuermer*.

While stationed in Washington during 1932-33, Luedecke intrigued with the Counsellor of the German Embassy, Dr. Rudolf Leitner, against Ambassador Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, for he, himself, hoped to become Ambassador to the United States. It appeared that Hitler was backing him, but the *Wilhelmstrasse*, in spite of the energetic efforts made on Luedecke's behalf, blocked the way and in the end even prevented his becoming press attaché in Washington. Luedecke then tried, through Rosenberg, to worm his way into the latter's organization, Party Office for Foreign Policy. But this office lacked the necessary funds to absorb him. Hitler had, on several occasions, encouraged Rosenberg's scheme and had referred him to the all-powerful party treasurer, Franz Xaver Schwarz. Intrigues by Goebbels and Goering plus the fact that the whole Rosenberg office consisted only of some half dozen so-called experts and a few hundred meager files of newspaper clippings, frustrated Rosenberg's appeals as well as Luedecke's. The latter's personal interview with Hitler, regarding his future, brought no definite results. Luedecke became a pest. He was eventually placed in a concentration camp from which he escaped at the beginning of 1934. He finally found a haven in the United States.

Rosenberg's downfall really began with his disastrous visit to London in May, 1933. The Foreign Office, which had contrived this disaster, rested serenely on its pre-Nazi laurels. It felt that this visit had shown plainly that Rosenberg, Chief

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of the party's Foreign Department, was not timber from which Ministers of Foreign Affairs are carved. The old-guard Foreign Office complacently surmised that the Nazis would now be convinced that the art of diplomacy was only mastered after hard work and long study.

Rosenberg's London catastrophe was really the beginning of Ribbentrop's rise to power. To some extent it was his usual good luck which helped the ex-wine merchant, for if by any chance, the Fuehrer had sent Joachim to London he would have failed just as surely as had Rosenberg. Now, of course, Ribbentrop could safely say that what had happened to Rosenberg could not have happened to him. Hadn't he always insisted, "that the ingenious Rosenberg's knowledge was confined to the East"?

In any case Rosenberg lost face among the party bigwigs. His grandiose plan for an Office for Foreign Policy of the Nazi Party was now doomed. The funds which Hitler had once promised for this purpose were never again mentioned. Yet, some kind of an organization, independent of the old Foreign Office brass hats, had to be built up. In the Fuehrer's opinion, the antiquated *Wilhelmstrasse* alone was impractical for his political battles.

A reliable Intelligence Department was necessary. It would closely study the weaknesses of the politicians and diplomats in those countries with which Hitler planned to deal. Hitler himself believed that the old-guard officials of the Foreign Office could not carry on this "dirty work." Society women, adventurers, perverts, in Hitler's own words, as quoted by Rauschning, should be used as informants and spies, and even Ambassadors must work as forgers and procurers. A card index had to be kept in which were to be filed details on the personal history of everyone influential in foreign affairs. This file was to stress all weaknesses, love

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affairs, especially those of a scandalous nature. It was to note implication in shady money matters. It was to be a horrible record of shameful secrets and hidden messes. In every country, a special propaganda machinery was to be set in motion, and underground movements were to be started wherever it seemed worth while. Such action was also to be instituted for subtle mouth to mouth (*Mundpropaganda*) propaganda, not only for purposes of corruption and blackmail. The fine Italian hand of Machiavelli is obvious here. The creation of this Machiavellian institution, the tool and supply shop for political warfare, the storehouse for poisoned arrows neatly labelled for each separate occasion, was placed in the hands of Joachim von Ribbentrop. This institution, even named after Joachim, the *Buero Ribbentrop*, was founded late in 1933. Given pretentious space in the building which housed the former Prussian Prime Minister's office, *Wilhelmstrasse 63*, opposite the main building of the Foreign Office, *Wilhelmstrasse 76*, it started on a relatively small scale but with substantial funds.

The *Buero* was composed of special departments each of which dealt with affairs concerning different countries, and each of these departments was supplied with excellent archives and staffs of technicians. The entire staff of the new institution did not have to pass any rigid examinations such as young applicants for the Foreign Service had to undergo. There was no *Forellenzucht* (trout hatchery). Knowledge of languages was useful but not absolutely essential. Most of the *Buero* men came out of the *Schutzstaffel* and had gone through the fine meshes of the SS. sieve. Others were taken from scientific institutions, because they had studied foreign politics for many years.

The *Hamburger Institut fuer Auswaertige Politik* (Hamburg Institute for Foreign Politics), founded by Professor

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Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, with all of its archives, its library, and part of the personnel, fell into Ribbentrop's hands as a gift from the Gauleiter of Hamburg, Karl Kaufmann. Arrangements for close cooperation were made with General Karl E. K. Haushofer's *Geopolitisches Institut*, for it was known to possess excellent information on all the countries of the world, in many instances better information than the country itself possessed. Also closely linked with the *Buero Ribbentrop* was *Das Institut fuer Weltwirtschaft an der Universitaet Kiel* (The Institute for World Economics at Kiel University); the Research Department of the *Hochschule fuer Politik* (the College for Politics); and many other highly specialized institutions.

Many members of the *Buero* staff, after the personnel had been purged, were transferred to the Foreign Service when Ribbentrop finally became Minister of Foreign Affairs, and others were appointed Ministers or Ambassadors. One of the men in this group, Dr. Heinrich Georg Stahmer, a Westphalian, who was a specialist in far-eastern politics, acted as proxy for Joachim von Ribbentrop during the discussions of the Anti-Comintern Pact with the Japanese Foreign Office. After the definite disruption of German-Chinese relations and the formal recognition by Germany of the Japan sponsored Wang Ching-wei Government, Stahmer was appointed Ambassador in Nanking in much the same manner and for much the same reasons that Otto Abetz finally became Ambassador in Paris. At present, Stahmer is Ambassador in Tokio.

The organization and building up of the *Buero Ribbentrop* did not involve the elimination of the original Foreign Office. The *Buero* was an auxiliary institution but only according to theory not to fact. It did the dirty work. Ribbentrop, by order of the Fuehrer, used his organization

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mainly as a means of securing information which the Foreign Office was not able to obtain. The *Buero* also handled, through its staff members and its own agents, all matters pertaining to the corrupt officials in the service of other governments, as well as the bribing of journalists, and the paying of informers with whom the accredited official missions of the Reich could not deal. All political intelligence service, in contrast to the military intelligence service, was handled by the *Buero*. Before the Fuehrer consulted von Neurath on some critical question of foreign policy, Ribbentrop through his *Buero* usually prepared statements bearing on all the factors, especially the foreign officials and parliamentarians who would be involved in each case. The *Buero* became more and more an office which provided supplementary information to the Fuehrer, and the Foreign Office never cooperated with it.

Hitler and Joachim von Ribbentrop were fully agreed that the Foreign Office, "in spite of its antiquated methods and the lack of imagination of its leading officials," was absolutely indispensable. When the Fuehrer asked von Neurath and the Secretary of State, Bernhard von Buelow, to report on certain questions, he never received these leading Foreign Office officials in the presence of Ribbentrop. But he liked to show these official advisers on Foreign Policy that he was very well informed. He never forgot to get the requisite memoranda from the *Buero* beforehand.

During such discussions with the Fuehrer, Buelow usually gave an exposition on the factual sides of the problems discussed. His arguments very often were accepted in principle by the Fuehrer. Von Neurath presented the sentimental side of the matter involved and very often argued, in his soft tongue, that the interests of the Reich preceded party interests, to which Hitler reluctantly agreed. The Fuehrer also

seemed to understand that the Foreign Office, basically developed on the great Bismarck's principles and harboring royalistic feelings, could not always accept the directions followed by the party.

It is now difficult to judge just how many of the political ideas originated with Hitler or to what extent Ribbentrop influenced these ideas during these early years of Hitler-Ribbentrop cooperation. However, an official of the old school, a man of high position in the former Kaiser's regime, who also held a leading position during the Weimar period and who is still in harness in the Nazi regime, said that at least up to the time when Joachim became Foreign Minister he had very little to do with the formation of Germany's foreign policy. It was really Hitler who drafted the basic plans; it was Hitler who looked ahead. While Ribbentrop's suggestions were valued by Hitler, they surely were not always followed. It is probable that Hitler's ideas were digested by Joachim and then re-fed to the Fuehrer who passed them on again as original thoughts. There were instances, however, when Hitler acted and made decisions entirely uninfluenced by any other person, such as in the Australian crisis and to some extent in the Czechoslovakian problems. It has to be realized that Hitler looked upon these two problems as domestic in nature. He therefore considered himself the only expert who could solve them.

# 7

## *Special Commissioner for Disarmament Questions*

THE *Umbruch*, the seizure of power in Germany by the Nazis, coincided with the resumption of disarmament discussions in Geneva on February 2, 1933. Almost a year previously, the disarmament conference had started its attempt to find a common ground upon which to base a European security agreement. This stemmed originally from some of the Kellogg Pact stipulations. During these discussions, European powers fell into two major groups. One, led by France and Great Britain, tried to preserve the *status quo*. The second group was represented by Germany, assisted to a certain extent by Italy. This group opposed anything which remotely inferred armament inequality. Germany pointed out that she was without any adequate weapons of defense, that even anti-aircraft guns were forbidden her by the Versailles Treaty, and that even the partial disarmament of the other nations, her former enemies in World War I, as expressed in the Versailles Treaty, had not taken place. Discussions were postponed for one month. The only practical result seemed the acceptance, in principle, of a British proposal, "to renounce the use of force in the settlement of international disputes between European states."

On May 17, 1933, the outlook seemed brighter. On that date, Hitler not only declared publicly that he favored a

proposal for a non-aggression pact but also stated that Germany did not intend "to change the map of Europe by force." But disarmament discussions made little progress in the following months. Germany insisted on complete equality among the powers. She requested samples of all weapons which were in the armories of other powers but forbidden to her under the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty. Her intention, she declared, was to find compensation for the proposed reduction in quantity by an improvement in quality. Even on this point some sort of solution could have been found. France was prepared to agree if a probationary period of several years was guaranteed and if during such a period Germany would follow the disarmament program, in conformity with the proposed agreement, to the satisfaction of military experts of all the nations involved. The essential point in this agreement was, of course, the inspection of German armament works by an international board of supervision. France insisted upon this, for although leading French politicians knew that changes in the Versailles Treaty were bound to occur one day, they also had on hand reliable information which told them that Germany had commenced to rearm in secret. This information had been confirmed not only by Nazi party members, but several of Ribbentrop's French business friends had reported that Joachim had bragged to them about how thoroughly and elaborately the German rearmament program had been worked out and that this program was already in progress. It is now known, from various sources, that Joachim's bragging was one of the main causes underlying the nervousness of French foreign policy.

The disarmament conference was to meet again on October 18, 1933, and the leading representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy, and the American "observer," Norman H. Davis, were busily engaged in attempting to come to some



agreement. It was during these pre-conference discussions that the idea of the inspection of German armament works by an international board of supervision was evolved. Germany's response to this proposal was a flat refusal. She would not agree to any kind of inspection or supervision, for if she did she felt that any such action would be a direct violation of her national honor. She, furthermore, made no bones about her intention to start immediate production of some of the weapons expressly forbidden by the Versailles Treaty. Among these were big guns, tanks, and combat planes. Difficulties between Germany and the other powers now seemed to have reached a complete impasse. On October 15, 1933—three days before the official opening of the conference—Germany decided to withdraw simultaneously from both the Conference and the League of Nations. No one had expected this move. Even Mussolini declared his complete amazement.

There is proof that the German Foreign Office as well as the *Reichswehrministerium* (War Department) were strictly opposed to these steps. Reports on that crucial period say that the orders for the withdrawal were given by the Fuehrer in person, and that in preceding consultations, representatives of the *Wilhelmstrasse* as well as the *Bendlerstrasse* had expressed their opposition to this move but that the Fuehrer had decided upon the withdrawal in spite of the remonstrances of von Neurath, von Buelow, and the majority of the generals consulted.

In spite of these withdrawals, the *Wilhelmstrasse*—through its missions abroad—let it be rumored that in its opinion the way was not barred for a reopening of disarmament discussions and that even Germany's return into the League should not be looked upon as impossible—at some future time. Constantin von Neurath, the Foreign Minister, thought it best

to let sufficient time pass "to give the confused situation a chance to disentangle itself." He got a leave of absence, retired temporarily to his hunting lodge in the Alps where he planned to shoot chamois, and left the Secretary of State, Bernhard von Buelow, to "act" on his behalf.

Bernhard von Buelow, livelier than dilatory von Neurath, contacted his own friends among the generals soon after the latter had left. With those known for their political acumen, he discussed the possibilities of resuming disarmament conversations. They were all anxious to find some basis for future cooperation with other nations, but all the proposals which von Buelow brought to Hitler's attention were bluntly rejected. Hitler did feel, however, that some initiative was necessary to get the wheels of German foreign policy in motion again. Hitler knew, through Ribbentrop, who had been in Paris and London many times during the preceding months, that France and Great Britain were very dissatisfied with this deadlock.

France had had great inner political difficulties during 1932 and 1933. Cabinets had fallen and ministers had followed one another in quick succession. Hitler started a conciliatory gesture toward France alone. In this situation, he could, at last, really use Ribbentrop. It was Ribbentrop who arranged, through his French business connections, the famous Hitler interview in the newspaper, *Le Matin*. It culminated in the sentence, "What can I do to insure French security that does not bring dishonor or menace to my own country at the same time?" In it, Hitler also mentioned again and again that Germany definitely had renounced Alsace and Lorraine. Ribbentrop emphasized these identical points in conversations with his business friends, who, of course, always reported any information to their political affiliations. But the fact remained

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that Germany was rearming and that she absolutely refused any kind of armament supervision.

Shortly before Christmas, 1933, Hitler, through German diplomatic missions, made the other powers an offer. He would discuss a ten-year non-aggression pact. This time Hitler's move was caused by a warning from Germany's generals. Secret reports from France said that Ribbentrop's bragging about Germany's rearmament program was having the result that was to be expected. Far from intimidating the French, the report said, it had started a talk of a preventive war, and Germany, they pointed out, was not prepared for war at this time. This accounts for Hitler's sudden interest in a non-aggression pact. German feelers, in this direction, were, however, couched in such vague terms that they were not taken seriously. Besides, German officialdom, when approached by members of Berlin's foreign missions, replied that nothing was known to them about this proposed pact, that it must have been one of the Fuehrer's vague ideas, and moreover that the time was not ripe for a reopening of discussions.

In January, 1934, the Stavisky scandal threw the entire French nation into open turmoil. The Chautemps ministry, then in power, fell, and Edouard Daladier took over. Daladier himself retained the portfolio of foreign affairs. The Ribbentrops were in Paris during the Stavisky demonstrations on February 6. When Joachim returned to Berlin, he had very interesting matters to report to his Fuehrer, for he had only the most pessimistic views on France's future.

A revolution was coming in France, even civil war was possible, he told Hitler. But the Fuehrer did not agree with him. In fact, it was reported in the Chancellery, Hitler had said that he knew his Frenchmen, that he had got to know

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them in the trenches of the Western front, and that these men would never entangle themselves in a civil war. "The French are still very strong," Hitler allegedly said to Ribbentrop, "but their weakness is, of course, their lack of organization."

The Disarmament Conference met once again in London on February 13, 1934. There were faint indications of German desire to arrive at some solution which would meet the double purpose of avoiding a new armament race and at the same time of permitting Germany some of the weapons forbidden to her by treaty regulations. There was no doubt among the members of the conference that Germany would go on with her own rearmament if the other powers failed to find some means of limiting their land armaments. Everybody knew that Germany would not submit herself to the "dishonor" of control. The question of naval armaments looked still darker. A new bill, passed by the Congress of the United States, had authorized the building of a record fleet of one hundred and fifty-four new vessels, the replacement of all capital ships, and appropriations for aircraft. It was clear that a naval building race would set in immediately after the expiration of the Washington and London agreements at the end of 1936.

The *Wilhelmstrasse* was pressing for action. Hitler explained to von Neurath, when the latter had returned from his leave, that Germany's participation in disarmament discussions seemed to him unsuitable, if not impossible, under present conditions. He mentioned to Neurath the "trustworthy information" he had received from men with excellent business connections in France and Great Britain and also the advice that these men had given him. They had told him, he said, to observe a state of watchful waiting for the time being. Eventually he was to approach each nation

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separately and arrange with them individual conferences.

Von Neurath, who occasionally reported directly to President von Hindenburg on matters of importance, told the President of the Chancellor's attitude. Hindenburg had already had a report from his own advisers. As commander of the armed forces and a lifelong soldier he was particularly interested in the question of armament. He requested Hitler to explain his future plans. The Fuehrer pointed out that he was endeavoring to break Franco-British cooperation in the disarmament question. He then hoped to reach a separate agreement with France and one with Great Britain. These individual agreements were not to include any new obligations but were to give Germany equality in armaments with her former enemies.

To this program von Hindenburg happily agreed. Hitler furthermore signified that he intended to ask the President to appoint a special commissioner for disarmament questions. But when the President asked Hitler to suggest someone, and Joachim von Ribbentrop was mentioned, Hindenburg exclaimed, "What! That young man from the wine trade?" And it took quite some effort to convince the old man that such an appointment was both desirable and necessary. "This is a job for a general or admiral," Hindenburg remonstrated. Only when the Secretary of State, Dr. Otto Meissner, claimed that Ribbentrop was the scion of an old officer's family and that "one of his ancestors had been the right hand man of Field Marshal Bluecher von Wahlstadt," did Hindenburg give in. It was this delicate manipulation of facts which really changed the President's mind. On April 23, 1934, Ribbentrop's appointment as "special Commissioner for Disarmament Questions" was published in the official columns of the *Reichs-Anzeiger*.

Some biographical data on Ribbentrop's "achievements"

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to date were added by the "big press." They announced that Joachim was the son of the retired Lieutenant Colonel Ribbentrop and that he himself had been discharged honorably as First Lieutenant after the World War. It was expressly pointed out "that Herr von Ribbentrop enjoyed the special confidence of Chancellor Hitler and, as Hitler's confidant, had already been charged with various missions abroad. These had taken him to London, Paris, and other European capitals during the preceding summer." It ended, "the appointment of Herr von Ribbentrop by the President does not signify a change or a new trend in the German disarmament policy. It merely means that new ways are being taken outside the usual diplomatic procedure. This has been the case in other countries on similar occasions."

During the second half of 1933 and the first months of 1934, before his official appointment as commissioner on disarmament questions, Ribbentrop had visited the French capital at least ten times. On six of his trips his wife accompanied him. These journeys were never secret, for Annelies proudly informed her friends of all such events and even offered *etwas zu besorgen* (to do some shopping for them). Ribbentrop's technique was simple. He visited French business connections of long standing and through them got introductions into official circles. He intentionally avoided calling at the German Embassy in the *Rue de Lille*.

Roland Koester, the Ambassador, a staunch opponent of the Nazis, did not like Ribbentrop. Unfortunately, he knew nothing of Ribbentrop and Hitler's intimate relationship. When eventually he learned that Ribbentrop had been received by leading French statesmen and high officials—Alexis Léger was mentioned as one of Joachim's acquaintances—Koester reported on "the wine merchant's bustling activities" and his *Mangel an Takt* (want of tact). Later Koester

wrote that a French statesman had remarked of Joachim, ". . . I love Wagnerian music and I am glad that Herr von Ribbentrop has such a fine understanding of art. But, after all, I do not see any reason why, as a member of the French cabinet, I should be obliged to keep on discussing Wagnerian music with this man." Of course, such reports did not reach the Fuehrer. The Western European division of the *Wilhelmstrasse* kept these reports in its secret files where they were chiefly used to amuse a few favored higher ups.

On one occasion Ribbentrop and his wife left cards at the Paris Embassy. They had heard that the Ambassador had sent out invitations to a dinner party for one of the following days and they expected to receive an invitation. But nothing of the sort happened. Ribbentrop was infuriated. He called Constantin von Neurath in Berlin, in the middle of the night. He ranted that his pending discussions were being sabotaged. It was absolutely necessary that he be present at the dinner in order to further his contacts. The surprised von Neurath, who knew neither about Ribbentrop's visit to Paris nor about Koester's dinner, telephoned Koester the next morning. The Ribbentrops received their much desired invitation. Only through this incident did Koester learn from von Neurath that "Ribbentrop acted for the Fuehrer as an unofficial observer on certain questions of political importance." But the Koester-Ribbentrop relationship did not improve because of this forced invitation.

Ambassador Roland Koester was not the only one to whom the appointment of Joachim von Ribbentrop came as a surprise. Many officials, most of the Berlin diplomats, even some of the leading party members, found in this appointment the real first confirmation of those rumors which said that Joachim "occasionally was taken into the Fuehrer's confidence on

questions relating to foreign affairs." Vicco Karl von Buelow-Schwante, who in the meantime had returned with honors to the Foreign Office, once said laughingly to his friends, "I was the one who recommended Joachim to the Fuehrer as the man who could read the London *Times* to him, and now this fellow has a better job than I have."

The official appointment was the turning point in Ribbentrop's political career. More than that, the fact that he became the man "in charge of disarmament" enabled him to interfere in many, if not in most, of the questions which traditionally were handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There was almost nothing in this domain which was not, in some measure, related to disarmament. Even such far-flung issues as international arrangements between groups of industrialists, regarding prices and markets, were related. Commercial treaties prohibiting deliveries of armaments to some Latin-American country were just as much a matter of interest to Ribbentrop as was, for instance, the distribution of manganese ore, from Russian mines in the Caucasus, among German, French, and English iron works. Financial questions were also frequently connected with the disarmament problem. The famous Czechoslovakian Skoda Works were under the majority control of the French Schneider-Creuzot iron and armament factories. Did not such financial interrelations have some influence on France's armament capacity? As a matter of fact, if Ribbentrop had insisted on rigidly using all the powers given to him by presidential decree, all major issues could be decided by von Neurath only upon concurrence with Ribbentrop.

The creation of the commissionership for disarmament questions meant, furthermore, that Ribbentrop was entitled to draw special funds from the Reich Treasury. This did not mean for his own salary alone, but also for *Buero* expenses.



To a certain extent, he and his *Buero* were now financially independent of the Chancellery and the Nazi party treasurer. He did not have to explain his expense account nor give reasons for new funds requested. Even if such requests had to be passed at cabinet meetings, there was little chance that anybody would oppose the items entailed by his new office, especially if the amounts remained within reasonable limits. The *Buero* took on vigor, and its staff was considerably enlarged.

Ribbentrop set off on a round of trips. He went to London, Rome, and Paris to introduce himself to all sorts of dignitaries in his new capacity and to "clear the ground" for himself and his Fuehrer. He did all this without consulting or even visiting the German Ambassadors at these capitals. He gave them no information of any kind. It was only by mere chance that the German Ambassador discovered that von Ribbentrop had been in contact with this statesman or that. Occasionally a French or Italian official was advised, by his chief, to give Herr von Ribbentrop information. Only when Ribbentrop was unable to contact persons whom he insisted on meeting, did he peremptorily request proper introductions. To give such an introduction usually required a special authorization from the Foreign Office, for which the Embassy had to ask. Even if such an inquiry by the Embassy was answered by telegram or over the direct wire, it frequently took several days until the authorization was received. Friction between Ribbentrop and various German diplomatic missions mounted. Ribbentrop emphasized this friction when reporting to the Fuehrer. He pointed out that, in order to sell his idea to foreign governments, he needed diplomatic ranking. He had to become an ambassador himself. Then he could "speak to those high-hatted ambassadors as an equal" and "be able to manage these obstinate and antiquated career ambassadors."

Not only the Reich's ambassadors in the countries which the new Commissioner on Disarmament Questions honored with his visits but also the Foreign Office itself was not informed by Joachim of his movements and the actions he contemplated. Constantin von Neurath became uneasy over this lack of cooperation. But the clever Secretary of State, Bernhard von Buelow, soon found a way to provide the necessary information. The post of a liaison-officer between "commissioner" and "Foreign Office" was created. Von Buelow's personal secretary, a Dr. Theodor Korth, later *Chargé d'Affaires* in London, at present at the head of the Legation in Berne, Switzerland, had a younger brother Erich, who, by mutual agreement between the two offices, got the job. Since Joachim von Ribbentrop took a great liking to his new colleague, Erich used to accompany his master everywhere, and since brother Theodor knew whence brother Erich was traveling, von Buelow could, at least, find out which field of activities the new Commissioner had chosen for the time being. It worked out quite satisfactorily, at least for the Foreign Office, despite Joachim's refusal to inform the *Wilhelmstrasse* and von Neurath of his movements.

Ribbentrop's appointment was not loudly heralded by the Nazi press. The *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Hitler's personal property, edited by Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, gave it only one line without any comment on an inside page. But newspapers in other countries realized that this appointment was significant. As Frederick Birchall, Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times*, put it, "It indicated that more than ever before Germany's attitude towards the disarmament problem should be in accordance with Hitler's personal convictions." Other correspondents gathered from the appointment that von Neurath had been sidetracked, that a new German initiative in the disarmament question had to be

expected, and that the new appointee would have a mission to fulfill similar to that of Anthony Eden for the British Government.

Having now attained official rank, it was no longer necessary for Ribbentrop to pay visits in foreign capitals as a "private citizen," or—as he liked to put it—as a personal friend of Germany's Fuehrer.

Not even a fortnight passed after his appointment came through, when he flew to London to confer with Anthony Eden. He did not inform the German Ambassador, Leopold von Hoesch, about his plans, nor did other German diplomats participate in his discussions with the Lord Privy Seal. His purpose was obviously to learn what the British attitude toward the resumption of the disarmament conferences was going to be. The conversation with Eden took place on May 6 but brought no practical result, since Eden had to admit that the British cabinet was divided on this question. Ribbentrop also called on Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon. In the House of Commons, these discussions gave rise, of course, to some comment, and the publication of a *White Book* was expected, but Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin plainly declared, in the session of May 16, that no such *White Book* would be issued "because the conversations added nothing concerning the armament issue to the material already issued." In addition to this, the Foreign Office indicated "that the German representative was not encouraged to expect support from Britain for Germany's armament policies."

This certainly did not look like achievement or even progress. It was obviously a setback. Ribbentrop flew to Rome to "converse" with Benito Mussolini. In an official communiqué, given out after the conferences, on May 19, 1934, it was said "that the conferees found themselves in complete agreement

as to the absolute necessity of reaching some international agreement to avoid a resumption of the armament race.”

The question as to whether Ribbentrop, during his Rome visit, arranged for the first meeting between the Duce and the Fuehrer (the Venice meeting of June 14-15) is of no importance. There is reason to believe that this meeting had been decided upon previously to Ribbentrop's visit and that it had been arranged by Italy's clever Ambassador to Berlin, Vittorio Cerruti. Ribbentrop was not present at this historic Venice meeting. His activities at that time were limited strictly to the disarmament question. This question was also touched upon during the Mussolini-Hitler conversation, and it was reported that an agreement was reached on "parity of armaments for Germany, after which she would return to the League." But no pact was drawn up in Venice, and nothing was signed.

It was during this time that whenever an opportunity occurred Ribbentrop discussed Germany's return to the League. When he visited Paris on June 16, 1934, immediately after the Mussolini-Hitler meeting, he called on Louis Barthou, the Foreign Minister in the Doumergue cabinet. It was the first time that the French Government, instead of using diplomatic detours, officially entered into direct discussions with Germany on the armament problem. But Barthou stubbornly refused to go into details on this ticklish issue and insisted upon Germany first returning to the League and presenting her demands there. He is reported to have said, "The door is still open on the disarmament issue. Take your proposals to Geneva where they will be examined with the impartiality they merit because of their determining influence on the peace of Europe."

The French Premier, Gaston Doumergue, also received Ribbentrop. This was after the latter had visited Barthou.

But Doumergue formally and flatly declined to discuss the pending question with Joachim. He based his refusal on the technicality that all matters of diplomatic importance were exclusively handled by the Foreign Minister, Barthou.

So the first official missions of the new commissioner seemed to have ended in failure. In London "the conversations had added nothing." In Rome, "complete agreement was achieved," but only on a principle upon which no disagreement had existed. In Paris, only one way seemed to be open, the road to Geneva.

The point about which Ribbentrop felt especially bitter was the fact that Doumergue had refused to discuss the issue with him and had referred him to Louis Barthou, who, on his part, seemed to prefer the road via Geneva to direct discussions. Ribbentrop had expected to be met halfway. He had told foreign diplomats that a friendly gesture on France's part might even reopen the way to Geneva. The failure of his Paris discussions enraged him. When Annelies asked him, upon his return, when he intended to visit Paris again, he answered brusquely, "There will be no Paris visits for a long time to come."

The blood purge on June 30, 1934 and the unrest in Germany's inner political circle during the following months eclipsed the activities of Commissioner Ribbentrop. It was only at the end of August that he again became active. This time he went to London. Joachim's stay in the British capital was not for the purpose of discussing the general problem of international disarmament but of German rearmament. Germany was in bad need of certain raw materials. These included nickel and copper. She was prepared to buy great quantities on credit. It is known that Ribbentrop finally asked Schroeder's Bank to use its influence in this matter and that some arrangements were made.

Another Ribbentrop visit to London took place about the middle of November during the same year. In an official Berlin communiqué, the visit was called "purely personal and private," but Joachim visited Sir John Simon and explained to him "that the rearmament of Germany had no aggressive purposes and was only to provide the country with defensive arms up to her requirements." Joachim also invited Anthony Eden on this trip. This was announced as "just a personal conversation on world problems in general."

Ribbentrop's interest, at that time, was focused on public opinion in connection with the disarmament problem. There was an apparent rift between British and French attitude. The British were generally of the opinion that it was time to realize that Germany had rearmed to a great extent in direct violation of the Versailles Treaty. It was a little late, they felt, to lock the stable. The French, on the other hand, were not inclined to take legal cognizance of Germany's rearmament and this in spite of their knowledge that it continued without interruption. They were content to ignore a fact which in itself was an outright violation of the Versailles Treaty.

The Doumergue cabinet was forced to resign on November 6. It was succeeded, on the following day, by the Pierre Etienne Flandin cabinet with Pierre Laval as Foreign Minister. On November 30, Pierre Laval requested, in a conciliatory speech, that Germany join the proposed Eastern-European Pact. "We want the Chancellor," said Laval, "to translate his word, that his only desire is for peace, into acts." Joachim listened to Laval's speech from the visitor's gallery of the *Chambre de Députés*. He was the guest of deputies Jean Goy and blind Georges Scapini to whom he had paid a return call for the previous Berlin visit of the French war veteran leaders.

Ribbentrop's sad experience on the occasion of his visits to Gaston Doumergue and Louis Barthou suggested to him that he ask this time for official help in bringing about a conversation between himself and Laval. It was Ambassador Roland Koester himself who took the matter up with Premier Flandin. Only after repeated visits by Koester, a meeting between Laval and Ribbentrop could be arranged. It had been an effort for Koester to convince Flandin that such a conversation would serve any purpose. Flandin had argued that the previous conversations, those with Louis Barthou, had not brought any results. Koester had had to impress Flandin with Ribbentrop's influence on the Fuehrer. At that time, the French were fed up with Joachim.

What had France to gain by such conversations? Pierre Laval had taken Louis Barthou's seat after the latter had fallen victim to the gruesome attack in which King Alexander of Yugoslavia had been killed on October 9, 1934. Barthou had died in fulfilling his duty just at the time when the realization of a Franco-Italian-Yugoslav pact was imminent. Such a pact, together with the already existing Franco-Russian as well as the Russo-Czechoslovakian agreement, would have made the encirclement of Germany, on the European continent, complete. But it was Barthou's and Laval's idea to invite Germany into this system of pacts, thereby making her an inside member of all agreements. Soviet Russia's entry into the League, with a permanent seat on the council, was a triumph for France and, therefore, a setback for Germany. Still, the door remained open for Germany to enter the pact system, especially the Eastern Pact, and Germany could have avoided encirclement just by becoming a partner of her own *Einkreisung*.

Anybody conversant with the Nazi mentality could have predicted that Hitler would rather have embraced the Mosaic

faith than permit Paris and Moscow to decide his line of conduct. So neither Barthou nor Laval could have had any illusions as to Hitler's acceptance of their subtle schemes. But Barthou did not really care what Hitler's reactions would be. He saw Hitler's preparations as a mighty blow which would sweep France from the eminent position which she had attained at Versailles, and he reacted to this menace with the spirit of a fighter. This explains the rumor prevalent at the time that the infamous *attentat* of Marseilles was instigated by Third Reich agents.

"France too has a will," Barthou had exclaimed at Warsaw. Could one expect anything so outspoken from those smooth and singularly ineffective characters to whom were entrusted the destinies of the democracies, from men like Laval, Simon, and Chamberlain? Hitler had decided that the day of reckoning had come or was to come very soon—whenever he was ready. Only Barthou had, at that time, both pluck and common sense enough not only to see things in their right light but also to act accordingly. He, for one, could conceive of another way to deal with Hitler than through a long agony of capitulation. He was not even afraid of recalling, in Geneva, the rather cruel words of Mirabeau—of whom he had written an able biography—"Prussia's national industry is war." When this one fighter, in an ocean of indifference and failure, was assassinated, a high official in Paris cried, "France n'a pas de chance!" He did not know how terribly right he was.

Contrary to Barthou, Laval did care about what Hitler's reactions were. He cared so much that from the outset people in both Berlin and Paris wondered whether Laval was anything more than a mere stooge of the gentleman from Braunau. The world no longer has any illusions about this. But in



those days, Laval still went through the motions of a French Minister.

December 2, 1934, the *Wilhelmstrasse* announced, ". . . that it was doubtful whether the proposed Eastern Pact had any further attraction for Germany since it rested on a Franco-Russian military alliance." Thus Germany, as expected, declined to enter the French pact scheme. And Laval, under pressure from Soviet Russia and his own countrymen, answered this challenge four days later by signing, in Geneva, together with Litvinov, a protocol bravely expressing "the common resolution of the two governments to carry to a conclusion the contemplated international acts,"—that is the Eastern Locarno. This protocol even stated that both countries considered themselves bound not to undertake any separate negotiations with Germany which would be contrary to the spirit of the projected arrangement.

But Laval was anxious to sugarcoat this pill for both Germany and Italy. While Germany had been a weak republic, Laval's policy, when Prime Minister in the years of the depression, had been to block any fruitful collaboration between the two countries. He utilized the complete arsenal of petty moves which only a Frenchman has at his disposal. But when Germany became a menace under Hitler, Laval decided that the best thing would be to have no policy at all.

On December 3, an agreement between France and Germany was signed. It enabled Germany to take possession of mines, railways, and other property on the Saar without any loss of foreign currency, provided, of course, the Saar in the impending plebiscite, scheduled for January 13, 1935, indicated a desire to return to Nazi Germany. This was the big question of the day.

When France, by the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty,

held the Saar territory occupied, there had been Socialists, communists, Catholics, and liberals in the Saar, but no Nazis. Furthermore, no Goebbels had prevented the inhabitants of the Saar from learning the truth about Nazi Germany. Moreover, the plebiscite was to be held not under the authority of the Nazis who knew how to make a million out of a zero and a zero out of a million but under the auspices of a League of Nations commission. Normally, that is without the Nazis in Germany, the result of the plebiscite would have been absolutely clear. It would have been 99.9% for Germany. The question was, therefore, to what extent the presence of the Nazis in the Fatherland would become instrumental in cutting down this percentage.

The intellectuals in Germany, judging from what they would do if they were asked whether they preferred to live on without the Gestapo and Herr Goebbels' editorials, thought that the Saar would vote about 80% for the *status quo* and 20% for return to the now Hitlerized Reich. Straw polls held among foreign diplomats in Berlin showed the more cautious estimate of about 50% for return and 50% for *status quo*. Only Lady Phipps, the wife of the British Ambassador in Berlin, hit the nail on the head with 90% for return. This amazing result was one more devastating blow for the liberals and by no means the last one. Laval could have protested easily in Geneva against the hideous underground terror the Nazis employed in the Saar. But he had renounced liberal politics. He was only content when he was sure that Hitler was content and that there could be no doubt that Hitler was content. But despite the supreme satisfaction Hitler derived from the whole farce and despite his promises of exemplary behavior once the Saar was back in the Reich, the international situation was far from sweetness and light.

A fortnight after the Saar plebiscite Laval met Sir John

## COMMISSIONER FOR DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS

Simon in London. The outcome was a communiqué dated February 3, 1935. It was couched in optimistic terms and envisaged a happy future based on equality. The Reich, having so often professed that equality and peace and nothing but equality and peace was its goal, was invited to participate in a general settlement which would realize its ardent desire and, while guaranteeing the independence of its neighbors, would at the same time guarantee its own security.

The Reich answered that it would prefer bilateral arrangements to general settlements. The Reich also asked whether England had any objections to begin discussions immediately. It was in this manner that London was lured away from Paris and Moscow into the Reich's own camp. Simon swiftly decided that it would be a good thing to humor the Fuehrer by going to Berlin personally, the sort of delusion which became, prior to Munich, a veritable obsession with British statesmen. In order to placate Paris and Moscow, Mr. Eden was scheduled to visit the French statesmen first, then accompany Simon to Berlin, and subsequently he was to proceed to Moscow. A few days before Simon's and Eden's visit to Berlin, the British government released a *White Paper* concerning disarmament and rearmament, a document destined to serve as material for a debate in the House of Commons and totally unrelated to the pending negotiations. It was, however, indiscreet enough to characterize, in a few sentences, the state of German rearmament and morale. The British Ambassador in Berlin was abruptly told that Hitler had contracted a cold. The Fuehrer regretted that he would not be able to see the eminent British statesmen.

Without the knowledge of anybody in Germany's Foreign Office, Hitler proclaimed, on March 16, the law reintroducing compulsory military service, the first openly admitted breach of the Versailles Treaty. Weeks after, those in the know

reported the reason for this untimely act. Hitler had feared that the question of compulsory service would figure prominently in the discussions and that definite promises in connection with it would be unavoidably exacted from him. He had, therefore, decided that compulsory service should become a fact before any discussion started.

The whole world was in a turmoil. France requested that the council of the League of Nations convene immediately. Even Pierre Laval, in an acrimonious note, expressed "la protestation la plus formelle." Mussolini spoke of Italy's obligation "to advance the most ample reservation to the German decision and its probable developments." Soon afterwards he recalled two hundred and fifty thousand men to the colors, while France hastily reinforced her troops on the Eastern frontier. But Great Britain, in spite of the fact that she was the first to protest, seemed to be more conciliatory than the other powers. She let it be understood that, in her opinion, the open breach of the Versailles Treaty, was, in itself, not a definite *casus belli*, and she inquired in Berlin "whether Germany thought that under the circumstances the intended visit of Sir John Simon would still be useful." In the House of Commons, Sir John Simon declared, "that Great Britain was shocked over Germany's act and had entered a protest, but that he nevertheless thought it would be the wiser course not to give up the Berlin visit."

Great Britain did not seem troubled, at that moment, by the idea that such an attitude would continue to make Hitler feel that in order to be successful the thing to do was to employ shock tactics. He startled the whole world by declaring that the "shackles of Versailles" could not prevent him from pushing Germany's rearmament ahead at full speed.

Von Neurath and von Hoesch had, in the meantime, arranged for Hitler's "cold" to vanish. And now the planned

Anglo-German conference was to be held by a foursome—Sir John Simon and Mr. Anthony Eden for the British, Herr Hitler and Foreign Minister Constantin von Neurath for the Germans. Not even interpreters were to be present, since von Neurath's perfect command of the English language and Eden's knowledge of German were considered sufficient for these "personal discussions."

The presence of the Commissioner of the Reich on Disarmament Questions, during the discussions, was not anticipated. It would have been diplomatically impossible for Germany to be represented by three "negotiators," and the British by only two—if negotiators was at all a correct term for the participants of the planned meeting. The British did not even propose that their Berlin Ambassador, Sir Eric Phipps, be present, for they knew Sir Eric was not in the Fuehrer's special favor. Joachim, who loathed Sir Eric, thought it advisable at that moment to suggest to the Fuehrer that he propose Sir Eric's participation in the conference. This, Joachim explained, would show the British guests that personal feelings did not at all influence him in matters of politics. Ribbentrop had adroitly opened the way for his own participation in the conference. Hitler agreed, and he informed von Neurath personally of his decision. Sir Eric thought, of course, that his inclusion was due to von Neurath, and neither he nor London objected to it. So the Anglo-German conversations were held in Berlin during the days of March 25-26, 1935 and with six participants instead of four.

Many of Berlin's quick-witted inhabitants had gathered in the *Wilhelmstrasse* to witness the arrival of the British Delegates. It seems not to have been a very impressive show. The following is an excerpt from a letter of one of our old friends. Said he, "the multitude watched Simon and Eden

drive to and fro through the wet air between the British Embassy and the Chancellery. The impression one got was that the British delegates figured as exhibit A in the pageantry of universal submissiveness which Hitler was busily conjuring up in his palace for the diversion of the people. Only a few years ago, the British Embassy had harbored the Olympian Lord d'Abernon, counted as a trusted adviser by many a German Chancellor and Foreign Minister. The Germans who lined the *Wilhelmstrasse* had only to look at the tired lawyer, Sir John, and his sorrowful aide, to become aware of the decay of the British position in Berlin. Their very intuition told them that Hitler was the winner in this encounter and would go on being the winner for a long time to come. I could not help thinking: there we have Sir John, the epitome of the model citizen. He had passed all the examinations with *summa cum laude*; his well lubricated if formal intellect has landed him in the front row of the legal profession; he is a master in summing up cases and in collecting exorbitant fees for his professional opinions; while Hitler was an utter failure in every civic virtue and proficiency in which Sir John shone so brilliantly. But Hitler has one big asset of which Sir John has not even an inkling—the dragon blood of primitive instincts. Sir John, pale and thin lipped, drove through the *Wilhelmstrasse*. One really could pity him. As I hear from The Hague, Sir John on his way home told compatriots who welcomed him at the airfield in Amsterdam, that Hitler is ‘the man with the tragic eyes.’ I feel, to be candid, that Sir John unwittingly has described himself. God help us German Liberals if Democracy has no more impressive defenders than Sir John . . .”

In the course of the discussions, Hitler expressly declared that he had no intentions of going to war. At the same time he declined a renewed British suggestion for an “Eastern

Locarno" and also announced that the existing frontiers between Germany and its Eastern neighbors could not be accepted as unalterable. After the conference, Anthony Eden proceeded to Warsaw where he found no encouragement for a multilateral treaty guaranteeing the territorial *status quo* in Eastern Europe. The Poles were afraid that such a treaty would arouse German resentment without achieving the desired security. Eden then went to Moscow.

The conference of Stresa, held April 11-14, resulted in a joint declaration of Great Britain, France, and Italy, speaking of "complete agreement in opposing by all practicable means any unilateral repudiation of treaties." This was followed by an official statement of the German government, in which the Stresa agreement was called a "military alliance" and in which the apprehension was expressed that such "assistance pacts" endangered the European peace.

It looked as if Germany had become completely isolated in spite of the German-British discussions. But some hope for Germany came again from London when Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald declared, on April 17, that "without condoning Germany's action, we have left the door open." A fortnight later, on May 2, he imploringly asked again in the House of Commons, "will Germany not come forward to show her readiness to help restore the international confidence so rudely shaken by her recent independent action in regard to armaments?" He also mentioned the possibility of an agreement relating to the air force and of a naval pact, as already suggested at the Berlin discussions between Hitler and Sir John Simon. Such a naval agreement seemed to be especially desirable to Great Britain when the German government announced, just before Macdonald's speech, that it had ordered the building of twelve U-boats of two hundred

and fifty tons each. "We are still prepared to receive a German representation in London," Macdonald concluded.

At the same time, the Franco-Russian mutual assistance pact became a fact. It was Pierre Laval who, as Foreign Minister, personally went to Moscow to demonstrate to the world the renewed French-Russian friendship. It may be said today that Laval acted also as midwife for the Soviet-Czechoslovakian assistance agreement of May 16, 1935.

Hitler's speech, on May 21, in which he candidly stated that Germany intended to build a navy up to thirty-five percent of the tonnage of the British naval forces, was more or less the answer to Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald's declaration in the House of Commons. The Fuehrer had again struck a blow without consulting either von Neurath or von Buelow.

The boldness of this declaration made the *Wilhelmstrasse's* leading officials gloomy. Basing their opinions on the Franco-Russian agreement, they spoke of encirclement and its dangers for Germany's future. To get into some kind of political discussion with London as soon as possible seemed, to the *Wilhelmstrasse*, most essential. Von Buelow anxiously searched for some minor issue important enough to necessitate negotiations between both governments. If such an issue could lead to an understanding, one could broaden these conferences and come to far-reaching arrangements. Buelow compiled a catalogue of issues which could offer a *point de départ*: an agreement on air power in general, another one for the prohibition of air bombardments, one prohibiting the use of poison gas in warfare, one regarding renewed possibilities of an Eastern Locarno—this last would have left the question of frontier corrections open for peaceful discussions. Buelow did not dare, however, to include a proposal for a naval agreement in spite of the encouragement which the



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Simon-Hitler conferences and Ramsay Macdonald's hints presented. Even the navy men in the *Bendlerstrasse* feared that Hitler's open request for a ratio of thirty-five per cent of the total strength of British naval forces was bound to be rejected at the very outset.

Hitler finally decided that such a naval agreement was the only issue upon which new negotiations were worth starting. His intuition, he argued, gave him reason to believe that such an agreement would be most desirable from both the British and the German points of view. And, furthermore, if this agreement was feasible, it would facilitate the abolition of other Versailles Treaty restrictions—especially if Great Britain once officially condoned a violation of the Versailles Treaty, she could no longer insist on the principles of its fulfillment upon other occasions.

Von Neurath, when asked by the Fuehrer to state his opinion, remained silent. Apparently he did not believe that the British would swallow the bait. It was then decided that Leopold von Hoesch, the Ambassador in London, should be asked to report his own views on that question. Von Hoesch was of the opinion that Great Britain never would enter into a naval agreement on that ratio, unless the broad issue of "security" was discussed simultaneously, for England, he pointed out, had to take into consideration France's incessant demands upon this point. When von Neurath brought Hoesch's report to the Fuehrer, Hitler was furious. "If you and von Hoesch do not believe in the feasibility of such an agreement, I know one who does—Ribbentrop!" he shouted.

# 8

## *Ambassador at Large*

GERMANY'S navy, under the stipulations of the Versailles Treaty (Articles 181-187), was restricted to that of a third-rate power. She was not allowed to have, at any time, more than six ships of the line, with a maximum of ten thousand tons each; six small cruisers of six thousand tons each; twelve destroyers of six hundred tons each; and twelve torpedo boats of two hundred tons each. Furthermore, there was the stipulation that none of the ships were to be replaced for twenty years from their launching dates. This period was reduced for cruisers and torpedo boats by five to fifteen years. Personnel, including officers for the whole navy, was limited to fifteen thousand.

During the early post-Versailles years, Germany had not been able to make full use of these building limits. It took considerable time for the shipyards to be put in complete working order. Strikes and the ill-fated *Kapp Putsch* delayed the building program longer than originally expected. The German constructors of "men of war" have the reputation of knowing shipbuilding even better than the British do. When the first of the so-called pocket battleships was launched, it was admitted by foreign experts that the German engineers had surpassed themselves. Though all treaty restrictions had been observed, the new ships of the line proved

to be faster and far stronger in armament than anybody had expected.

The world heard for the first time about German reconstruction and enlargement plans in a speech made by the Fuehrer as early as 1934. Nothing was said about the number or tonnage of the different units. The figures given suggested that Germany intended to build a navy of a total tonnage not higher than thirty-five per cent of the total tonnage of the British navy. This was, generally speaking, a ratio which Great Britain could accept. The old principle of British naval politics, the "Two Power Standard," had already been abandoned during World War I. The program by which Britain meant to offset the shipbuilding program of Imperial Germany, the so-called "Two Keels to One" standard could not possibly be enforced against the richest country of the world, the United States. The exhaustion of financial powers forced Great Britain to give up its traditional hegemony at sea for at least some time, and the result had been a virtual "One Power Standard" as admitted in the House of Commons debate on March 17, 1920. Finally in the Washington Five Power Agreement, the ratio for the building of battleships for the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy had been fixed at 5-5-3-1-1. As this agreement was to end in December, 1936, Great Britain was prepared to limit, through peaceful negotiations, Germany's naval program. England knew that the Versailles restrictions were no longer able to prevent her rearmament on sea, just as they had not prevented Germany's rearmament on land. Hitler's hunch that England would welcome an agreement with rearming Germany on the issue of fixing a comfortable ratio for warships proved to be correct.

On May 27, 1934, it became officially known that "Anglo-German naval conversations would start during the first days

of June." The British attached much value to the impending conference. They were aware that the whole system of "naval disarmament" fixed by the Washington and London agreements was obsolete and bound to expire at the end of 1936. On the day of the announcement of the Anglo-German conversations, Admiral Mineo Osumi, Japanese Minister of the Navy, flatly proclaimed "Japan's just and equitable demands for naval parity with the United States and Great Britain."

Before the Anglo-German naval conversations had even become an officially established fact, it was announced that Joachim von Ribbentrop, the "special commissioner," would head the German delegation to London. As soon as the composition of this German delegation came up for discussion between Hitler and Ribbentrop, the "special commissioner" was vociferous in his demand that he be given a rank permitting him to move on the same footing with the Ambassador to London, Leopold von Hoesch, his "obstinate enemy." Hitler willingly complied. Joachim was officially created Ambassador at Large, at that time something new in the hierarchy of Germany's officialdom. It was the second big step in Joachim's career.

Both Germany and England had originally intended to keep their delegations small and eventually to add experts for special questions. The idea was that details could later be adjusted through diplomatic channels, especially as it was assumed at that time that the Anglo-German conversations would be followed by corresponding discussions between Great Britain and Russia, and that finally the time would be ripe for holding a general naval conference for the purpose of renewing or extending the expiring naval treaties. There was, however, by no means unanimity, nor even an understanding among the signatories of the Washington and

London naval agreements concerning the course which should be adopted once the treaties had expired. Admiral Mineo Osumi, the Japanese Minister of the Navy, immediately upon getting reports on the London discussions, declared in an interview that "he would strongly oppose the inclusion of Germany and Russia in the next naval conference."

The German delegation officially consisted of the new "Ambassador at Large" and two high ranking officers of the German Navy, Admiral Schuster and Captain Kiderlen. On June 3, they arrived in London and were joined by Commander Erwin Wassner, Naval Attaché of the German Embassy. The *Wilhelmstrasse* had loaned the delegation two of its best legal experts, Dr. Friedrich Gauss, chief of the legal division of the *Auswaertiges Amt*, experienced in bilateral treaties from the days of Rapallo onward, and Dr. Ernst Woermann, well versed in the peculiarities of the British mind.

The dry qualities of Woermann's legal mind attracted Ribbentrop because he himself was so utterly lacking in them. For once he was intelligent enough to recognize his own limitations. During the London discussions, Ribbentrop wisely left the actual negotiations to the *Wilhelmstrasse* experts. He was cautious enough not to skate over the thin ice of technicalities. In this he conformed to the traditional policy of his *Buero*. His missions were entitled to the amusing side of diplomatic activities, the receptions, intrigues, the mapping out of new worlds. The more tedious part, the routine work, the wording of official documents, and the conscientious elaboration of details were safely left to the career diplomatists, as long as they remained well hidden in the background.

A large staff of secretaries, translators, and typists brought the number of persons who arrived in London as "members of the German delegation" up to forty. Two floors of the

fashionable Carlton Hotel had been reserved for them. Five magnificent motor cars were at their disposal.

The first thing the new "Ambassador at Large" did after his arrival was to provide the Carlton Hotel with a huge German flag complete with Swastika. This he ordered the hotel to hang over its Haymarket entrance. Each car flew similar pennants from their right mudguard. These banners and flags naturally created a sensation among the multitudes thronging London's West End. And at this time there were even larger crowds in these fashionable streets, for the British people were celebrating King George's and Queen Mary's Twenty-fifth Jubilee.

Aside from Gauss and Woermann, there were also minor luminaries in the delegation. Among these were Dr. Hans Frohwein (later minister in Reval), the Counsellors von Kamphoever and Roediger, and Dr. Erich Kordt, previously contact man between the Foreign Office and "Commissioner" Ribbentrop but now advanced to staff membership with the new Ambassador at Large. There were also some members of the *Buero Ribbentrop*.

Each member of the delegation was provided with a brand new full dress suit, and some of these men were extremely handsome. Social events being the order of the day, invitations poured in on them. The entire German delegation appeared at the ball in Londonderry House, one of the highlights of that season. Karlfried Count von Duerckheim-Montmartin was among them. He later became one of the *Buero's* most successful collaborators until jealous competitors learned of his non-Aryan descent, and he was transferred to one of Germany's minor universities as a lecturer.

The British delegation consisted of Vice Admiral C. J. C. Little, Captain V. H. Danckwert of the Admiralty, and Sir Robert Leslie Craigie of the Foreign Office. Craigie (later

H. M. Ambassador in Tokio) had vast experience with bilateral and multilateral treaties. He had been connected with the International Copyright Conference in Berlin (1908), the International Conference for the protection of the Elephant and Rhinoceros in Africa (London, 1914), and the International Conference relating to the New Hebrides (London, 1914). As he possessed a perfect knowledge of German and other languages, his choice, from the technical point of view of the Foreign Office, was a good one. The ultimate decision rested with the Admiralty. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell, "was kept in readiness for consultation."

The first British press dispatch mentioned the arrival of Ribbentrop and his delegation "with the purpose in mind of holding conversations with His Majesty's Government on the subject of relative naval strength." It added "that the point in question were discussions of a purely informal nature with the view to preparing the ground for a formal conference." Therefore, British public opinion saw nothing of special importance in these conversations. Even the clever German Ambassador, Leopold von Hoesch, could not conceive that something definite should come of them. Von Hoesch believed that, if these discussions were to develop into something more serious, strong opposition in political circles would make itself felt, because the leading British officials knew enough about Hitler and his gang to see through their proposals. At the time of Sir John Simon's and Anthony Eden's Berlin visit, the *Manchester Guardian*, known for its close relations with the leading men of Downing Street, mentioned, in an editorial, that "if the Germans did try to lead Sir John into separate naval negotiations, they would meet with a firm, though courteous rebuff." Even the *Times* in its article welcoming the German delegation (June

4, 1935) said "there are plenty of people both here and in France, who see in every approach of Germany to Great Britain an attempt to make mischief between Great Britain and France. No excuse should be given for this charge, however disingenuous it may be."

It was Leopold von Hoesch's conviction that the Ribbentrop mission would end in failure. He fully realized the importance of such a British-German naval agreement as was proposed, but he thought that there was no possibility of the British entering into such a pact without demanding far-reaching guarantees from their partner. His conviction was motivated by his personal contempt for the intellectual and political abilities of "this former wine merchant" of whom he always spoke, among his friends, as "this fool." Ribbentrop's feeling toward Hoesch was obviously compounded of jealousy, malice, and hatred. At a luncheon which Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald gave in honor of the German delegation, Ribbentrop and Hoesch did not speak to each other.

On June 3, the date of the King's birthday, the Germans gave a reception at the Embassy from whose terrace its members and many British guests could view the ceremonial procession. There was no place in the whole of London from which this parade could have been viewed more advantageously. From the right side of the terrace one could see the entire length of the procession from the Mall to Buckingham Palace where the cavalcade started. From the left side one looked upon the parade grounds of Whitehall where the military ceremonies were taking place. It is no wonder then that many people tried hard to get an invitation. When the procession passed, those present on the terrace were divided into three groups. The London society guests were assembled at the center of the terrace. On the extreme right,



Ambassador von Hoesch with his staff and his personal friends bowed deeply in accordance with old court ceremonial. On the extreme left, Ribbentrop, surrounded by the members of his *Buero* and some of the delegation, stared at the procession with right arms raised stiffly in the official German *Hitler-Gruss*. Some members of the former Royal family of Prussia were also present to watch the jubilee procession of their happier British relatives. With von Hoesch's group stood Crown Princess Cecilia. Ribbentrop's group included the Kaiser's daughter, Victoria Louise, with outstretched arm, together with her son, Ernst August, a member of the Fuehrer's personal *Schutz-Staffel*, who proudly boasted on that occasion that only a few days ago he had been given the honor of special duty before Hitler's bedroom in the Chancellery.

All the members of the German delegation had been forced to promise Ribbentrop that they would keep everything connected with the pending discussions in strictest confidence. They had especially pledged themselves not to let a single word of what went on to reach Herr von Hoesch or the Embassy Staff. This pledge included not only the members of the German Foreign Office, who were delegated to Ribbentrop's mission, but also the Naval Attaché of the Embassy, Commander Erwin Wassner. As there were some clerks among the Embassy Staff who were ardent party members and made no bones about it, Wassner hesitated about visiting von Hoesch. Wassner, an honest man, suffered for he had been forced to pledge himself to Ribbentrop, but the keeping of this pledge might easily be construed as an act of disloyalty toward von Hoesch. Von Hoesch found himself dependent upon the daily official communiqués. These were misleading. Consequently, his judgment as to the result of the conversations was incorrect.

On June 8, Ribbentrop left London to confer with the Fuehrer in Berchtesgaden. It was during his absence that a ball was given in Ascot House by Lady Weigall, the widow of the former Counsellor of the German Embassy, Baron Hermann von Eckardstein. Von Hoesch and Wassner were among the guests. In order to avoid Ribbentrop's spies, the two eminent diplomats had to retire to a lavatory, the only secluded spot, to exchange the latest political news. In this way, von Hoesch learned that "the fool" was about to achieve the greatest political success Germany had had since the days of Locarno.

A few days later the story was officially "released." It started with a communiqué on June 11. This hinted, for the first time, "that a draft agreement would be prepared," and that "it was believed the understanding would result in granting the German navy thirty-five per cent of the British strength." At the same time, it was announced that all other signatories of the Versailles Treaty as well as the signatories of the Washington and London naval agreements had been informed of the new understanding.

The news that the conversations had developed into a formal agreement within such a short time created a great sensation. This was partly due to the fact that in the preceding days attention had been diverted by the announcement that a change and reorganization of the British Cabinet had taken place. Ramsay Macdonald had been replaced by Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister and Sir John Simon by Sir Samuel Hoare as Foreign Secretary. Anthony Eden had been given the newly created post of Minister for League of Nations Affairs. All in all, this was a fresh turn to the right. The Cabinet now included fifteen conservatives, four National Liberals, and eight National Laborites. On the same day of Great Britain's Cabinet reshuffle, France's Pierre

Etienne Flandin was replaced as Prime Minister by Pierre Laval, his Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here, too, a slight turn to the right characterized the change, but on the other hand the cleavage between right and left was growing, accentuated by the distrust in which the *Front Populaire* held Laval.

On June 11, 1935, the day on which it became clear, for the first time, that the naval parley would end in a formal agreement, another event took place in London, the importance of which could hardly have been recognized when it occurred. It was a Queens Hall speech by Edward, Prince of Wales. This speech was made to the British Legion. The Prince of Wales declared, "that there was no more suitable body than the former combatants of World War I to stretch the hand of friendship to the Germans."

It must be remembered, in this connection, that Ribbentrop had already used the "bridge over the war veterans" in his discussions in Paris. "The common interest of the veteran groups in all countries which had been involved in the World War" had served as *Leitmotif* for many of the Nazi Government's political schemes. And discussions had even been started between representatives of the American Legion and those of the *Kyffhaeuserbund*. The German Foreign Office realized the significance which the Fuehrer attributed to these connections, and it was deemed possible that Ribbentrop might become the official caretaker of the German veteran organizations, for was this not a legitimate by-product of his commissionership on disarmament questions? The *Wilhelmstrasse* also believed that it was Ribbentrop who had influenced the Prince of Wales' sensational Queens Hall speech.

The officials of *Division E* ("E" for Etiquette, Division of Protocol) of the *Wilhelmstrasse* duly started preparations

for the Berlin reception of a large group of British ex-service men. This group, it was expected, would be headed personally by the Prince of Wales, in order "to show Germany that the last war really was forgotten and that good friendship between the two countries ruled again." It seems, therefore, appropriate in this connection to say a few words about the relationship between Edward and Ribbentrop.

It was Leopold von Hoesch who introduced Joachim von Ribbentrop to Edward and Mrs. Simpson. Both were intimate friends of this highly cultured German Ambassador who naturally felt proud of this friendship and did everything to strengthen it and keep it alive. Hoesch was a perfect host. He was also a genuine wit, and Wallis was especially amused by him. Both Edward and Wallis always seemed to enjoy the parties von Hoesch gave in their honor. There were many small dinner parties. Hoesch, a bachelor, had the reception rooms of the Embassy at his disposal, an excellent *maitre d'hôtel* and kitchen staff. His private fortune permitted him to be extravagant. Hoesch loved gypsy music, and in that he had something in common with Edward. When Edward, Wallis, and a few intimate friends were Hoesch's guests at the Embassy, no member of the Embassy staff was ever invited. The famous band of lower Regent Street's Hungarian Restaurant was hired for the evening, a procedure that deprived the diners in the restaurant of their music but contributed vastly to the success of Hoesch's parties.

About a week before the Berlin visit of Sir John Simon and Anthony Eden was arranged, Ribbentrop had flown to London. This time preparations for his visit were handled by the Embassy, and on this occasion Joachim showed the most pleasing side of his personality. He paid the Ambassador a lengthy visit and glibly mentioned the high esteem in which

the Fuehrer held von Hoesch's work. Ribbentrop characterized the visit of the British statesmen as the "crowning glory of Hoesch's achievement." Leopold von Hoesch, ever susceptible to honeyed words, suddenly discovered an unsuspected side to Ribbentrop. He invited Joachim to spend the evening with Edward, Wallis, and himself. Friendship with the successor to a throne was and still is something every diplomat cherishes; it is considered by old hands at foreign policy an excellent investment.

Joachim was favorably impressed by von Hoesch's gesture for he was greatly affected by Wallis' charm and spoke at length with Edward about his pet theme, "war veterans' bridge between the two countries." His admiration for Wallis was evidenced in a curious manner. For some time after he made her acquaintance, Joachim, during his frequent visits in London, sent a bouquet of seventeen red roses to Wallis' home every morning. This secret soon leaked out. One of the secretaries in Ribbentrop's personal staff spoke of it to one of Hoesch's assistants. Hoesch was very much amused by Ribbentrop's floral attentions, but even he was not able to discover the reason for the number seventeen. He decided that this number was "the way of a businessman."

This "story of the seventeen roses" plays a role in the drama of Edward VIII's abdication for the sake of "the woman I love." In Berlin diplomatic circles, it was for some time the topic of the day. It became known that even the Fuehrer had teasingly asked Ribbentrop what was behind the "seventeen roses."

The animosity of the *Wilhelmstrasse* career officials toward "the intruding Nazi," the travelling wine merchant, who often snubbed the old timers, caused, of course, many jokes at his expense. His veneration of Mrs. Simpson was not excluded.

## THIS MAN RIBBENTROP

Members of London's diplomatic set heard about the seventeen roses, and the story found its way, in exaggerated form, to the ears of many influential Englishmen who were important in politics. There were people, especially parliamentary members of the Labor Party, who normally would have been far from resentful at a marriage of their king and a commoner. Edward was so loved by his loyal subjects that no one of them wanted to see him unhappy. Still, these rumors from Berlin were irritating. And these rumors did not end with the seventeen roses.

Berlin was filled with loose talk about Edward, then His Majesty. It was said that he neglected his duties in the handling of official documents. Secret Ambassadorial reports were especially emphasized. At Fort Belvedere, the Foreign Office dispatch bags were said to have been left open, and it was possible that official secrets had leaked out then. Of course, all this was only rumor. Still, was it not a fact that the Germans were often surprisingly well informed about the reports sent by the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Eric Phipps, to His Majesty's Government? Was it not true that in Nazi Berlin, of all places, one could hear stories which in London passed for state secrets? Nothing of this was ever mentioned in the proceedings which finally led to the King's abdication. Still, there can be no doubt that some people in official British circles were aware that these rumors cast an undesirable reflection upon their King.

There was great excitement in Berlin's official circles during the days when Stanley Baldwin fought his dramatic battle with Edward VIII. Nobody in Germany was supposed to know anything of this battle. Goebbels had ordered the press to keep any news of the royal crisis out of the papers until an official communiqué could be published. The Fuehrer himself had taken a great interest in the developments. It

was Ribbentrop who, when back from London, had reported to the Fuehrer about the King's romance. And it was also Ribbentrop who provided the Fuehrer with two short films which could not fail to be more instructive than the spoken word. One of these films showed Edward witnessing the preparations for his father's funeral ceremonies in the company of Mrs. Simpson. The pictures left no doubt that, at least at the moment they had been taken, the adoration of Edward for Mrs. Simpson outshone his sorrow at the death of his father. One of our informants, who had seen the films in the Chancellery, added that the Fuehrer, known to be very fond of films, had giggled throughout the showing of this special reel, presumably taken from a window opposite. Another film showed King Edward on a yachting holiday in the Mediterranean. Edward and Wallis, both in well-fitting bathing suits, were playing, rowing, basking, and apparently thoroughly enjoying themselves on some isolated beach on the Adriatic coast. The Fuehrer, we were told, only remarked "her figure is not bad." Both films were shown to him repeatedly. The wives of some of the party leaders also wanted to see these interesting films. Annelies von Ribbentrop arranged it.

The appeal made by the successor to the throne in his Queens Hall speech "to stretch forth the hand of friendship to the Germans" may not have directly influenced the conversations on the naval agreement. The conversations had already made so much progress that the resultant agreement could almost be called an accomplished fact. Ribbentrop did not lose time, however, in proceeding along the line Edward had pointed out. Edward's suggestion "that there could be not enough exchange visits between the veterans of the two countries" led to the Berlin visit of Major Featherstone Godley and Colonel Crossfield. Other similar visits followed. It

proved to be one of the cleverest and cheapest ways to make friends for Nazi-Germany in peace loving, conciliatory Great Britain.

The official statement, by which the world was informed that the Anglo-German naval agreement had become a fact, was published in London and Berlin on June 18, 1935. Not only had the German proposal to put the German navy on a thirty-five per cent basis of the British navy's tonnage been agreed upon, but the proposal actually meant, in view of the distribution of the British naval forces over the seven seas, near parity for the Germans with the English in the North Sea. Ribbentrop had, moreover, been able to arrange parity in submarines. In return no concession, not even some kind of peace guarantee, had been granted by the Germans. It was undoubtedly a grandiose success for Germany and even a more grandiose one for Ribbentrop, himself. In a list of his achievements, drafted by his own pen in 1936, Ribbentrop proudly states: "On June 1, I went to London. On June 16, I reported to the Fuehrer the signing of the historic German-British naval treaty. This agreement, as is well known, eliminates once and for all the navy rivalry between Germany and England, which proved so fatal before the World War."

It cannot be said that the British negotiators did not try to enforce some of their demands. But in the communiqué, it looked as if the Germans had won out on every point. The British were able to arrange that at least the thirty-five per cent should not apply to the total tonnage but to each warship category separately, and that the thirty-five per cent rate should apply for all time, even if France should decide to build above her existing tonnage. This, thought the British, had avoided a sea power race. But on the other hand, England had maintained originally that the chief naval powers should approve of the proposal and that some way should be found



to make the necessary modification of the Versailles Treaty. These provisions had been abandoned, in spite of the fact that England would have been able, if she had insisted, to carry the point. At least the naval attaché of the London German Embassy, Commander Erwin Wassner, was of the opinion that the German delegates would have given in, and that they would have eventually conceded a time limit before the agreement went into effect.

Now, Germany was not forbidden any category of ships. This was a great triumph. The hated *Diktatfriede von Versailles* was by the agreement not only punched full of holes but pronounced officially dead. And when the agreement was personally signed by Sir Samuel Hoare, one of the principal signatories at Versailles and now the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the stock of the proud co-signer, Joachim von Ribbentrop, went sky high. The Reich's contention that "bilateral negotiations should replace conference methods" was triumphantly vindicated.

It cannot be said that there were not politically interested men in England who realized the blunder made by giving in to the German demands. Even the *Times* wrote in an editorial that the agreement "in practice involves a tacit disregard of the Treaty of Versailles . . ." To quote the vain hopes of the paper further, ". . . it will constitute an important advance in the process of getting peace established upon the firm ground of agreements freely concluded and will open the field for a nobler and more constructive activity than exclusive concentration on negative plans for preventing war." Not even the *Times* could foresee nor could it realize that the agreement was only part of the big scheme which ultimately led to World War II.

Upon first learning that the consultations had started, the French naval authorities became angry. They were wholly

opposed to any discussion of the entire issue. But the indignant attitude of the *Quai d'Orsay* surpassed even that of *le Ministère de la Marine*, when news of the agreement's conclusion leaked out. Even Pierre Laval made no bones about the French bitterness in an angry note.

In the Chamber of Deputies on June 27, the French Navy Minister, François Piétri, said, "that it was not the fact of the agreement nor even the German rearmament which surprised the French. It was the precipitous yielding of the British which caused us to doubt not their friendship but their traditional prudence." While the French resentment, as a survey of the London Royal Institute puts it, was a deep emotion pierced with fear, Mussolini's stand was characterized by a slight annoyance and perhaps an underlying pleasant hope that the agreement would, in the future, draw the British naval forces to the North Sea, thus relieving Italy in the Mediterranean. She might have assumed that it would heighten British reluctance to cross Italy's war path to a degree that British opposition to Italy's African policy could be disregarded. Anthony Eden, Minister for League of Nations Affairs, commuted between London, Paris, and Rome, trying to explain and to soothe hurt feelings. In Paris as well as in Rome, he found extremely cool receptions. To many a student in world politics, the London naval agreement with Germany was also the beginning of Pierre Laval's and other French politicians' hatred for England.

Looking back today to the events of June, 1935, one cannot but feel that with the conclusion of the Anglo-German naval agreement Great Britain committed one of her greatest post-war political blunders. It was recognized as such by many experienced diplomatists. It is true that the British, at that time, felt that they had good reasons for starting the conversations. Firstly they had reports that Germany had

already ordered the construction of a few submarines despite the Versailles Treaty, and they feared that a new naval race was bound to come. They further believed that a limitation of German naval building would pave the way for a renewal and extension of the Washington Treaty regarding naval armaments. Domestic problems, the increasing number of unemployed, the longing of the whole people for peace, the lull in political activities in connection with the King George anniversary celebration, and the mounting pressure of politically influential circles favoring cooperation with Germany had also played their part. That the pro-Nazi sentiment had grown considerably in Britain's upper crust since the beginning of 1935 is proved by the fact that on several occasions even the London *Times* dropped news which would have exposed "the bad side of Nazi Germany." This can only explain but not excuse the exceedingly unimaginative British attitude, which was really a policy of gaining time not for the sake of action, but for the sake of inaction and for which Sir John Simon bears most of the responsibility.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, utilizing to the full the atmosphere of "masterly inactivity" prevailing in London and exploiting his nuisance value by getting on the nerves of sleepy British statesmen with alternate threats and glib talk, brought home a success which had not been expected either by the *Wilhelmstrasse* or by the German navy. By persuasion, he even got the London Foreign Office to announce the pact in a communiqué issued on a Sunday, a procedure unheard of at Downing Street. In bygone times, one of the "nursery rhymes of the attachés" in the German Foreign Office had run:

"Und selbst wenn Sonntags Krieg bricht aus,  
In Downing Street niemand ist zuhaus . . ."

## THIS MAN RIBBENTROP

(and even if on Sunday they should war declare,  
nobody in Downing Street will be aware).

With the treaty in his pocket, Ribbentrop himself gave out a lengthy communiqué before he left London on June 23. He, of course, repudiated the assumption that Germany had been trying to drive a wedge between France and Britain. But in prophetic language he pictured the British appeasement policy which was bound to follow the first step. "We must not undertake too much at once, but tackle one problem after the other. With the present agreement we have broken the ice in the rigid political situation in Europe. An atmosphere of appeasement, which logically must follow, will, I am certain, pave the way for the settlement of other problems and so this agreement may well become a cornerstone for a real consolidation of Europe." Joachim owes the success of his first really important diplomatic mission less to his own dexterity than to the shortsightedness of others.

There is no possible doubt that Ribbentrop actually meant the "New Order in Europe" when he spoke of the "consolidation of Europe." Blueprints for such a "New Order" were at that time not only discussed by Hitler, Goering, Hess, Ribbentrop, and others but details were also studied by such *Wilhelmstrasse* experts as the *Reichswirtschafts-Ministerium* (the German Department of Economics) and by special Nazi party advisers. At times this forthcoming "New Order" was called "the renaissance of Europe" or the "renaissance of the West," an expression occasionally used by the Fuehrer.

Hitler's concepts of world developments, especially concerning this "New Order," were usually far in advance of those of Ribbentrop who enjoyed announcing at the end of his communiqué, "People say I have made it my life task to help bring about a close collaboration between Britain, France,

and Germany in which the other European States would gladly join. I believe these people are right, and I am convinced we are on the best road now."

Such people as Hess, Adolf Wagner, Schaub, the photographer Hoffmann, and many others, friends of past days, leftovers from the party's early period and the "beer hall battles," were closer to the Fuehrer's heart than Goering, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, Ley, Frick, and many others. Ribbentrop, by virtue of his patient listening to the Fuehrer's endless tirades, earned the right to be heard himself. But although Ribbentrop was on good terms with Hitler, he was far from being really intimate with him. With the signing of the naval agreement, all this changed. It was a success which went far beyond even Hitler's expectations. It was really more than anybody, Ribbentrop included, had dreamed of. From the day Ribbentrop returned to Berlin, Monday, June 24, 1935, he became a *Vertrauter des Fuehrers*, a confidant, a friend, an associate in the more intimate schemes, ideas, and plans. It was after Ribbentrop's return from the naval pact conversations that Hitler spoke of Ribbentrop, to men like General Werner von Blomberg, as "a man of Bismarckian gifts." Now, the Fuehrer decided to groom Joachim for the high place of chief of the German Reich's new foreign policy.

## 9

### *The Remilitarization of the Rhineland and Its Consequence*

THE conviction that France and Great Britain did not see eye to eye as far as the application of sanctions against aggresor nations were concerned, Joachim von Ribbentrop's reports that Great Britain was much too weak to risk any military action, and Commander Erwin Wassner's reports that the actual power of England's navy was far from what its reputation suggested indicated to Hitler that the time was ripe for risking the most daring of all his assaults upon the "shackles of Versailles," the reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland by Germany's military forces.

The question of the remilitarization of the Rhineland had been under discussion between the Fuehrer and Joachim von Ribbentrop since the days of the latter's return from London with the completed Naval Agreement in his pocket. At that time Hitler, who had always believed that Germany's future would be solved in the East by adding the Russian Ukraine to her *Lebensraum*, was busy studying such seemingly remote possibilities. Large maps of the craved territory were hanging, so friends in the *Wilhelmstrasse* reported, in the Fuehrer's study. Memoranda and reports were worked out by *Department IV*, the Russian Division of the Foreign

Office, as well as by Rosenberg's meagre outfit and by the better equipped *Buero Ribbentrop*. These reports were voraciously read by Hitler in person.

"The Fuehrer is again Russia mad," the younger *Wilhelmstrasse* officials sighed whenever new questions on Russian problems poured in from the Chancellery and had to be answered at the cost of eternal working hours. The general idea was that the Western Powers should be induced to give Germany a free hand in the East. In return they would, however, be offered all the assurances and all the guarantees for which they were asking. In particular, they were to be offered a solemn promise that Germany did not intend any change of the present status in the West. Mussolini's pet project, the four-power alliance, consisting of Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy, would eventually come in handy to fortify such political arrangements.

But on the other hand, the "Eastern Locarno project," which already had given Germany's foreign policy so much trouble, was still alive. When Russia's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov, discussed the possibilities of a multi-lateral agreement on the East with Constantin von Neurath in June, 1934, he got the impression that Germany would decline to join any agreement which was likely to block her initiative in these regions. When Pierre Laval, on May 2, 1935, signed the Franco-Soviet Pact in Moscow, it added considerably to the Fuehrer's uneasiness, in spite of the fact that, as he was told by experts, there was little possibility of the pact being ratified by the French parliament. Too much opposition, especially in French industrial circles, prevailed against an agreement with the great anti-capitalist power.

Strange as it seems, it is an established fact that in many countries the anti-Bolshevist movement received great subsidies from producers of sparkling wines. This was true in both

France and Germany where these subsidies came from Ribbentrop's friends. But Laval, who had yielded as long as possible to the pressure of "vested interests" and had delayed the process of ratification, announced late in January, 1936, that the Franco-Soviet Treaty would be submitted to parliamentary approval in the near future.

Laval's announcement was answered by bitter attacks in the German press. Letters from friends in the *Wilhelmstrasse* ridiculed this "artificial excitement."

"Are we not doing business with Soviet Russia all the time?", one of the correspondents wrote. "And is it not quite understandable that the Russians are looking for any help they can get?" he added. But to Ribbentrop, the fact that the French had dared to enter into such a treaty was a crime. Several of his French friends were highly amused, during one of Joachim's visits to Paris, at the theatrical manner of his violent denunciations of "Bolshevism, the most dangerous illness of mankind."

But Joachim von Ribbentrop's excitement was based on more solid facts than volatile temper. Hitler realized that from the moment the Franco-Russian Pact was ratified, the French armies would be in the position, if not to prevent, at least to hamper considerably any military movement Germany might start in the East. French armed forces could make a surprise entrance into the demilitarized Rhineland at any time, and so, by forcing the greater part of Germany's manpower to make a stand in the West, frustrate any action in the East. From the moment the ratification became imminent, the remilitarization "assumed in the Fuehrer's imagination the character of an unavoidable countermeasure" which had to be executed as soon as possible.

However, this was an enterprise of such magnitude that it needed extensive preparation, and success was only possible



if these preparations were completed in strictest secrecy. The date was originally fixed for March 13. Hitler not only considered the thirteenth a "lucky date," but it had been recommended by one of his astrologer advisers as being "especially suitable for important actions."

Unexpected troubles arose, however, during the secret discussions with his chief advisers. Goering and Goebbels did not, of course, hesitate to line up obediently behind the Fuehrer's program. But von Neurath from the political point of view, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht from the economic point of view, and General Werner von Fritsch, Chief of the Army, from the military point of view, all objected. The argument with von Fritsch was particularly heated. Werner von Blomberg, at that time Minister of War, was called. He showed more moderation than von Fritsch, but in regard to the facts could only substantiate the opinions of the army's commander in chief. This all took place between March 2 and March 6, 1936. There still seemed to be plenty of time left, for the date for the remilitarization, March 13.

In the meantime, it seemed advisable to divert France's and Britain's attention. French public opinion was taken care of by an interview the Fuehrer granted to Bertrand de Jouv nel of the *Paris Midi*. This interview was arranged through Otto Abetz, at that time Chief of the *Buero Ribbentrop's* French Department. It was given during the last days of February, 1936. It culminated in an appeal to France "to consider well what she was doing by entering into a pact with communistic Russia." Ribbentrop's plutocratic friends in France had been active again and had suggested this last attempt to sabotage the "dangerous Franco-Russian Treaty." "I wish to prove to the French people," the Fuehrer had added, "that the idea of hereditary enmity between France and Germany is an absurdity." And when the interviewer

mentioned that this contradicted *Mein Kampf*, Hitler answered "that he would enter his corrections in the great book of history."

The French Government promptly fell into the trap. On the basis of this interview it urged its Ambassador in Berlin, André François-Poncet, to sound out Hitler as to what his reconciliation policy did consist of. The Ambassador had a conversation with the Fuehrer in the presence of von Neurath on March 2, five days before the reoccupation of the Rhineland. Hitler told the French Ambassador, that "in the near future a detailed program would be submitted to the French Government," and even while he gave this reassurance, preparations for the Rhineland *coup* were actually completed.

In Great Britain, the surprise tactics also succeeded. Nobody seemed to suspect that Germany would act as she finally did. Had not the Fuehrer himself, in a speech before the Reichstag (on May 21, 1935), declared, "that Germany would scrupulously observe every treaty it had signed on her own free will, even those it had concluded before the Nazis came to power . . ." The Locarno Treaty had been expressly mentioned in this connection.

At the time of King George V's funeral, Constantin von Neurath, childhood playmate of George's widow, beloved Queen Mary, had gone to London. This was on January 28, 1936. The political situation had been discussed by him with various British statesmen, including Anthony Eden. No doubt had arisen in Eden's mind nor in Constantin von Neurath's as to Germany's intention of respecting her obligations regarding the demilitarized Rhineland zone. Von Neurath gave not the slightest hint that a change of attitude was at all possible, and it is even today believed among British officials that he could not have had knowledge of what was brewing at that time. Anthony Eden, in a reply to a question in the

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House of Commons on February 12, 1936, proudly answered, "His Majesty's Government stands by its obligations as guarantor of Locarno and . . . intends, should the need arise, to fulfill them faithfully."

The situation with regard to Italy was a peculiar one. Ulrich von Hassell, the Reich's Ambassador to Rome, was personally on good terms with Il Duce. He had been called to Berlin several times during the month of February, 1936. He was not one of Ribbentrop's friends, but the Fuehrer seemed at that time to like him. Von Hassell on his final visit reported to the Fuehrer in person "that in his opinion Germany could count on Mussolini," and that regarding the eventual obligations as guarantor of Locarno "Mussolini would not play the part of policeman with great vigor." It must therefore seem that Mussolini had been informed at least to some extent, perhaps through von Hassell, about Germany's intentions in advance. Mussolini, at any rate, played a clever game. He resisted the bold suggestion that he should also denounce the Locarno Treaty, but at the same time he carefully looked for opportunities to profit from the situation.

To lead the Foreign Offices of the other powers further astray, the Fuehrer, in long conversations with von Neurath, developed plans for a definite peace settlement, which, of course, should date from the time when the Rhineland re-occupation was completed. The Fuehrer told von Neurath that his idea concerned some sort of arrangement first with Great Britain and France, later to include other countries, and finally opening the possibility of Germany's return into a somewhat modified League. Von Neurath was to sound out the other powers as to whether they thought the time ripe for a frank discussion of Germany's grievances, including a settlement of the colonial question. It was no use starting talks

if one could not expect "to free Germany from the shackles of Versailles," but that should and could be achieved in a peaceful way.

Von Neurath and von Buelow must have taken the Fuehrer's words at their face value. Germany's Ambassadors in London and Paris as well as the Minister in Brussels soon got instructions in the form of a memorandum with the usual technical heading *Zur Regelung der Sprache* (how to adjust your language in discussing the matter which follows). This memorandum expressed the willingness, in principle, of the German Government to discuss certain of its grievances in the hope of finding a way to settle some of the differences of opinion, for instance in the matter of armament limitation and questions connected therewith. According to custom the other German missions abroad, though not themselves supposed to act in this contingency, received cables containing the text of the memorandum with the heading *Nur zur personlichen Information* (for personal information only). When Hans Luther, German Ambassador in Washington, saw the decoded text of the message in question, he exclaimed happily "for the first time in months a silver lining" and invited some of his colleagues to have a glass of wine with him.

The heads of the German missions in London, Paris, and Brussels, carrying out their instructions in due course, began conversations with officials of the respective Foreign Offices. The conversations were constructive and conciliatory in spirit. They were taken by the governments of Great Britain, France, and Belgium as a portent of Germany's willingness to "come around." Political atmosphere took on a roseate hue. Optimism became the order of the day. The reports of the heads of the German missions on the impressions they had gathered during the talks arrived at the *Wilhelmstrasse* at

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about the time when the orders were given the armed forces of the Third Reich to march into the Rhineland.

When this happened, von Neurath, as friends in the *Wilhelmstrasse* reported at that time, wanted to resign. It was von Buelow, the Secretary of State, "who induced him to abandon this idea, as such a resignation would only mean letting the Foreign Office slip into the hands of von Neurath's arch enemy, Joachim von Ribbentrop." This was the first time we heard of the possibility of Joachim von Ribbentrop becoming the official head of the *Wilhelmstrasse*. Von Neurath, always inclined to put the shadow before substance, swallowed his pride and remained in office.

Only about a week before the Rhineland *coup*, the same von Neurath had assured the U. S. Ambassador, William E. Dodd, almost in the words of the "memorandum" that "Germany was contemplating a return into the League on the condition, that the Western powers agree to restore the German colonies and allow Germany to reenter with her army the demilitarized zone of the Rhine," adding, that "the Rhine zone might possibly await diplomatic negotiations" and that "the Franco-Russian Pact was not regarded as serious, by the German Government."

This was exactly the policy to which the Foreign Office had pledged itself over the signature of von Neurath in its memorandum to its missions abroad. These were the directions by which the German Ambassadors in London and Paris and the German Minister in Brussels were guided in their diplomatic approaches. The man who had changed the whole concept of the memorandum by stressing the dangers of the Franco-Russian Pact and who had assured the Fuehrer that "nothing will happen" and that he should disregard the emphatic warnings of generals and the more timid objections of the Foreign Office, was Joachim von Ribbentrop. Annelies

sighed in those days, "The conferences never end. They go on all night." She was right. The conferences were "going on all night." It was during these nights that Ribbentrop managed to defeat the objections made by von Neurath and von Fritsch during the day.

The original date for the execution of the daring venture, March 13, had to be changed to March 7 after Ribbentrop's *Buero* got information from its agents in London and Paris, that new Anglo-French discussions were to start immediately. The subject of these was not known at the outset. But what was going on was soon found out. Anthony Eden had decided to ask the League to employ oil sanctions against the aggressor in the war with Ethiopia, now getting under way. In his first discussion on the subject with Pierre Etienne Flandin, Laval's successor at the *Quai d'Orsay*, he found, against his expectations, that France was now prepared to support England. But at the same time, Flandin proposed to Eden that Anglo-French political cooperation should be supplemented by a military alliance. Such a proposal, of course, had to be brought before the British cabinet. Eden returned, therefore, to London where he reported at a cabinet meeting on March 5. His colleagues in the cabinet decided, however, against an alliance with such far-reaching potentialities. This also meant that Eden's policy of oil sanctions would no longer receive Flandin's unqualified support. Germany's Ambassador in London, clever Leopold von Hoesch, had reported the results of the "emergency meeting of the cabinet" over the direct wire. Von Neurath, when he brought this valuable piece of information to the Fuehrer's knowledge, was told, "Ich werde mir die Sache nochmals ueberlegen" (I shall think the matter over again). But the Fuehrer never intended to "think the matter over," for he was all set the moment he heard of von Hoesch's wire.

Immediately after von Neurath's departure, Hitler called for General Werner Freiherr von Fritsch, the High Commander of the Army, and urged him to put the machine into action at once. Once more von Fritsch objected. He declared, "in the name of all the generals" that the German army, despite what was being done to speed up its rearmament, still was far from capable of taking such a risk. If the French army retaliated with force, the German battalions would be driven back through the superiority of French mechanical equipment alone. Such a setback meant in Fritsch's opinion, military reoccupation of the Rhineland not by Germany but by French troops and could easily develop into a major conflict, at the end of which Germany would find herself in a worse position than at the conclusion of World War I. Von Fritsch went as far as to say that all the generals were, of course, hoping for the day when the treaty restrictions would be officially abolished, but that in his and his colleagues opinion the time was not ripe for undertakings involving such enormous risks as would the reoccupation of the Rhineland.

In another conference with Ribbentrop, the latter reportedly insisted, "that such an exceptional political constellation may never occur again." The Fuehrer then determined upon renewed discussions with his army's commander-in-chief. Von Fritsch brought forward the same arguments and offered his resignation. He would not bear the responsibility disaster entailed, he protested.

The Fuehrer then declared "that the whole responsibility would be his," and that the risk would be lessened if the surprise element was exploited to its utmost, a thing which could only be achieved if the troops were immediately set to marching. In case of any armed resistance by French troops, the action was to be called off, the German troops were to be sent back to their home garrisons, and negotiations with

the other powers would be started, negotiations which he already had offered in a conciliatory speech some days before. Von Fritsch, still far from being convinced but relieved of responsibility, returned to the *Bendlerstrasse* in order to prepare the final orders for the army of reoccupation and to take the necessary precautions for a possible retreat.

The whole German force which entered the Rhineland during that fateful night of the sixth and seventh of March, 1936, consisted of nineteen infantry battalions and thirteen artillery units. All in all, there were not more than thirty-five thousand soldiers. There were also about thirty thousand *Schutzpolizei* (armed police) stationed in the portion of the Rhineland which was occupied. The surprise was nearly a complete one. Only certain high officials in the German Foreign Office knew "that something was brewing." The *Reichstag* had been originally called for a meeting on March 13. On March 6, the members of the *Reichstag* were informed, by wire, that the *Reichstag* would unexpectedly convene on the following day, March 7. This shift in the date of the *Reichstag* meeting and the fact that a ceaseless series of conferences involving the Fuehrer, von Fritsch, von Neurath, and some of the party heads were taking place started vague rumors. Some diplomats and foreign newspapermen in Berlin tried to discover what was going on but in vain. When one of the latter bluntly asked the press department "if troops would march into the Rhineland," he got a flat denial. "That would mean war," said the press chief, Dr. Gottfried Aschmann, to William L. Shirer, Columbia Broadcasting Company's Berlin chief.

The entry of Germany's armed forces into the Rhineland turned out as Hitler had foreseen. A jubilant population greeted the soldiers who, punctual to the very moment, occupied the places where they were to be billeted. The appre-



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hensions of von Fritsch and the other generals proved to be as unfounded as von Neurath's more humble remonstrances. No countermove of French or Belgian armies occurred. To the German Reichstag, summoned on the morning after this amazing *tour de force*, Hitler declared "that he was ready for a real, honest, and equal European cooperation." He expatiated on his "continuous personal efforts to win the confidence, sympathy and affection of the French people," and he thundered against the "French military alliance with the Bolsheviks." It was the French, in Hitler's words, who had sinned "against the spirit of Locarno."

Just before Hitler spoke in the *Reichstag*, the *Wilhelmstrasse* officially informed the Ambassadors of France and Great Britain as well as the Belgium Minister that the reoccupation of the demilitarized Rhineland zone had taken place. At the same time, it was announced that the Locarno Pact had become "extinct" in consequence of the French agreement with Soviet Russia. On the other hand, Germany proposed a twenty-five-year non-aggression pact. It was to be guaranteed by Great Britain and Italy. At the same time, Hitler proposed the establishment of a bilateral demilitarized zone under the stipulation of complete parity. Finally, he envisaged the return of Germany to the League and an air pact. Only one condition was imposed—the restoration of German colonies.

The proposed "bilateral demilitarized zone" was immediately recognized by the world's chancelleries for exactly what it was. It was nothing less than a means of preventing French intervention in case of German action against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, and the Balkan states. There existed within the *Buero Ribbentrop*, for each of these countries, save Austria, extraordinary and sinister departments which trained agents for underground work within

their border. For Austria, the Fuehrer had organized a special "Information Service." Wherever Joachim von Ribbentrop was able to dig up an expert or specialist familiar with some question regarding the prospective victims of German expansion, he immediately secured his services for his *Buero*. And as his *Buero* grew in power, the functions of Rosenberg's *Aussenpolitisches Amt* became restricted to propagandizing Germany's Foreign Policy within the ranks of the party itself and to take care of visitors from foreign countries. So Ribbentrop rid himself of Rosenberg and practically eliminated him as an influential factor in the Fuehrer's decisions on foreign policies.

The diplomatic corps in Berlin generally disbelieved in the sincerity of the Fuehrer's new proposals. The world at large also remained skeptical. Something had to be done about it. Even the polished vocabulary of the Foreign Office was not sufficient to sugar coat pretended pacifism. The *Buero Ribbentrop* was already in possession of reports according to which "as sincere as a Hitler promise" had become a witticism among diplomats the world over. Ribbentrop engaged several retired German officials, reputed to be in disfavor of the new system, and sent them into the world to sell the idea of a peace loving Germany. One of Ribbentrop's agents charged with this sort of special mission was the former counsellor of the London Embassy and Alfred Dufour-Feronce. Ambassador Dodd, in his memoirs, characterized this former foreign official as a man who "revealed the enthusiasm almost of a Nazi Party Chief, though he is supposed to be in opposition of the Hitler regime."

Regardless of what the world thought of Hitler's trustworthiness, events had developed even better than the Fuehrer, in his most optimistic mood, had ever expected. On March 10 the German Consulate General in Geneva, the

German listening post for League of Nations activities, and the German Embassy in Paris reported simultaneously that the representatives of the Locarno powers had met. Two days later it became known that another meeting had been held in London and that the League Council had been convened. British endeavors to induce Germany to cut the army of re-occupation down to a "symbolic number" were unsuccessful. The ratification of the Franco-Russia pact by the French Senate did not improve the situation. The British realized the seriousness of the German action, but they clung to the hope that the new German proposals "for the real pacification of Europe" were genuine. At a meeting of the British cabinet several members underlined the necessity of negotiations with the Fuehrer on basis of these non-aggression proposals. Stanley Baldwin, the Prime Minister, advised this. Neville Chamberlain (at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer) did the same and Lord Halifax (Lord Privy Seal) also concurred. Their opinions carried weight, but even with support from other cabinet members they remained undecided.

The Fuehrer as well as the German Foreign Office were quite uneasy during these days. They feared that the League Council would take action and clamp sanctions on Germany, something highly detrimental to Germany's foreign trade and therefore to its rearmament program. Leopold von Hoesch was ordered to suggest to the British that a German delegate, Joachim von Ribbentrop, who the Fuehrer thought "was very popular in London," should be admitted to the Council's deliberations. But before von Hoesch was even able to comply with this instruction, the London Foreign Office had already taken the matter up with the *Quai d'Orsay*. Leopold von Hoesch, when reporting on this new development, was optimistic as far as the probability of a formal invitation was concerned. The Fuehrer, now in a temper, de-

clared flatly in a conversation with Sir Eric Phipps, British Ambassador in Berlin, that he would agree to send a delegate on two conditions: the representative of the Reich must be received on equal terms, and the Fuehrer's new peace proposals, including non-aggression pacts between Germany and her territorial neighbors, must be discussed. These two points were emphasized in a solemn German note to the League Council. It was added quite menacingly that the German Government had to be assured that the powers concerned would enter *alsbald* into negotiations in regard to the Fuehrer's peace proposals.

The word *alsbald* translated by the League of Nations experts as meaning "immediately," nearly led to a rejection of the German demands. Sir Eric, in conversations with the *Wilhelmstrasse*, finally was assured that it should be interpreted as "in due course." But despite this toning down, the Council, after a lengthy discussion, came to the decision that the German demands could not be accepted, but at the same time the Council informed the German Government that her delegate would be accorded equality. This decision infuriated Hitler. Ribbentrop suggested that Germany "not give in." He felt sure that, "no military action of any kind was to be expected."

The British cabinet, in the meantime, had again discussed the situation and it had decided that Great Britain, as one of the guarantors of Locarno, could assure Germany that "the British Government would do its utmost to see that the Fuehrer's peace program would be taken into consideration." Sir Eric's first impression, when calling on the Fuehrer in person in order to inform him of the cabinet's decision, was that even this assurance would not change Hitler's mind. But Sir Eric reportedly let the Fuehrer's rage subside, and then eloquently and stubbornly stressed the necessity of ac-

cepting the British pledge in view of the dire need for European solidarity. Hitler finally agreed. He decided that "the German delegation should proceed without delay to London." Sir Eric may have considered this a technical success though it is difficult not to find the British enthusiasm for Hitler's "peace contribution" under the circumstances farcical and humiliating. Even this meager concession on the part of the Fuehrer was not won without a hard battle. A report from a friend said "that Sir Eric left the Fuehrer out of breath and thoroughly fatigued."

The delegation, which was to represent the German case before the League Council convoked in London in order "to examine the Reich's abrogation of the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland," consisted of Ambassador at Large Joachim von Ribbentrop; Dr. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, Director of Department III (Great Britain—U. S. A.) of the Foreign Office; and of Dr. Ernst Woermann, assistant chief of the Legal Department. Some experts, minor officials, and members of the *Buero Ribbentrop*, including Joachim's personal staff, brought the number of the German delegation up to nearly fifty.

In a speech in German which Ribbentrop insisted on using despite his perfect knowledge of French and English and although difficulties had already arisen out of previous erroneous translations of German statements, the chief of the German delegation tried to explain why Germany had denounced the Treaty of Locarno and remilitarized the Rhineland. Ribbentrop's speech culminated in the renewed assertion that the new Franco-Soviet Alliance "involved a complete disturbance of the present European equilibrium, and therewith the destruction of the fundamental political and legal conditions under which the Locarno Pact was signed." The German Government, Ribbentrop further exclaimed, was of the

opinion, therefore, "that the treaty both in the letter and in the political meaning is in contradiction to the Western European security system of Locarno, and accordingly the pact of Locarno has been violated by the unilateral action of France, and thus in fact terminated."

In his speech, Ribbentrop dwelt mostly on the argument "that when a great power like France can, by the force of its sovereignty, enter into military alliances of such vast extent, without considering existing treaties, then another great power like Germany possesses at least the right to assure protection of the whole area of the Reich by restoring within her own boundaries those natural rights of sovereignty which are granted to all nations."

The "constructive part of the problem," which Ribbentrop offered at the end of his speech, began, "Germany is finally willing and ready to close the sad chapter of moral and legal confusions and misunderstandings in Europe of which they (the Germans) have been the chief victim . . . the German people has now only one sincere desire: to live in peace and friendship with its neighbors from now onward and to cooperate to the best of its ability in building up real European solidarity . . . Germany wishes to terminate the long period of Franco-German tensions, crises and wars and wishes at last on her own account to pave the way for a better future understanding and friendship between these two great nations."

Ribbentrop finished his speech by pointing to the Fuehrer's new peace offer. "By an agreement guaranteeing the peace of Europe for twenty-five years," he said, "a work of peace is to be created extending far beyond the generation of men called upon by history to achieve this work today." And in his last words, he added that "the Council may forget the

susceptibilities of the moment and be aware of the importance of the historical decision which it is called upon to take."

But Ribbentrop's speech apparently did not come up to the expectations of the Council members. Considering the trouble it took to bring the treaty breaker before the Council and to induce him to defend his misdeeds, Ribbentrop's speech was a disappointment, if not a failure. Not a single argument was brought forward. No tangible elaboration of the Fuehrer's peace plans was presented. It may be that many of the Council members were also unfavorably impressed by the fact that the French, already very much startled by the British "assurance," were left completely in the dark about certain unofficial conferences.

Ribbentrop, immediately after his arrival in London, had had a long talk with Anthony Eden. After this unexpected discussion a cabinet meeting had taken place without any representative of the other powers being taken into confidence. Resentment at this lack of cooperation ran so high that some of the French delegates spoke of "British betrayal," and an exodus of the French from the Council meeting seemed possible. The temper of the Council was revealed by the fact, that after Ribbentrop had ended his speech, a vote was immediately proposed on whether or not Germany was a treaty breaker. On the basis of what had happened, it was inevitable that Germany should be condemned.

Ribbentrop assumed that his use of the German language, which was not familiar to the majority of the delegates, might have partly been responsible for the sudden turn of events. He rose again to argue that he had expected at least a discussion of his address and that some time should be taken to examine his remarks. Pierre Etienne Flandin, as head of the French delegation, proposed, in reply, that the vote should

be postponed until the afternoon session of the Council. And so it was resolved upon.

When the Council met again after the interlude, eleven of the twelve delegates voted that Germany had violated the Locarno Treaty. Only Chile abstained from voting. Ecuador was not represented. *De facto*, it was a unanimous verdict!

By this vote of the Council, it was established that Germany's unilateral action was a breach of Article 43 of the Treaty of Versailles. In conformity with existing rules, the Council instructed the Secretary General of the League "in application of Article IV, of the Treaty of Locarno to notify this finding of the Council without delay to the Powers Signatories of that Treaty."

The decision as to what measures should be taken against the treaty-breaker rested with the representatives of France and Belgium whose frontiers, bordering upon Germany, were guaranteed by Locarno and with the representatives of Great Britain and Italy, the powers which had guaranteed those frontiers. It is safe to assume that in expectation of the Council's verdict informal consultations as to the proper steps by which the violator could be duly impressed with the seriousness of her offense, had already gone on for some time. As a matter of fact, the representatives of the four Locarno Powers went into session immediately after the formal decision of the Council and approved a program which, to naive observers, was couched in terms indicating a modicum of resistance against Hitler's aggressive policy.

It is interesting to look at these proposals which were dated March 19 and made public soon after as an official document of the British Government. Their complicated legal verbiage did not face the situation; only actions would have done so. And, as usual in those days of Hitler's "house building," his



prospective victims called in the law in order to be excused from acting.

In paragraph two of the proposals, the representatives who drafted them consider that the German Government confers upon itself by its unilateral action no legal rights. Here we have the essence of the situation Hitler encountered. His opponents had the right on their side, but it was like excommunicating Luther after his so-called heresy had become the norm. A legalistic deficiency did not invalidate, in Hitler's eyes, an action, whether unilateral or not. For this primitive man action came always first, and law was only good in so far as it prepared the next action.

"This unilateral action," the proposals go on, "by introducing a new disturbing element into the international situation, must necessarily appear to be a threat to European security." What did the representatives do about it? They undertook "forthwith to instruct their General Staffs to enter into contact with a view to arranging the technical conditions in which the obligations which are binding upon them should be carried out in case of unprovoked aggression."

Paragraph four invited the German Government to lay before the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague its phony argument that the Franco-Soviet Pact gave Germany a right to tear the Locarno Treaty to pieces—by occupying dramatically with armed forces over night and without warning the Rhineland. Thus the representatives who drafted the "proposals" did Hitler the favor of providing for the brain child of his legal experts.

Paragraph five envisaged that Germany, upon invitation, would refrain from sending troops into the Rhineland beyond the figure it had officially announced. It also assumed that Germany would refrain from using "paramilitary forces"

(SA, SS. Labor Corps and other organizations) as reinforcement of troops and from fortifying the zone and equipping it with groundworks and landing grounds. The attacked countries, France and Belgium, promised "similarly to suspend during the period any dispatch of troops into the zones adjoining the frontiers between their countries and Germany." The idea that he should be content for the time being with a "symbolic" occupation of the Rhineland struck Hitler as particularly ridiculous, and he did not fail to poke fun at it in several public utterances which were far from flattering for his opponents.

Paragraph six is more bold. It suggested the creation of an international force to be stationed in a strip of German territory extending twenty kilometers (about fifteen miles) to the east of the Belgian-German and French-German frontiers. It also suggested an international commission whose duty should be to supervise the carrying out of obligations such as provided by paragraph five. These obligations were never agreed to because they were meaningless.

Paragraph eight is particularly inept. Once more the representatives decided that the panacea for the involved situation would be the convocation of a discussion club or, in other words, an international conference. Once more at this critical point in the world's history, it was decided that what the world wanted were gentlemen in striped trousers who would fill endless pages with endless reports and arguments.

In a word, the "correct" way to answer Herr Hitler's boldest and most dangerous move was, according to the experts who drafted the "proposals," to pass the buck to committees which, as experience had invariably shown, would pass the buck to subcommittees where the affairs of the world, safely mummified, would find a burial place.

The March 19, 1938 proposals were built on sand. Great

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Britain wanted, at that moment, a strong League policy against Italy, France against Germany. The majority of the population, in both countries, wanted to avoid war at any price. In Great Britain a distinct pro-German sentiment had developed, while sympathy for the French had diminished considerably. Germany's anti-communistic attitude had gained the favor of Great Britain's conservatives, while British liberals sympathized with many a German argument for the revision of the Versailles Treaty. It was at least partly due to these feelings that some British politicians expected the new peace proposals of the Fuehrer to lead ultimately to a peaceful solution of all problems. Stanley Baldwin said in the House of Commons (June 18, 1936), "Hitler has told us that he wishes peace, and if a man tells me that, I wish to try it out."

The details of the deliberations and conversations held in those days between the Locarno Powers and the League Council seem utterly without importance now. The official documents dealing with different phases of the discussions fill many volumes. It was Ribbentrop, our informant reported, who insisted on not doing anything about Britain's patient proposal. When Sir Eric Phipps reminded the *Wilhelmstrasse* of a questionnaire which the British had submitted to Germany, he was told "that there would be some delay." That briefly worded questionnaire had little to do with treaty obligations. It asked diverse but general questions about Germany's intentions. Reiterated remonstrances by Sir Eric elicited no reply. Upon Ribbentrop's recommendation, the Fuehrer had decided "that the matter should be further protracted." And so it was.

When about the middle of July, 1936, Sir Eric intensified his efforts to get an answer to the questionnaire, it was the forthcoming Olympic Games which allegedly made further

delay necessary, as "the interest of the Fuehrer was completely absorbed by them." Finally, on August 11, 1936, it was announced "that the Fuehrer had decided to appoint Joachim von Ribbentrop to the post of Ambassador in London." From then on Sir Eric's insistence ended automatically. The gentlemen in the British Foreign Office at that time may still have cherished the hope of eventually having an answer to their well-prepared questionnaire in their files. However, in the *Wilhelmstrasse*, nobody bothered any longer to prepare notes on so complex and slippery a theme as treaty obligations.

The sudden death of Leopold von Hoesch, Ribbentrop's predecessor in London, must have come to Joachim as a great relief. Von Hoesch loathed him and Ribbentrop knew that Hoesch spoke of him as "Der Narr" (the fool).

Von Hoesch's sudden death gave rise to the usual rumors of suicide. But these rumors are absolutely groundless. On the afternoon of April 9, von Hoesch had accompanied Ribbentrop to the Croydon airfield. He returned immediately to the Embassy, remarking with obvious relief to one of his colleagues, "Der Narr ist, Gott sei Dank, abgeflogen" (Thank God, the fool has flown away). He then drafted a short report about his conversation with Ribbentrop for von Neurath and feeling unwell went to bed early. The next morning he breakfasted, looked through the telegrams the Embassy had received during the night, glanced through some newspapers, and as usual called for his valet who helped him to dress. He had nearly finished when suddenly he collapsed. A few minutes later he was dead. A stroke had ended his life. Although Hoesch's remains were sent home to Germany, Ribbentrop did not attend the funeral.

When Leopold von Hoesch was transferred from Paris to London in November, 1932, he, a bachelor, "took only one friend with him," as he himself said. This friend was "Mar-

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tin," a Bedlington. Martin was a good natured, not very intelligent animal, as Bedlingtons are. In time Martin grew old and died. Hoesch mourned him and buried him in the Embassy garden. A small marble tombstone marked the dog's resting place. Upon this stone was an inscription,

"Meinem treuen Gefahrten"

(To my faithful companion)

Leopold von Hoesch.

In the course of the Embassy building's tawdry renovation, Ribbentrop decided that Martin's tiny tomb disfigured the garden. He ordered the tombstone removed and the grave leveled. But a friend managed to save the grave plate from destruction.

Since early in 1936, Joachim von Ribbentrop and his Annelies had been engaged in storming the portals of English society. Whenever a prominent Englishman visited Berlin, Joachim arranged to meet him and have him as his guest at luncheon or dinner. He had not always been successful in his pursuits, for in some cases Sir Eric Phipps, the British Ambassador, advised his countrymen against becoming too friendly with the ex-champagne salesman. In spite of this, Joachim did achieve several notable successes.

The Marquess and the Marchioness of Londonderry visited Berlin early in 1936. It was a private visit. But the Marquess was known for his anti-bolshevist sentiments and his fascist sympathies. Ribbentrop had met the Marquess on a previous occasion in London and had invited him to his Dahlem villa. This invitation was reciprocated by the Marquess and the Marchioness who asked the Ribbentrops to spend the Whitsuntide week end with them at their castle, Mount Stewart, near Belfast.

It was during the Berlin visit of the Londonderrys that the

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Marquess attended a luncheon given by Hermann Goering. And Goering, in the presence of this illustrious guest, spoke about Great Britain as the thief who had stolen Germany's colonies and robbed her of her gold. Londonderry was obviously a Nazi sympathizer at this time. The late Ambassador William E. Dodd bluntly calls him, in his memoirs, "a Nazi Englishman."

Private letters from *Wilhelmstrasse* officials hinted that Londonderry's visit to Goering was intended to pave the way for discussions of a conference between Great Britain and Germany regarding aircraft construction limitations. In any case, for the visit of the Ribbentrops at Mount Stewart, Lord Londonderry, who had been Secretary of State for Air from 1931 to 1935, had also asked Sir Edward Ellington, chief of staff of the Royal Air Force, to be present with several officers. Friends in the Berlin Foreign Office believed that Ribbentrop was the carrier of political proposals from the Fuehrer to Londonderry. The idea, it was said, was a new pact, guaranteeing Great Britain's safety in Western Europe, including the Mediterranean, if Germany should get a free hand in Eastern Europe—one of the Fuehrer's pet ideas for the "New Order." But nothing came out of these discussions save respect for the Ribbentrop's supposed social success. Londonderry's influence in governmental circles was grossly overestimated.

The British, however, did not respect so singular a social success. On their return trip to Berlin, the Ribbentrops stopped in London for a few days. They arrived there on June 3, 1936, expecting to be feted by London society. But despite some half-hearted endeavors by the German *chargé d'affaires*, Prince Otto von Bismarck, these expectations did not materialize.

The *Wilhelmstrasse* was naturally very much interested in

knowing what had gone on at Mount Stewart. The Ribbentrops had made their trip in one of Goering's large airplanes. They had been accompanied by a noisy gang of SS. men, some of them staff members of the *Buero Ribbentrop*, others "attendants in SS. uniforms." The German Embassy in London and consequently the *Wilhelmstrasse* could not expect to be enlightened as to the wider implications of the mysterious week end at Mount Stewart castle from these men. But Fuerst Otto von Bismarck had managed to get one of his own men, Fries, the Secretary of Legation, an invitation to the Londonderrys. Fries, a personal friend of the late Ambassador Hoesch, had arrived at Mount Stewart some hours before the Ribbentrops appeared. Ribbentrop, seeing the emissary from the rival camp in what he considered his personal social domain, was taken aback. Needless to say, the *Wilhelmstrasse* was informed about what went on during this Whitsuntide week end.

June, 1936, was the crucial month in the relations between the "Locarno powers" and Germany. The security system of Locarno, the dam which the victors of World War I had erected with the help of a pacified Germany against the flood of another World War, had crumbled, and nobody cared. Hitler and Ribbentrop saw, to their delight, that the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the boldest *coup* to date in the process of "breaking down the shackles of Versailles" had succeeded. In June there was no longer reason to be afraid of anything like an organized counteraction on the part of Germany's former World War I enemies. Moreover, Hitler was not even supposed to pay the price which he himself had offered: The guarantee pact and the reentry into the League of Nations.

It was about the middle of July, 1936, that a friend in the *Wilhelmstrasse* reported, "Believe me, the battle is over.

Nothing will happen in consequence of the march into the Rhineland, nothing. There may be some more meetings and conferences to come; there may even be some more trips to London; some more or less polite exchanges of notes. Even Herr von Neurath believes, now, that the danger period is passed."

And so it was. Great Britain, France, and Belgium continued to believe in the possibilities of a "second Locarno." Germany and Italy were even invited to attend a new conference "to resolve, through the collaboration of all concerned, the situation created by the German initiative of March 7." But it was already decided by the Fuehrer, that the whole affair was no longer worth conversations. A policy of protraction was to be pursued, a policy which was the ideal thing for the "technicians of the Foreign Office" to handle.

The Fuehrer felt rightly that here was a bloodless victory of enormous import; he had reduced France's political influence to an extent which lowered her value as a treaty partner. The military staff talks between Great Britain and France bothered him little, especially as he considered the efficiency of the British general staff "negligible." The bungling of the Ethiopian affair by the democracies, and the raising of his own stature through the remilitarization had, moreover, gained him the friendship of Mussolini.

The situation was described in another report from a friend in the Foreign Office, "I think that never in the history of the Foreign Office one was left so much in the dark about what is really going on, as now. The Fuehrer still seems to stick to his original idea, that Germany's political future lies in cooperation with Great Britain, where the pro-German public sentiment in spite of countercurrents seems to continue gaining strength. The whole atmosphere in *unserer*



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*alten Bude* (in our old place) has become very dull. Even Herr von Neurath and his son-in-law, Secretary of State, (Georg von Mackensen, now Ambassador in Rome), are rarely consulted by the Fuehrer, while Herr von Ribbentrop occasionally exchanges courtesies with them. It is not the regular summer lull. We old guard officials are increasingly forced into ordinary routine work. The former big shots in the different divisions are occupying themselves with trifling and unimportant technicalities which they had customarily left to minor officials and their assistants. The Italian desk has even been deprived of the knowledge of political reports. Most of Italian data is handled in the chancellery or in Herr von Ribbentrop's *Buero* and by him personally. The Far Eastern Division is also kept in the dark about some discussions which apparently are going on in Tokio. This matter also seems to be in Ribbentrop's hands. But that something of importance is brewing in this regard can be judged by the fact that the number of long dispatches in code for Tokio is growing daily. They seem to deal with matters of a military nature. I am told that every message to Tokio starts with the introductory symbol, "Fuer den Militaerattaché, Persoenlich zu entziffern." (For the military attaché—General Eugen Ott, later Ambassador in Tokio—to be deciphered by him personally.) The nature of these secret messages was soon to be revealed.

## IO

### *The Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan*

IN THE early days of 1936, the Fuehrer suddenly developed a pronounced interest in everything Japanese. The Far Eastern Division of the Foreign Office dusted its files and dived headlong into work. Memoranda were drawn up. The history and the strength of the political parties were analyzed, and the leading personalities of Japan were sketched to Hitler's taste, about half a page each, terse, personal, clear cut, and to the point.

What was this all about? Nobody in the Foreign Office seemed to know. Von Neurath thought it unnecessary to ask Hitler about it despite the fact that some of his colleagues feared "unnecessary complications." The Fuehrer's basic idea, "that Germany was not yet strong enough for alliances" would prevent such complications. Von Neurath also pointed out that such inexplicable fits of curiosity on the part of Hitler had happened before. Innumerable memoranda had been prepared at a day's notice on other occasions and regarding other parts of the world. It had usually amounted to a waste of good paper, and nobody had been any the wiser as to the Fuehrer's intentions.

This habit puzzled many old guard officials. The Kaiser had been known to cover nearly every document that was shown him with rather insipid marginalia. Unfortunately

these jottings frequently influenced political decisions. Friedrich Ebert, the first President of the Weimar Republic, had wisely refused to follow in the Kaiser's footsteps. Paul von Hindenburg had never liked to read memoranda. He had certainly never asked for any and was satisfied when the chief of the press department, Dr. Walter Zechlin, told him in a five to ten minute lecture what the German and the international press had to report and to comment on. Hindenburg usually ended this résumé by saying, "Das ist wohl alles, was ich wissen muss" (that seems to be all I have to know).

But Hitler had other ideas. As far as newspapers were concerned, he was content with the frugal fare he found in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*; on special foreign policy questions he was informed by "memos," as they were traditionally called in the *Wilhelmstrasse*. He not only read them carefully, but he remembered their contents for weeks and months. They were never returned to the Foreign Office for they went on file in the *Buero Ribbentrop* and there became the basis for further elucidation. Hitler, with his remarkable memory, occasionally remarked that he had read the contents of such a report before, but Ribbentrop never failed to impress upon him that his *Buero* had been able to procure a new report, the contents of which confirmed a previous one but was nevertheless quite original.

Reports on Japan which had aroused the special interest of the Fuehrer had come from quite another source. Eugen Ott, an officer who had served for about ten years after World War I in Schleicher's *Ministeramt*, the political department of the German War Office, had been temporarily assigned as "exchange officer" to one of the artillery units of the Japanese army. This was nothing unusual. After his return to Germany he had again become one of General

Schleicher's right hand men and after the Nazi murder of Schleicher, it was found necessary to dispatch him "somewhere to the other end of this world." So he became First Military Attaché in the German Embassy in Tokio. In his heart of hearts he was a soldier and looked at things from that angle, but his reports did not limit themselves to matters of military intelligence. He soon began to interest himself in the struggle for control of the Japanese Government that was going on between civilian and military groups. His reports on this matter passed through the hands of the Ambassador, Herbert von Dirksen, an able diplomat, who saw in Ott's observations a valuable supplement to his own communications. As von Dirksen could not stand the Tokio climate and had to absent himself from his duties while on rest trips to the hills, Eugen Ott's reports increasingly supplanted the Ambassador's. The fact that Herr von Neurath, the Foreign Minister, was a compatriot and friend of the Suabian, Ott, facilitated this development.

With Bernhard von Buelow, Secretary of State in the *Wilhelmstrasse*, the relations between War Office and Foreign Office were excellent. This agreeable condition changed immediately after von Buelow's death on June 21, 1936, as the War Office insisted on getting reports from German military attachés abroad directly, without any *Wilhelmstrasse* control.

It was Major General Wilhelm Keitel, the first of the relatively few higher officers who had joined the Nazi party, who directed the attention of the Fuehrer to Eugen Ott's reports on Japan. They contained hints "that a great number of Japanese generals were very much attracted by the ideals of the Nazi movement, that since the conquest of Manchuria in 1931 important sections of Japanese industry had lined up behind the aggressive policy of the army, and that the danger

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of a Bolshevik advance was dreaded by many of Japan's industrial and financial leaders."

Through Ott's reports the Fuehrer was induced to ask his political adviser and personal Ambassador at Large, Joachim von Ribbentrop, to direct the *Buero Ribbentrop's* special attention to the inner political situation in Japan. The Far Eastern department of the *Buero* instantly went into high gear. Unlimited funds for the exploitation of this new line became available. Some of its assistants were immediately and unofficially sent to Tokio. Ribbentrop put two of his best men on the job. Hans von Raumer, namesake and nephew of the brainy former minister of the Department of Commerce in the Stresemann period, and Georg Stahmer, political minded, ambitious, reckless, smart *Haushofer* pupil, and War Veterans organizer, were these two men.

The Foreign Office soon heard of the extension of the *Buero Ribbentrop's* Far Eastern section, but did not attribute any importance to it. Too frequently had Ribbentrop's sudden outbursts of energy led to nothing, too often had they been a show to prove his own importance to himself and to his Fuehrer. Even when Neurath got information through the London Embassy that Stahmer and Raumer had turned up in London for a conference with their chief and that Ribbentrop was looking for an opportunity to meet the Japanese Ambassador, Shigeru Yoshida, in London at some social event, nobody apparently thought anything much of it.

It might even have been pure coincidence that about the same time Ambassador von Dirksen had been asked to a conference in Tokio's Foreign Office. There the conversation turned to confidential reports which the excellent Japanese Secret Service in Soviet Russia had communicated to its Tokio superiors. These reports dealt with the deliberations of the Seventh Congress of the Communistic International

which had met in Moscow (August, 1935) with about four hundred delegates from some forty countries in attendance. The main point was a radical change in the Comintern policy. In the future, the communists would no longer fight against their "enemies of yesterday," the bourgeois democracy, but fight on one front with them "with complete unselfishness" against the "common enemy, Fascism."

The "confidential reports," the contents of which were brought to the notice of Ambassador von Dirksen—as revealed by him in conversations held in Washington with members of the German Embassy on his way to Berlin in the first weeks of 1938—contained the assertion "that Germany and Japan were the countries that had been singled out by the Comintern as the special objectives of its operations."

At the end of the conference in the Japanese Foreign Office, it was suggested to Ambassador von Dirksen that he "report to his government the willingness of Japan to enter into discussions regarding an agreement for the exchange of information on communistic activities in the respective countries." Such "exchanges of information" were already being practiced to a small extent. The Tokio Home Office Department of Police Affairs not only exchanged reports with the corresponding department in the *Reichs-und Preussisches Ministerium des Innern* but had suggested, on various occasions, the expulsion of "Korean agitators," who, possessing Japanese passports, were living unmolested in Nazi Germany. The German authorities had complied, but in some mysterious manner the objects of this persecution were warned in time to permit them to move on to safer places.

At the time of von Dirksen's conversations in the Tokio Foreign Office, the Japanese Ambassador to Germany, Kintomo Viscount Mushakoji, following instructions from his government, called on von Neurath. This move brought the

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matter to the notice of the German government directly.

The German Foreign Minister immediately reported to the Fuehrer, who saw, in the Japanese proposal, a real godsend. He decided "that the discussions with the Japanese should be handled by Joachim von Ribbentrop under his, the Fuehrer's, personal supervision." When von Neurath revealed this decision to Viscount Mushakoji, he hit a snag. The Ambassador declared that under the circumstances he would designate the military attaché, Hiroshi Oshima, to take care of the negotiations with Herr von Ribbentrop. And von Neurath and Viscount Mushakoji both agreed not to interfere unnecessarily. As a matter of fact, the proposed discussions did not seem to be of great importance. They could result only in a formal confirmation of political cooperation and a pooling of news. The latter was already functioning. Nothing, however, could have suited Ribbentrop better. In Eugen Ott's reports, Oshima, who had been a military attaché at the Berlin Japanese Embassy from the beginning of 1935, was described as "a man who belongs to the inner circle of Japan's military camarilla and therefore very well informed about everything connected with the militarists and their plans for the future."

Out of this set-up a somewhat ludicrous situation arose. The *Wilhelmstrasse* was more friendly to China than to Japan. Excellent trade relations existed between Germany and the former, and there was even a group of German military experts, headed by General Alexander von Falkenhausen, advising Chiang Kai-shek. But the Fuehrer, despite von Neurath's advice to the contrary, was determined to come to terms with the "Aryans of the East." It was even possible that in order to gain Japan's friendship and cooperation he would make an alliance with her. It is probable that he thought such an alliance would be of great importance in

the execution of "the master plan," the plan to persuade Britain to grant Germany "a free hand in the East . . ." The term "East" was, of course, to be generously interpreted.

But the stubborn British, despite giving in on many points, failed to show enthusiasm for Hitler's latest pet scheme. A better basis for discussions with Great Britain could possibly be found if Germany entered into mutual understanding with other powers. The achievement of this was not simple, for the new Germany had only enemies among the other nations. Even Mussolini's cooperation had not as yet been definitely won. At this time he was blocking Germany's interests wherever he could, especially in the Balkans and in Austria. Something had to be done.

Perhaps the discussions with Japan on a common stand against the "mutual enemy Bolshevism" would have substantial results. Moreover, several of the Fuehrer's friends and advisers had pointed out time and again that for an effective fight against Bolshevism cooperation with Japan was a prime necessity. Germany's famous geopolitician, Professor Karl Haushofer, an expert on all questions regarding Japan, the country in which he had lived for many years, had used his former assistant, Rudolf Hess, more than once to impress upon Hitler the desirability of gaining Japan's friendship. On the other hand, the Fuehrer knew that the Foreign Office, especially von Neurath, was suspicious of Japan's policy. He also knew that Hjalmar Schacht realized the great danger of Japanese competition in the South American, Near East, and the Indian markets. Too, the influential Hamburg and Bremen exporters as well as the shipping interests favored friendly relations with China and particularly feared the possibility of a setback in business relations with that country.

In the meantime, the conversations between Joachim and Hiroshi Oshima went on without the Foreign Office interest-



ing itself in them. Von Neurath had wisely decided not to interfere with Joachim's *Arbeitsfeld* (domain) whenever the Fuehrer had expressly assigned a task to his "personal collaborator in matters of foreign policy." And von Neurath's passivity had slowly but surely penetrated the whole Foreign Office. Most of its members were now apathetic. They consoled themselves by acknowledging that normal advancement was, at least, not hampered by this state of affairs, and they concluded that the best one could do, in such times, was not to become conspicuous. As Sieyès said, when asked what he did during the French revolution, "I succeeded in living."

The conversations between Ribbentrop and Oshima progressed slowly. Oshima had to report to his government on every detail. The Japanese Foreign Office was taking the formulation of the agreement very seriously, cautiously avoiding anything that went beyond the immediate purpose of the pact. Ribbentrop, too, was occupied with many other time consuming matters.

Oshima desired a private audience with the Fuehrer, and only after many delays Ribbentrop arranged it. The Fuehrer, in a long tirade, elaborated his own ideas on German-Japanese cooperation. Oshima knew that he would not be able to get the Japanese Government to accept Hitler's far-flung scheme, but in taking leave—he had been called to Tokio to report—he expressed the hope that his government would agree to some extension of its original proposal.

But Oshima returned to Berlin, in August, 1936, empty-handed. His government, on the advice of certain level headed, high officials in Tokio's Foreign Office, had decided that the Anti-Comintern Pact, as proposed by the Japanese Government and as drafted on the basis of these proposals, was absolutely suited to its purpose.

The Chinese Government had, in the meantime, heard of

the pending Japanese-German conversations. When it became known that the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact had been signed in Berlin, China's political and commercial world was enraged. Many Chinese leaders turned immediately and decisively anti-German. The German military mission discussed departure, but nobody left. German merchants in China also raged, for this somewhat whimsical development in German politics meant the end of their successful endeavors.

Von Neurath and the Foreign Office wondered, as usual, what attitude to take. At last they decided that the Anti-Comintern Pact, because it was not negotiated through proper channels, was one of the Fuehrer's private affairs. They were joyfully relieved when Ribbentrop was called from London to sign it. Now the whole world would know that the *Wilhelmstrasse* had not had anything to do with this far-reaching decision and that Ribbentrop had. Ribbentrop was utterly delirious with joy.

The day fixed for the ceremonious signing of the document, November 25, 1936, approached. Ribbentrop's plane stood waiting in Croydon. The channel was stormy and foggy. Ribbentrop was advised not to make the journey by air. That possibly would have caused him to miss signing this treaty which he regarded with paternal tenderness. Despite weather conditions, despite warnings, he flew to Berlin, arrived in time, and his signature adorns the important document. Legally Ribbentrop's signature could not bind the Reich at that time. Japan must have been assured of its legality, for the German Foreign Office the document "did not exist."

In Japan itself, the Pact was not considered as something of great importance. Some official and semi-official demonstrations were arranged. The most impressive of these was a procession of school children waving Japanese and Nazi flags.

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This demonstration was organized by the combined efforts of Tokio's German colony, the younger members of the German Embassy, and the remaining *Buero Ribbentrop* emissaries. It seems that it was quite a costly affair, the most expensive item being the Japanese equivalent of ice cream cones. After lengthy discussions about who should pay for this vast expenditure, the Foreign Office succeeded in burdening the *Buero Ribbentrop* with the costs. At last a victory for the Foreign Office.

The official reaction in Japan to the signing of the Pact was decidedly a cool one. While Joachim von Ribbentrop tried desperately to magnify the importance of the agreement, the Japanese did everything to minimize it. Still there was the "supplementary protocol" the text of which was never published. This mysterious circumstance aroused suspicion, to say nothing of curiosity.

At the beginning of 1937, I was advised by one of my old colleagues "that the secret protocol embodied nothing but a working scheme for the technicalities of the cooperation between the Japanese and German Home Offices." It was further mentioned "that an exchange of officials, specializing in anti-comintern activities was contemplated." And in 1938, a "special delegate of the *Reichsministerium des Innern* (German Home Office), in the person of Gustav Huber, was added to the staff of the German Embassy in Tokio." It can be taken for granted, that the Japanese also delegated one or more experts of similar experience to the staff of their Berlin Embassy in spite of the fact that the official *Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des Diplomatischen Korps* never listed them. But perhaps there was more behind the "supplementary protocol."

The Fuehrer's idea of making the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan the nucleus for a common European front, including Great Britain, but excluding "degenerated France"

who "had given evident proof of her decadence by falling so low as to associate herself with Bolshevism," seemed, even to Ribbentrop, premature at that time. It took nearly a year before Italy was ready to join (November 6, 1937); it took another year until a "cultural pact" was arranged between Japan and Hungary (November 13, 1938). This cultural pact failed, however, to please Ribbentrop, and letters from Berlin mentioned "that Ribbentrop was furious because the Hungarians with the help of Japan had stolen his thunder." But Ribbentrop signed a similar agreement for Germany on the second anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact. Japan and Germany timed the accession of Manchukuo (February 24, 1939) so cleverly that Hungary signed simultaneously. On March 27, Franco Spain followed. The signing up of Slovakia was one of the conditions for Germany's granting semi-independence to this puppet state. Roumania's, Croatia's, and finally Bulgaria's signatures were the results of the military developments of World War II. And their signatures finally forced them, after Pearl Harbor, to notify the United States, "that they were at war with that country owing to the stipulations of previous agreements."

Joachim made each new signing of the Pact a ceremonious affair. His vanity demanded that the world at large be reminded over and over again, that he, the great and far sighted master of European politics, had been the initiator of the "triangle agreement" (Germany, Japan, Italy), the beginning of a new "world order" (*Weltordnung*). And he took great pains to strengthen his scattered knowledge of the history of the nations involved so that in discussions with Axis partners his military bearing and tempestuous arguments might find some support in intellectual competence. But the knowledge he attained by lectures given him by staff members who knew the diverse backgrounds of the new allies remained

fragmentary. Once as a heated discussion on Far Eastern policy was going on in his antechamber among members of his staff, one uniformed connoisseur discussed the results of the peace of Shimonoseki which ended the Japanese-China War of 1895. Ribbentrop had entered the room without interrupting the lively conversation. But suddenly he asked, "Who was this diplomatist, Shimonoseki?" His learned disciples were hard put not to laugh in his face.

Ribbentrop ordered a pompous but supposedly handsome magazine to be published. It was called *Berlin Rom Tokio*, and it was printed on foolscap size paper of the finest make. It was adorned with pictures of the Fuehrer and Ribbentrop, each of which occupied a full page. The text was in German, Italian, and Japanese, and for the latter special type had been designed and cut. The first issue ran to one hundred thousand copies. It was distributed by the German missions abroad to all statesmen, members of the various parliaments, editors, writers, and hotel and ship libraries. The freight alone cost a fortune. But money did not matter, and for months embassies, legations, consulates, and agencies were swamped with this "important publication." Unhappily there was no way of getting rid of them, for it was impossible to find many people interested in Herr Ribbentrop's self-advertising campaign. A month after the first distribution, the German offices abroad received a new circular inquiring how many additional copies could be "usefully distributed." Every embassy, legation, and consulate ordered a new batch, although it was almost impossible to move about in them because of the paper avalanche. It seemed that the world's happiness depended on the chief's brainchild.

Joachim had a very special reason for insisting on the widest distribution of this first issue. It contained an "anonymous study" titled *Active German Foreign Policy*. This

study was based on Ribbentrop's own handwritten notes, rewritten by the chief of the Foreign Minister's personal press department, Dr. Paul Schmidt, a dull-witted polyglot. In few other documents is Ribbentrop's capacity for swallowing his own self-praise shown to such an extent. In essence he says, ". . . The Fuehrer frequently made it clear that he owed his successes, aside from the unquestioning confidence, faith, and devotion of the German people, to the group of loyal and unflinching men to whose effective care and administration the different departments of state and society are entrusted. The German people are fully aware today, after the successes in foreign politics in the past years, that the Fuehrer is privileged to have as Foreign Minister a creative and active personality, who, imbued with the Fuehrer's ideals, is capable of realizing them in the sphere of world political dynamics and in the light of a new order for international co-existence. The German people were able to witness the transformation of obsolete diplomatic notions by the German Foreign Minister who threw himself unreservedly into the task of building up new principles which would better correspond to the vital needs of the nations and would safeguard an organic and peaceful future.

"Particularly the historical events of March of this year have borne out anew the truth of the Fuehrer's words before the Reichstag January 30, 1939: 'I must stress in this hour the fact that, next to the impulsive and inspiring deeds of the Field Marshal, our old party member Goering, it was the correct as well as bold judgment in general and outstanding handling in detail of all diplomatic problems on the part of party member Ribbentrop that have most effectively assisted me in attaining my political ends.'

"These words are not only an expression of gratitude and appreciation for a performance which after years of prepa-

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ration found its climax in the telling diplomatic successes of the past two years, but also a hint of what qualities the Fuehrer thinks his foreign minister should have—qualities which are spectacularly united in Ribbentrop's personality. A political leadership that is eager for results and intensely active has no use for a cool contemplation of diplomatic processes, for scepticism in the face of new enterprises or for a resigned attitude which merely comprehends events but blocks all determined effort.

“The national socialist idea of deeds and the principle of constructive action is part of its system. Ribbentrop is for this very reason the ideal foreign minister of the German people who have fully grasped this underlying idea. His creative imagination and his vast conceptions, which move in entirely new paths and under totally changed conditions, are joined to activity and resolve at a moment's notice. Such are the premises that enable him to think and work in the framework of the Fuehrer's far-reaching schemes.

“This fact is especially well demonstrated in connection with the foundation and successful consolidation of the Anti-Comintern where the striking unity of *Weltanschauung* (political philosophy) and foreign politics found its expression for the first time. When Ambassador in London, he prepared the defensive front against the world enemy, Bolshevism, and by signing the German-Japanese agreement of November 25, 1936, he created the platform for his later diplomatic moves. In 1937, the Axis partner, Italy, joined the pact and so completed his triangular structure, the point of departure for the new order which rests on the natural and just interests of the peoples. Public opinion in the world at large, at first merely surprised, was soon convinced that the triangular combination, Berlin-Rome-Tokio, had become the nucleus of a new era. In the non-intervention committee von

Ribbentrop energetically continued his battle against Soviet tactics and mercilessly unmasked the fabrications of the Western powers which are essentially responsible for the disaster in Spain.

"The development of the world political triangle into a front of all nations which think in terms of a constructive and peaceful future is part of his great services in the field of international relations which he has rendered not only to Germany but to the world . . ."

The translation is as close to the German original as possible. Unfortunately this Ribbentrop-Schmidt concoction gains when read in English. The original German leads only to continuous laughter. A career-official of the Berlin Foreign Office read it aloud to his friends. "I am glad the fool is at least satisfied with himself," he observed when he had finished.

The Japanese had sufficient reason to distrust the Nazi policy. The Russian conspiracy trials of 1937 plunged the excellent Japanese intelligence service into high gear. Soon the Japanese became convinced that the accusations against Marshal Michael Tukhachevsky and a group of other high ranking generals of conspiring with Germany were quite well founded. It seemed that there was truth in the story of a military putsch planned with a view of bringing about an alliance between an army dominated Russia and Nazified Germany.

It is little wonder, then, that the announcement of the German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact of August 23 had a bombshell effect in Tokio. The Hiramuna Cabinet resigned immediately, declaring "that the pact had created an unexpected and complex situation in Europe, necessitating a change in Japanese foreign policy." When in the first days of September, 1939, France and Great Britain declared



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war on Germany, the new cabinet Abé went as far as to say officially, that "Japan intends not to be involved," and that she "would concentrate her efforts on the settlement of the China affair."

Hiroshi Oshima, the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, felt, as he himself reported to his friends in Washington on his way home, "as if he had dropped from the clouds." Moreover, he feared "that he had lost face," something that even in our modern days counts a lot in the life of an Oriental diplomat. Oshima had immediately asked to be recalled, and his resignation was finally accepted.

On his way back to Tokio he stayed for about a fortnight in Washington and related quite freely, to a few of his fellow countrymen, his experiences with the Fuehrer and especially with Joachim. That Ribbentrop had asked him, Oshima, not to tell the Fuehrer every detail of their discussions was one of the more interesting things Oshima revealed and that the Germans arranged and paid for the "spontaneous public demonstrations in Tokio" on the occasion of the signing of the "Anti-Comintern Pact" was another. He also revealed that a day or two before Joachim went by airplane to Moscow, the Japanese Foreign Office, having learned from its Moscow Embassy that pending commercial negotiations with Germany would soon take a decisive turn toward the political side, had ordered its Berlin Ambassador, "Joachim von Ribbentrop's most intimate friend," Oshima, to make suitable inquiries. But Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop had "pretended not to be in his office." At his home a similar answer had been given the Ambassador who called in person. And said he, "I had ample proof that in both cases I was told a lie." Back in the Foreign Office, late that same evening, one of Ribbentrop's younger assistants had informed the harassed Ambassador "that there

was nothing in those Russian rumors." So Oshima had wired Tokio a soothing message in which the seriousness of the rumors was denied. But before the Ambassador's telegram had reached his superiors, the whole world had heard that Ribbentrop had flown to Moscow, and that the commercial agreement would be followed by a non-aggression pact. Oshima had been stupefied.

Hitler and Ribbentrop felt that they had to do something in order to repair the damage. In the beginning it was apparently quite impossible to reconcile Oshima and his superiors. The Foreign Office Secretary of State "for special problems," Dr. Wilhelm Keppler, went from Berlin to Tokio, bringing Oshima a letter in the Fuehrer's own hand. But Keppler's explanations did not succeed in dispelling Japanese anger and distrust. He pointed out that nothing had changed and that the temporary agreement with Russia would surely result in mutual benefit to everybody concerned. Keppler returned to Berlin without a definite answer. The Japanese, especially Oshima, were still angry.

Ribbentrop then sent his personal right hand man on Far Eastern Affairs, Heinrich Georg Stahmer, to Tokio. He, too, attempted to explain the necessity of the German-Russian agreement. These explanations were probably of a nature which would have made the Russians angry, if they had listened in, for by some means, Stahmer, now Ambassador in Tokio, succeeded. Saburo Kurusu, who had taken Oshima's place in Berlin, was called back to Tokio, and the reconciled Oshima was appointed anew. On February 28, 1941, he once again presented his credentials to the Fuehrer. Ribbentrop was, of course, present. The photographs published in the Japanese press showed all three grinning happily.

Why Oshima was reappointed Ambassador to Berlin, and how it was possible to induce the man, "who would rather eat

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his hat than to return to Germany," to accept this appointment, is a mystery. It not only came as a surprise, but it also caused great excitement among the members of the Japanese Embassy in Washington. They remembered the way Oshima, following his resignation, had talked to them about his experiences in Berlin. "It is a disgrace," he is reported as having said, "how Ribbentrop cheated me. But there is a certain consolation in the fact that we were able to confine ourselves to the stipulations of the Anti-Comintern Pact and that our hands are free politically and in a military way. After all, this lying Foreign Minister (Ribbentrop) has tried hard, but he did not succeed in trapping us in one of those carefully planned and masterly executed spider webs designed by Fuehrer Hitler, spun by disciple Ribbentrop. One has to be on his guard with this spider, Ribbentrop. Even in ordinary social conversation he tries to trap you. At one time he does it with a short thread, at another with a long one. And before you are aware of it, you have to use all your wits to disentangle yourself. We have now learned our lesson."

At the same time, Oshima told his colleagues in Washington how the German officials boasted "that the Fuehrer would eventually make Mussolini 'Gauleiter fuer Italien'" (district leader for Italy).

There seems to us no reason to doubt that Oshima's utterances have been reported correctly at that time, as one of our informants was a high official in the Washington Embassy and the other, a Japanese journalist of reputation. There, of course, may have been some difference in the wording but surely not in the content of Oshima's statement.

How under these circumstances can Oshima's reappointment be explained? We do not know the answer. But one possible interpretation would be that the Japanese, after the treatment accorded to their Ambassador by Joachim von

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Ribbentrop, decided to play another game. Perhaps the Far Eastern partner of the "triangular combination, Berlin-Rome-Tokio" decided to play the part of the spider instead of the fly. They may have spun the web in Tokio "one long thread, one short one, alternately." The Tripartite Pact of September 27, 1940 was the outcome. By this Pact, as Secretary of State Cordell Hull set forth in his radio address of July 23, 1942, "Germany, Japan, and Italy in effect agreed that if any country not then at war with one of them places obstacles in the way of the program of conquest of any of them, the three would unite in political, military, and economic action against that country." It was this new agreement which forced Germany and Italy to declare war on the United States just at a moment when both countries tried hard to keep the United States neutral. The Japanese war lords were in a position to force, with the treacherous surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the hand of their European treaty partners, while they have refused, at least up to the moment of my writing, to "create a second front in Siberia." Joachim von Ribbentrop's treatment of Hirosho Oshima was evidently not the last word in the matter.

## II

### *Ribbentrop in London*

*With his New Year's wishes for 1936, one of our friends in the Wilhelmstrasse wrote, ". . . When Ribbentrop came back from London to Berlin the first time during his Ambassadorship, a lady complimented him on his unusually healthy appearance. In fact, Joachim had put on weight. 'This is the first time that I have been able to sleep quietly, having reached my goal,' Ribbentrop naively answered."*

RIBBENTROP'S Ambassadorship to the Court of St. James—from October 30th, 1936, till March 14th, 1938, deserves our special attention. This phase of his life illustrates not only better than any other the dangerous vagaries of his disintegrated personality, but also the whole tragic tangle of Anglo-German relations. It would be, however, unfair to lay the blame for Ribbentrop's behavior upon Germany's doorsteps. He is the prize exhibit of what the Nazis think constitutes wisdom on the international stage. In the long line of outstanding Ambassadors who have served Germany in London, Ribbentrop represents complete retrogression. He is the antithesis of how, according to the legitimate *Wilhelmstrasse*, Anglo-German relations should be handled.

When Hoesch was dead and Prince Bismarck *chargé d'affaires* in London, Ribbentrop visited, as we have already related, the Marquess of Londonderry at Mount Stewart Castle in May, 1936. The Marquess had previously called on Hitler and was all astir with the possibility of a lasting Anglo-German rapprochement. Ribbentrop had a delightful time unfolding Hitler's thesis that world peace would be assured, if Germany were to be permitted to settle her destinies on the continent. To make the idea more palatable he added once more that Germany would acquire her *Lebensraum* (living space) by peaceful methods. It is easy to believe that neither Hitler nor Ribbentrop here indulged in hypocrisy. Their plans for "bloodless conquest" were made, and they were eager for Great Britain's blessing.

Lord Londonderry was swift to see Ribbentrop's point, and he was sure that everybody else in England would too, if the idea was put across cleverly. "Why don't you do it yourself?" he asked Joachim. "You would make the ideal Ambassador. You have the Fuehrer's confidence; you know England; nobody likes the Bolshies; and we all want the facts straight."

This was exactly what Ribbentrop wanted to hear from his host. He replied that there would be no sense in sending him to London if the English left somebody like Sir Eric Phipps as Ambassador in Berlin. It was a question of putting the whole problem of Anglo-German relations on a new and more solid basis. The Fuehrer, Ribbentrop candidly told Lord Londonderry, could not stand the looks of Sir Eric and would like nothing more than to see him replaced by a "more modern" diplomat who showed, at least, some understanding and appreciation of the changes which had taken place in Germany. Ribbentrop did not fail to add that the Fuehrer had created a special name for Lady Phipps. He

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called her the *Heilige Betschwester*, meaning—more or less—the “pious sobsisister.” Lady Phipps, it seemed, made a point of paying her devotion to God every morning in Berlin’s St. Hedwig’s Cathedral. In spite of Londonderry’s timid attempts to change the conversation, Ribbentrop would not mitigate his wrath against the dignified Ambassadorial couple in Berlin.

This wasn’t very good politics, for Lady Phipps was Lady Vansittart’s sister, Sir Robert (now Lord) Vansittart being then the all-powerful permanent Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs. When Ribbentrop, on his way home from Mount Stewart Castle, stopped in London and, calling in Downing Street, found nobody to receive him, he had no difficulty in surmising that behind this massive cold shoulder loomed the shadow of the outraged Sir Robert.

The question of who should become Hoesch’s successor in London was eagerly discussed among experts in both England and Germany. Already in June, 1936, we heard in New York, through a letter from Berlin, that the *Wilhelmstrasse* counted on the permanent transfer of the restless outsider, Ribbentrop, to the British capital. They even seemed to rejoice in the fact because, “From now on he will be under control. His social ambitions,” the letter went on, “never fulfilled on German soil, have a better chance in Old England than in Nazi Germany. Constantin (Herr von Neurath) who hates this fellow Ribbentrop like the devil’s grandmother, himself presented Joachim as the *Wilhelmstrasse* candidate, when the Fuehrer expressed the view that something had to be done to fill so important a job and that Herr von Bismarck did not seem to fit into Leopold von Hoesch’s big shoes, not even temporarily. We have reason to believe,” the letter concluded, “that this slandering of Bismarck is the work of Ribbentrop. Maybe the last dress

of Frau von Bismarck outdid the newest creation which Annelies took to London?"

While the *Wilhelmstrasse* thought it clever to advocate Ribbentrop's nomination to London, it displayed so much enthusiasm in doing so that Joachim became suspicious. Neurath would not dangle the London post before his nose with such a winning smile if the honor had not meant that the Fuehrer would have to do without Ribbentrop's inspiring presence and would have to rely more on the loyal foreign minister from Swabia. Ribbentrop's appointment was officially announced on August 11. Months later he was still in Germany, preparing the Anti-Comintern agreement with Japan, conducting Lloyd George to Berchtesgaden, but loath to move the center of his activities too far away from the magnetic Adolf.

The following was written to me about the end of August from a friend in the *Wilhelmstrasse*, ". . . Joachim's official appointment is already a fortnight old, but nobody can tell when he intends to leave for London or if he is going to London at all. His nerves seem to be in bad shape at present. One of our mutual friends told me that Joachim is even acting like a naughty child towards the Fuehrer, insisting on certain demands which look silly to us but for which he surely has his special reasons. The Fuehrer is giving in to some degree, but in many cases he has refused Joachim's wishes. In any case, the Fuehrer is now convinced that the *Buero* should neither be dissolved nor merged with the Foreign Office but should remain in its actual form with a limited personnel in Berlin. Joachim, if he finally decides to move to London, would keep this organization at the Fuehrer's disposal. If decisions for the *Buero* are necessary, there is the long distance telephone, there is the direct wire, there is also the possibility of sending one of Ribbentrop's



pets by airplane to London. And if we are lucky, some of these playboys with their high salaries, their unlimited expense accounts, and their excellent London-made wardrobe, may break their necks on such occasions."

This letter explains Ribbentrop's main occupation in these days. He strained every nerve both to go to London and to retain his very special position with the Fuehrer. Normally, and if Neurath would have had his way, the ambitious Joachim would have been pigeonholed at last. He was no longer "Ambassador at Large"—an ambiguous thing, a high sounding potentiality depending for effectiveness on nothing but the Fuehrer's whims. An Ambassador's functions, Herr von Neurath argued, are rigidly marked. He gets his instructions from the Foreign Office, in fact from the Foreign Minister. His salary and his expenses are paid out of the budget of the Foreign Office. Therefore, his reports have to be directed to the Foreign Office.

When von Neurath found an occasion to make this point of view clear to the Fuehrer, he found to his own surprise his whimsical boss sympathetic. But at the same time he also learned that Joachim was by no means inclined to receive his orders from the Foreign Minister or the Foreign Office. Neurath was also told by Hitler that Ribbentrop was expecting to get his appointment with a title which would show the world that he was sent to London as a special super-appointee of the Fuehrer, a title beautiful enough to indicate, in Hitler's own words, that "Ribbentrop was better than his brethren."

There was a precedent for this. Franz von Papen had temporarily held the legation in Vienna with the title of "Special Ambassador of the Fuehrer." But Herr von Neurath, in his discussion with Hitler, declared that such procedure was an impossibility in London at the Court of St. James

with its traditions and its formalities. Such a title as "Special Ambassador" could only be arranged, if at all, through lengthy discussions with the competent British authorities. Yes, if Great Britain and Germany had been partners in an alliance for a number of years, if the people of the two countries had lived in long-standing friendship, a mutual agreement to raise the ranks of their respective diplomatic representatives would be at least a possibility. But under the prevailing circumstances?

The discussions about von Ribbentrop's rank and title as Ambassador in London went on. Hitler seemed occasionally to agree with Neurath's viewpoint, but Ribbentrop was absolutely stubborn in his demands. At last he announced his real concern. He would stay in Berlin, a diplomatic technician would be named Ambassador, and he would handle future conversations in London as before on the basis of the Fuehrer's program. Neurath hastily agreed to a compromise. Of course, it was not possible to create the post of a "Special Ambassador of the Fuehrer," but if Herr von Ribbentrop kept his rank and title of "Ambassador at Large" by orders of the Fuehrer, it would not interfere with diplomatic usage. Naturally, in London, Herr von Ribbentrop would be the "Ambassador to the Court of St. James" and nothing else. But it was a matter of custom that the Fuehrer could call Herr von Ribbentrop for consultation to Berlin whenever he thought it would serve a purpose. And an experienced, reliable, Ambassadorial substitute, a kind of permanent *chargé d'affaires* with the necessary experience in the manifold problems and technicalities connected with a mission of the magnitude of the London Embassy would be appointed for the "routine" job.

So after all, neither Neurath nor Ribbentrop's enemies in the party, like Goering and Goebbels, succeeded in disposing

of the problem child. Their bickering had only resulted in Ribbentrop spreading his influence all over Europe without even leaving Berlin.

Ribbentrop had ideas on how the very special specimen of arch-confident whom he embodied should make his *entrée joyeuse* into London. He also had ideas on how he should parade himself on the shores of the Thames. These ideas cost the Reich a lot of money at a time when men who dared to change a mark into an equivalent in foreign currency, or only had a few cents of foreign currency, without telling the authorities about it, vanished for many years behind the grey walls of a penitentiary or lost their heads. But Ribbentrop found no difficulties in transporting himself and his entourage of one hundred and twenty stooges to London. Nor did he lack funds with which to maintain them there in pomp and with salaries and daily allowances far surpassing the pay of the regular Foreign Office officials.

At the end of each month, each of the regular officials was paid a certain amount in cash without any receipt or book-keeping, just to equalize his income with that of the SS. men who had gone to London with Ribbentrop. The money came out of the apparently unlimited and uncontrolled fund for "expenses in secret matter" (*Geheime Ausgaben*) which was kept in the Embassy and for which Ribbentrop, himself, and an elderly official in his trust had the keys. This secret fund was part of the *Sonderfonds des Fuehrers* (special fund of the Fuehrer) and was replenished with cash flown by plane from Amsterdam where German marks always found a ready market, even for large amounts. The transactions for the "secret fund" and "special fund" caused the many rumors according to which leading Nazis had sidetracked large sums abroad in order to accumulate a nest egg for darker days to come. This does not exclude the possibility

that individual party heads may have used the opportunity for their personal advantage. Still, not a single case of any importance has yet been proven, at least not in Amsterdam.

In recent years the world has become accustomed to Nazi embassies and legations suddenly swelling to abnormal proportions through the addition of whole gangs of plug-uglies smuggled in under cover of diplomatic immunity and for whose presence even the harassed experts of the *Wilhelmstrasse* found no valid excuse. In these cases, the diplomatic representation of the Third Reich served as a convenient bridgehead for the invasion of the respective country—it assumed the function of the Trojan Horse. When the horse started to develop a fit of elephantiasis everybody knew that conquest was not far off. But when Ribbentrop came to London his program was really and truly good will, nothing but good will. Why he considered it necessary to transform the distinguished German Embassy at Carlton House Terrace into an armed camp is one of the mysteries of his complex psychology.

Nobody liked war in England. The chief objection England had against the Nazis was their worship of war. Ribbentrop, by making his peaceful residence in peaceful London bristle with martial figures, acted like the murderer who, after much shilly-shallying and dodging the issue, suddenly thunders, "Yes, you hypocrites, I am a murderer, and I am proud of it," winning even applause by it.

Truculent Joachim hadn't the faintest idea of what to do with his SS. men. Two had been planted, one hand on dagger and the other on revolver, in front of his study. They were called the *Stallwache* (stable guard) and did not like it. Some were utilized as night watchmen, footmen, messengers, and spies. There were others who had been promised a good time, who expected at least to become generals, and

now Annelies put them to scrubbing the spacious floors of the remodeled Embassy, to polishing door handles, and to washing dishes. It was disappointing. One day their *Rottenfuehrer* (group leader), a certain Scharchewski, got dead drunk in his despair. Finally he landed in one of the easy chairs at the entrance of the suite of reception rooms. Unfortunately for him he snored vociferously. Annelies woke him rather suddenly with a few remarks which were calculated to bring him back to earth. The group leader refused, however, to sober up. He definitely forgot his SS. training in this emergency. More horrible still, he forgot the respect due his boss' lawful wife. Not only did he decline to obey, he also spoke his mind. He told Frau von Ribbentrop what he thought of her, of her husband, and of the "brats." He shouted his opinions of the waste of money going on in the family. This was surely not in harmony with the Fuehrer's principle of *Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigenmutz* (the general good comes before personal good). Warming up to his subject, he proceeded to call Annelies names which she most certainly had not heard in her whole life. He ended with a famous, if slightly obscene, quotation from Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*. Joachim, far from pleased, ordered some of the group leader's own subordinates to transport the delinquent to a spare room on the fifth floor of the Embassy building. He put an armed guard at the door. Next, the excited Ambassador called up his friend and the supreme SS. chief, Heinrich Himmler, in Berlin. The next morning, poor Scharschewski was dispatched, under heavy guard, and in Ribbentrop's personal airplane, to Berlin. Some mailbags and a large package of sandwiches were the only other cargo. What finally happened to Scharschewski has not become known even to the Embassy staff.

While the SS. men perished of boredom and pined for

the more exciting business in which their colleagues in Germany were engaged in the concentration camps of Dachau and Oranienburg, there wasn't very much for the innumerable *Buero* stooges to do either. They had never learned to do a stroke of normal, solid work. It is one of the few instances when one of the more extravagant stories from the *Arabian Nights* becomes true. The loafers were paid for their loafing with good substantial pound notes which the Reichsbank in Berlin had to sacrifice with many heart-rending sobs. But, Ribbentrop would say, they are loafing methodically and with charm.

He would organize everything—even an anti-Bolshevik crusade or, if necessary, a pro-Bolshevik crusade. His phalanx of charmers would swarm out every morning under his benign eyes, running about town, dining, and wining, "contacting" prospective fans for the Third Reich, proselytizing or, if this was wanted, spreading calumnies.

Ribbentrop, as we know, suffered from the delusion that the socialistic experiment of his underprivileged Fuehrer needed blasé London society as a kind of fairy godmother. Baron Adolf Steengracht, one of the "early Nazis," the so-called *Alte Kaempfer*, was attached to the Embassy staff because he and his beautiful wife Illemie, née von Hahn, claimed to have "excellent connections in London's upper crust." Austrian Rudolph Spitzky was another member of the entourage. He startled his colleagues by calmly announcing that the moment the Nazis marched into his home country, his father, an international authority on orthopedy who had thus far hesitated to embrace the Nazi creed, would be dangled from a lamp post.

The few regular *Wilhelmstrasse* officials who still labored in the labyrinthine offices of Carlton House Terrace were swamped with clerical work and hopelessly outnumbered.

## RIBBENTROP IN LONDON

The "Ambassadorial substitute" who was supposed to keep the ball rolling while Ribbentrop cooled his heels in Hitler's antechamber in Berlin, was Ernst Woermann, whom we have already discussed in connection with the League of Nation proceedings in London after the Rhineland affair. This freakish yes-man and bachelor, well versed in the drafting of impersonal juridical *quid pro quos* and of chilly Machiavellian innuendoes, enjoyed the liberty of investing his salary, comfortably boosted with Ribbentrop's advent, in undiluted Scotch whisky.

Among Joachim's other advisers were tall, redhaired Doernberg (whom we have already mentioned) related through his mother to the Battenbergs and therefore offering Ribbentrop a good jumping off point into court circles, and Erich Kordt, now Minister in Berne. Kordt was Joachim's cleverest adviser.

Joachim accompanied Lloyd George on his famous visit to Berchtesgaden during the early days of September, and about this time a friend in the *Wilhelmstrasse* wrote to us about the "political outlook." Here are his words: "Without doubt the Fuehrer attaches great hopes to Joachim's mission to London. It must not be easy for Hitler to fix a kind of definite program with this queer fellow (Ribbentrop), but the discussions are going on and on. Not one of our old *England Kenner* (experts in English affairs) has been consulted. Only occasionally we can judge by the character of the memoranda which the Foreign Office still seems entitled to prepare, what is going on and what questions are under discussion. The Fuehrer is most of the time in Berchtesgaden, has his personal staff with him, and most of the minutes and documents are requested over the direct wire. There are three groups of problems which seem to have crystallized: the problem of the return of the mandated colonies to Ger-

many; how to intensify the relations between the war veterans through their organizations on both sides; how to extend cultural relations. On the latter subject even our own Department VI (*Kultur-Abteilung*) is now getting busy and if everything is working out all right one may see some fireworks in the form of music, exchange students, lecturers, etc. on both sides, the British as well as the German. Even the pet project of the late Hoesch (Ambassador Leopold von Hoesch), the exchange of guest performances of the Dresden Opera and the London Philharmonics, has been dusted up and surely will be carried out. And if it is a real success, you can be sure that London and the British provinces will get to hear more German music than they are possibly able to swallow. The exchange visits of war veterans are handled solely by the *Buero*, and we are only surprised that the *Buero* did not also monopolize the whole of the cultural program, in which Ribbentrop—we call him here the ‘first violin’—takes a great personal interest.”

Upon Joachim’s arrival in London he made a statement of a fundamental nature. He said, “Germany wants the friendship of Great Britain, and I think the British people want German friendship.” Then he barked, “The Fuehrer is convinced that the only real danger for Europe and the British Empire is the further spread of communism, the most terrible of all diseases, terrible because the people only realize the danger when it is too late. Closer collaboration between our two countries in this sense is not only important, but in my opinion is a vital necessity in our common struggle for upholding our civilization and cultures. I am only too willing to do everything I can to help.”



## RIBBENTROP IN LONDON

It is undeniable that this dramatic statement, which earned Joachim the nickname, "Brickendrop," has the merit of opening the eyes of interested observers as to what the real issue behind the whole venture was. *Charmeurs*, veterans, music, even the nuisance value of colonies were but used as a screen behind which the alignment of Great Britain on the side of Hitler against Moscow was the real thing. If Ribbentrop could have achieved this main condition, all the hectic motions he went through, his one hundred and twenty henchmen and SS. men, his three million mark remodeling of the Embassy, his airplanes buzzing madly to and fro between Albion and the continent, all this would have been justified. And make no mistake, but for Ribbentrop's inadequacy and the inherent blood thirsty morbidity of the whole Hitler system, this alignment of England in a common front against Bolshevism seemed a definite possibility even to politicians less blind than the Nazis. The very people who were in power in England were in power largely because of the notorious fraud called the Zinovjev letter. Not that the fraud was the remarkable thing, but that the well-timed conjuring up of the Bolshevist bogey man had been enough to put the largest conservative majority in history into the British parliament.

Lord Londonderry (Charlie to Joachim) and his friends belonged without reservation to the legendary Cliveden set. Here were Joachim's intimates. It was the kind of world he cherished, the world which he had always wanted to frequent—rich, substantial men, members of the best clubs, accustomed to traditional deference from the lower orders. Ribbentrop found pro-German sentiment in high places in England and he considered it his biggest asset when coming to London. To expand it, to make it overwhelming until Hitler had the backing of the British Empire in every and

each of his future violent moves towards the East, this was the only real object of Ribbentrop's mission. His little speech at Victoria Station, of which mimeographed copies were presented to the assembled journalists, was a *ballon d'essai*. As it happened, it was also, very much to Ribbentrop's surprise, a blunder. That communists and leftists would protest, he had of course expected. Such protest, he felt, would be helpful. But much to his amazement, respectable papers were critical too, and about a week later, November 4, 1936, no less a man than Sir Austen Chamberlain published a weighty remonstrance in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Britannia's hallowed insularity asserted itself in the person of Sir Austen whose solemnity always reminded frightened Continentals of Phineas Fogg, the man who circled the world in eighty days without ever showing a trace of that pardonable excitement which unfamiliar surroundings ordinarily bring with them. Sir Austen in this instance was, however, excited. "If our friendship is to be sought," he wrote, "let it be for its own sake. Common sympathies, common interests, and a common purpose are a more stable and a healthier foundation for friendship than prejudice and passion . . . (Communism) is as alien to our tradition and as incompatible with our institutions as Nazism itself. The encirclement of Russia has as little attraction for us as the encirclement of Germany. The verbal contests of Nazi and Bolshevik are not worth the bones of a British Grenadier."

The parallelism Sir Austen drew between the Nazi and Soviet system was one of the things the Nazis most resented. They had devoted a whole party congress at Nuremberg in 1935 to the sole task of showing the world the fundamental and enormous difference between their melodramatic enterprise and what they called Marxist crimes. Nobody will deny that there is a basic difference—Nazism is inspired by lower

middle class ideology and Communism by proletarian ideology. One has German peculiarities and the other, despite its official internationalism, Russian peculiarities. But Sir Austen, unmoved, chose to announce that to England it did not matter whether the "wave of the future" rolled on the shore of history in red or in brown tints. England had no liking for either.

But worse was still to come. Sir Austen, in the same article, took exception to the fact that Ribbentrop's mission of friendship—against which he was far from objecting—was accompanied by unfriendly noises in Berlin. Out of the blue sky Goering had once again sounded, at the very time Ribbentrop started his appeasement campaign in London, that threadbare battle cry, "Gott strafe England!"

"Through countless loudspeakers," Sir Austen wrote disapprovingly, "and from every broadcasting station in Germany he proclaimed to a listening nation which never will be allowed to hear the other side that all these privations, all these sacrifices are required of the German people only because their colonies were stolen from them after an 'unfortunate' war, and their gold stolen from them by an unjust peace . . . And, lest we should think this outburst an accident, Dr. Goebbels, unwilling to be left behind, announced two days later that Germany 'will of course take up the fight of our colonies.'"

*Which Is Germany's Authentic Voice?* Sir Austen named his article.

Ribbentrop's great mistake was in thinking that a few exclamations from "disgruntled plutocrats" were "the voice of the people." But even where these plutocrats were concerned, they were never quite as enchanted with Herr Ribbentrop's social talents as he made his Fuehrer believe. It is true that they crowded the "Grand Central Station" (*Frank-*

## THIS MAN RIBBENTROP

*furter Hauptbahnhof*) as the legitimate *Wilhelmstrasse* called Joachim's remodeled Embassy, but they crowded the Soviet Embassy too. Joachim's Embassy was most elaborate. For six months, day and night, one hundred imported model specimens of the "reborn German workman" or "work-slaves," according to the interpretation, hustled and bustled frantically in Carlton House Terrace, linking, inwardly at least, No. 9, the original Embassy, with No. 8 and No. 7, the latter formerly the town house of the Dukes of Marlborough. Little wonder then that people were interested in seeing the results, especially as this remodeling of historic mansions in one of the most prominent sections of London had aroused heated comments on the part of Englishmen who trembled for the preservation of local color. If Ribbentrop had had his way he would have erected in the heart of the British Empire a *Fuehrerhaus*, one of those glorified barracks enlivened by huge swastikas which resembled a behaviorist definition of love—all the symptoms and no heart to it.

This horror was luckily averted through the protest of British authorities, so Ribbentrop had to concentrate on the interior. *Carlton House Terrace 9, SW 1*, was a structure with a definite regency atmosphere. It was a mansion of memories replete with whispering galleries and shadowy corners, irreverently called rat holes by Embassy officials. It echoed a long century of life in London at its most distinguished. Of this priceless relic, Ribbentrop contrived to make a gymnasium for SS. men, a *Fuehrerschule*, an academy for the propagation of Wotan.

On March 30, 1937, the *Daily Telegraph* showed Herr von Ribbentrop amidst the disheartening surroundings which he and Herr Speer, the party architect, had thought fitting for export to the Thames. For a long time, as one looks, one

does not see anything, and then one sees too much, because each object, unrelated to the next, hopelessly isolated in the vacuum called "spirit of the Third Reich," sticks out grimly and accusingly as if to make sure that it is not overlooked.

There was not one good picture in all the official "eight very large, and two slightly smaller drawing rooms, ball-rooms, and other reception rooms" which Ribbentrop created in his three houses in order to be able to entertain at least a thousand people at a time. Oh, yes, there were good pictures—a Lucas Cranach, *Lucrezia* sticking a suicidal dagger into her somewhat wooden breast, and a touchingly pious Madonna by Fra Angelico—the latter Annelies' property.

Frau von Ribbentrop took care to surround this treasure with secret devices—the Embassy was simply punctured by such secret devices. The offices of the staff were lavishly provided with contraptions which recorded the remarks of the officials or permitted the Gestapo agent, sitting in the attic, to listen in. The Fra Angelico had the uncomfortable habit of sounding an excruciating alarm every time it was touched, which happened for instance when a servant was dusting its frame. "Fra Angelico in distress," said the officials when anguished signals filled the building. The noise went on and on indefinitely if Annelies Ribbentrop, who was the only one who had a key to stop it, happened to be away.

But taste or no taste, if you pay three million marks for your reception rooms, you can always get people to fill them in quantities. Ribbentrop did more than expend three million marks. For his more spectacular receptions, especially for a superlative rout during the coronation days of 1937, he ordered airplanes from Berlin. These carried tents, more footmen, more SS. men, beauties, celebrities, and the best dance band in Germany, whose claim to fame was that it managed to avoid "un-German" jazz and swing without

being dull. And best of all, through the air came sailing Herr Horcher, himself, the Brillat-Savarin of Berlin, leading the battalions of his gastronomic specialties, all the pheasants, ortolans, trouts, capons, lobsters, truffles, and caviar in the world with which he was to feed and to conquer the British lion.

Two thousand people came to Ribbentrop's coronation reception. The once dignified Embassy was reminiscent of the amusement park of a World's Fair, but the quality of his festivity did not bother Joachim at all. He enjoyed the dearly bought popularity of his establishment. He had assigned to every Embassy official four of the more prominent guests, so that they might not get lost in the riot or feel neglected. But he had assigned Herr Woermann exclusively to Mr. Ormsby Gore, the colonial secretary, because, he said naively but earnestly, "A junior would not do for Mr. Ormsby Gore; after all, we want our colonies back, don't we?"

The idea of obtaining colonies as well as the friendship of Great Britain merely by opening innumerable cases of *Henkell Trocken* was one of Ribbentrop's great mistakes. There were many people in London who did not like the Bolsheviki and there were many who liked Joachim's champagne—but as a platform for a new trend in world politics this was not enough as long as Hitler relentlessly perfected his technique of exterminating liberty wholesale at home. Nor did Ribbentrop get on as well with the inner circle of the Cliveden set, and he never was, contrary to rumor, an intimate of Mrs. Simpson who found his bunches of roses rather uncalled for.

One day, when he visited Lord Derby in the country, as usual with an entourage of uninvited SS. men, he was chastised by the formidable Earl as if he were a schoolboy. Another time, during a dinner party, Lady Astor called over

the table to Ribbentrop, "Aren't you a damned bad Ambassador?" On inquiring why, he was told, "Because you have no sense of humor." Joachim replied, "You should see me telling jokes to Hitler and how we both roar with laughter." It wasn't such a bad answer, but the story shows that the mistress of Cliveden was not blind to Ribbentrop's shortcomings. Nobody in London was quite as blind as Ribbentrop had expected.

About the colonial question—it was one of those things in which Hitler was not originally interested. It was with great difficulty that men like Schacht, not a Nazi but an old-fashioned imperialist at heart, convinced Hitler that colonies were worth clamoring for. Ribbentrop also appreciated the importance of colonies. He appreciated them as objects for bargaining and as offering occasions for righteous indignation and he also was deluded into thinking that they could actually be had. It is quite true that in England and America the restitution of the former German colonies was seriously discussed, at least among laymen. Around 1937 one could frequently hear, in America, sentiments to the effect that the return of the colonies would perhaps settle all the unrest. As if a few inhospitable regions at the world's end could ever have induced Hitler to stop coveting the huge trophies which lay at his doorstep. Nevertheless, if the strong sentiment in America and England in favor of the restitution would have actually made Germany lord of some dark empire, it would have looked like a new triumph for Nazi methods. And if the deal would have been made through Ribbentrop, the stature of Hitler's pocket-Bismarck would have grown immensely.

In this connection we received the following information from a friend in Berlin: "Our friend Joachim seems to have reserved the colonies for himself. His move has brought him

several new friends, but a greater number of new enemies. One of the new friends seems to be Dr. Schacht, who always—and often in vain—has tried to turn the Fuehrer's attention to the importance of the colonial problem and surely was behind the discussions the Fuehrer held recently with all sorts of experts. Others are some of the high officials of the *Kolonialamt* (the former Ministry for Colonies) especially the governors, each of whom would love to return to their previous activities, high salaries, and sovereign lives. Among the new enemies, General von Epp seems to be the most aggressive, as he had believed that nobody but himself should be in charge of Germany's colonial aspirations and now has to acknowledge that Ribbentrop has cheated him in this desire. It was Joachim who induced the Fuehrer to dissolve Epp's Colonial League. It was Joachim again who arranged that the national convention for the return of the colonies was postponed indefinitely. It means that all colonial propaganda is to be reduced to a minimum in the hope that Ribbentrop's 'influential friends' in Great Britain will muster enough courage to engineer some kind of new accord. But the Epp group and some other influential factions in the party are opposed to Ribbentrop's action. They do not believe that he will succeed, they want to keep the direction in colonial matters in their own hands. Some fireworks within the party may be the upshot of it all. But who can predict anything definite in our time. It all depends whether the Fuehrer's decision was a final one or whether he changes his mind again in this matter."

Ribbentrop's politics in this case consisted, therefore, in letting the colonial problem ripen in the pale sun of England's bad conscience until the fruits in the shape of diverse deserts and trading posts would fall into the lap of the expectant German people. Neither patience nor good psy-



chology was usually a strong point with Ribbentrop, but here he followed the express advice of his English friends who pointed out that shrill colonial demands on the part of the Nazis would hopelessly counteract the slow erosive effect of England's newly acquired meekness. Lord Londonderry was foremost among his advisers. At Mount Stewart Castle the Lord had told his guest that the transaction would not be easy. The colonies were mandated. Great Britain could not deal with them as if she owned them. The complicated machinery of the League of Nations was involved. The English people on the whole would welcome an equitable settlement, however, if the Nazis would not spoil everything by embarking upon one of their favorite screaming sprees.

We have seen what Joachim did in order to comply with Lord Londonderry's suggestions. But we have also seen what the Nazis did the moment Joachim arrived in London and how sourly Sir Austen reacted. Goering's and Goebbels' tirades about stolen colonies, supplemented by lusty speeches on the part of minor Nazis were, at that time, more calculated to create difficulties for Ribbentrop than to sabotage England's policy of appeasement.

Joachim furiously bombarded the Fuehrer with protests from London over the extra special telephone line. Hitler, after some hesitation, clamped down on Goering, Goebbels, and Epp although less consequential party officials were still permitted to accuse perfidious Albion and to a lesser degree France, but never Japan, for having helped themselves to Germany's oversea possessions. Ribbentrop and not the party inside Germany, so Hitler concluded, should become the mouthpiece in this matter.

It was decided, therefore, that the "mission of friendship" should begin with a public declaration, by the new envoy,

relating how Germany really felt about colonies. Ribbentrop is a hopeless speaker, and he knows it, but he could not avoid making this speech. He chose the *Anglo-German Fellowship* as a suitable environment for his pronunciamento, and he fixed the date for December 12. It was his first public appearance in London since his ill-fated performance at Victoria Station. The text of his speech, which he read word for word, was carefully planned in conjunction with Hitler, and not very much went amiss this time, though nothing very much was gained either.

The *Anglo-German Fellowship* was a rather glamorous undertaking destined to foster the friendship between England and Germany. In the spirit of the great Cecil Rhodes who intended to make fashionable, with the foundation of the Rhodes scholarships, a policy of cultural fraternization between the Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany, this fellowship gathered prominent Englishmen and Germans who exchanged good-humored compliments with each other. President of the fellowship on the German side was the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, born and raised in England as Duke of Albany, who, though speaking German with an English accent, identified himself one hundred per cent with Hitler's pan-German frenzy. President on the English side was Lord Mount Temple, son-in-law of Sir Ernest Cassel, famous plutocratic friend of King Edward VII, and father-in-law of Lord Louis Mountbatten, of the Commandos. Ribbentrop tried to exercise his, according to Lady Astor, sadly undeveloped sense of humor at the expense of the fellowship's British president by declaring that this temple should not be destroyed in spite of the Jewish wife because its usefulness was not yet exhausted. Lord Mount Temple was useful indeed in lending his good name to the activities of Ribbentrop's glorified Fifth Column in Great Britain.

## RIBBENTROP IN LONDON

Ribbentrop's audience on December 12 included, aside from Lord Mount Temple, Lord Londonderry (recognized leader of pro-German opinion in Britain); Lord Redesdale, father of Unity Mitford; Lord Lothian, later Ambassador in Washington; the Duke of Wellington; Lord Rennell, former Ambassador to Rome; Sir Arnold Wilson, principal adviser of Neville Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden and Munich who, after the outbreak of the war, was one of the first flyers of the British Air Force to lose his life over Germany; Sir Henry E. Brittain; Lord Davies (pacifist); Major General Hutchinson, chairman of the National Liberal organization; Lord Motistone; Sir Frank Newness; and many others, altogether between six hundred and seven hundred guests. All these friends of Anglo-German understanding had one thing in common: the desire to avert a new armed clash with Germany, whatever the cost. These people may have meant well, but they forgot that, when they said Germany, which is a good thing, they meant in reality Nazi, which is a bad thing. They gave Ribbentrop, and through him Hitler, the impression that England would not fight under any circumstances, that nothing the Nazis could do would ever ruffle British complacency. There is a certain resemblance between this group, jokingly called the "Heil Hitler gang," and the American isolationists of pre-Pearl Harbor days.

Ribbentrop, in his speech, asserted that Germany did not want to go in for absolute self-sufficiency. Germany wants, he explained, to be once again a nation able to pursue her daily work without being constantly preoccupied with cares due to lack of the necessities of life. But, he added, "the Fuehrer realizes that the possession of colonies is necessary for a proper supply with raw materials, and for improving the standard of his people through trade expansion. The only

solution of world difficulties is an adjustment between the haves and the have not nations.”

After indulging in the “destructive doctrine of the Third International” and the “shackles of the Versailles Treaty,” Joachim closed with an appeal to the people of Great Britain. “England and Germany,” he said, “have had only one conflict in their long history of friendly relations, and this was a terrible and tragic mistake which must never be repeated. There is to be no winner in the long run. We all know today that another conflict between our two great nations—another universal World War—would mean the unavoidable victory of world revolution and Bolshevism and the destruction of everything dear to us for generations.”

He made it clear at the same time, however, that “Germany, having once again entered the ring of big powers in **this** world and having got accustomed to stand on her own feet, will never allow anybody to menace the security of her people.”

In spite of the fact that the whole audience consisted of adherents of pro-German policy, Ribbentrop’s lecture did not make a strong impression. But the comments were not unfriendly either. In answering, Lord Londonderry suggested “that the world leaders should meet to determine a program of peace.” The main point was that Russia was expressly omitted from any “program of peace” which the *Anglo-German Fellowship* would care to hatch out.

While Ribbentrop succeeded neither with patience nor with eloquence in giving the colonial problem a more propitious twist from the German point of view, he scored successes in a field where he was more at home: Civil War. I allude, of course, to the Spanish Civil War and to the ill-famed Non-Intervention Committee in London.

Every Nazi, whether elegant Joachim or a street sweeper,

is at once electrified when the atmosphere ceases to be academic and the witches sabbath of a totalitarian riot with its bloodthirsty rhetoric and murderous consummation becomes the order of the day. Even World War II can only be seen by Nazis in terms normally applied to internal revolutions because otherwise it would lack flavor. The repetition of strictly patriotic gestures *à la* William II has no appeal for Nazis. The moment, however, an event takes on the color of a program, the Nazi feels his hour has come, and he throws himself into the chase with the tragi-comic zeal of a bull running after a red rag. In order to make World War II worthwhile for the Nazi imagination, Dr. Goebbels inevitably had to grace President Roosevelt with a Jewish ancestress who allegedly was sowing her wild oats somewhere during the seventeenth century.

The Spanish Civil War was the sort of catastrophe in which the Nazis had to involve themselves. The idea that the participation in the Iberian conflict was occasioned by geopolitical considerations of some profundity is only an afterthought. To intervene where the punishment of liberals is concerned is to Nazis a matter of principle.

Ribbentrop rejoiced at the Spanish debacle. What to the world was a tragedy, to him was a big chance. By helping Franco, he became the champion of that England he cared for and considered alone worth the attention of the Nazi revolution, the England of vested interests, big names, and timid souls. Here we have paradox. The Ambassador of the Reich, which proclaimed itself as having launched the most radical revolution of our time, paraded gleefully hand in hand with the Duke of Alba in front of politely applauding English Tories. The Catholic Church, pillorized by the Nazis in Germany as a haven for fraud and superstition, was saved in London by Joachim von Ribbentrop. Capitalism, which on

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the continent was the gilded fortress of "knaves" against which the waves of the German revolution thundered, was in London in Ribbentrop's interpretation the palladium every decent man should defend against the Reds. But the irony of the situation is summed up in the fact that this same Ribbentrop backed up by nearly all of his colleagues, roared defiance at Ivan Maisky in the Non-Intervention Committee. Maisky also played a little non-intervention in Spain, and two years later saw him in Moscow reporting to his superiors on what the situation was and why it had not turned out better.

At the time of the Spanish War Ribbentrop's artifices still had, however, wide currency among the people who counted. We may venture to say that at no time in his whole career, both earlier and later, was Ribbentrop in a happier position than when he slew the dragon of leftism in the Non-Intervention Committee in London. There he plotted death and destruction with his Italian colleague, Dino Grandi, and yet he was always in the company of respectable people. Once more we witness the important psychological phenomenon of Nazis becoming revolutionary in order to become respectable. They were gangsters with a sentimental longing for conformity. Ribbentrop's goal was to throw off the wild man's attire and to pretend that his job of cleansing the earth of unworthy subhuman cohabitants was done, or almost done, and that now he had no objection to the enjoyment of a well-earned rest hobnobbing with the cream of the human species.

In the Non-Intervention Committee, Ribbentrop was part of a common front with all the right people. Lord Plymouth sat in the chair smiling indulgently at his little slips in democratic procedure, while Maisky, in far from splendid isolation, was made the whipping boy for all the outrages the

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Reds had undeniably perpetrated against the established order since 1917. The joke was, to say it again, that Ribbentrop, who was theoretically just as much against the established order as the Reds, hugely enjoyed wearing the robe of legality with which he cloaked the illegal acts of the Nazis in Spain. Legality, that was another aspect of respectability which the Nazis craved. Hitler insisted that he had come to power "legally," that he had abolished the constitution, murdered his best friends on June 30, 1934, and smashed the Locarno Pact "legally." Everything was very "legal" about German intervention in Spain too. The Non-Intervention Committee usually did not notice any infringements, and if it did, Ribbentrop insisted on a minute investigation, in the best League of Nations manner, with the result that the poor sub-committee entrusted with the job got caught in an avalanche of so many facts that it found it more expedient to adjourn sooner than raise its voice in unpopular protests.

Thus Ribbentrop successfully applied the machine liberal countries had created in order to annihilate liberalism in Spain.

A few minor touches will round out this account of Ribbentrop's activities in London. Ribbentrop, as everybody knows, caused a considerable stir when breaking through the hallowed Court ceremonial on the occasion of his first solemn audience with the King on February 5, 1937, by shouting not "Heil George," which would have been unusual but at least understandable, but his battle cry "Heil Hitler!" He was supposed to present his credentials to the Sovereign who looked forward to the ceremony with the polite boredom natural to a man for whom ceremonies are not a novel experience. Anthony Eden and the Vice Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps, Sir John Berkeley Monck, accom-

panied Joachim who in conformity with the protocol should have approached the King with the three bows which would automatically have brought him to a standstill a few steps from the Royal presence. But Joachim, once in the audience room, smartly outdistanced his horrified escort and was next seen waving his hand for no apparent reason almost less than two inches under the King's nose, hailing Hitler lustily.

This demonstration of Nazi independence in the face of the British monarch Ribbentrop ordered widely publicized in German newspapers. Somehow his uncompromising gesture seemed to him a good example of that full-blooded Nazi diplomacy by which he desired to replace the decadent "correctness" of the Weimar republic. The English press was not so sanguine about it, and published a caricature showing the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin menacing Hitler's nose with a clenched fist. This was captioned, "If everybody wants to greet his own way." Another paper remembered that in the days of old Queen Victoria one of the despots straight out of the African kraal was received by Her Majesty and showed his appreciation by knocking his head three times against the floor. But undaunted by these parallels, Ribbentrop, five days later at a *levée*, this time surrounded by the breathless attention of the whole distinguished gathering, started his antics all over again, omitting, however, at the insistence of Downing Street, the unsolicited but stentorian evocation of his tribal chief in Berlin. Even parliament showed an interest in the Nazi Ambassador's unusual bearing, and a member suggested that the British Ambassador in Berlin should roar *Rule Britannia* every time he met the Fuehrer.

Unexpectedly, Hitler himself, caused Ribbentrop to cease this novel line of approach to England's heart. An English friend had written to Neurath in Berlin that it would be a



good thing if Joachim behaved in some more normal fashion. Neurath rushed to the Fuehrer with a scholarly exposé drafted by the then *Chef du Protocol*, Vicco von Buelow-Schwante, and carried the day. Joachim had to give up his peculiar greeting when conversing officially with the King, but he felt bitter about it, and Buelow-Schwante had to pay, when the time was ripe, with his job.

The story of Ribbentrop's salutation was not forgotten by London, and when Westminster Abbey was filled with guests for the coronation ceremony, the pages were instructed to help those persons who raised their hands to the well-concealed comfort stations. It was expressly added, however, that if His Excellency the German Ambassador should raise his hand, this would not necessarily imply an unconquerable urge on his part.

Ribbentrop insisted on writing all of his diplomatic communications, invitations, and answers in German. In return, dispatches in Russian, Siamese, Chinese and Arabian script poured into the German Embassy and reminded the wondering Ambassador that patriotism does not always facilitate international intercourse.

It was easier to be patriotic with regard to the Germans who lived in England, the so-called German colony. There is not a diplomatic service in the world which is not well acquainted with the countless troubles inevitably cropping up in the relationship between an Embassy or Legation and the respective "colony." Ribbentrop whipped the colony into the Nazi line with an iron rod. Those who refused to obey orders were traitors, and that was not a joke where Nazis were concerned as long as you had relatives or interests in the Fatherland. Certain German associations of liberal or monarchistic leanings were boycotted and died out. The thousands of *fräuleins* and chambermaids who formed the

bulk of the German population in England were organized by Otto Karlowa. He had been a captain in the German navy under the Kaiser (later he was killed in Norway in 1940 in naval action). In England he organized these compatriots into a vast spy ring. The countless reports these improvised Mata Haris sent to the Embassy seemed to prove conclusively to Ribbentrop that England's chief concern was to put her noble head in the sand and to hope that this popular manoeuvre would induce Russia to vanish from the earth.

For their loyal exertions the "colony" was rewarded by the sort of "strength through joy" entertainments for which the Nazis had become famous. One of these celebrations, the harvest festival rally, offered Joachim an occasion to appear for the first time as the Fuehrer's resplendent messenger before thousands of sons and daughters of the master race. In such moments he thought it his duty to bridge the social gulf he was usually so concerned about. He became energetically paternal with the workmen who transformed the Embassy into a winter garden. Whenever one of these athletes received news that the wife back home had added to Hitler's legions by giving birth to a son, he would announce the happy event to the Ambassador, asking at the same time for the privilege of naming the promising offspring Joachim. This clever move earned him three hundred marks. Seven little Joachims were born during the six months the workmen labored in London.

The almost demoniac power the Nazi organization exercised over German nationals all over the world made it easy for Ribbentrop to sweep from his path almost any semblance of resistance. The Anglo-German Academic Bureau was successfully deliberalized by dismissal of the secretary, Dr. Deissmann, and his assistant, Baroness Tresckow. Other Ger-

man-English associations which did not fall in line, like the D'Abernon Club and the German-English Comradeship, were drowned in Joachim's deluge of Nazification. There was only the German Hospital in London which carried on its humanitarian work as usual in spite of the big bad wolf which howled threateningly from Carlton House Terrace. Baron Bruno Schroeder, whose family, originally from Hamburg, had won a very distinguished position in England and was by far the greatest asset the German Embassy had among the German element there, flatly declined to dismiss the Jewish physicians in this hospital which he supported. He even refused to close the kosher kitchen for Jewish patients. For once Ribbentrop was nonplussed. He could not very well dismiss the venerable gentleman who was an English citizen. He could not even have him sealed in an airplane and sent to a German concentration camp. So an anomalous situation developed. While the swastika waved from the roof of the German Hospital, the special kitchen underneath steadfastly turned out food that was prepared in strict accordance with patriarchal rites.

A special concern of Ribbentrop and his *Buero* was the establishment of cordial relations between German and British veterans of World War I. It has to be admitted that Ribbentrop was good in snatching promising issues from other people and exploiting them for his particular ends. There were huge organizations of ancient veterans in both Germany and England. Ribbentrop undertook to bring them together by all means of good will visits. As we have seen, this was a matter also close to the Prince of Wales' heart. There is absolutely no reason to belittle the idea in itself. That people who have fought each other should see the bigger issues of life after the tide of death has receded is nothing but noble and good. The titanic struggle had been much larger than

the political issue behind it. Everybody who had participated in the battle was stamped with the destiny he had made and he had suffered.

But there is no human being in the world who will not become inhuman under the touch of a Nazi. This splendid idea of old foes finding reconciliation in an area of mutual trust was to Ribbentrop and his *Buero* just another means of worming themselves into the confidence of the British while they prepared another era of distrust.

Ribbentrop called the leaders of the British Legion, men like Major Fetherstone Godley, Sir Ian Hamilton, and Lieutenant Colonel George Rowlandson Crossfield, the "big fish" which he had to catch personally. For the small fry, a round of celebrations on the usual dazzling scale was enough. But whenever Sir Ian, "a very useful institution which would have had to be invented if it had not existed already," as Ribbentrop characterized the old warrior from the Dardanelles, came to Berlin, the Nazis would always dig up some old flag, drum, or trumpet which would be handed over to him to the accompaniment of speeches, hurrahs, and salvos.

German war veterans were also lavishly entertained in England. Only a few days before Ribbentrop's arrival, as new Ambassador, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, so useful to the Nazi cause, had brought a group over to London. There were, however, misgivings in England, as far as the spirit of fair play had survived the epidemic of appeasement, to the effect that the Nazis who exploited the veteran-angle unscrupulously and noisily for so far as it helped them politically, had no such tender concerns toward Jewish veterans who had fought in Germany's own ranks. While the former enemies of Germany were entertained in beer and champagne halls, Jews who had fought on the German side were

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robbed of their decorations and disgraced in every possible way. Even those who had lost their eyes while fighting for Germany were driven from the institutions where they had found, together with their Aryan comrades, a refuge. From war memorials the names of Jewish soldiers killed in action were scratched off or painted over in yellow. It is doubtful whether Ribbentrop and his shady accomplices succeeded in explaining to their English friends the manner with which the Nazis acknowledged the supreme sacrifice rendered by its Jewish citizenry for the German cause.

One of the more amusing results of these get-together parties between English and German war veterans was the apparent misconception harbored by Rudolf Hess, number two Nazi, that Sir Ian Hamilton was identical with the Duke of Hamilton, or at least a member of the Duke's family. Hess had seen so much of Sir Ian in Berlin that, when he decided to exchange the German for the British climate, he could not think of a better place to go than the Hamilton estate. He had, perhaps, decidedly old-fashioned ideas of the habits of Scotch clans, which he supposedly figured gathered in toto in the ancestral mansion waiting for some visitor from the sky. Or was it one of the clever boys of the *Buero Ribbentrop* who directed Hess to the wrong address?

In conclusion let us say that the London Embassy was the great turning point in Ribbentrop's career. He exploited desperately all of the assets which he had and which he thought he had. But by acting under an unnatural pressure, with forced gestures and all the overdone mannerism of his bewildering creed, he shocked, provoked, irritated, or amused the British public which thought it could disregard the ominous meaning of the clownish spectacle. While we concede that Ribbentrop's shortcomings were not so much his own as typically German shortcomings, and that the British

mania for normalcy in an abnormal world is a shortcoming too, we object to Ribbentrop's boastful assertion that his super-methods would bring about miracles where a more cautious diplomacy failed. Never mind how bad or how good his manners were—if the substance of his mission had been good there would have been peace and understanding. He was essentially a prisoner of his hungry, cruel schemes—shifting nervously from Anglophobia to Anglomania and back again—but he was never of one piece, never sure of himself however stiffly he raised his arm. He was the living bad conscience of a conspiracy and not the diplomatic representative of a healthy power. The good old *Wilhelmstrasse* so far had been used by the Nazis as a fig leaf to hide the brutal nakedness of their ambitions. Ribbentrop, in London for the first time, stepped out of the shadow upon the international scene, but characteristically he relied for the success of his mission not on the simple truth of his cause, which was bad, but on its gorgeous trappings. He was truly a Nazi ambassador and was, therefore, bound to fail.

## 12

### *Ribbentrop Becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs*

WHEN old President von Hindenburg finally had been persuaded in the last days of January 1933 to appoint the "Bohemian corporal," Adolf Hitler, to the chancellorship of the Reich, one of the conditions was that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should remain in the hands of its holder, at that time the eminent and personable Constantin Freiherr von Neurath. But when the time came, the Fuehrer found reasons and means to remove von Neurath.

What follows is a rendering of Constantin von Neurath's own story of how his dismissal was staged. Von Neurath told this story to one of his oldest friends in the Foreign Service of the Reich.

"The Fuehrer had been very kind to me on the occasion of my sixty-fifth birthday. When calling in person to congratulate me, he really outdid himself in sweetness. He took both my hands and said that the new type of government, his government, must have been hard to comply with in its first years. I may not always have liked his ways of thinking, the rapidity of his decisions and—with a twinkle in his eyes—some of his methods. But, added he, 'I tried my best quite often to avoid inconveniences, and I am sure that I achieved the result that you are now one of us. I am sure you are. I feel it. I know it, and I am happy about it.'"

"Of course, I thanked the Fuehrer warmly. I really was moved, especially when I was told that he had taken the pains to select, as a gift for me, a medieval masterpiece. He had selected something Mariele (Neurath's wife) and I were delighted to have. And I realized that the Fuehrer had done everything he could to foster our friendship. At least he always had told me of his respect for my knowledge and experience in the field in which I was in charge, and I have to admit even now that I always respected the amount of knowledge a simple man like Hitler was able to accumulate without the right schooling and the right opportunities. If Hitler had had the chance of travelling abroad, if he had learned languages, if he had received proper education, he really would have become one of the world's great statesmen.

"After the dinners and luncheons which were given on my birthday anniversary were over," von Neurath continued, "Mariele and I decided to go to our *Leinfelderhof* for a short holiday. Mariele wanted to have some furniture repaired and other things arranged. As there was a lull in the activities of our foreign service, I telephoned to Lammers (Dr. H. H. Lammers, Chief of the Chancellery) to ask if there was a cabinet meeting expected, and I informed him that we were planning to take a few days off. I mentioned that I would call on the Fuehrer in person before leaving. Mariele immediately started to pack. She intended to stay a few days longer and to pay a visit at *Degerloch* (a place in the close neighborhood of Stuttgart where Frau van Neurath's mother, Baroness von Moser, had her home). About noon I received a call from Lammers telling me that the Fuehrer wanted to see me at 3 P.M. to discuss certain points in which he was interested and that Herr von Ribbentrop would be present. This was nothing exceptional, for Ribbentrop visited Berlin very often. As a matter of fact, he was authorized to absent himself from his London post without the usual 'leave' for



which I, or at least the personnel department, would have had to be asked if he intended to report to the Fuehrer personally. Ribbentrop and I had become more friendly, at least outwardly. He was politeness itself whenever he saw me, and on several occasions the Fuehrer had remarked that Ribbentrop had insisted that no decision should be made on this question or that without hearing my advice.

"Well, we sat together for about an hour, Hitler as usual doing most of the talking, but before going on to a new subject he always asked me, as well as Ribbentrop, for our opinions, and he mostly decided as I would have done. In some questions of minor importance, he said, 'I think Herr von Ribbentrop is right,' and that meant that my point of view had not been accepted. But this was the exception, not the rule.

"Then he said goodbye to me, wishing me *Glueckliche Reise* (bon voyage) and expressing the hope that we both, Mariele and I, would spend a few quiet days which would do us a lot of good. Herr von Ribbentrop joined him in saying that he hoped we would see each other very soon. He did not tell me when he intended to fly back to London, but I had the impression that he would do so the following day.

"I returned to the *Villa* (the residence of the Foreign Minister was a rather simple house on the *Tiergartenfront* of the ministerial garden; it stood behind the main building of the Foreign Office on the *Wilhelmstrasse*) where I intended to speak with Mariele about some rather worn suits which I planned to take to *Leinfelderhof*. About half an hour later the telephone rang, and I was asked to come back to the Chancellery as the Fuehrer wanted to see me again 'for a few minutes.' I returned immediately through the 'park.' I met the Fuehrer on his way to the Chancellery garden. He looked jolly, linked his arm into mine, and said, 'What I have to tell

you we can discuss while strolling in the garden.' I gladly agreed. After some steps, Hitler said quite casually, 'I have decided to appoint Herr von Ribbentrop Foreign Minister. Another task of greatest importance is waiting for you. You will become President of the Privy Council, an institution which has been created today in fulfillment of one of my most ardent desires and for which the statute has just this moment been worked out by Lammers after my instructions.'

"The Fuehrer, still very friendly and extremely polite, turned on his heels and went back into the Chancellery. I felt as though I had dropped from the clouds. But there was nothing for me to do but return to the *Villa*, and I did.

"When I entered the house, Mariele said, 'Das ist aber schnell gegangen' (that was over quickly). Noticing that I looked a little pale she said that she was glad we were to have a few quiet days. I tried to break the news to her by repeating what the Fuehrer had told me. But in spite of my carefulness, Mariele fainted. I put her on the sofa, cooled her forehead, held her hand. After some time she came to. I decided that we would postpone our trip.

"Before I was able to speak to my son-in-law or my daughter Winifred—the question whether my son-in-law, George von Mackensen, would remain in his position as Secretary of State had not even been mentioned by the Fuehrer and Mariele presumed that the Fuehrer apparently had not yet thought of that—Aschmann (Dr. Gottfried Aschmann, Chief of the Press Division) called me up. He informed me that he had received a communiqué from the Chancellery and started to read it to me. I heard only the words that I had requested my retirement. I told Aschmann, who had always behaved decently, that this was a lie. He answered that a personal letter from the Fuehrer addressed to me had similar contents. I told him that I expected to have plenty

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of time to read it later, thanked him for his good will, and hung up."

Here ends the story as told by von Neurath.

The "personal letter" written by the Fuehrer to Constantin von Neurath was worded in very flattering terms. "On the occasion of the completion of the first half decade of National Socialistic Government," it reads in Otto Tolischus' translation in a cable report to the *New York Times*, published on February 5, 1938, "you have requested me to allow you to retire. I am not able to grant this request as I cannot spare your services even in view of your recent sixty-fifth birthday and fortieth anniversary of service. In the five years of our work together your counsel and your judgment have become a necessity for me. When I therefore relieve you of your duties in the Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs and appoint you president of the secret Cabinet Council, it is in order to have in future a counselor by my side at the highest point in the Reich."

It is easy to imagine the feelings which assailed the Philemon and Baucis of the Third Reich, Constantin and Mariele. Apart from sad reflections of a personal nature, Neurath was conscientious enough to shudder at the idea of Ribbentrop steering the Reich through the reefs of contemporary history, checked only, if checked at all, by Hitler's fanatical urge to be more clever and successful than the rest of mankind. Of course, there was Neurath's appointment to that mystical body called Privy Council, composed of him as president, Ribbentrop, the three leaders of the armed forces, and Goering, Goebbels, Hess, and Lammers, chief of Hitler's Chancellery. This was so much "eyewash," a kind of dignified retreat, and—as events proved—if functioning at all, functioning as a siesta between serious business. The fact remained that Ribbentrop, the man who, with his vain escapades, had

done everything to irritate friend and foe alike, was allowed to drive out of the foreign office what conservative and sane judgment he, Neurath, and capable aides like Hoesch, Buelow, Koepke and Aschmann, had patiently built up through the years. But having reflected upon the virtues of his present position, Neurath decided to turn the other cheek and to maintain a show of cordial relations with his successor, the indomitable Ribbentrop.

Ribbentrop, however, did not make it easy for his predecessor to live up to this commendable program of appeasement. Not satisfied with full victory over his archenemy, he seemed to need an outlet for his vindictiveness. Poor Mariele, Constantin's wife, he decided, should feel that he was now the master. The morning after his appointment, a minor official of the *Wilhelmstrasse's* administrative department appeared at the ministerial villa. He wished only to be as helpful as possible, he sadly told poor Mariele, but he had strict orders to inform the servants who were on the payroll of the Foreign Office that they were now transferred to the household of Herr von Ribbentrop and that from now on they had to be on duty at the Dahlem Villa. Also the silverware, china, glass, etc., etc., in short all *Reichseigentum* (property of the Reich), had to be transferred to the Dahlem Villa without delay. Even the palm trees which adorned the anteroom were included. And then he added hesitantly—would the Baroness be kind enough to fix the date of her departure, for the new minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, wished to move into his official habitation as soon as possible, “in the interest of the service.”

It was too much for Mariele to swallow. The shock restored her energy. Packing started immediately. The small estate, *Leinfelderhof*, would now do quite nicely. She would show the Ribbentrops “that real nobility knew how to take

it." Foreign diplomats in Berlin were not edified by Joachim's action. They thought and said that this obviously proved that adoption does not make a nobleman. After all this, the Ribbentrops never moved into the ministerial villa in the *Hermann Goering Strasse*. It was not palatial enough for the von Ribbentrops. Incidentally, *Hermann Goering Strasse* was the erstwhile *Gustav Stresemann Strasse*, but apparently the Nazis did not wish to be reminded of the great statesman who had worked himself to death for his Fatherland.

The first thing Joachim confided to his predecessor, when they met again, was that the Fuehrer had decided to transfer Georg von Mackensen, the Secretary of State, to Rome as Ambassador. That would surely please Constantin. It was in Rome that von Mackensen had served as second secretary under von Neurath; it was there that Georg and Winifred, Neurath's daughter, had become engaged. Then von Ribbentrop mentioned that Freiherr Ernst von Weizsaecker was to be appointed Secretary of State. With this appointment Constantin could only wholeheartedly agree. Weizsaecker, formerly a naval officer, had been Chief of the Political Section of the *Wilhelmstrasse* for several years, and he belonged to the more conservative wing of the Foreign Office. Then von Ribbentrop asked if von Neurath would be kind enough to stay in office as "Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs" until he returned from his London farewell visits. Finally Joachim reassured von Neurath by telling him that the Fuehrer intended to make use of his great diplomatic experience "for special missions" whenever opportunities occurred.

This friendly tête-à-tête had one result. A few days after Ribbentrop's appointment, he was formally inducted into his new office by von Neurath in person. Constantin, as the

retiring chief, spoke first and went as far as to say, "that he was really happy to hand the reins over to a younger man who had by his successes given proof of his abilities." The older officials could not believe their ears. Then he, Constantin, thanked his colleagues who had worked with him during the five and a half years in which he had been in charge of the Foreign Office. He who hated all kinds of speeches and was known to be an enemy of oratory—one of the reasons why he distrusted parliamentary methods—on that occasion spoke so eloquently that some of the officials were moved to tears.

The great surprise came when his successor, von Ribbentrop, told the assembled officials that he intended to carry on in the "Neurath tradition." He expressly mentioned that there was full agreement between his predecessor's and his own views on all matters of Germany's foreign policy. The appointment of Herr von Neurath to the post of President of the Privy Council proved, said Ribbentrop finally, that the services of this man, one of the greatest German statesmen, would be utilized for the Fatherland's benefit for many years to come. And as he, Ribbentrop, had been appointed a member of this council too, he was looking forward to the privilege of maintaining contacts with his predecessor.

If the older officials had been baffled by Ribbentrop's apparent eagerness to play up to the traditional atmosphere of mellow detachment which gave the Foreign Office its ivory tower cachet and if they hoped for a moment that, as China absorbs her conquerors, the *Wilhelmstrasse* would absorb the idiosyncrasies and awkward mannerisms of its new chief, they were sadly mistaken. The touching scenes of brotherly love staged by Neurath and Ribbentrop in public was a trumped-up show.

The next day Ribbentrop's diplomatic smile disappeared.

Another convocation was staged for all the officials and employees of the ministry. They were lined up, military fashion, in the inner court. Ribbentrop burst out of his private office with the uncanny stiffness of a miniature Frankenstein. Grimly he planted himself before each individual colleague and, flaunting a *Hitler-Gruss* in their faces, pledged one after the other to undying loyalty to the Fuehrer's worldshaking cause. Even more impressive was a circular issued a few days later which announced that "careless talk and negligence of duty would in the future be ruthlessly stamped out by the Supreme Law Lord."

The history of the *Hitler-Gruss* in the precincts of the Foreign Office is amusing. A *Hitler-Gruss* entails giving the anatomy a tremendous jerk by means of heel clicking and stretching out the right arm with ruthless energy. This bodily exercise is supposed to be accompanied by a reverberating *Heil Hitler!* The meaning of it all is to demonstrate openly the iron will and fanatical faith that animates the citizen of the Third Reich.

The enforcement of the *Hitler-Gruss*, under dire threats, at the Foreign Office after 1933 was a pathetic thing. The right arm, instead of triumphantly piercing the ignoble clouds which dulled the sun of the "New Order," flapped up and down like the wing of a groggy duck, while the face of the person engaged in expressing his optimistic adherence to Herr Hitler assumed an apologetic and altogether sheepish grin. To ask these people who saw in Hitler the archenemy of the Stresemannian tradition which was so much more to their liking, to hail Hitler with a display of exorbitant gesticulation, was like asking a Mohammedan to profess his admiration for a pig by planting a kiss on its snout. It was a piece of sadism calculated to ridicule the notorious *Wilhelmstrasse* aloofness from so-called matters of vital concern. The har-

assed officials retaliated by signing private letters of safe destination *Heilt Hitler*, meaning "cure Hitler—if you can."

Shortly after the Nazis had come to power several attempts were made to bring the reluctant members of the Foreign Office into the fold of the new creed. On one occasion, according to a letter from one of our friends, they were herded into a public garden for a *Bierabend* with the entire technical staff while Herr Rosenberg climbed the platform in order to enlarge upon the manifold blessings the Nazis were bound to bestow upon the German people. Rosenberg struck everybody as a very insignificant young man. Neither by temperamental bearing nor by intellectual vigor did he transcend the image of a visitor from a hicktown who has won fame in his remote community for the skillful way he has acquitted himself in his duties in a barbershop or shoe store. But the great event of the evening was community singing of the *Horst Wessel Lied*. Patriotic citizens, when singing this sluggish party anthem, were supposed to raise the right arm. Everybody present manifested his desire to conform with established custom, but nobody aside from a few Nazis suspected that there was more than one verse to the *Horst Wessel Lied*. As a matter of fact, there was, at that time, only one inveterate Nazi in the Foreign Office, and he was the janitor. In consequence, the janitor was in charge of the proceedings, and he enjoyed the opportunity of impressing the gentlemen in striped pants with his exalted status. The *Horst Wessel Lied* never ended. The janitor's knowledge of the hymn seemed inexhaustible. On the spur of the moment, he improvised ever new and ever more violent denunciations of Nazism's enemies. And every time one of the fatigued diplomats tried to relax the rigid and decidedly uncomfortable attitude which patriotic duty and the exigencies of career demanded, the janitor thundered, "Gentlemen, the right



arm!" At last Rosenberg tapped him on the shoulder and said, "Don't forget, Max, they are not yet in a concentration camp."

Constantin von Neurath remained in charge of the Foreign Office until the crucial days of the Austrian *Anschluss* were over. He did not play an active part in the *Anschluss*, nor did Ribbentrop. Mussolini and Hitler, while helping Franco, had found that they had so much in common and this not only in Spain that they had decided to forget the old misunderstandings concerning Austria. Mussolini reluctantly agreed to let the *Anschluss* take its course, or at least not to object against Nazi ministers occupying the rooms where Dollfuss had been murdered. Ribbentrop attended the first meeting between Schuschnigg and Hitler in Berchtesgaden without taking any active part in it. Ribbentrop was ordered by the Fuehrer to set out immediately and in the greatest secrecy to Rome to keep the Duce posted regarding the Berchtesgaden proceedings. In the critical days of the impending Austrian débâcle, it was only natural that Hitler felt that he should send his trusted adviser to the crafty and not yet thoroughly convinced Duce to emphasize the role he was supposed to play in the game—namely, to do nothing. His job in Rome done, Ribbentrop proceeded to London to pay the usual round of formal visits and to give a farewell party to his English friends at the Embassy.

He arrived in London on March 9, just "a few hours too early to have had news of the forthcoming plebiscite in Austria," as the *New York Times* wrote the next day. Ribbentrop made a tour of London's most prominent addresses—Buckingham Palace, 10 Downing Street, and Lord Halifax's

sanctum. He passed through these edifices with the studied indifference of a man who knows where he stands. The Englishmen who had not reacted properly to his artificial glamour could not help feeling nonplussed by his artificial silence. He had them guessing, and he enjoyed the superiority of a person who holds the initiative.

It would have been well for Ribbentrop to explain the contemplated Austrian *coup*, but he had decided to maintain a mysterious silence. Furthermore, he had also decided that a small dose of impudence would not work. The prestige of the Third Reich would be served only by a big dose. He therefore submitted five demands to the British Government. Demand one insisted that the press be forbidden to publish unfriendly newspaper articles about Nazism. Lord Halifax had not waited until Ribbentrop notified him personally of this well-known grievance of the German Government. The British Foreign Secretary had already tried "sweet reasonableness" on British newspapermen whom he had called together the day of Ribbentrop's arrival in London (March 9). His idea was to "improve the Anglo-German atmosphere." An admirable policy, only it did not fit in with Ribbentrop's idea of making the British like the Nazis by kicking their shins. In reality, all the excitement of Hitler, Goebbels, and Ribbentrop about what they termed "Jewish lies about Nazi-Germany" was part of their plan to find "grievance" against the democracies.

Demand two: Recognition in principle of Germany's colonial demands. In addition Ribbentrop wanted an assurance that a colonial settlement would not be made part of a general European settlement. This point meant, therefore, that England should recognize Germany's right to the unconditional return of her former colonies. This was an extraordinary demand, because England, if she accepted it,

would no longer be in a position to barter the colonies against a German guarantee for good behavior or disarmament or return to the League of Nations.

Demand three: Assurance that Great Britain would not try to disturb the relations between Berlin and Rome.

Demand four: A declaration that Great Britain view with sympathy the fate of Germans living beyond the Reich.

Demand five: Recognition of Germany's right to defend herself against Bolshevism.

We cannot believe that Joachim would have gotten very far with his demands even if the Austrian *coup* had not interfered.

As we already said, Ribbentrop arrived in London on March 9, four days before German soldiers and Gestapo men invaded Austria. On March 11 he took leave of King George VI and attended a farewell luncheon given in his honor by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. The evening of March 21 was reserved for his big farewell reception at Carlton House Terrace.

It is difficult to say whether this reception had been purposely set for the day when SS. troopers mounted blacked-out airplanes in Munich. It is difficult to time everything exactly. It may have been coincidence. At any rate, Austria's Minister in London, Baron (now Sir) George Franckenstein, was among Joachim's guests. So were many members of the British cabinet and so was almost everybody who counted in London's political and social life. Many had just come to show their good will and say goodbye. Pictures were taken of Ribbentrop clasping British statesmen's hands in the most cordial of *au revours*. During the hours of the farewell reception, history was being made. The younger members of the German Embassy, who were in the know, sneaked to the radios in the upper rooms of the Embassy building and

listened to the Berlin stations. When the guests finally left, German troops had already crossed the Austrian frontier.

Ribbentrop wished to fly back the next morning "in order to be next to the Fuehrer on this historic event." A more tangible reason was the proclamation of the "Law for the Reunion of Austria with the German Reich." It was dated "Linz, March 13, 1938," and it bears the signatures of the Fuehrer, Frick, Ribbentrop, and Hess. But Ribbentrop was not able to sign it in person, at least not at the time of its publication. Such trifling matters are of no importance in the Nazi regime. It did not even prevent Ribbentrop, whose role in the annexation of Austria—aside from stealing antiques and a castle out of the booty—had been very small indeed, to claim, in the data given to the editors of the British *Who's Who*, personal credit for the transaction.

Anyway, that airplane which was to carry him home failed to arrive from Berlin. The German air ministry had issued orders that no plane was to leave German airports without a special permit. There seems to have been a "series of misunderstandings." The reason for them was von Neurath who still had to revenge himself for Joachim's treatment of Mariele.

Joachim, in great agitation, called Berlin from London. He feverishly inquired why his strict orders had been disregarded. This call came to von Neurath's attention. Constantin at once informed Hermann Goering who hated, and still hates, Ribbentrop. *Unser Hermann* not only calmly renewed the orders that no plane should leave the airfields without special permit of the air ministry, but made it still tighter. He decreed that he had to be asked in person before such permit was to be granted.

Furiously Ribbentrop finally decided, on March 14, to return via Dover. Tickets and luggage were arranged for

the boat journey and the train when all of a sudden his plane arrived at Croydon. Of course the decision to return by train was quickly voided. A long distance call brought the information that Dr. Hjalmar Schacht was also preparing to visit Vienna. Another call from the new foreign minister invited Schacht to make the trip to Vienna with him. The fact that so important an event as "the return of Austria into the Reich" should have taken place without his being present, not to mention without his active collaboration, annoyed Joachim. He was not in the best of humor on that trip. But when, on March 15, Austria's "liquidating secretary of foreign affairs," Dr. Guido Schmidt, the man who had betrayed his bosom friend and schoolmate Schuschnigg to the Nazis, was found waiting at the Aspern airdrome, Joachim's face became cheerful again. Since the Fuehrer and the real bigwigs—including Goering—had left Vienna days before, Ribbentrop now became, temporarily, the highest ranking Nazi present, and he made good use of these circumstances. Accompanied by Guido Schmidt, he first visited the *Ballhausplatz*, the seat of the former Austrian State Department. Here Guido personally opened the big doors to the rooms in which Austria's greatest statesman, Prince Clemens Metternich, the president of the 1815 Congress of Vienna, had worked for very different principles than Schmidt and Ribbentrop represented. The big globe, once the property of Metternich, caught Ribbentrop's eyes. "Den muss ich haben," (that I must have) he said to Guido. But poor Guido had already promised to send it to Hermann Goering. Guido's personal policy was based on friendship with "big Hermann" who he thought would become chief of a semi-independent Austrian State within the orbit of the Reich. Guido's fantasies at that time went so far as to believe that "chief of state" Hermann Goering would select him as Austria's "special ambassador to the Holy See."

Well aware of Guido's attachment to Hermann Goering, our Joachim nevertheless insisted on getting Metternich's globe, and the historical object went to Berlin the same day where it now adorns Joachim's study.

Guido Schmidt's welfare was now endangered. How this experienced liar arranged the truth so that it became palatable to Goering has not been recorded. But he succeeded in getting *Unser Hermann* into a fine fit at the expense of Joachim, who, useless as he was in the matter of annexing Austria, had proved so efficient in annexing antiques. Guido at the same time was able to feather his own nest. He landed one of the highest paid jobs in the *Neue Weltordnung*, that of general manager of the *Hermann Goering-Werke*, which took over all the heavy industries in former Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia. He managed to keep it and may enjoy its benefits—until the day of the great reckoning comes.

Joachim also had ordered Schmidt to have all *Ballhausplatz* files of political import immediately packed and sent by motor trucks to the *Wilhelmstrasse*. A group of experienced *Buero Ribbentrop* staff members had already been ordered to start a thorough investigation which was supposed to prepare the material for a new "White Book," which would show the world "Austria's guilt," meaning that she had "intrigued" with the help of Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia against Germany and its Nazi leaders. When the files arrived in Berlin, only the Italian intrigues could be proved—and that was something to be avoided. Reports on the consultations with the British, French, and Czechoslovakian statesmen were "unfortunately missing." After a few hectic days, the research work had to be abandoned. The "Austrian files" were finally placed in the cellars of the *Auswaertiges Amt*. There they seem to rot. In any case nothing was ever heard

again about the plan of issuing a "White Book on Austria's intrigues against the Reich."

But Ribbentrop was out for a more lucrative piece of booty in Austria. He did not lose sight of *Schloss Fuschl* near Salzburg, property of the Austrian nobleman Gustav von Remnitz. This von Remnitz had been a thorn in Joachim's side for a long time. Having married a niece of Fritz Thyssen, the rich industrialist, Remnitz had made the house of his forefathers a center for distinguished foreigners visiting the famous Salzburg music festivals. Once Joachim, frequenting these festivals too, while waiting for the Fuehrer to order him to come to Berchtesgaden, tried to get an invitation to one of the evenings on which a group of internationally known visitors were dined and wined at the *Schloss Fuschl*. But Gustav von Remnitz did not respond. After the *Anschluss*, von Remnitz, known as an ardent fighter for Austria's independence, was put into a concentration camp by Heinrich Himmler, Joachim's most intimate friend. Poor von Remnitz never saw his family again. He died or was murdered in Dachau. Even before that happened, Frau von Remnitz and her young boy had been driven out of her castle in the middle of the night by storm troopers. Ribbentrop "took over," the castle in toto, lock, stock, and barrel. In *Schloss Fuschl* he received his "friend" Ciano. Here he resided when he wanted to be "near to the Fuehrer." Here the conference between the Fuehrer and Mussolini on May 5, 1942 took place. The official communiqué announced that Joachim was the host at that meeting "in his father's castle." Poor Lieutenant Colonel Richard Ribbentrop, Joachim's father, who had died shortly before, undoubtedly turned in his grave at this fraudulent exploitation of his name. At least let us assume in his honor that he did.

# 13

## *Ribbentrop and South Tyrol*

RIBBENTROP entered the Italian scene in a big way after the Austrian *coup*, when both he and Hitler paid their solemn visit to Rome in May, 1938, only two months after Austria's demise. It was time to make a big show of German-Italian solidarity, but as long as the South Tyrol was permitted to remind the world that underneath the internationalism of the new order the open wound of national antagonism was not closed, the show would be marred. When Hitler recognized, in a speech in the *Palazzo Venezia*, that the Brenner Pass was the frontier to the North "to all eternity" (a relative notion especially to Hitler), he killed the South Tyrol even more effectively than he had killed Austria. Austrian "Aryans" had been allowed to stay where they were. The German population was to be removed from the South Tyrol. This would leave no doubt that he meant business and that he would not permit sentimental feelings to obstruct his world-embracing schemes.

Ribbentrop's assignment was to prepare the cruel operation. We should not assume that there were lacking, on the German as well as on the Italian side, people who viewed the whole inhuman scheme with distaste. In Italy, Fascism had always showed greater respect for continuity than either Hitler and Ribbentrop had ever manifested. To them, any-



thing that was in tune with nature's patient growth seemed to call for annihilation. In this instance, the Italian government was asked to give up two hundred thousand sturdy citizens whose loyalty was perhaps divided but who had nevertheless sent excellent soldiers into the modern Italian army, who had paid good taxes, and who had tilled their hereditary soil industriously. Furthermore while the Italian state lost these people, it was supposed to pay them for what they left behind. A certain amount of hesitation on the part of Italy is understandable.

That Ribbentrop's eagerness to attain a "realistic" solution provoked the liveliest antipathy among Germans, even those in official positions, is borne out by the following excerpt from a letter I received from a member of the German Embassy in Rome: "I am deeply ashamed of this treacherous policy for which in times to come we shall have to pay dearly." It is interesting that this letter was written in December, 1937, for it shows that the matter was already settled in principle at this early date. The letter insists that the South Tyrol was the bribe which caused Mussolini's disinterestedness during the *Anschluss*. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that Mussolini was much more hesitant in the South Tyrol question than Hitler and Ribbentrop and that his inaction during the critical days of Austria's invasion was primarily the result of a grandiose program of Mediterranean expansion which was dangled before his nose.

The letter goes on: "Ribbentrop, having visited the Duce again unofficially in these days without notifying the Embassy at all, finally seems to have achieved full mutual cooperation between the two nations. There will be no massing of troops any more, not even fiery speeches by Il Duce when the time is ripe in Vienna. But the price that has to be paid is a great one. The Germans of South Tyrol have been sold down the

river. They will have to choose between resettlement somewhere in East Prussia or Wuerttemberg, if they want to become German citizens, or they will have to move to Southern Italy, if they want to remain Italian—or they can commit suicide. No other way out has been left to them. The only German condition is to postpone the publication and the execution of this decision in order to have ample time for the necessary preparations.”

But Mussolini himself applied the brakes. He insisted that nobody be sent to Germany who had not first been given a chance of stating his own opinion uninfluenced by outside pressure. He thought that only twenty per cent of the German-speaking Tyrolians would care to give up their snug homes and follow the Pied Piper over the Alps into the swastika dominated barrack called Germany. But he was mistaken.

After much ado Ribbentrop succeeded, in the middle of June, 1938, in bringing about an arrangement by which the technicalities were settled in conjunction with the Italian authorities. The first group to be moved were the *Reichsdeutsche*, meaning the German nationals, twelve hundred souls, ten hundred of whom had been Austrians three months ago. This was the end of the South Tyrolian nobility, families like the Wolkensteins, the Enzenbergs, and the Trapps, who since the days of King Laurin, the crowned goblin, had reigned over the scarlet rocks of the Dolomites, and had always known how to defend their castles against intruders. But the methods of the New Order proved too much for them. After the *Reichsdeutsche*, the *Volksdeutsche*—Italian citizens who spoke German—were to go.

There is a good chance that a majority of the German speaking Tyrolians would have remained in their familiar surroundings regardless of the sensational future planned for

them in the Third Reich, if Nazi agents had not swarmed through the unhappy valleys, spreading fraudulent rumors to the effect that nobody who spoke German would be allowed to remain in South Tyrol. These wild eyed strangers who appeared south of the Brenner as they had appeared or were to appear in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Norway, and other parts of the globe told their victims that if they did not chose to move to Germany, Italy would send them somewhere South, perhaps to Africa, a prospect which had little attraction for the weatherbeaten mountaineers. This story was also mentioned by the letter writer in the German Embassy in Rome whom we have quoted. That the technique of demoralization was well handled nobody will doubt if we remember that Herr Himmler himself, SS. leader and boss of hangman Heydrich, was in charge of the transaction on the German side. And all this happened despite the fact that the June, 1938 agreement spoke of an "uninfluenced" decision on the part of the population. The result was that not twenty per cent of the South Tyrolians but almost everybody prepared to leave Mussolini's regions, a development which not only was hardly flattering to the Italians but forced them to pay out almost fifteen billion lire in indemnities.

A few days after his return from the Rome visit, Ribbentrop in a Foreign Office circular dated May 19, 1938, decreed, in truly Napoleonic manner, that the South Tyrolean question had ceased to exist. Through this pronunciamento he hoped to prevent critical minds in the Foreign Office and other departments—even the Gestapo was mentioned—from commenting upon the "liquidation" of South Tyrol. Soon after, Hitler ordered that any discussion of the South Tyrol in public or in private would be punished with a visit to a concentration camp. The South Tyrolian episode is part of the general rearrangement of populations that inaugurated the

New Order. The next year the Baltic population was forced to move into Germany; Poles were put to forced labor; Jews were shifted to lethal assignments or locked up in ghettos. In 1940, the Frenchmen who had lived in Alsace Lorraine were driven out, and so it went. Perhaps one day the Nazis themselves will be planted in some remote region—perhaps Hell.

# I 4

## *Ribbentrop—Schacht—Wiedemann*

JOACHIM'S jealousy and rancour were partly responsible for the estrangement between the Fuehrer and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht which led to the elimination of this financial wizard from his leadership of Germany's economic and financial organization. It also brought about the removal of Hitler's World War I superior, Captain Fritz Wiedemann, from his position as a trusted personal A.D.C. in the Chancellery.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht never thought much of Ribbentrop. He had known Joachim since the latter's wine merchant days. He had observed all the phases of Ribbentrop's climb from café society's lower ranks to its upper strata. He possessed knowledge of some doubtful monetary transactions in which Joachim had been engaged during the inflation. Especially in the beginning of the Hitler-Ribbentrop connection, Schacht quite openly and in no uncertain terms questioned the upstart's ability to judge political and economic problems.

At the time when relations between Goering and Schacht became strained, culminating in Schacht's refusal to finance—with Reichs funds—the ill-fated and wasteful exploitation of the Salzgitter iron ores and in Schacht's elimination from the post of Minister of Economic Affairs, Joachim fanned the flames of opposition whenever an opportunity offered. The high collared authority of finances was in his way every-

where, especially because of Schacht's friendship with Sir Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England. Sir Montagu also had little esteem for Ribbentrop's political insight and made no bones about it. Schacht occasionally mentioned the Governor's opinion on this point to Hitler, who, at certain times, enjoyed dousing Ribbentrop's complacency by proving to him that not everybody looked upon him as the providential expert on English affairs. This was enough to convince Ribbentrop that Schacht's influence on Hitler was extremely important. The mighty man's fall came on January 19, 1939, when Hitler signed the decree which ended the "financial wizard's" rule as president of the Reichsbank. The repercussions were world wide. Schacht was internationally considered an island of sanity in an ocean of insane schemers. While Ribbentrop was too small a man to be credited with the eclipse of this last vestige of financial conscience, he had his particular reasons to hasten the development. Among these reasons was still another man he had learned to hate—Captain Fritz Wiedemann.

During World War I, when Adolf Hitler served as volunteer with the Sixteenth Bavarian Infantry Regiment, Wiedemann was first a lieutenant and later a captain. The history of the regiment does not mention it, but Captain Wiedemann seems to have been the man who suggested Lance Corporal Adolf Hitler for decoration with the coveted Iron Cross. Lance Corporal Hitler surely would have preferred the rank of full-corporal rather than this decoration, but this was out of the question at the time, because Hitler, a citizen of Austria, never could advance higher in the ranks as long as he was a foreigner. Such was the rule, and it was observed. After the war, Captain Wiedemann retired to a small estate in his native Bavaria. Here he attended to his fields, growing wheat and vegetables. When Hitler became Chancellor, he

offered his former superior a job in the Chancellery. Wiedemann hesitantly accepted. He soon was made one of Hitler's personal A.D.C.'s. He not only enjoyed the Fuehrer's fullest confidence in private but was openly favored by him. Many of the old guard party combatants became extremely jealous. They pointed out that Captain Wiedemann was not even a party member. This was, in any case, true in the days when he acted as Hitler's personal A.D.C.

Wiedemann existed in a state of isolation, for he was reserved, uncommunicative, and kept himself apart from the other members of Hitler's staff. Among the higher officials in the Fuehrer's immediate entourage, Dr. Hans Thomsen, the contact man between the Foreign Office and the Chancellery, an inheritance from the Papen chancellorship, was his only friend. This is the same Thomsen who later was *chargé d'affaires* of the German Embassy in Washington until the time when he had to present the German declaration of war to the Department of State. He is now Minister at Stockholm.

Captain Wiedemann, in sympathy with Ribbentrop—hated Rudolf Hess, felt little inclination to flatter the prima donna who was in charge of the Foreign Office. On many an occasion, he distinctly felt Ribbentrop's jealousy but it did not bother him too much. Joachim also disliked him because of his good connections in the world's capitals, his popularity with the Berlin diplomatic set, and his secret reports to the Fuehrer. "Ribbentrop's newest jealousy," wrote an assistant in the Foreign Office in May, 1938, "is Captain Wiedemann. He really seems to have developed into a pain in Joachim's neck."

This pain became even worse. Towards the end of May, 1938, shortly after the Rome trip, the Hitler-Ribbentrop relationship suddenly seemed to go sour. Friends reported, "Joachim seems to be in disfavor with the Fuehrer at the

present time, at least relations are somewhat strained. Even Herr von Neurath would never have stood for so many humiliations as Ribbentrop has to submit to at times. The reason seems to be that the Fuehrer has realized Joachim's failure in bringing about real cooperation with the British, and the idea of such a cooperation still seems to play a great role in the Fuehrer's mind. Joachim's hatred against the British becomes more and more outspoken. Occasionally it is quite violent. Surely it is more sharply accentuated than in the London days when he only called them impudent and unwise. Joachim's feelings are concentrating on the new British Ambassador (Sir Nevile Henderson) whose very appearance he hates (*den er nicht riechen kann*). He seems to forget that he (Ribbentrop) is at least partly responsible for Henderson's predecessor's (Sir Eric Phipps) recall."

As usual with Ribbentrop's countless aversions, his hatred of Sir Nevile had its source in his vanity. Sir Nevile thought it wise to win the friendship of Hermann Goering and to discuss the political horizon with this "second in command," in the correct assumption, that popular Hermann, in spite of contradicting rumors, always had been and always would be the most intimate and most valued of the Fuehrer's advisers. As it was customary for Goering to join the Fuehrer several times every week for luncheon in the Chancellery and for a heart-to-heart talk on pending problems, Hitler received first hand information on Sir Nevile's ideas and intentions and was able to contradict Ribbentrop when the latter reported a different story. On some occasions, Sir Nevile was, however, able to extract valuable hints from Captain Wiedemann. Ribbentrop became enraged. Repeatedly he had pointed out to Sir Nevile that the usual diplomatic method was to inquire at the Foreign Office, where he (Ribbentrop) or the Secretary of State (Weiszaecker) were always available for an



urgent interview. When a London newspaper report made it plain that Sir Nevile had sought direct information from the German War Department, Ribbentrop became so furious that, in a conversation with the British Ambassador, he declared "that no military information would be given him in the future." Ribbentrop's lack of equilibrium is sufficiently illustrated by the fact—as reported by Sir Nevile—that Ribbentrop "used the most reprehensible, bloodthirsty language regarding the Czechs. 'They would,' he assured me, 'be exterminated, women, children, and all.'" Sir Nevile's description of this scene corresponds with a report by Berlin friends, indicating that Ribbentrop's disfavor seemed to be the result of a luncheon discussion between the Fuehrer and Goering. Captain Wiedemann was called in, at that time, to report on what he had heard regarding the Ribbentrop-Henderson incident. An argument between the Fuehrer and Ribbentrop followed. From this the Foreign Minister returned to his office flabbergasted (*wie ein begossener Pudel*). Joachim, always a good hater, now loathed Nevile. As Henderson himself has described it in his memoirs, his meetings with Ribbentrop were the antithesis of cordial. But there was not very much Joachim could do against Goering's personal friend and His British Majesty's representative. So he singled out Wiedemann as scapegoat.

The Fuehrer, who is known for expertly playing his collaborators one against another, rubbed salt into Ribbentrop's wounds by making Wiedemann, for some time at least, his special favorite. Joachim, of course, did all he could to appease his beloved Fuehrer. Carefully, but systematically, he undermined Wiedemann's position. It must be admitted that the Captain had become somewhat careless and too self-reliant. Ribbentrop, at the right moment, submitted a report to Hitler from one of his *Buero's* agents. This report proved that

## THIS MAN RIBBENTROP

Wiedemann had failed to tell the Fuehrer correctly all the details of his personal relations with "a lady of his heart" in London. Through the good offices of his bosom friend, Heinrich Himmler, Ribbentrop also had arranged for Wiedemann to be watched by experienced Gestapo agents. Hitler soon received a report from Himmler revealing that the "evildoer" Wiedemann had been visiting Dr. Hjalmar Schacht regularly at the Reichsbank to discuss political problems with him and to criticize the men with whom Hitler surrounded himself. As the Hitler-Schacht relations had cooled off considerably during the last months and the Fuehrer already had decided to dismiss Schacht, the Ribbentrop-Himmler intrigue worked perfectly. The action was so carefully prepared that on January 20, 1939, as a *Wilhelmstrasse* friend of ours shortly afterwards reported, Wiedemann, to his own surprise, was told by Schacht over the telephone that the latter could not keep his appointment with him for the day—as he was no longer the Reichsbank's chief. A few minutes later, Wiedemann was called before the Fuehrer. He was formally informed by his subordinate in World War I that their ways had to part. However, the captain was offered by his Fuehrer "any post overseas in the German consular service."

Wiedemann, who had used his last furlough a year ago to visit his friend, Dr. Hans Thomsen, in Washington, and to make a trip to the West Coast, chose San Francisco, California, which post had become vacant when Manfred von Killinger, after some irreparable blunders, had been recalled several months before. Needless to say, Ribbentrop did everything in his power to complete the appointment in order to get rid of the man whose influence on the Fuehrer had become so uncomfortable to him. Wiedemann, too, lost no time. A few weeks later he arrived in the United States, and,

after a short stay with his friend Thomsen, took over the Consulate General in San Francisco, on March 9, 1939. Wiedemann, by the way, was one of the few officials who, after the closing down of the German consular offices in the United States, was immediately appointed to another post overseas. He was made Consul General in Tientsin, China, and proceeded to his post via Lisbon and South America without making an attempt to appear in Berlin.

Wiedemann's trip from San Francisco to Tientsin in the midst of World War II and how he managed to elude Berlin would make a thrilling chapter in any diplomatic Odyssey. Wiedemann was very glad to have the new appointment in his pocket; as a matter of fact he was not at all sure whether whatever sympathy Hitler still had for his former superior in World War I would, in the long run, hold out against the campaign of hate Ribbentrop was waging against him. The Fuehrer had not proved reliable when the friendly and intimate terms existing between Wiedemann and Schacht had been revealed to him. Under the Nazi regime, one must carefully avoid being seen with "have beens" and persons under suspicion. One has to develop a sixth sense which registers the rise and decline of the bigwigs. This sixth sense is Ribbentrop's biggest asset. Wiedemann, too, had learned his lesson, and was now eagerly collecting whatever information he could get with regard to the atmosphere prevailing in Berlin. In Washington, there was Dr. Hans Thomsen, the *chargé d'affairs*, who tried to shield him and to keep him posted. Contacts are useful everywhere, not only in Berlin. From his many visits to London, he had a few valuable connections there too. The genial Bavarian had managed to inspire some of His Majesty's officials with kind feelings toward him. A few of these connections must have survived the outbreak of World War II. It is useless, at least impractical, to

mention any names. But it is a fact that Ribbentrop's bitter hatred of Wiedemann earned the latter enough sympathy on the British side to secure his smooth passage to Tientsin, so that he would not be obliged to pass through Berlin where Ribbentrop's intimate friend Heinrich Himmler, the Lord of the dreaded Gestapo, knew how to find ways and means to remove by accident or other inexplicable, but highly practical methods somebody who "was in the way."

Two days before the Japanese ship which carried Wiedemann was scheduled to leave, something unforeseen happened. Dr. Hans Borchers, German Consul General in New York City, got wind of this clever arrangement. He too had little inclination to travel around the world in order to reach his new post, in his case Shanghai. It certainly seemed worthwhile to find out more about the Captain's scheme. Therefore, he called up and tried to be smart. "When are you coming to New York to join us for the trip to Lisbon?" he asked crafty Wiedemann. "Do you want me to make reservations for you and to facilitate your stay in New York City?" Wiedemann fell into the trap and told his New York colleague that he intended, on the strength of the British safe conduct promise, to travel directly to Japan-occupied China. "This is grand!" shouted Borchers over the phone. "I will take the next plane and join you. I will keep you company on the trip to the Far East."

No sooner said than done. Three airplanes were hired to transport Borchers, Frau Borchers, née Baroness von Schroetter-Stutterheim, her maid, and numerous trunks to San Francisco. They arrived in time to catch the boat. But, unfortunately, the British did not like this hurry. They did not feel for the Borchers clan the sympathy they felt for the amiable Wiedemann. No safe conduct papers were promised or issued for the Borchers. It was too bad. They had to re-

turn to New York just as speedily as they had come, for they had to be there in time for the sailing of the S.S. *West Point* on July 18, 1941. Wiedemann was the real victim. He had to go with the Borchers, orders from Berlin!

The hiring of three airplanes for the trip New York—San Francisco, and back cost the Reich some \$9,000 or more, but in the Third Reich such expenditures are of minor importance. Had not they shown the Britishers that they did not care for favors?

Poor Wiedemann did not enjoy the trip on the SS *West Point*. The closer he drifted towards the lion's den in Berlin, the more he envied Putzi Hanfstaengl, safe in an internment camp in Canada. After his arrival in Lisbon, he fell ill—in good time and conveniently—illness preventing him from joining the other officials who returned to Berlin by special train.

Instead, by some coincidence, he obtained a new safe conduct paper from the British. As he had already received instructions to proceed straight to his post in Tientsin, he had nothing else to do but to have this instruction confirmed and not by Ribbentrop in person, of course. Who would want to bother the Minister of Foreign Affairs with such a trifle. With the blessing of understanding friends in the *Wilhelmstrasse*, Wiedemann sailed under the Spanish flag to Buenos Aires, stayed there for a few days at the German Embassy, proceeded to Valparaiso just in time to reach another Japanese boat, crossed the Pacific, and finally reached Japan and Tientsin. Dr. Hans Borchers was not able to get to Shanghai. But Wiedemann surely is in the Far East. We have seen a picture in some magazine confirming his presence there. And according to a news item, he has even been smashed up in a train wreck.

# 15

## *The Russo-German Pact of August 23, 1939*

THE treaty of 1939 appeared to be so natural a development in the light of German-Russian relations after 1918 that Nazi diplomacy, which so far had won its victories by the unexpected revival of caveman methods, impressed the innocent bystander with a no less unexpected adoption of subtlety. Was Ribbentrop behind the astounding move? Could it be that we had failed to perceive a streak of finesse in Ribbentrop's usually obvious psychology? Jules Romain, in the days when he searched actual politics rather than his own imagination for *Men of Good Will*, was impressed by Ribbentrop's "eighteenth-century mentality." If instances of this mentality have so far escaped us, did it come to light in Moscow?

When looking today at the pictures taken on the occasion of the signing of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact on August 23, 1939, our eyes are arrested chiefly by the following personalities: Ribbentrop, proud as a bull fighter; the cold-blooded German Ambassador to Moscow, Count Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg, quite apathetic and apparently exhausted; Vlacheslav Mikhailowitsch Molotoff, Soviet Russia's brand new Foreign Minister, the man to whom the vote of the Russian people gave the nickname *Kamenaya Poposchka* (stone backside) because he was known always

to sit at his desk studying reports and official documents calm and unmoved; and Joseph Stalin, with a scornful smirk. It cannot be determined now whether the reports which reached us soon after the outbreak of World War II regarding the course of the Soviet-German discussions preceding the conclusion of the treaty are correct. These reports came verbally from Germans who had been in Moscow at the time of the discussions and had come to America via the trans-Siberian railroad and Japan. These verbal reports were verified later on by information which old friends in the diplomatic corps had received through their foreign offices from their own missions in Moscow. One can understand that in view of the sensation the new Soviet-German agreement created, everybody interested in the intricacies of foreign politics tried to find out for himself or from his superiors about the personal factors which had had any bearing on the situation. By much exchange of information the picture was finally rounded out.

To understand what was going on, we must go back into history briefly.

At the end of 1920, Foreign Minister Walter Simons received a report from one of the German engineers who had lived in Russia through war and revolution. Lenin was planning to electrify all Russia. Simons adhered to the theories of Rudolf Steiner, philosopher and founder of *Anthroposophy*, a cult rather than a philosophical theory. We were told at the time that Simons had asked Steiner what he thought of Lenin's ideas, and the famous anthroposophist recommended to follow Noah's example and to send out a dove to find out. This is what Simons did.

At this time, the two countries, Germany and Russia, were no longer neighbors. All the Germans knew was that the Soviet Government had introduced a foreign trade mo-

nopoly and that therefore exports and imports by individuals were forbidden. Nobody in Germany could even imagine how an apparatus could work which had to regulate the entire demand for foreign goods and the entire export trade for a population of about one hundred and thirty million inhabitants and a territory at least as large as our United States.

At this time, Germany had only one man in Moscow handling the exchange of prisoners of war, a man by the name of Gustav Hilger. Soviet Russia had appointed as representative in Berlin for the same purpose one Victor Kopp, a personal friend of Lenin, who years later became Russian Ambassador in Tokio and died as Minister in Stockholm.

The first discussions concerning a trade agreement took place in Moscow. There was only one purchasing agency, representing all of Soviet Russia's state industry—no other existed—and there was nothing similar on the German side. In the meantime, the Soviets had sent to Berlin another emissary, Karl Radek, expert on the interplay of politics and trade, a brilliant fellow, full of satirical wit. He was well equipped to put across to whomsoever he met in the *Wilhelmstrasse* the idea of a cooperation between Germany and Soviet Russia. The differences in the economic structure of the two countries in his opinion were but small obstacles which could easily be overcome in view of the great political necessity of bringing the two countries together.

The discussions, held in the unheated rooms of a requisitioned hotel, took place, for the most part, at night. Georgii Wassiliewitsch Tschitscherin, the Foreign Commissar, preferred to receive his visitors shortly before midnight. The Soviet Government at that time was perfectly convinced



## RUSSO-GERMAN PACT OF AUGUST 23, 1939

that Germany soon would become a part of Soviet Russia. But it did not.

At last the trade pact between the new Germany and the new Soviet Russia was signed in February, 1921. It was only a provisional agreement, and it was due to the vision and the realistic judgment of Ago von Maltzan, at that time in charge of the Russian Division of the Foreign Office, that the provisional agreement, in spite of all difficulties, developed into a formal treaty. On May 6, 1921, this treaty was signed. To settle the thorny problem of legally safeguarding German firms in their dealings with a sovereign state, a Soviet *Handelsvertretung* (trade agency) in Berlin was created and the chief of this institution even received personal diplomatic immunity.

Trade relations between Germany and Russia grew beyond expectations. Ago von Maltzan (later Ambassador in Washington) had become Secretary of State and very influential. Germany's first Ambassador to Moscow, clever Ulrich Graf von Brockdorf-Rantzau, realized that close business connections between the two countries were indispensable for improved political relations. In 1922, the first barter transaction between Germany and Russia took place. Twenty million dollars' worth of Russian grain were traded against the same value in German industrial goods. Helped by revolving bank credits guaranteed by the Reich, total German exports to Russia in the period between 1922 and 1933 exceeded three billion marks, at the present rate of exchange almost twelve hundred million dollars.

Soon Maltzan's policy bore fruit. On Easter Sunday, 1922, Germany and Soviet Russia concluded their first political pact, the Treaty of Rapallo. This treaty was renewed several times. Finally, as already mentioned, it was thrown into the

ash can by the Nazis, much to the distress of both *Wilhelmstrasse* and *Bendlerstrasse*—the diplomatic and the military leadership of pre-Hitler days.

Of course, both sides went through many anxious moments before this untoward finale. Relations were often strained under the Weimar Republic too. The code department of the *Wilhelmstrasse*, headed by a shrewd captain of the navy, Albert Selchow, reputedly deciphered most of the codes, even the most complicated and closely guarded ones of any country on this globe. Not only that, but knowing the weaknesses of the deciphered codes, this department managed to concoct a German code of its own which could not be deciphered because the basis of the code words was changing independently and automatically by a system unknown to the official who used the cipher. Of course this was a great help. One was able to control the greater part of the orders the *Handelsvertretung* received from Moscow. Berlin had become the headquarters of the trade executives for the whole of Russia. If one saw an order given to Berlin to buy grain on the Chicago pit to raise the world market prices it was easy to figure out that Russia intended to sell a great quantity to Berlin at much higher price levels. But also very important political hints were received by the "black chamber" of the Foreign Office.

Germany has learned from the Soviets how to organize barter trade. As a matter of fact, the whole South American barter business built up by orders of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is practically nothing but a copy of the methods first applied by Russian experts. Ago von Maltzan once quoted Lenin as having said, "When one day communism will rule over Germany, it will be so efficient and exemplary that nobody will speak of Russian communism any longer."

Russo-German relations deteriorated rapidly after the

Nazis came to power. In September, 1934, the Soviet Union was admitted to League membership. Litvinov's speeches in Geneva, his blunt warnings and dire prophecies testify to his foresight. He was by instinct and intelligence predestined to evaluate the Nazi menace correctly, but like Cassandra he was not heeded by the bourgeois powers. Litvinov waxed sarcastic more than once. At one of the disarmament conference meetings when the question arose as to whether only armaments of a certain caliber should be forbidden, Litvinov exclaimed, "I cannot see any difference in being shot by a big gun or by a small revolver. If I am killed, what difference does the size of the muzzle make?"

In dictatorially ruled countries—and Soviet Russia undoubtedly is one of them—little is known about the man or men who make foreign policy. As for Germany, we are not absolutely in the dark in this regard, but as for Russia we know practically nothing. If one does not know, one is entitled to guess, but he who intends to keep to the historical truth, has to confess the limitations of his knowledge. One can safely say that Stalin received quite reliable information through his *Narcomindiel* (the Russian State Department) and that Maxim Litvinov, the foreign secretary and chief of the *Narcomindiel*, knew how to extract sufficient reliable information from Russia's diplomatic agencies all over the world as well as from his own conversations with foreign diplomats. If he reported candidly to Stalin—and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he did not—he could only state that Hitler's play of pointing all his fingers at the dangerous big red bear found a hearty response everywhere—that is in all the countries which generally are regarded as "capitalistic." If there were any doubts, Ribbentrop's speech upon his arrival at Victoria Station, as Ambassador to Britain, told the world exactly how matters stood. His conversations

with British conservatives, statesmen as well as industrialists, bankers and parliamentarians were eagerly followed by Ivan Maisky, Russia's astute Ambassador to Britain. Alexander Troyanowski, Russia's first Ambassador to Washington after Litvinov's visit in 1933, was also a well-informed man.

The meetings of the Spanish non-intervention committee in London showed everybody from whence the wind blew. When Czechoslovakia was endangered and the Russians offered their help in accordance with previous treaties, France quite openly refused to cooperate. When Neville Chamberlain and Daladier met with Hitler and Mussolini in Munich, the Russians could not doubt that these Anglo-French statesmen had sold the Soviet Union down the river in the false hope that this would save their own people the horrors of a new war. Stalin and his foreign minister must have realized what that meant. One can assume that Stalin is suspicious at least in politics. And that he tried to take the bull by the horns was, in the light of events which have occurred since, quite natural and almost inevitable. One could not, therefore, be very much surprised to hear that the first suggestion for a Russo-German non-aggression pact came from the Russian side. Nobody will admit that, of course, and nobody is expected to do so. But friends who passed through New York City and have had occasion to discuss the developments during their stay in Moscow definitely stated exactly what we have tried to convey in the foregoing lines. And we have not the slightest doubt that the information given us was correct.

On May 3, 1939, the news went around the world that Maxim Litvinov had been replaced as chief of the *Narcomindel* by V. M. Molotoff. Everyone who knew instinctively which way the wind was blowing in politics felt immediately that a change in Russia's foreign policy was bound to come.

## RUSSO-GERMAN PACT OF AUGUST 23, 1939

That Great Britain and France did not realize that the way the rusty brass hats they had sent to Moscow conducted the conversations with the Russian government concerning an anti-Hitler front would increase Stalin's distrust and make him more receptive to Germany's counter proposals, which he received secretly, belongs in a chapter which is usually called *Verpasste Gelegenheiten* (missed opportunities). Unfortunately, Great Britain was not ably represented in Moscow while Germany was.

Von der Schulenburg is known to be an old fox, and among his staff were extremely competent old hands at Soviet affairs. The old Soviet-German military friendship, dating from the days when Oscar von Niedermayer resided in Moscow and controlled the exchange of information between the German and the Russian general staff, also came in very handy. The discussion went on in so discreet a way that von der Schulenburg reported to the Fuehrer personally. To camouflage his intention of visiting Berlin he asked by telegram one of his many Berlin lady-loves—he is a bachelor—to visit him in Moscow. This was to indicate to the Russians that he did not expect to leave his post at that time. Needless to say that the lovebird arrived in Moscow just a day after Schulenburg had departed for Berlin. Even the smart Japanese diplomats were outsmarted—and, most important of all, Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Chief of the Foreign Office, only knew half of the truth. Of course, when the commercial agreement was signed on August 19, 1939, the cat was out of the bag. But even then the British and French brass hats were still hopeful.

The final agreement, signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939, revealed plainly to the whole world that Stalin was top man. He now had Hitler in the palm of his hand, since the Fuehrer could only risk war if he was sure of Stalin. At

least, it looked that way at the time. The Russians played their roles like excellent actors, but the Germans, so far as acting is concerned, were even better.

Among the members of the *Buero Ribbentrop* at the time of Joachim's term as Ambassador in London, was one George Popoff. This Popoff was a London correspondent for certain Lithuanian and Hungarian newspapers, but reported, from time to time, to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. His articles made quite good reading. He was Russian by birth, had worked in the days of Stresemann as one of the assistants in Dr. Karl von Loesch's *Deutscher Schutzbund*, an institution which was supposed to take care of certain groups of *Auslands Deutsche* and which, after the Nazis were in the saddle, ended in Alfred Rosenberg's racial shop. Ribbentrop lured Popoff away from his early competitor. Popoff drew, through Embassy Chancellor Wilhelm Achilles, a monthly salary of one hundred pounds sterling and besides was fully reimbursed for his "expenses." He was quite well known in the London social set, and Lady Oxford, formerly Margot Asquith, called him "my dear friend George."

Neville Chamberlain spent many extended week ends fishing for trout on the estate of one of his relatives in Scotland. He sat at the head of the host's breakfast table and felt free in the mountain solitude to unburden his heart of candid political observations. He expressed on such occasions anti-bolshevist views of so outspoken a nature that Ribbentrop could not have hoped for better expression from a leading British statesman. When Neville and his umbrella left his relative's estate and his return to London was officially announced in the *Times*, George Popoff took the train to Scotland to visit the very place where the Prime Minister had enjoyed trout fishing and where he had indulged in front of his host in pungent political remarks. The informa-

tion which Popoff received at these quite regular occasions was compiled into lengthy reports which prominently featured Neville's comments on Communism and Stalin. These reports, from the pen of a gifted journalist, were considered so important that the Fuehrer was always given a copy, and a second copy was sent by dispatch bag to Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg. Schulenburg was very keen to get these reports the quickest way possible. Many telegrams from him confirm his impatience in awaiting further "information on trout fishing which proves to be of greatest interest to my personal clients." Whether Stalin in person was one of these clients, nobody will be able to tell, but it may have been sufficient if they reached Stalin through Molotoff.

Somehow the secret of Popoff's visits to Scotland must have leaked out. When the "foreign correspondent"—travelling as usual on a Latvian passport returned one fine day from Berlin to the British shores—he was unceremoniously advised that no landing permit would be granted him. And that was that. For a few weeks after the British authorities had dealt him this blow, he lived in great style at the Hotel Bristol in Berlin. Later on he was transferred "by his newspaper" to Rome.

That Ribbentrop, the knight-errant of anti-Bolshevism, went personally to Moscow, shook hands and conferred tête-à-tête with Stalin and Molotoff, dined and wined with the party leaders is really one of the most amusing and sensational stories one can imagine. This was the same Joachim who could not sit down at a dinner table without expanding vociferously upon the "greatest pest of our world" *die Schweine in Moskau* (the swine in Moscow), and now he had to fly there and sign the pact in person. So he betrayed

his bosom friend and pact partner, Hiroshi Oshima, the Japanese Ambassador.

Whatever one's opinion about the change in Russo-German relations may be, one has to admit that the new pact in itself was the most important event so far of the eventful period which began with the Nazi *Machtuebernahme*, the Nazi accession to power. One has to keep in mind that even in the times of the Weimar Republic, with its multitude of political parties and currents, with large parts of the German people being strictly, even fanatically opposed to the Soviet regime, the so-called *Russenkredite*, the loans for financing the business relations with Russia, were always and with overwhelming majority, voted on by all parties alike. These credits needed parliamentary ratification to become law. They always got it, and it was the only bill which was not subject to debate. But they got not only the consent of the parliament, but the people itself felt that economic co-operation with Russia was a matter of prime necessity. On this point, the military class as well as the civilians, the rich and the poor, were in agreement. It was, besides, the political testament of Bismarck, that Germany never, never, never should have Russia as an enemy. Germany had lost the war of 1914 for not having heeded this sound advice. Because of all this, the violent anti-Russian turn of the Hitler regime was the most debated item in the whole Nazi program, however popular the persecution of communists inside Germany was with certain groups. Whether Hitler and Ribbentrop had made up their minds never to take the Russian alliance of August 23, 1939, seriously, or not, the fact that Nazism overcame his *weltanschauliche* scruples and did something so eminently realistic and sober from the point of view of power politics as to go to Moscow enhanced its prestige enormously.



This is then what we find if we sum up the events leading up to Ribbentrop's appearance in the Kremlin: The Czech affair seen from the Russian angle meant the breaking up of the fateful Franco-Russian alliance, which squeezed Germany between two fronts, a situation which was aggravated by the fact that Czechoslovakia belonged to this anti-German combination. Hitler and the German generals assumed that the conversations between the Czech and the Russian general staffs were well advanced, with the result that the Russian air fleet could eventually strike devastatingly against Germany from Czech territory. Everybody in the know in Berlin was very much surprised to learn, after the fall of Czechoslovakia, that in reality the preparations for a joint Russo-Czech attack against Germany had been non-existent.

As the Polish crisis mounted and Sir Nevile Henderson kept repeating monotonously that England would fight for Poland, whatever Ribbentrop's private opinion in the matter was, the prima donna of the *Wilhelmstrasse* thought that anything would do to insure his theory that England would *not* fight, a theory on which his prestige was founded. Thus, Joachim became reconciled to the idea of going to Moscow, as fitting a climax to his career as would have been the appointment of John Brown as overseer of a slave plantation. To Ribbentrop it was the bluff that counted. He liked to think that once the Russian neutrality was in his pocket Poland was left without friends and that England, whose interest had been to entangle Russia in a war with Germany, would withdraw her fingers from the continental pie the moment this attractive possibility was gone. Ribbentrop, when flying back from Moscow, was sure that he had gained a great diplomatic victory over the obstreperous Munich partners and over old England in particular, and that Nazi-Germany was going to gain a military victory over Poland.

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But there his imagination stopped. For England went into the war in earnest. Ribbentrop's Moscow triumph and all previous achievements were jeopardized and went from bad to worse. I cannot but feel that both Hitler and Ribbentrop never considered the Soviet pact as anything but a clever temporary device which served its purpose for the moment and could be discarded whenever it pleased them.

# 16

## *The Polish Crisis*

THE gigantic, earth shaking operations of World War II have, diplomatically speaking, a tiny root half buried in the enormous mass of documents which litters the common ground of international relations. This infinitesimal root is the so-called British *Blanco-Scheck*, the blank cheque offered to Poland by Great Britain in form of an agreement between Prime Minister Chamberlain and the Polish Minister of Foreign Relations, Joseph Beck. This agreement was published on April 6, 1939. It was foreshadowed by a statement from Chamberlain in the House of Commons on March 31, 1939.

If you ask Ribbentrop why Germany is at war, he will answer that it is because England went out of her way to guarantee Poland her help if Poland should be involved through her own folly in a war with Germany. This "blank cheque" was the biggest item in the whole argument which led up to the murderous attack against Poland on September 1, 1939. Through the existence of this "blank cheque," the Polish-German tension in the summer of 1939 was no longer a Polish-German tension but an Anglo-German tension. Ribbentrop, in his preface to the *German White Book*, dated December 3, 1939, put it this way: "England was determined to step with naked force into the path of the Fuehrer whose

inspired statesmanship had succeeded in doing away with the most of Versailles' odious crimes without any bloodshed and without the slightest interference in England's interests. In the same way, the Fuehrer would have contrived to solve peacefully the German-Polish problem if England had not used Poland as a tool of her "will to war" and if, through this criminal policy, she had not precipitated Europe into the conflict." Territorial guarantees extended by Western powers to Germany's Eastern neighbors were definitely not in favor with Ribbentrop.

Hitler had signed, on September 29, 1938, a supplement to the Munich Pact according to which the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia would be safeguarded by an international guarantee. He was bound by his signature to give his guarantee and to let Italy, France, and Great Britain give theirs. Again and again, the French and British governments tried to settle the matter of an international guarantee for the remnant of Czechoslovakia. At last Monsieur Coulondre, the French Ambassador, two weeks before the occupation of Prague, received a note from Ribbentrop of which even the kindhearted Coulondre said that it contained certain "brutal and perfidious innuendos." We are here mainly interested in Ribbentrop's statement which maintained that engagements on the part of Western powers by which the *status quo* of regions situated in Eastern Europe like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, should be guaranteed, would have the effect of "promoting unreasonable tendencies" in these countries. Unreasonable tendencies, according to Ribbentrop, was a disinclination on the part of East European statesmen to be hauled, when their time had come, to Berlin or Berchtesgaden and there be submitted, as happened to Schuschnigg and Hacha, to the concentrated persuasive efforts for which the Gestapo, impersonated by Hitler and Ribbentrop, is famous.

Therefore, on March 21, 1939 when Ribbentrop approached Lipski, the Polish Ambassador in Berlin, and announced to him that Danzig should be restored to the Reich, Poland felt that this was no mere improvement of German communications across the corridor, but "that her hour had come." In a memorandum dated May 5, 1939, the Polish government expressed its reaction to Ribbentrop's sudden demands which, amplified by the reverberations of the German occupation of Prague, had all the characteristics of Nazi strong-arm technique. "It is clear," said the memorandum (*The British War Blue Book*, page 42) "that negotiations in which one State formulates demands and the other is to be obliged to accept these demands unaltered are not negotiations in the spirit of the (Polish-German) declaration of 1934 and are incompatible with the vital interests and dignity of Poland."

Poland refused, to Ribbentrop's consternation and fury, to round out the already staggering successes of Hitler's wild west methods with a contribution of her own. In a report of the French Ambassador, dated May 22, 1939, we read that Ribbentrop considered the fact that Poland rejected Hitler's proposals, "incredible." The proposals were Hitler's personal idea. Ribbentrop would never have approved them. They were, in his opinion, of an incomprehensible "mildness and broadmindedness." Ribbentrop thought it incomprehensible that Hitler could have been so modest in his claims and so generous with regard to the price he was willing to pay.

What was this price? In a speech before the German Reichstag on April 28, 1939, Hitler formulated five points which he would have been willing to concede, if he had not been so disappointed by the Poles' refusal to surrender. Joseph Beck, in his May 5 speech before the Polish parliament, commented on the most important of these points thus: "In his

speech, the Chancellor of the Reich proposes, as a concession on his part, the recognition and definite acceptance of the present frontier between Poland and Germany. I must point out that this would have been a question of recognizing what is *de jure* and *de facto* our indisputable property." It is a concession which would seem of singularly little value in the face of what happened to Czechoslovakia and of Hitler's promises in her respect.

Hitler did not take into consideration that the fate of Czechoslovakia helped form Poland's decision not to surrender substantial rights on the spur of the moment in exchange for vague promises. He broke off, in order to punish Poland, the 1934 Polish-German declaration of non-aggression, a pact which was concluded for ten years without any provision for termination during that time. The Polish government was obviously perfectly right in not accepting Hitler's pledge as valid currency.

As we have already seen, Ribbentrop, all through the summer of 1939, was going to harp on the fact that Poland did not buy her security through the surrender of Danzig in the days following the occupation of Prague. But he never mentioned what Beck termed "the weakening of collective international institutions" and "the complete change in the method of intercourse between nations." According to Ribbentrop this was not at the root of the refusal but England's "blank cheque was." However, when Poland answered Ribbentrop's high-handed demand to surrender Danzig she did not even refuse but simply made counterproposals—Poland did not as yet possess the English guarantee. It is true, that Beck went to London at the end of March in order to ask the British government for help. And Ribbentrop, in the memorandum handed to the Polish government on April 28, 1939, treated Beck's journey as if a vassal had

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deserted the camp of his feudal lord and offered his services to the enemy. The whole memorandum is written on a high note of indignation. There is in the memorandum a sentimental strain about the beauty and generosity of the German Siegfried and the faithlessness and baseness of the Polish Hagen which Hitler exploited to still more effect in his speech of April 28. Upon that occasion he indulged lavishly in his well-known traits of self-pity and self-adoration.

"Encirclement," screamed Ribbentrop. Perhaps he was right, but why this sudden interest of London in such a fateful course, such a desperate revival of discarded notions from the Edwardian era? Vernon Bartlett, in the letter by which he answered, on October 1942, the contention of Henry Luce in *Life* that England merely planned a war to hold the British Empire together, writes, "You could hardly find a country in the world of less obvious interest to the British Empire than Poland."

If successful diplomacy had so far meant the prevention of dangerous combinations which were liable to obstruct the moves his own country was planning, the famous "blank cheque" indicates the enormity of Ribbentrop's failure as a diplomat. The most unnatural, the most unimaginable alliance was formed between the secure island whose peace policy, forcefully backed up by the National Peace Ballot of 1934, was proverbial and the Slav power with its extreme emotions, unsettled frontiers, and uncharted destinies. A year earlier, it had been England's "peace at almost any price" policy which had elicited scorn and laughter in Berlin and Berchtesgaden.

In May, 1938, we received an interesting letter from a friend in the *Wilhelmstrasse*. It talked about the Czech crisis. Here is an excerpt from it: ". . . the fireworks are bound to explode soon, for Hitler is now sure, through Chamber-

lain's declaration in the House of Commons (his statement of March 24), that Great Britain will not lift a finger to help the Czechs. Are the English really so blind as not to see Chamberlain's declaration is the beginning of the end of Czechoslovakia?"

At about the same time that this letter was written in the early summer of 1938, Rauschning, as he relates in *Men of Chaos*, met a German acquaintance in Zurich. He discussed the crisis with this acquaintance. This gentleman's appraisal of Britain's role in the situation corresponded with the opinion of the letter writer we have just quoted, only he rejoiced whereas our friend in the *Wilhelmstrasse* was grieved, just as Rauschning was. "And your Western Powers have swallowed it all," cried Rauschning's acquaintance.

There can be no doubt that people in Germany were mentally intoxicated at the time. Much loose talk was going on at the expense of Great Britain not only in Germany and all Europe but in Asia and America as well. New sources of vitality were tapped. The muscular sons of the earth, naked to the waist and swinging huge hammers, as sketched by Hitler's court painters for the Nazi art shows, moved irresistibly against the "vested interests," and it was the despair of exiled liberals that they suddenly had to identify themselves with these vested interests and a doomed philosophy. This was the atmosphere in 1938 and 1939. But the "vested interests" gave Poland a blank cheque on April 6, 1939. Taunted, ridiculed, challenged, Britain decided, in the twelfth hour, that Hitler and Ribbentrop did not offer the world prospects which her conscience could afford to endorse and that it would be just as well for Britain to insist, at the risk of war, on the preservation of certain usages in international relations. For the German liberal who is not necessarily Anglophile, the point is that although the traditional usages



were defective, and although a world revolution against the vested interests was going on, the way Hitler and Ribbentrop handled German politics forced a doomed philosophy, a ripe, misguided and unessential society into heroism. After the Anglo-Polish agreement, which was a heroic act, because Hitler, being what he is, it meant inevitable war, the "vested interests" changed from minus to plus. They became one with the positive idea of justice which corresponded with the fundamental decency of the British people as a whole. It was Ribbentrop's great mistake to think that by inflating what he assumed was the dead letter of diplomacy with melodramatic effects and avenging fury he was "progressive."

Now take the Polish affair once more. Danzig looks very German. It is a grand old town on the Baltic. Normally it is difficult to see why a sort of German irredenta should have been created there at all. The Poles had Gdynia; they could have had all the facilities they liked at Danzig. There was no necessity of having somebody from the League of Nations reside on the spot and complicate the matter with far-fetched legalistic intricacies which had worked well neither in Manchuria nor in Ethiopia. It was a legitimate goal of German policy to get Danzig back into the Reich. Ribbentrop, however, was not interested in the medieval treasures of Danzig and in the burning if misguided loyalty of its German inhabitants. He was interested in exposing the wickedness of the Poles. There is a great difference between wanting a thing for its own sake and wanting a thing in order to have it refused and so have a grievance against the person who refuses it.

We do not have to go into the details of Ribbentrop's abrupt verbal demand for the surrender of Danzig on March 21, 1939, and what followed, once again. But it is necessary to remember this provocative procedure, doubly

provocative because it followed immediately after the humiliating end of Czechoslovakia. The Poles hastened to make counterproposals which is the most natural thing in diplomacy. But as far as Hitler and Ribbentrop were concerned "the Poles had missed their historical chance." They were doomed. They had to be annihilated. They had not only refused to accept the superlatively generous offer of the great men in Berlin, they had dragged England into Eastern European affairs, a capital crime. In Poland, Hitler and Ribbentrop intended to strike England and whosoever allied herself with England would perish.

After the danger of Russia siding with England against Hitler's "dynamism" was dispersed in Moscow on August 23, 1939, the great settling of accounts with Poland could begin. What makes the slaughter of Poland particularly unbearable is the way it is represented as a pedagogical act, as a just interference by the Reich, in the "Macedonian" conditions existing on the Eastern frontier, as a corrective the German *Kulturtraeger* reluctantly had to administer after milder methods had been of no avail. As to "Macedonian conditions" one has to remember the wounds the government in Germany inflicted upon the prestige and dignity of its own citizens in the concentration camps. One has to think of the artificial regression in thinking and feeling which the government forced on the once rich and complex German intelligence. No disinterested gesture, no pious gathering, no fine or spiritual hour was possible in Germany without the brutal cretinism of the *Stuermer* and the *Voelkischer Beobachter* creeping in consciously and subconsciously like some contagious disease. While Ribbentrop collected castles whose owners were butchered in Dachau, the big castle of the German imagination was blown to pieces by the gutter language of Adolf Hitler. One has to think of the attack

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on perfectly harmless people made by paid imbeciles and assassins in every nook and corner of the Reich during the pogrom in November, 1938. The "Macedonian conditions" were not on the Polish-German border. They were in Berlin.

And secondly, as to the alleged unreasonableness of the Polish government; like a magician who produces a rabbit, Ribbentrop produced "reasonable" terms after the twelfth hour had passed, the most amazing but also the most obvious window dressing in history. Everybody knows the story from Sir Nevile Henderson's memoirs. Ribbentrop's reasonable proposals suggested the return of Danzig, a plebiscite in the corridor, demilitarization of Danzig and Gdynia, an international committee of inquiry on the treatment of minorities, and demobilization of the German and Polish armies. Admirable proposals indeed—inspired by the most delicate international conscience. The trouble was that they were concocted, as Goering all but confessed to Sir Nevile, merely so that they could be broadcasted to the world in order to prove the "good faith" of the German government. They appeared only after the ultimatum of August 29 which demanded that a Polish plenipotentiary should present himself to Ribbentrop before midnight August 30 had expired. As Beck, whose fate was surely not an easy one in the days which were to follow, was reluctant to come to Berlin in order to be harried around a conference table until the morning hours as had happened to Hacha, it made all the difference in the world to him to know that the basis for the negotiations was going to be a "reasonable" one. But Ribbentrop was determined that he should not know.

This is all well told by the late Sir Nevile Henderson. During the memorable interview he had with Ribbentrop at midnight August 30, Ribbentrop, who "kept jumping to his feet in a state of great excitement, produced a lengthy docu-

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ment which he read out to me in German or rather gabbled through to me as fast as he could in the tone of the utmost scorn and annoyance." Ribbentrop is fond of making a show of his emotions. If you are tempted to observe his expression upon an historical occasion, watch him in the Nazi film of the War in the West, in the railroad car in Compiègne during the arrival of French negotiators. The mask of bored disgust he wears is almost indecent. But no matter what role Ribbentrop chose to act during his interview with the British Ambassador, Sir Nevile was justifiably eager to get the text of the part in order to communicate the good news of its comparative sanity to the Poles. But "Herr von Ribbentrop who always mistook rudeness for strength, refused categorically; threw the document with a contemptuous gesture on the table; and said that it was now out of date (*ueberholt*) since no Polish emissary had arrived at Berlin by midnight."

This document, Sir Nevile remarks, Ribbentrop had promised to place, if possible, at the disposal of the British government before midnight, that is, before it was *ueberholt*. He did not do so. But, above all, asks Sir Nevile (page 286), "why did he refuse even then to hand them to me? Not even Hitler could honestly have expected the Polish Government to appoint a plenipotentiary to discuss proposals in regard to which it was completely in the dark. Did Ribbentrop and his master not wish them to communicate to the Polish Government lest the latter might in fact agree to negotiate? It is the only conclusion which one can draw from this episode, since it might have made all the difference to the instructions given to Mr. Lipski on the following day if the Polish Government had been cognizant of the official text of the German proposals. In themselves and taken at their face value, they were not unreasonable and might well have served as a basis for negotiation. That is why one can

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only assume that Ribbentrop did not wish them to be discussed, and his attitude that night was not only one of ill manners, but also of ill faith."

It will be impossible to omit this well-known episode in any narrative dealing with the outbreak of World War II. If Joachim craved immortality, he has achieved his goal, but more in the manner of Herostratus, the man who burned the world's most beautiful temple, than in the manner of Alexander who expanded the Greek dream to the banks of the Indus.

Sir Nevile insists that the English did everything to convince Ribbentrop that they would fight in case Poland was attacked. It is undeniable that the documents assembled in the British Blue Book prove just that. Ribbentrop, however, "to the last continued to assert that England would never fight." This is very true, but we cannot agree with the conclusions the British diplomat draws from this "foolish obstinacy." Sir Nevile thinks it is faked. Worse, he thinks Ribbentrop needed a war to prove to the world that he was another Bismarck. It is my sincere conviction that Hitler and Ribbentrop had decided upon a war against Poland. They were absolutely determined to do to Poland what they were prevented, through the Munich arrangement, to do to Czechoslovakia a year before. They needed an awe-inspiring demonstration to prove that from now on Germany would not tolerate jokes at her expense on the part of "ridiculous" states, as Hitler called Poland, in the Reichstag, after the conquest. That was settled, but they did not want to have England as an enemy, or rather, they genuinely did not expect England to do anything about it. Their minds were made up. They would not be deterred again, this time by England meddling in the international scene. But that this policy meant war with England and France, they did not believe. Only eight

days before the memorable Henderson-Ribbentrop interview, Hitler declared, before the generals, according to Louis Lochner, "I know those wretched worms, Daladier and Chamberlain, from Munich. They will be too cowardly to attack. They won't go beyond a blockade." And after the Polish conquest, Hitler pompously announced, on October 6, before the Reichstag, that he was now willing to open peace negotiations with England and France. He had not the slightest doubt that with his military victory coming on top of the Moscow diplomatic victory, the English, reputed to be realistic, would be only too glad to be allowed, in spite of their previous slips, to salute the new Caesar. The consternation in Berlin, when Chamberlain politely declined, was tremendous and was not faked. The bitter resentment of being turned down by England before the eyes of the whole world can still be perceived in Ribbentrop's preface to the German White Book.

"The mind," according to Milton, "in its own place, and in itself can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven." Hitler and Ribbentrop had followed the good old German custom of first constructing the world in their own minds—not a very beautiful world. It was, in fact, the world of pessimists—a world which despises the humble and worships the powerful. What the real world was supposed to do was to illustrate the perspicacity of the masterminds by behaving exactly how they had predicted it would behave. If it behaved differently, Hitler and Ribbentrop who had interpreted not the world but their own imperfect stage of development, would, by no means, blame themselves but would feel very much offended by what they considered an ugly shortcoming in everything that was not Hitler and Ribbentrop. Though it is difficult to refute the unoriginal contention of Hitler that it is desirable to have power in politics, he was mistaken about the satis-

faction he would get out of the fact that power was restored to Germany. His primitive psychology had suggested to him that as long as he was not powerful he was not honorable: that with power would come honor, in the outward and inward sense. At Munich when he was arbiter of Europe and the world and when the mighty flocked to his abode, he had his magnificent hour, but it was shortlived.

In the French Yellow Book, there is a report by the *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin, de Montbas. It is dated January 5, 1939, and it describes the *Weltschmerz* that entered the hearts of the Nazi chiefs at the very moment when Fate was smiling at them as it had never done before and was never to do after. This is how he characterizes the feelings of the authorities in Berlin: "So far as foreign policy is concerned, Greater Germany did acquire neither the sympathetic applause nor the respect and the prestige which it could expect on the basis of its victories. In spite of the Munich agreement the English-German relations were unsatisfactory as never before." And then he goes on to dwell on the deterioration of German-American relations in consequence of the pogrom in November, 1938 and the hostile attitude of President Roosevelt.

Hitler and Ribbentrop felt misunderstood. They were disappointed that, despite their victories, they did not bask in the sun of world approval or that their wishes were not catered to unhesitatingly by solicitous neighbors, but that their *Weltanschauung* was neither liked nor accepted and that they had to cut their path to glory through an increasingly hostile environment. This disappointment was an important factor in the beginning of World War II. Henderson neglects this particular aspect of the psychology of the Nazis who, while indulging in their hatreds, expected that the echo would be love. They had lost their illusions. Henderson ascribes Ribbentrop's quaint performance in the last days of August to

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so trivial an impulse as personal advancement. Even when Ribbentrop enters a world historical hour, he makes it seem trivial. Yet the main impulse may have been, as with his master, the resentment felt against the whole of creation by an undeveloped character who suddenly realizes that whatever grandeurs and monstrosities he could engineer, he will never be able to jump over his own shadow.



# 17

## *How Ribbentrop Prepared "Peace in Our Time"*

IF WE look for a reason as to why peace should have disappeared from the European continent in the twentieth century, our eyes turn to Germany, accusingly. There is a widespread feeling that here is a giant with an unbalanced psychology, a difficult and most pathological case of mental and physical maladjustment, and an inclination to murderous practices which is astounding in a country whose contributions to civilization are, by common consent, enormous.

During World War I, this feeling created the image of a sort of Frankenstein's monster. Germany became an invader from some inhuman planet. She was a beast of inconceivable cruelty and monstrous aspirations. But after the war was over, when the professors started digging into the files, the diplomatic evidence, for particularly Frankensteinian behavior on Germany's part, was at least insufficient. Bethmann, the Chancellor, seemed to have invited the catastrophe by irresolution rather than by premeditation. The Kaiser, despite his usual habit of regularly talking out of tune, was nothing but a cork on the waves, and the leading militarists were not very different in their eagerness to employ the instruments of war. As a matter of fact, Vienna and Petersburg appear, in the light of history, to have been more potent agents on the road to war than Berlin.

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Despite this extenuating evidence, it is a fact that Germany had failed to utilize her enormous power unreservedly for the enforcement of peace. Not only the traditions of the classical Germany of Kant, traditions which indeed had been entirely and tragically eclipsed in the nineteenth century by the blood and iron philosophy of Bismarck and Bernhardt, but primitive consideration of expediency would have recommended such a course. For instance, at the very moment when war broke out, 1914, the skillful system of alliances and guarantees behind which Bismarck had tried to shelter the empire of his making had completely collapsed. Germany, instead of being the centre of a friendly concert of nations, was isolated. The Austrian alliance, the last remaining vestige of the Bismarckian diplomatic structure, had become merely a liability and forced Berlin into a blind partnership with the blunderers in Vienna. There was really nothing Germany could gain by war which it could not gain a hundredfold by maintaining peace.

However, according to *Mein Kampf*, the Germany of Wilhelm II did not talk and act sufficiently along martial lines. If it had, it would have won the war. As long as Bismarck was at the helm in Germany, France was isolated. After twenty-five years of Wilhelm II, Germany was isolated. According to the Nazis, the reason for this was not because the stabilizing influence and the relatively limited and defensive programs of the old Chancellor were followed by the erratic schemes, childish susceptibilities, and blustering phrases of the Kaiser and his clique, but because Germany had invited her encirclement by her weakness. Item one of the Nazi program, as far as foreign affairs were concerned, was, therefore, not to repeat this mistake and to make Germany superlatively formidable in a military sense to the exclusion of any other consideration. This would result in

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a pronounced disinclination on the part of potential competitors to band together again with hostile intentions. They would rush toward agreements with Germany in order to insure its benevolence.

Ironically, yet characteristically, Chancellor Prince Buelow had very much the same idea when pushing the naval program of imperial Germany ahead. He, also, had the idea that once Germany had arrived at her maximum strength on land and sea, the notion of interfering with her might forcibly would be abandoned by her adversaries, simply because the risk would be too great. Germany would then be in a position to command the prostrate respect of the world without having to bother about the resentment that was likely to crop up. The situation Prince Buelow envisaged was ideal from the German point of view.

It was well-understood by the Imperial German government that Germany, in pursuance of this program, would have to pass through a "danger zone," a period when its superiority in terms of arms and preparedness was not yet unquestioned. This period would afford Germany's enemies their last chance to strike with any prospect of success and so save their independence from the whims of the inexorable growing Teutonic Hercules. It was Buelow's obvious counsel that the German government should avoid war at all costs when passing through this danger zone. His fury, when Bethmann, his successor, did not manage to do so and permitted war to break out at the worst possible moment for Germany, was unbounded and is reflected all through his memoirs. Buelow points out several peace-saving devices Bethmann could have employed in the emergency, and probably he is right.

In the late thirties, the Nazis faced the same "danger zone" Buelow had predicted for Germany before 1914, and they were also aware of it. Ribbentrop's problem then should have

been peace, just as Buelow's and Bethmann's problem had been—peace not as an end in itself but as a means to attain an unchallenged "place in the sun" for Germany. So far as the notion of peace as such was concerned, Germany was certainly one with the general trend of the time. Everybody abhorred war. So far as the ultimate end of the Nazi "peace" policy was concerned, the domination of the European scene by sheer weight of super armaments, Germany was obviously not in accord with her neighbors. Ribbentrop's job was, therefore, to emphasize, in the eddies and shoals of the danger zone, those sides of the German foreign policy which were internationally acceptable, while the objectionable ultimate goal had either to be hidden from the eyes of the world or to be made attractive by a generous use of Machiavellian tricks. Here the Nazis had the initial advantage. But as in everything, the Nazis overdid their disregard of formal diplomatic rules and became bores as they tried the same jokes over and over again.

Normally, of course, the office of diplomats consists in inspiring confidence in the sanity and reliability of the country they serve. The Nazis tried this angle too. They used gentlemen with clean fingernails and ladies, either of the Mata Hari or of the most innocuous Hausfrau type, to sell their little revolution to gullible foreigners. They used titled and scholarly career men, professors of repute, and businessmen of impeccable standing. They sent them abroad to testify for the blessed regularity of events at home. The Olympics were held in Berlin as if equality of races and brotherhood of man were the very essence of the Nazi creed. Enthusiastic visitors from abroad were entertained in former royal castles with candlelight, music, lobster, and champagne. They received decorations. English and French veterans of the War

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of 1914 were invited to Berlin and fraternized with German veterans.

But one had only to look into the concoction of preposterous curses and cheap prophecies called *Mein Kampf* in order to realize that any policy based on this document was bound to clash sooner or later with the political manifestations of the rest of the world. *Mein Kampf*, this epic of the half-baked mind, played international politics as children play cowboys and Indians. Those who took the precepts of *Mein Kampf* as their model, did not only terrorize and persecute members of groups and organizations with international affiliations inside Germany, but blithely murdered Dr. Dollfuss, the head of a friendly neighborly nation. They assassinated emigrants in their trusted asylums. Professor Bruno Lessing in Czechoslovakia is only one example here. They kidnapped others in Switzerland. They violated frontiers incessantly, and they organized, at official party meetings in Nuremberg, in the midst of peace, hysterical crusades of hatred and slander against the Soviet Union. These disturbing practices made diplomatic intercourse with the rest of the world a lesson in "dangerous living."

The good old foreign office in the *Wilhelmstrasse* was amazed at the *Mein Kampf* inspired Nazis and Herr Ribbentrop, making a madhouse of diplomacy and yet managing to survive. It is true that, for a long time, they were an unfavorably conspicuous and highly suspect addition to the international scene, but they survived. After the assassination of their one and only opponent of any caliber, Barthou, and especially after the bungling of the Ethiopian affair by the democracies, they prospered. The old diplomatists in the *Wilhelmstrasse* asked themselves how it was possible that the Nazis could violate every procedure the career men had

cherished and yet be successful. There were theories in explanation of this phenomenon:

1. Fundamentally, the world was more interested in seeing Germany as a whole satisfied and united in the adoration of her incomprehensible leader than concerned with the suppression of certain "non-conformist groups" like Jews, Catholics, Masons, etc.

2. War was such an extremely uncivilized and clumsy expedient that even the wildest escapades of the Nazis were accepted as a lesser evil.

3. There was something in the Nazi claim that Europe was Balkanized and unwieldy and that it needed some remodelling, especially in the East.

4. There was something, too, in the Nazi claim that Bolshevism was a great menace and that only tough people could check it.

5. Possibly the Nazis were right when they claimed that they had a big revolution on their hands and that irregularities were bound to happen in the beginning of every revolution; soon everything would be normal again.

6. The intimidation tactics on the part of the Nazis had worked; the world was convinced that the secret armaments of the Nazis had already attained such proportions that antagonism would not pay any more; and, all in all, was it not safer to come to terms with Germany?

But the Nazi policy, despite its bull-in-the-china shop methods, seemed to have, in the eyes of experienced observers, quite a few chances of success. The goal was, as I have pointed out, the attainment of such an enormous superiority in armaments that the New Order could be imposed upon Europe and the world with the crushing inevitability of fate. If under such ideal circumstances an isolated and feeble opponent should choose armed resistance, the result would be

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not a war but a walkover. Always speaking from the point of view of what a Nazi foreign minister should have done in order to assure a state of affairs which the world would have every reason to dread and to prevent, it is difficult to conceive of procedures which are very different from those the Nazis actually followed: firstly, making the democratic principle of self determination apply to the German race as a whole, thus shattering the hostile bulwarks in the East with the help of an agreement respectable in itself, and secondly, exploiting the legend that the communistic bogey was *ante portas*. These promising and clever procedures, in order not to defeat their purpose, that is preparing Germany's military supremacy without a war breaking out before the time was ripe, needed editing. This was the job of the Foreign Minister, and here Ribbentrop failed disastrously.

Naturally, it was all important to quiet certain apprehensions on the part of Germany's neighbors lest territorial aggrandizement in Austria and Czechoslovakia claimed as a rightful patrimony of the German race in the hour of its unification was in reality intended to serve as a platform for an ambitious and vicious imperialistic program. It is unnecessary to recall the terrific noise that accompanied the annexation of Austria and German-speaking parts of Czechoslovakia. What everybody who knew the Nazis knew all the time, but what large and influential groups abroad typified by Mr. Chamberlain still refused to believe, had now become world-wide common knowledge. The world no longer dealt with a temperate, honest, industrious, pious, self denying Germany.

If we cannot call Ribbentrop the inventor of those shock tactics which with their crudeness and brutality discredited Germany, it is a well documented fact that he did everything to foster them. It was precisely his toughness, as compared

with Neurath's caution, that recommended him to Hitler. Disastrous as the goal of the Nazis, a military supremacy of unparalleled magnitude, was for the world at large, it is difficult to see the particular merit Ribbentrop's toughness was supposed to have in the situation, from the Nazi point of view. Before Ribbentrop's eyes stood Germany's defeat in 1918, caused partially by psychological blunders on the part of the Kaiser before 1914. The Nazis knew that it was essential for their sake to avoid the psychological isolation that had brought about 1918, and yet, the Nazi Foreign Minister knew of nothing better to do than to reproduce the very sins of the imperial diplomacy, only on an unprecedented scale. It was like somebody, who having slipped on the staircase, attempts to reach the second floor from the outside, by climbing the wall.

There was stupidity, lethargy, unpreparedness, and even crookedness in France and England that made the successes in Austria and Czechoslovakia possible, but the main asset which Hitler and Ribbentrop were able to exploit unscrupulously was a feeling, on the part of the 1918 victors, that the time had come to show good will toward the bewildering manifestations of Germany. This feeling was accentuated by the lamentable state of affairs in the democracies. These conditions suggested that affairs at home needed mending too, and perhaps even more urgently. Now the democracies were willing to sacrifice their prestige and all the guarantees they had won in four and a half years of World War, their alliances, the League of Nations, their strategic control, in order to satisfy the Nazis by permitting them to grab Austria and the Sudeten.

If this enormous success seemed indeed to proclaim the brilliance of Hitler's and Ribbentrop's tactics, it was there and then that Ribbentrop's incompetence for his job was



most glaringly revealed. It is true that the fatal change of heart on the part of the democracies as far as German aspirations were concerned, embodied by Mr. Chamberlain's policy, annihilated the position of liberals inside and outside Germany. But the Nazis had not yet won the game either. If Ribbentrop's system had responded at all to the finer nuances of the diplomatic game, he would have remembered that the honor of his profession is to catch the bird and not to advertise the kill halfway by gloating and boasting of the gratifying prospect of its being caught. In view of the ultimate end of the Nazi policy it should not have mattered a bit to Ribbentrop whether he dealt with gouty plutocrats or unfashionable communists. The only thing that should have mattered was that they did not kick.

But Ribbentrop wilfully gave the Austrian and Czechoslovakian successes an aspect that would assure him the plaudits of the fanatical mob at home but would at the same time enlighten even the Fuehrer's most ardent admirers abroad about the true nature of doing business with Hitler. He told the German people, thirsting for some recognition of their newly won prominence, that the way the Czech problem had been solved was typical of how German foreign politics would be conducted ever after. Hitler, comfortably installed as head of the world's greatest army, had only to sulk in his tent and the prime ministers of the world's noblest empires would breathlessly rush into his presence and hand him, on a silver platter, the choicest bits of land and sea, so that he might smile again. In a word, Ribbentrop chose to anticipate the German millennium his policy was supposed to create. He misrepresented the very special basis for the Munich agreement and made it look as if the world, by signing it, had definitely recognized the validity of the totalitarian revolution in the management of international affairs.

The Sultan from Braunau was permitted to din his triumph into the ears of his vassals in London and Paris. In the Saarbruecken speech, a few weeks after the Czech settlement, Hitler, singling out the duped Mr. Chamberlain for a full measure of his contempt, jubilantly ridiculed the umbrella man who had played into his hands. In the same breath he warned the English that they should beware of ever exchanging these convenient gentlemen for less amenable leaders, for instance Churchill, Eden, and even Duff Cooper who had dared to disapprove of the Fuehrer's inspired methods. The infantilism behind the imposing façade of the Third Reich has rarely found a more illuminating exhibition, and we owe this questionable spectacle less to the conquest-mad Fuehrer than to Ribbentrop who was supposed to control the diplomatic utterances of his raving boss.

The Czech settlement had been a disastrous defeat for liberal opinion all over the world, but the discomfiture of Mr. Chamberlain's critics would have been complete if the behaviour of the Nazis, after the signing of the Munich Pact, had been moderate and reasonable. We insist on this point because it shows Ribbentrop as a common-place playboy of extremely limited instinct. Ribbentrop gave his name to the most vicious pogrom in Europe since the days of Diocletian. It was as if Ribbentrop considered it his particular mission to justify the direst prophecies of the liberals.

The march into Prague, on top of all this, was an almost superfluous if redundant reminder that the Nazis regarded the barriers of law eliminated from their road to glory. Everybody was by now aware of it anyway. And it was now more than clear that the tribulations of the German minorities had been used as the mirage that occupied the mind of Lord Runciman while the Nazis said "welfare of co-nationals" (*Volksgenossen*) and meant the Skoda works. Ribbentrop

did not even bother to soften this exposure of his and his fellows' true physiognomy by a polite show of embarrassment. Ordinarily it is not thought desirable in a foreign minister to emphasize callousness, and it was Ribbentrop's mistake that he believed he could play Caligula before the cause he served was beyond retributive justice.

As we have seen, one main asset of Nazi Germany, a vague feeling of guilt and fatigue on the part of the victors of 1918, and a desire to be accommodating in the face of the former enemy's insistent claims, was frivolously exploited and then contemptuously thrown overboard. The other main asset, the antagonism of the West against Soviet Russia, was hardly treated with more consistency. In order to take full advantage of this latter asset, it was merely necessary to persuade the world that the Nazis were a lesser evil than the communists. Ribbentrop had started out for London convinced that his copious diplomatic gifts would enable him to force, on the cautious Englishmen, his idea of how the situation should be handled. Hailing the King *à la* Hitler and flinging about the money of his impoverished countrymen on an indecent scale, he acted as if he was already in command of the diplomatic general staff of an United Occident, and as if, wildly acclaimed by grateful Tories, he was about to coerce Moscow into abandonment of its sinister schemes. Ribbentrop always has a tendency to anticipate his dreams and to behave as if there were neither fate nor his own inadequacy between himself and their realization.

After the Polish campaign was over, in 1939, Ribbentrop, in a speech he made at Danzig, voiced his utter incredulity at the British refusal to appreciate the advantages he had offered them. If they had backed the right horse, they would have shared in the spoils. The stubborn attitude of the British had wounded him deeply, even when he had been Ambassa-

dor in London. We have seen that the Munich victory had failed entirely in appeasing his rancour against Albion. On the contrary, he conceived the childish notion that stepping on their toes was the proper method to deal with Englishmen. The best proof that he had completely given up any hope of inducing the Western powers to accept his starry vision of Europe's future was the absence of any diplomatic preparation of the Prague *coup*, and of any excuse afterward. To Ribbentrop, it was enough to commit this tremendous breach of faith, the march into Prague. He was sure that the democracies would be "stunned" and would remain so.

But even Ribbentrop could not help noticing, as the Polish question came up, that something resembling resistance was at last forming in London. He was staking his prestige on the theory that the English would not fight. Naturally the English would not have fought, if Ribbentrop had been able to convince them that not fighting was in the best interests of the majority of nations and of Britain particularly. That he had failed to convince Europe, morbidly averse to war, speaks for his record. On the other hand, it speaks for England's record that she rather preferred to risk, with the "blank cheque" to Poland, not only the existence of the Empire but also the extermination of her country and people rather than "win the world by selling her soul to the devil." This almost suicidal pact between England and Poland will be regarded by future generations as the outstanding act of decency, committed at a time when the Axis made decency in politics a joke.

# 18

## *Ribbentrop's Character as I See It*

RIBBENTROP is the sort of German who has lost himself and is looking for a substitute. The Nazi party is the limbo of lost and not as yet unrecovered types between the devil of philistinism and the deep sea of the superman. The philistine is catered to by grotesquely worded laws like the *Gesetz zur Wiedereinfuehrung des Berufsbeamtentums*, by the reintroduction of grim discipline, by glorified provincialism like "blood and soil," peasant dances, and beer. The superman, on the contrary, revels in gigantic, earthshaking plots, in an endless succession of "world historic decisions," in displays of immoral grandeur *à la* Nietzsche and d'Annunzio, and in laying down the law to trembling continents.

Ribbentrop is decidedly trying to sell the world the superman slant. Let us concede that he has imagination enough to see that in a billion horsepower civilization like ours international politics call, perhaps, for streamlines not known in the horse and buggy days. He is able to perceive that Professor Haushofer's geopolitical schemes have a certain resemblance to well-integrated dynamos, synthetic rubber, and industrial and military combines. Ribbentrop loves to think of himself as the paragon of the New Era, the Metternich of an international order based on master races, or perhaps one master race—the German. He delights in thinking of himself

as the President of a league of three or four totalitarian units.

If this were all, it would not sound so terrible. The sad truth, however, seems to be that very possibly there is a big role that needs to be played, but the actor who makes us believe that he is playing it, plays in reality only the outer attributes of the role, not its essence. The actor is naively convinced that by concentrating on the attributes and making them dazzling, everybody will believe themselves to be face to face with the real thing. Ribbentrop recalls certain artists and writers in the expressionistic interlude of the Weimar Republic. They knew that our age invites great, unheard-of emotions, a change of heart, upheavals, proclamations, ardent confessions. They knew it, but there was no Shakespeare or Titian among them to make the knowledge come true. Ribbentrop knows that the Master of the Twentieth Century is supposed to use incredibly high-powered airplanes; to move about in super cars preceded and trailed by clouds of motor cycles; to cross frontiers in special trains elegantly painted in powder blue, but whistling ominously; to steal castles in conspicuous mountain solitudes near Salzburg—he knows it all. It is the cliché of a mind incapable of following its own organic law and therefore escaping into stage effects. If Hitler is the reincarnation of Knipperdolling, the Anabaptist, Ribbentrop is just a half-baked Cagliostro.

To dress this sinister and grotesque character in the language of school psychology: "His psychological vagaries are caused by an interacting emergence and submergence of certain experience sets on different planes." And there was also an uncanny capacity for taking offense. There was, first of all, the revolt against the stuffiness and provincialism of his early life. The meticulous habits of the German middle class before 1914 generally got on the nerves of its most alert progeny. An oppressive conformity to archaic but formidable principles

deprived life in small garrison towns, where Ribbentrop was destined to grow up, of the blessing of spontaneity. Every move was established by precedent. Nothing which met the eye or mind lived on its own momentum but had its predestined place in the fundamental scheme of Germanic virtues.

The complacency with which the inevitability of inherited clockwork methods was accepted by the older generations was considerably resented by sons and daughters of industrious but altogether petty tradesmen and officials. They either formed wild eyed associations of youngsters like the *Wandervoegel* who escaped domestic, scholastic, or professional tyranny by roaming through the woods of the Fatherland, where they were deepest; or they read Baudelaire, Nietzsche, Oscar Wilde, and the *Tatler* and indulged in visions of the *grand monde* represented by bored Grand Dukes, demoniacal criminals with villas in Monte Carlo, or exclusive dowagers at the Faubourg St. Germain. Ribbentrop adheres to the latter group.

The opposition against the subaltern pedantism which, ironically enough, was to be one of the factors of Germany's downfall in 1918, crystallized around the person of Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, agile Buelow's pedantic and serious successor who led Germany into war in 1914. The battles of Tannenberg and the Marne were almost eclipsed by the battle that was fought inside Germany around Bethmann. It was a battle of the soul, like the Dreyfus affair in France fifteen years before. Bethmann was the German counterpart of Chamberlain. He embodied certain of his country's virtues, which, because they no longer suited the dramatic demands of the twentieth century, had in a critical hour only sentimental appeal, and that was not enough. Like all the nationalistically minded people in Germany, Ribbentrop was anti-Bethmann. He was convinced that Germany

lost the war in 1918 not because of any superficiality of Germany's war aims or because of the greater vitality of the democratic idea, but because of the persistent survival of the *Deutsche Michel*, a symbol standing for misguided and pedantic credulity and ignorance of the ways of the world, half touching in ignorance, half exasperating.

Because he was lucky enough to come into money, he enjoyed exuberantly the possibilities of the republic—not from the democratic but from the aristocratic angle. The repressions grown in the vicinity of his father's infantry barracks were blithely lifted in a whirl of "high life." The coveted splendour of metropolitan society became his daily bread. There is nothing particularly reprehensible in snobbery. Nearly everyone goes through times when to have a group of heavily titled or otherwise prominent personalities around the dinner table appears more meritorious than to listen to the Moonlight Sonata in solitude. But Ribbentrop was a snob with a vengeance. To twist his stomach with caviar in the presence of the Duke of Devonshire or the American Ambassador he would walk more than a mile. He considered this sort of thing the supreme manifestation of *Weltanschauung*. I am sure he had, at times, acrimonious arguments with his modest father who heartily disapproved of the plutocratic habits of his son. Ribbentrop lived the life of a dandy as others live the life of a conspirator—in defiance of the teachings of his elders and betters, consciously wounding them with his mundane whims in order to revenge himself for dreary hours of instruction in philistine righteousness. But unconsciously he wounded the atavisms within his own soul. This man, who in vain tried to out-plutocrat the plutocrats of Berlin under the Weimar Republic, used a movement that stank of the vulgar herd he despised in order to attain the social triumphs which he so naively paraded throughout



## RIBBENTROP'S CHARACTER AS I SEE IT

Europe. There is no genuine trait in him. All of his life is an attempt to "get even" with someone or something; to vent his spleen against one social group after the other where his ambitions and gifts were not appropriately recognized.

As a plutocrat Ribbentrop got far, but not far enough for his taste. When he heard the clarion call of the eternal adolescent from Braunau, he discovered that a great many of his competitors for the title of *arbiter elegantiarum* were named after dignitaries in the Old Testament, and had therefore no right to stand in his way. Having avenged himself by a life of conspicuous consumption on his Spartan uncles and aunts, he now turned furiously against unlucky non-Aryans whose pleasantries at his expense rankled in his mind and in whom he chastised his own excesses. Under the influence of Hitler's stern apostrophes the moneyed, pleasure-hunting city dweller was discarded as a model in smart living and ignominiously lumped together with that thoroughly undesirable category called "judeo-communistic elements."

Stendhal says, "For the Germans truth is not what exists, but what ought to be true according to their system." Ribbentrop's system called at that particular moment for a dragon because his heroic propensities, neglected in the business of selling and consuming champagne, wanted to be employed in slaying it. But Ribbentrop's interest in the "great world" suggested to him an even nobler role than that of merely purging the German people of the infection which he had had so ample and so intimate an occasion to study. He thirsted to save what he called the "decent people," that is France and England too.

Wilhelm II once painted a picture which, bad as it was, you may or may not call prophetic. It was named: "Nations of Europe Save Your Holiest Possessions." It showed St. Michael on a promontory waving a fiery sword before a

group of slightly dismayed Brunhildas, representing the different States that formed the Occident before 1914. Far in the distance towered the gentle Buddha transformed into a nightmarish idol—the yellow peril.

Now Ribbentrop was St. Michael travelling in breathtaking luxury to Paris and London and filling the boudoirs of the elect with dire warnings—not of the yellow peril (he was quick in recognizing fellow Aryans in the Japanese) but of the judeo-communistic peril.

He may have had a perfect right to feel that way. There was, however, that unfortunate eagerness of his to impress his Aryan friends abroad with even a greater degree of worldly ostentation than he had learned to master while hobnobbing with the Goldschmidt-Rothschilds. People could not help remembering that John the Baptist, when announcing a New Day, was clad in a hair shirt and fed on locusts. After all, he was not so much the delegate of a people that had seen the silver lining, but of his own inclination to climb. He out-Englished the English. Dr. Ley, boss of the German Labor front, returned from a visit to Ribbentrop's London Embassy telling strange stories to the roughnecks at home. "I could not even understand what he said to me. He speaks German like an Englishman who tries to speak German out of sheer condescension."

The English hate to be rushed. Again Ribbentrop got surprisingly far, but not quite far enough. Again the time had come when he had to get even. A good example of how he carried out his puerile vindictiveness can be found in the memoirs of Sir Nevile Henderson. We refer to the scene that took place when the British Ambassador took leave of the *Wilhelmstrasse*. At that moment one point had been clarified: the dragon in Moscow had to be slain without the blessing of a gratefully applauding Occident. As a matter of

fact, the Aryan friends in Paris and London had to be slain first.

There was a moment in our Western society when people were not only angry at each other but also furious with themselves. The world was not as beautiful anymore, with all the unemployed, and you could push all the customary buttons as much as you liked, happiness and prosperity did not return. Somebody appeared at this psychological moment and told in a most violent language and with curses born in the depths of exasperation that he knew all the time that the stuffed shirts were wrong. There was consternation everywhere and averted eyes and guilty consciences. But the wise men said: all this is fine as far as it goes, but you must be careful. This they said to the violent gentleman who did not like to be careful but gave in. At last Ribbentrop appeared and told him, "Nonsense, your method is the right one. You have flabbergasted everyone. The whole world is tottering, except you. I do not say like those idiots who tell you to be careful. On the contrary go full steam ahead." This was Ribbentrop's recipe for success. It worked with Hitler who, like an avenging angel, could deal out shocks right and left with the blessing of that polished cosmopolitan Joachim, and it worked quite a few times with the world, which was not yet accustomed to the newfangled tactics of the enterprising team; just as the Romans had to get accustomed to Pyrrhus' elephants. But in the long run, the Romans could stand elephants, and in the long run Adolf's and Joachim's unkind little jokes failed to upset their victims quite as much as in the beginning.

A sad fact, a deplorable result, entirely due, Ribbentrop

is telling Hitler, to the idiocy prevailing in the headquarters of the democracies. We can be sure that he will never accuse himself and his own, to put it mildly, erratic manner, a manner that served only to bring into relief the vagaries of his uneducated employer in Berchtesgaden. Never before, if not in the days of Messalina and the Pompadour, have historic decisions of grave consequence become so much the playthings of morbid vanity than now, when Ribbentrop is driving the apocalyptic horses of the German foreign policy.

My sleep is usually undisturbed. But in the days when I finished this manuscript, the Old German Foreign Office appeared in my dreams. I was walking along beside the old Chancellery, and finally I reached the entrance to No. 76, the entrance which is called the *Ministertreppe*, the staircase reserved for the minister and his visitors of diplomatic rank. Old Schmidt, the doorman with the white beard, greeted me. He was friendly—as he has always been. He pointed to the tall lamp post which flanked the entrance on its left. And there I saw a body hanging—Ribbentrop's body dressed in the uniform which he had introduced for wear in the Foreign Service. I woke up shuddering. But thinking it over, I must confess that I knew that this lamp post would do!

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*Franklin Institute of Boston*

#### STUDENT AND TEACHER IN FRANKLIN INSTITUTE OF BOSTON

In the early days, young men borrowed money from the Franklin Fund to learn trades of that time. According to the records, they wanted to be bricklayers, cabinet makers, tanners, silversmiths, blacksmiths, tallow chandlers (candle-makers), coopers, bakers, and hairdressers.

Today, graduates of the two-year programs find jobs as assistants in chemical research, civil engineering, architecture, electrical maintenance, electrical engineering, electronic research, mechanical engineering, automotive repair, commercial photography, and in factories requiring special skills.

Ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in that Town; who are to let out the same upon Interest at five per cent per Annum to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an Apprenticeship in the said Town; and faithfully fulfilled the Duties required in their Indentures, so as to obtain a good moral Character from at least two Respectable Citizens, who are willing to become their Sureties in a Bond with the Applicants for the Repayment of the monies so lent with Interest according to the Terms . . . .

Among the "young married artificers" who borrowed money from this fund in May of 1791 were a bricklayer, a cabinet maker, a tanner, a silversmith, a blacksmith, a saddler, and a baker. They paid back their loans with interest.

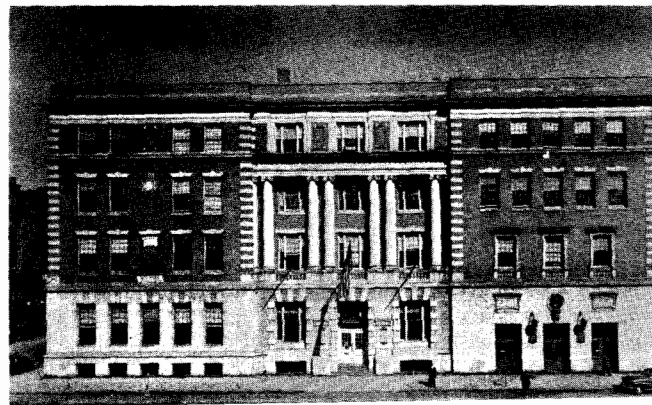
According to Franklin's will, the fund was divided into two parts in both Boston and Philadelphia, the first to gather interest for one hundred years, and the second, for two hundred years. In Boston, after a hundred years, the 1000 pounds sterling amounted to \$432,000 with which the Board of Managers established a trade school, the Franklin Institute. The second part of the fund available in 1991, after two hundred years, is now well over a million dollars.

In Philadelphia, Franklin requested that the city officials handle the money. He recommended that the hundred-year fund be spent "in bringing by Pipes the Water of Wissahickon Creek into the Town . . . I also recommend making the Schuylkill compleately navigable." Since these needs

#### FRANKLIN INSTITUTE OF BOSTON

In time, fewer "young married artificers" applied for loans from the Franklin Fund. The apprentice system of Franklin's day was no longer popular. The trustees pondered a way to carry out Franklin's instructions in the spirit of his will. In 1908, plans were made to spend the money for a trade school where students could learn skills needed in new industries. The school is now co-educational.

*Franklin Institute of Boston*



no longer existed, the Board of Trustees in Philadelphia turned over the first part of the Franklin Fund, a little over \$133,000, to erect the Franklin Institute in that city. With good management and profits, the fund grew to over a million and a half dollars. At the end of two hundred years, the money on hand is to be "divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the Government of Pennsylvania" as stated in Franklin's will.

Franklin remembered children in the Boston schools. He left in his will "One hundred Pounds Sterling" to be "put to Interest, and so continued at Interest forever, which Interest annually shall be laid out in Silver Medals, and given as honorary Rewards annually by the Directors of the said Free Schools for the encouragement of Scholarship, . . ." Today, students in the Boston Public Schools still vie for the honor of winning a Franklin Medal.

Benjamin Franklin, one of the few rich men in the British colonies, lived to play a part in writing a constitution for a new republic, the United States of America. Aware that the new government needed informed citizens to survive, he provided a way for his lifelong interest in education to function after his death.

Many wealthy men in this country have followed Franklin's idea and established foundations to support art museums, music schools, symphony orchestras, colleges and universities. A foundation frequently reflects the interest or hobby of the man who gives his money to support it. For example, Henry E. Huntington collected rare books, manuscripts, paintings, and art objects as a hobby. Then he decided to share his treasures with the public, free of charge, and set up a

## THE BLUE BOY

by Thomas Gainsborough

The BLUE BOY was Jonathan Buttall, the son of a wealthy ironmonger in London. His portrait was painted by Gainsborough about the time of the American Revolution.

Another great portrait painter, Sir Joshua Reynolds, who lived at the same time, made this statement: "that the masses of light in a picture ought to be always of a warm, mellow color, yellow, red, or a yellowish white, and that the blue, gray, or the green colors be kept almost entirely out of these masses, and be used only to support or set off these warm colors."

According to tradition, to refute Reynolds' remark, Gainsborough painted young Buttall's costume in shades varying from pale turquoise to deepest azure blue. The famous portrait was purchased by Henry E. Huntington in 1921 for his art gallery, open to the public and free of charge. During the year, thousands of children accompanied by their parents and teachers visit the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery to see the BLUE BOY.

*Henry E. Huntington  
Library and Art Gallery*



aries who crossed the plains to Oregon tell in glowing terms of the abundance of salmon and of how they enjoyed the fresh fish after living for weeks on dried buffalo meat. One scientist told of seeing salmon so numerous in headwaters of streams that the Indians waded into the pools and killed the fish with cedar paddle boards.

The early settlers also salted and dried salmon as the Indians did. They depended on it for winter food. Before the arrival of the pioneers who occupied the land, hunters and trappers carried dried salmon in their packs wherever they went. The fishing industry was established about 1800 by the Northwest Fur Company, which later merged with the Hudson's Bay Company. Salmon was salted and cured to supply the company men who were tracking through the wilderness. By 1835 the Hudson's Bay Company was shipping about 4000 barrels of salted salmon per year to the Hawaiian Islands. In 1836 over 67,000 salmon were sent to the company's trading posts along the upper Fraser River. In the year that the first settlers came to Elliott Bay, Chief Seattle, for whom their village was named, brought Dr. Maynard from Olympia to start a fishing business and give employment to members of his tribe. Barrels of salmon were packed in brine and shipped to San Francisco. Although the fish spoiled enroute, the venture established the fishing industry as the second commercial enterprise on Elliott Bay.

The Fraser River with its many tributaries and its chain of lakes is the greatest sockeye river in the world; and sockeye salmon know it. So do fishermen who caught over 195,000,000 of this species in the Fraser River between 1894 and 1917. It was in 1863, during the War



*Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia*

#### **SALMON FISHING ON THE FRASER RIVER**

Simon Fraser, a clerk in the Northwest Company, was sent from eastern Canada to western Canada to establish new fur-trading posts among the Indian tribes west of the Rocky Mountains.

On May 22, 1808, an exploring party led by Simon Fraser left Fort George to paddle canoes down a large river not yet traveled by white men. Was this great river the Columbia? It was a hazardous voyage over treacherous rapids, through narrow rock-walled canyons, and with encounters with unfriendly Indians. In the swift current of the stream, canoes sometimes gathered speed of thirty miles per hour. The party sighted the Georgia Strait on the second day of July, proving that the river was not the Columbia. It was named for Simon Fraser. The river became famous for fish, not furs. It was the favorite waterway of salmon.

Between the States, that the first salmon was canned on this river in northern Washington. Three years later the first cannery was built on the Columbia River. It was the canning process, more profitable than salting or drying, that made fishing a leading industry in the Northwest.

Salmon are caught going up the rivers because the adults never go back down to the sea again. They lay eggs and die. When hatched the young fry remain in these quiet waters until they can swim freely.

They then work their way to the ocean. The young of sockeye and king, or chinook salmon, may stay in fresh water until their second spring. Those starting to the ocean as yearlings have a better chance to survive; but their real growth takes place in salt water. The king salmon, largest of the five common species, likes to spawn in deeper and swifter waters. The average weight of king salmon is twenty-two pounds but fish have been caught weighing sixty pounds and more. Being strong and heavy the chinooks like the wide Columbia River with its large tributaries and sometimes lay their eggs in the main channels of streams. This large species, a deep pink color, brings the highest price in markets. As a result many have been trapped for the fisheries on their upstream runs and too few have reached the spawning grounds. Their numbers are declining.

The rivalry between fishermen from Canada and the United States damaged the sockeye industry in the Fraser River country. In 1937 the two nations made a treaty to work together in guarding the sockeye from over-fishing and to build ladders to aid the salmon in getting over dams and other unnatural barriers in streams. Some years before, another treaty rescued halibut from over-fishing and restored the normal supply to fishermen of both nations. The future of this business, like lumbering, depends upon conservation.

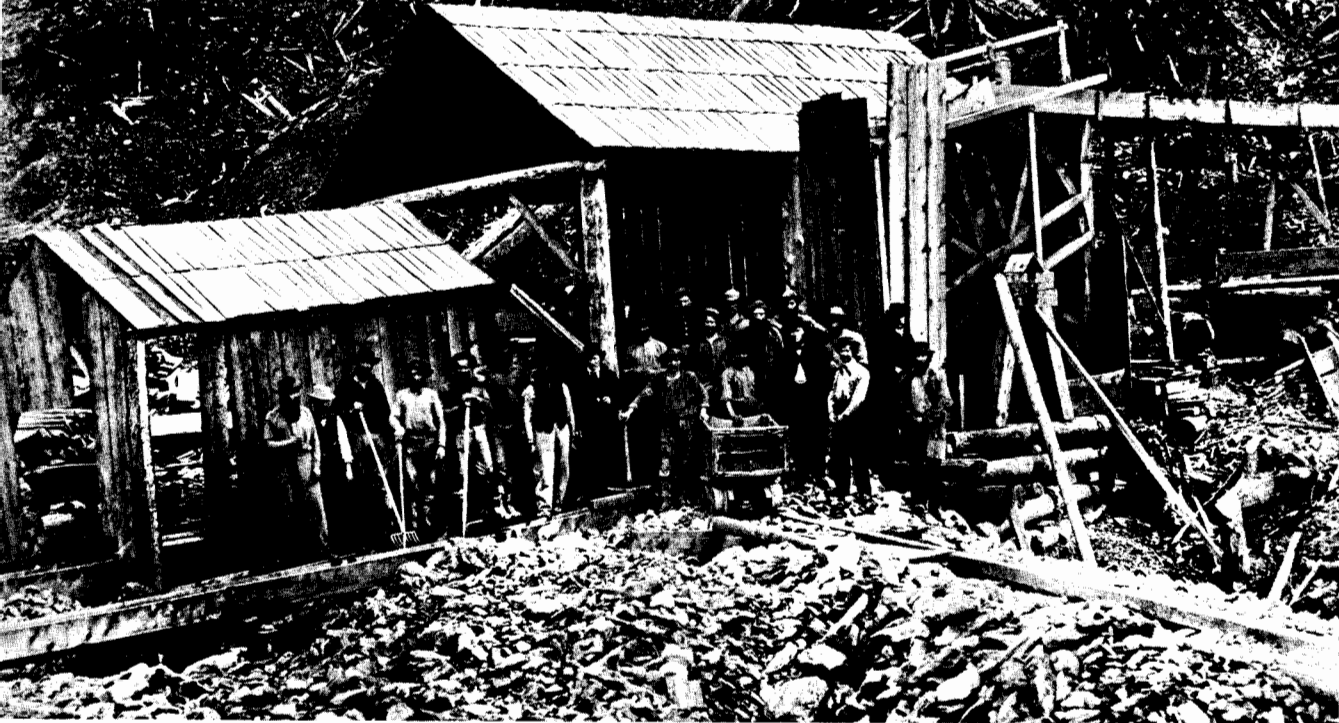
In some places logging has destroyed the watershed and the streams where salmon spawned have dried up. However, the greatest hazard to the fish are the dams blocking the rivers to store water for irrigation and to generate electric power. Sometimes, the struggling salmon are lifted to the top of a dam by elevators which operate like canal locks. Salmon have a

homing instinct which leads them to the spawning grounds of their forefathers – to die. To get there, many are forced to accept the aid of man's invention.

## **FARMING IS VARIED IN THE NORTHWEST**

THE CASCADE MOUNTAINS divide the states of Washington and Oregon into two kinds of climate, moist and dry. On the ocean side where rainfall is plentiful, the forests are dense, the soil is rich, and the crops are abundant. On the eastern side the rainfall is light because few clouds blowing in from the sea can cross the range without dropping their moisture. Seattle, on Puget Sound, has an average yearly rainfall of thirty-four inches; while Spokane, in the eastern part of Washington, has less than half that amount, sixteen inches. The rodeo town of Pendleton, Oregon, east of the mountains, has an average yearly rainfall of only fourteen inches; while the rose city of Portland, near the seacoast, has three times as much rain, forty-two inches in all. This variety of climate accounts for the variety of crops in the Northwest. On the rainy side of the mountains the farmers specialize in fruits, vegetables, and dairy cows. On the eastern side they depended upon wheat, forage, and beef cattle until irrigation, in some places, enlarged their production.

For irrigation and power the Northwest has its own great river, the Columbia. This stream rises in the Canadian Rockies and flows about 200 miles northwest before turning south for the 500 mile run to the United States border. The Columbia enters this country in the northeastern corner of the state of Washington.



*Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia*

#### **GOLD MINERS – AURORA CLAIM ON WILLIAMS CREEK – 1867**

When gold was discovered among the headwaters of the Fraser River in Canada, mining was added to the leading industries of the northwestern part of North America.

Miners working the Aurora Claim on Williams Creek were averaging \$20 a day in September of 1867. Some of the ground on bedrock of this stream yielded \$2.25 to the pan.

Ninety miles west of Spokane, in Columbia Canyon, the river is spanned by the Grand Coulee Dam, containing enough concrete to pave a four-lane highway from Seattle to New York City. Behind this barrier twice the height of Niagara Falls, the river backs up to form a reservoir, named Lake Roosevelt for President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This body of water extends almost to the Canadian border, a distance of 151 miles.

The Grand Coulee Dam, costing about \$225,000,000 was constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation. As water reaches a vast area through an irrigation system with 4000 miles of canals, the settlers will begin to pay a certain amount per acre for the

water to repay the Government for the costs of construction. That will take a long time. In the meantime electric power, generated by the falling water, is being sold to private companies and for defense projects to make payments.

The Bonneville Dam, below Columbia Gorge, was the largest until the Grand Coulee was built. Both have large powerplants. However, much of the power generated at the Grand Coulee must be used to pump irrigation water up to the desert land because the million and more acres to be irrigated are at a higher altitude than the dam. The Northwest needs more electricity for its industries and more dams are being constructed in the Columbia River.

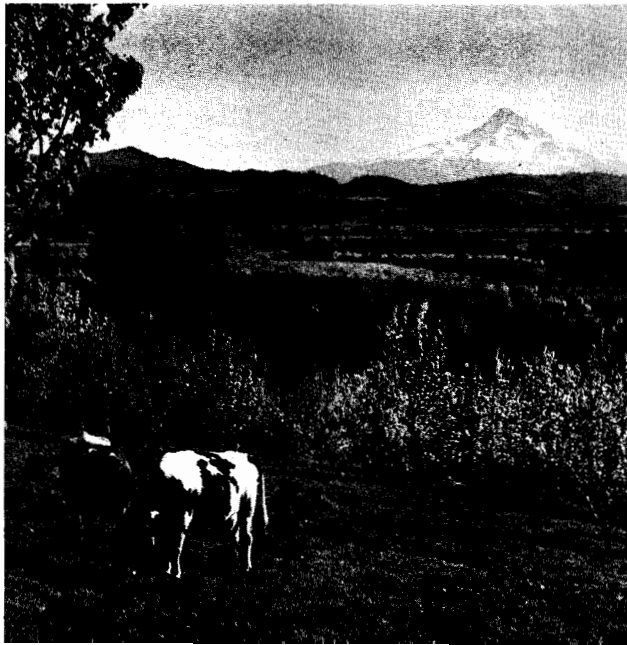
Who owns the Columbia River? What state has prior right to the water in the stream? On July 16, 1952 Congress approved the Interstate Compact Commission drawn up by representatives from Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Wyoming, and Montana to settle by agreement the use of water in interstate streams. In October of the same year, at a committee meeting in Yakima, Washington, a permanent organization was formed with headquarters in Boise, Idaho. The States of Nevada and Utah did not join the compact. At this meeting, however, these states and the Dominion of Canada were invited to send representatives to meetings of the Interstate Compact Commission.

Since the days of the first settlers, water from the Columbia River has been used for irrigation, but for land near the stream. The Wenatchee Valley on the eastern side

#### HOOD RIVER VALLEY IN OREGON

Hood River Valley rises gently from the Columbia River to the base of Mt. Hood, an extinct volcano, rising to the height of 11,245 feet. This land was a forest of evergreens when the first settlers came over the Oregon Trail. Today, dairying and fruit farming are leading industries.

*Al Monner*



of the Cascade Mountains was a semi-desert. A missionary, Father De Grassi, taught the Indians to irrigate the valley with water from the Columbia River. In 1872 Philip Miller, a homesteader, planted the first apple trees in this valley. More settlers came and planted apple trees where the soil was rich, the days were sunny, and the nights were cool. The apple industry, however, waited for the railroad, the Great Northern, in 1892. The first carload of apples was shipped from Miller's ranch in the fall of 1901. Now the Wenatchee Valley, thirty-five miles long, claims to be the "Apple Capital." The orchards are watered from the Columbia River and small tributaries that flow down from the mountains.

Farther east and south are the rolling wheat lands of Washington. The soft white wheat grown in the Pacific Northwest makes a moist flour preferred for cakes and fancy pastries. As more land gets water, more orchards and more fields spread over the landscape. Many of the crops that flourish on the rainy side of the Cascades can be grown on the dry side east of the mountains with irrigation.

The stockman is still secure on the plains of eastern Oregon where no great river flows to be harnessed for irrigation. To cowboys riding the range and herders minding their sheep, the Pendleton Roundup is the big event of the year. It is ranch country east of the Cascade Mountains in Oregon. Without irrigation the farmer will not arrive to run his plow through the stockman's pasture.

#### MAP:

WA17r

*Our United States* by Edgar B. Wesley



## Chapter 22

# In the Mountain Regions

### THE LURE OF GOLD AND SILVER

MANY OF THE richest gold finds were made by accident. Late in the spring of 1850 a small band of Mormon emigrants camped on the Carson River in Nevada to wait for the snow to melt in the high country so they could cross the Sierras. To pass away the time, some of the men did a little prospecting in a canyon nearby. In washing the first pan of gravel they found gold. They named the place Gold Canyon. Although the men earned from \$5 to \$8 a day, they did not stay. When the snow melted, the party crossed the mountain range to the "diggings" in the Sacramento Valley and left a fortune behind them. They had camped near a big bonanza, the famous Comstock Lode.

Nine years later two Irishmen, Pete and Pat, were prospecting in the same region. They dug a pit in a small mountain stream to bury their tool for washing gravel. Just out of curiosity they washed through their rocker some of the dirt from the bottom of the pit. They knew they had made a strike when they found flakes of glittering gold. They were much annoyed with heavy black chunks that clogged

their rocker and hindered the washing of gold dust. They tossed the black metal aside, thinking it worthless.

Late in the afternoon of the same day, Henry Comstock, searching for his mustang pony, happened along. He saw the gold. Instantly he declared that the land was his claim and threatened to have the Irishmen arrested. To settle the matter, Pete and Pat took in Comstock as a partner, although he knew as little about mining as they did. However, Comstock's loud boasting about HIS mine attached his name to the bonanza. Samples of the "black stuff" were sent to Nevada City to be assayed. It was pure silver.

The news spread like a prairie fire. Miners, gamblers, and adventurers swarmed over the Sierras to seek new fortunes in Washoe County, then a part of Utah but soon to be in the state of Nevada. It was summertime. Tents dotted the hillsides but many slept on the ground without shelter of any kind. The ore was rich but it took expensive machinery to tunnel into the mountain and dig it out. Pete, Pat, and their bluffing partner sold out to men who could finance the project. The wealth from the famous Comstock Lode helped Lincoln to fight the War Between



*Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles*

### TONOPAH, NEVADA IN 1902

This street scene in Tonopah was typical of new mining towns during boom days. A teamster is on the way to nearby camps with a load of cots, bed springs, and food for miners. The wagon freighter carries a barrel of water for man and beast in the desert country. Trunks and suit cases of new arrivals are piled high on the board walk in front of a little hotel with a sign advertising: A NICE NEW BED, \$7.50 a month, 50¢ a night.

the States and made a number of millionaires. More than \$40,000,000 in gold and silver was taken from this district. Some mines around Silver City, Nevada, are still producing with profit.

Ten years after Marshall discovered gold in the tail race of Sutter's mill, prospectors

were panning in the South Platte, Cherry Creek, and other streams of the Colorado Rockies. "Pike's Peak or Bust" became the slogan of another gold rush and another westward migration. One "Pike's Peaker" wrote in a letter to the folks back home:

Camped for the night. There are 60 men and 12 wagons in the company, all well provided with food, clothing, and ammunition. There is no house in sight or sign of civilization, — but prairie — boundless, endless. I feel first rate — free, free as air! We live by the side of our wagon and sleep in the tent. I do the washing, Charlie washes the dishes, and Dunton drives the team and attends to the oxen and wagon . . . . While I am in my tent writing by the light of a lantern, the Germans are singing, and the others are fiddling and dancing. We have merry times out here.

A donkey discovered the rich Mizpah vein in Nevada which yielded \$150,000,000 in gold and silver ore and made Tonopah a mining town. In 1900 a Nevada rancher loaded four burros with supplies and went prospecting. One evening he camped near a place which the Indians called Tonopah, their word for little water. The next morning a dust storm was blowing and the burros were nowhere in sight. After a search the rancher found them huddled behind a big dark rock that provided a little shelter from the wind and the dust. While waiting for the storm to blow over, the prospector chipped off pieces of the rock to take with him to be assayed. This chunk of black rock on a lonely desert proved to be the outcropping of a rich vein of silver ore. It was named Mizpah. Not having the capital to develop the mine, the rancher sold his holding for some cash and shares of stock in the Tonopah Mining Company. He retired to a quiet ranch life, a rich man.

Gold was the magnet that drew thousands across the plains, through mountain passes, and over sandy wastes to establish the mining industry in that vast region lying between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. Today, western mines furnish a variety of minerals, from gypsum to gems, for a variety of

## PANNING FOR GOLD IN COLORADO

With pick, pan and shovel, rich and poor, old and young, lawyer and laborer worked side by side, independently and alone. Panning for gold was democratic and adventurous for fortune seekers, and inspired verses in the newspapers.

### THE GOLDSEEKER'S SONG

“Take up the oxen, boys, and harness up the mules;  
Pack away provisions and bring along the tools;  
The pick and the shovel, and a pan that won't leak;  
And we'll start for the gold mines. Hurrah for the Peak!

We'll cross the bold Missouri, and we'll steer for the West,  
And we'll take the road we think is the shortest and the best;  
We'll travel o'er the plains, where the wind is blowing bleak,  
And the sandy wastes shall echo with — Hurrah for Pike's Peak!

We'll sit around the campfire when all our work is done,  
And sing our songs, and crack our jokes, and have our share of fun;  
And when we're tired of jokes and songs, our blankets we will seek,  
To dream of friends, and home, and gold. Hurrah for Pike's Peak!

(Hannibal Messenger, April 28, 1859)

*Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles*





*Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles*

#### **MAIL STAGE TO GOLDFIELD, NEVADA, 1905**

Stage coaches were used for hauling mail and passengers until railroads were built into the mining camps. Goldfield enjoyed a story-book boom during the early days of this century. As the veins of rich ore were exhausted, the yield of gold and silver became less and less. The camp is a lonely town, sprawled over a saddle between two barren peaks, more than a mile high. Some of the old-timers remain, confident that new ores will be found in the bleak hills to bring a new boom to Goldfield.

industries all over the nation. This kind of mining is a money-making business but it lacks the lure of gold and silver.

#### **WESTERN MINES SUPPLY MANY MINERALS FOR MANUFACTURERS**

NO ONE KNOWS how long prehistoric man used copper before he learned to mix it with tin to make bronze. Pieces of bronze have been found in Egyptian tombs nearly 6000 years old. The isle of Cyprus in the Mediterranean was an ancient source of copper and from this island the metal took its name. It was first called cyprium, then cuprum, and finally copper. No other metal has served man so long and so well.

Butte, Montana, boasts of being the greatest mining camp in the world. Copper did it. The city is built over a maze of tunnels and underground workings that pierce the "richest hill on earth" to a depth of almost a mile. Miners go down in cages to dig the valuable ore in these shafts. The product is brought to the surface in huge elevators. In Utah along the western shore of the Great Salt Lake, an unusual copper mine exists where no one digs for ore. The miners simply cut away the mountains with big electric shovels. It is necessary to scoop up 450,000,000 tons of ore to get 8,000,000 pounds of copper. Some gold, silver, and molybdenum are also found in this lowgrade copper ore. The minerals are extracted in mills and smelters in Garfield, nearby, on the lake shore. Arizona is another copper-producing state where mines were worked by the Spaniards before this territory belonged to the United States. The Rocky Mountains from Canada to Mexico yield copper ores.

Zinc, the non-rust metal, is usually present in ores containing copper, silver, and lead. Primitive man discovered that a mixture of copper and zinc made brass. At Great Falls, Montana, a mining company operates a zinc plant, the largest of its kind in the world. Although the brass industry is still zinc's biggest customer, this non-rust metal has come to have more varied uses than any other except iron.

Like copper and zinc, lead is one of the oldest metals known to man. The Pharaohs of ancient Egypt made solder from lead to glaze their pottery. The Babylonians used lead to fasten iron bolts into stone bridges. Nearly 4000 years ago, the Chinese had lead coins before silver money came into use. The Romans had lead water pipes in their private homes and public baths. Since

the metal is found in ores containing copper, zinc, and silver, the Rocky Mountain states have lead smelters.

However, the mining industry of the West owes much of its success to plain black coal. It warmed the miner's cabin, cooked his food, and fired the furnaces that smelted the ores. Colorado, Utah and Wyoming have thousands of acres of coal lands.

From the Indians, early pioneers heard of "rocks that burn" and often saw outcroppings of coal deposits. Little was done to develop these coal beds until the first railroad was built across the continent. In 1869 the first ton of coal was mined at Rock Springs, Wyoming. The basin of the Green River is rich in coal deposits from its source in the Wind River Range to its junction with the Colorado in southeastern Utah. With the completion of each new railroad in the mountain states, coal mines were opened to supply fuel for the engines. In turn these coal mines brought business to the railroads.

Although electricity and oil are strong competitors of coal in industry, this fuel will probably not be replaced entirely for heating in a long time. When winter winds howl and heavy snow fall, man likes the warmth of glowing red coals in the home grate and the cabin stove.

The basic minerals, such as gold, silver, copper, zinc, iron, lead, and coal are the bread and butter of the mining industry. The miner is ever on the lookout for new minerals to serve the needs of manufacturers. In processing the basic metals, new and valuable minerals are found. This never-ending search keeps the spirit of adventure alive in the business.

Utah has whole mountains of gypsum and enough salt to supply the world for a

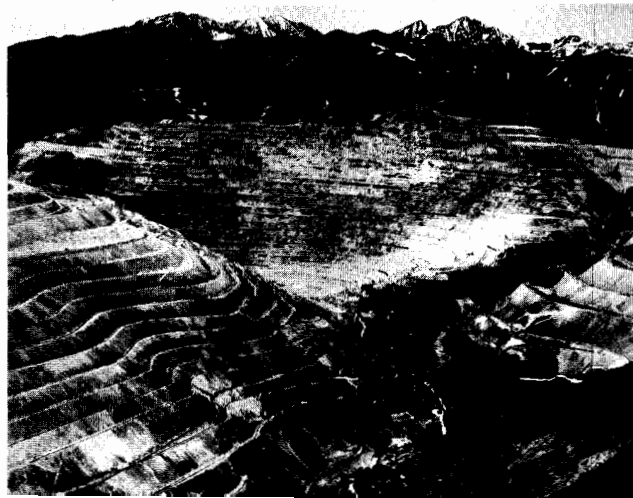
long time. California has the largest known supply of borax now being mined for commercial purposes. Idaho has eighty-five percent of the phosphate rock known to exist in the United States. When the soil of our nation becomes less productive, this bed of phosphate rock underlying 268,000 acres of ground may revive the farmland. Both Nevada and California have large deposits of magnesite ore and the salt that is needed to process the ore.

Leadville, Colorado in the gold rush of 1860 was a roaring camp. A few years later the town was almost deserted. Silver brought another boom that swelled the population to 30,000 in 1875. When that bubble burst, the mining camp, situated about two miles above sea level, again became a ghost town. Now a new metal is bringing new prosperity to the old mining village in the Rocky Mountains. It is molybdenum, which is used like starch in making tool steel. Most of it came from a mountain of ore near Leadville. The steel industry's demand for both molybdenum

#### COPPER MINE — BINGHAM, UTAH

This mine of the Kennecott Copper Corporation is the largest surface copper mine in North America, covering over 1000 acres of excavated ore — rich earth. About 177 miles of railroad tracks are moved from terrace to terrace as the mountain is being slowly demolished to supply smelters at Garfield with ore.

*Courtesy, Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce*



and vanadium has led to the discovery of these silver-white metals in other places.

From Paradox Valley in western Colorado, in the basin of the Dolores River, yellowish carnotite ore was shipped to France for the experiments which led to the discovery of radium by Mme. Curie. This same carnotite ore that produces radium to cure man's ills also contains uranium to make that frightful weapon of modern warfare, the atomic bomb. Before its tremendous power was known, a world-wide search began for the nickel-white metal that had been used in making steel, stainless silverware, and pottery.

Gems found in mountain regions of the West are made into jewelry in factories of the East. A jet mine near Zion Canyon in southern Utah produces the shiny black stone from which beads, buckles, and buttons are made. Idaho furnishes opals for New York jewelers. In 1896 a sheep herder discovered sapphires in Yogo Gulch in the Little Belt Mountains of Montana. The claim that he sold for \$1600 has produced \$10,000,000 worth of sapphires.

Miners and manufacturers walk hand in hand, depending upon each other for prosperity. Steel is dipped in molten zinc to make a galvanized metal that will not rust. This coating of zinc was probably one of the first known methods of preventing rust. Zinc has been used for flashlight batteries, lids for canning jars, gutters on houses, rubber tires, hardware, paints, automobiles, washing machines, and many other articles. Because zinc serves with other metals in alloys and is often covered with paint, the public is not always aware of this important non-rust metal in the world of industry. Over one hundred industries use lead in manufacturing their products. Among these are aircraft, automobile, building, canning, chemical,

dyeing, explosives, electrical, gasoline, glass, paint, printing, plumbing, radio, and rubber. As a metal, magnesium is used in photographer's flashlights, signal lights, and fireworks. As a compound it is used in medicines, tooth powders, silver cleaners, electric batteries, textiles, bleaching solutions, paper, and furnace linings.

The polished silver in knives, forks, and spoons made by silversmiths in New England may come from ores buried for centuries in the hard hills of the East Tintic Mountains of Utah, or from mines in Idaho. Gold from western states may be melted into bullion and stored at Fort Knox, to guard the face value of our paper money. Molybdenum from Colorado may be shipped to steel mills in Gary, Indiana, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to harden the steel used by manufacturers of tools in Hartford, Connecticut.

Although mining is adding new minerals with long names that send us scurrying to the dictionary and counts production in dizzy millions, the industry began with a pick, a pan, and a shovel. To find new deposits and new minerals, mining now depends upon geologists, mineralogists, metallurgists, and other scientists. Where is the mining man who does not greet an old prospector with a hearty handshake? When they meet in the desert and the mountain, the scientist shares the prospector's coffee and beans and sleeps by his campfire. Of what do they dream?

## **FARMING AND STOCK RAISING COMPETE WITH MINING AND LUMBERING**

THE MINER AND THE LOGGER followed the trapper and the hunter. Then came the stockman with his herds and the farmer with his plow. The miner who





*Union Pacific Railroad*

#### HOMESTEADERS GOING WEST ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL — 1882

**This photograph was taken on a trail across Wyoming. The wagon caravans continued long after trains were running. Many homesteaders could not afford to travel by rail. They had horses, cattle, wagons, furniture, and clothing, but little ready cash. In going overland by wagon, they had teams to plow the ground and plant their crops, and cattle for a start in livestock.**

pockmarked the hills with holes in the earth welcomed meat on the hoof in mountain meadows and fruits in bloom on valley floors. The time came when the crops of the soil brought more money than the ores in the hills. Even in Colorado, "the mining state," the value of farm products exceeds the value of minerals. Fruit trees flaunt their blossoms in the valleys when the peaks are topped with snow. Utah celery, Colorado peas, and Idaho potatoes find a waiting market in many states. On the wide, high plateaus approaching the mountain ranges, sugar beets are a paying crop. Alfalfa is everywhere because stock-raising is important in the mountain states.

It is generally believed that Columbus brought the first sheep to the Western Hemisphere. These animals were the ancestors of the Mexican sheep on which

was founded the wool-growing industry of the Southwest. Because sheep have a herding instinct, they can be handled successfully with little help in open country without fences. Sheep will eat weeds and shrubs that cattle will not touch. They can survive in the semi-arid plateau regions of the West. In summer shepherds drive their flocks higher and higher as the snow melts, until they are above timberline. The summer hiker on vacation in the mountains sees flocks of sheep grazing in meadows carpeted with fragile white primroses and brilliant blue lupine.

Not so long ago, the range was free. Some still is free, but for the most part stockmen now lease much of the grazing land for their horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. In a number of western states land was set aside to provide support for schools

and other public institutions. This land can be leased by stockmen. Wyoming has the most state-owned land because a law prohibits the sale of any state land for less than \$10 per acre. Wyoming, the stockman's paradise, is the state of wide open spaces, jingling spurs, high-heeled boots, ten-gallon hats, and cowboys.

By carefully obeying grazing rules, stockmen can secure permits to graze their herds in national forests. Although they pay so much per head of stock for this privilege, many people object to the plan. They claim the domestic animals eat the forage needed to feed the wildlife in these protected areas. The mountain state of Idaho has over 20,000,000 acres of forest preserves while Kansas, a prairie state, has none.

Westerners live and toil with mountains in their scenery, in their work, and in their hearts. The fisherman trolling

his net on Puget Sound predicts the weather by looking toward the east to see if Mt. Baker's white crest is clear. The cowboy rounds up his cattle on high plateaus hemmed in by mountain ranges that are blue in the distance. The herder watches his sheep feeding in timberline meadows above the clouds where the sky is purple at noon, gold at sunset, pink at dawn, and the air is thin and clear.

No mountains are more cherished, perhaps, than the first range of the Rockies rising from the central plain. Pike's Peak and Long's Peak are landmarks for the people who live on the western fringe of the prairie. Snow on these peaks means water in the ditches and crops in the fields. The farmers plant potatoes, cut alfalfa, and top their sugar beets. Their lives cannot escape the changing moods of the mountains, their everyday companions in a workaday world.

#### **RAISING SHEEP IS A BIG INDUSTRY IN MONTANA**

**Sheep graze during the summer in high mountain meadows nestled among snowy ranges in Montana.**

*Montana Highway Commission*





## A LITTLE CAMPFIRE INSPIRED A BIG IDEA

WHEN LEWIS AND CLARK led the first expedition into the Northwest in 1804, they took along sturdy outdoorsmen who knew how to survive in a wilderness. Among the first to enlist as a private was a frontiersman, John Colter. He joined Lewis as a hunter when the captain's keelboat tied up at Maysville, Kentucky, on October 15, 1803. Nearly three years later on the return trip from the Pacific, Colter asked for his discharge to join two trappers, Dickson and Hancock of Illinois, whom he chanced to meet on the way. They had offered him a third of their fur business if he would join them. Officers and men in the expedition gave Colter knives, powder horns, hatchets, and enough supplies to maintain him in the wilderness for two years. Passing through the Mandan villages, Lewis and Clark bade farewell to Sacajawea and Colter. They tied their canoes together and headed for home.

It was a long cold winter for the three trappers on the Yellowstone River. By spring the men had quarreled. Colter left to trap alone and took his beaver skins along in a canoe. As soon as the ice broke in the Yellowstone River, Colter paddled down to the Missouri and on down that swollen river to the market in St. Louis to sell his furs. At the junction of the Platte River he was surprised to see several keelboats tied to trees. Rising above the grove of cottonwoods was the smoke of campfires. He had come upon the fur hunting expedition of Manuel Lisa. The solitary figure paddling through the swirling waters toward the river bank attracted men from Lisa's expedition. They hailed their welcome to Colter. Colter met several



*National Park Service*

### CLIMBING EAGLE CLIFF, ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK

Mountain climbing is a popular sport in the national parks of the West. The peaks in the background of the mountaineer are Mt. Mecker, Long's Peak, and Lady Washington.

friends from the Lewis and Clark expedition. They had joined Manuel Lisa's newly formed company to trap beaver on the upper Missouri.

Lisa persuaded Colter to join his fur company. Again, on the way back to civilization, Colter halted to return to the wilderness. He guided Lisa's party to the junction of the Yellowstone and Big Horn Rivers. Here the men erected a log cabin consisting of two rooms and a loft. This trading post was the first permanent building in the present state of Montana. It was known as Manuel's Fort. The next step was to notify the Indian tribes of this post and to invite them to bring in their furs.

Lisa dispatched Colter into unexplored country to get business from tribes.

Alone with a thirty-pound pack on his back and a rifle in his hand, Colter started on a long journey into an unknown wilderness which the Indians called "Land of Burning Mountains." He was probably the first white man to see Wind River

Range, the Grand Teton, Jackson Hole, and the headwaters of the Green River and the Snake River. The wonders of nature unrolled before his eyes. Geysers spouted into the air, mud boiled in paint pots, and hot springs bubbled over colored rocks. When he returned to Manuel's Fort and told about this strange

#### LONG'S PEAK – ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK – COLORADO

In 1819, Congress voted money to send an engineer, Major Stephen H. Long with 300 men to explore the territory of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of the Red River between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. The party went up the Missouri River to Council Bluffs in a new sternwheeler with the bow in the form of a serpent's head. To impress the Indians, smoke escaped from the nostrils of the snake instead of the usual funnel on a steamboat.

After a disastrous winter at Council Bluffs and the loss of one third of the men, Congress ordered all the troops to return except a few. The party finally consisted of six soldiers for protection, scientists, a surveyor, and an artist, nineteen in all to complete the journey on horseback.

The group followed the Platte River to the junction of the North and South Forks, and then turned south. While camped on the site of the present city of Denver, Colorado, the men "were greatly impressed by a lofty peak, square-topped, rising from the mountain range." On his map, Long marked it "Highest Peak" but the name was changed to Long's Peak in his honor.

In 1915, this spectacular region of 405 square miles with fifteen peaks above 13,000 feet, many lakes, and several glaciers became the Rocky Mountain National Park.

*National Park Service*

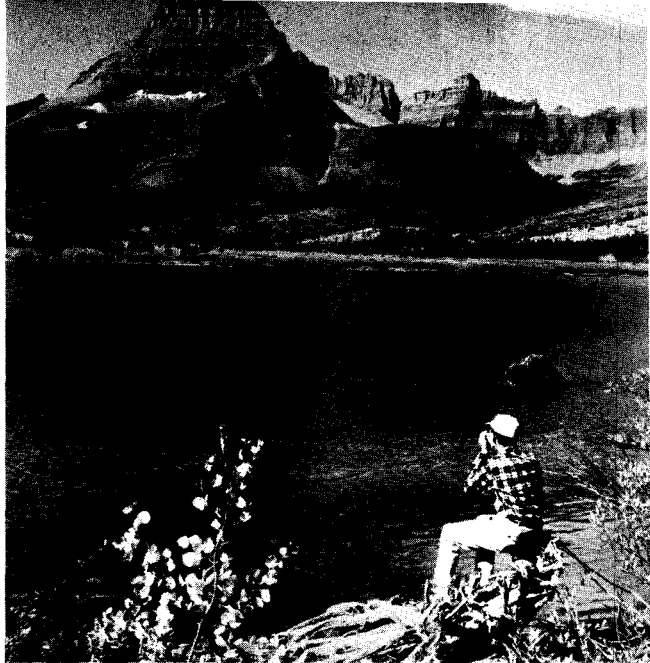


wonderland, the traders laughed at him.

Twenty-seven years later another trapper, Jim Bridger, for whom Fort Bridger was named, told the same story. His listeners shrugged their shoulders and laughed at another of old Jim's yarns. Making fun of the mountain man, who was a master storyteller, his friends wrote his epitaph – Here LIES Bridger. For sixty years people refused to believe these fantastic tales though hunters and trappers verified them again and again.

Finally in 1870 an official expedition, composed of ten prominent men whom the public trusted, was organized to investigate these rumors and separate truth from fiction. The leader of the expedition was General Henry D. Washburn who had served in the War Between the States and had been elected to Congress for two terms. All ten were from Montana: a president of a bank, an assessor of internal revenue, leading merchants, and Judge Cornelius Hedges, a highly esteemed lawyer. The men entered the "Land of Burning Mountains" believing nothing they had ever heard, only to be astonished by the wonders they saw with their own eyes.

On the chilly evening of September 19th, the explorers made their campfire at the junction of the Firehole and Gibbon Rivers. The time was nearing for their return. They began to wonder what people would say when they told of seeing pink and lavender mud seething in holes in the ground; jets of steam spouting from pits and crevices; petrified wood buried for ages under lava and ashes belched from craters of volcanoes long extinct; a river tumbling over a waterfall 310 feet high; and a canyon twenty miles long and over a thousand feet deep, with tinted walls of volcanic rock. Would they too, be ridiculed?



*Montana Highway Commission*

#### **GLACIER NATIONAL PARK – MONTANA**

This park is well named with 60 glaciers perched upon rocky ledges, all that is left from the ice age, and glacial lakes numbering 200 in the valleys. An early French explorer called this region, "the land of shining mountains" because the snow-capped peaks with patches of glacial ice glistened in the sunlight.

Although Lewis and Clark mentioned these mountains, little was known about them until engineers seeking a route for a railroad entered the region. Surveyors, to establish the border between the United States and Canada on the 49th parallel, tramped over the mountains in 1861.

In 1910, President Taft signed the bill making this scenic area a national park. Glacier National Park covers 1500 acres, touching Waterton-Lakes National Park in Canada. In 1932, the two were joined in the firm belief "that it will forever be an appropriate symbol of permanent peace and friendship."

All of this territory was public land. Seated around the fire, the men talked of homesteading the wonderland, with some taking the geysers, some the hot springs, and others the canyon of the Yellowstone River. During this conversation Hedges, the

Judge from Helena, remained silent. He stared thoughtfully at the sputtering logs of the campfire. When he did speak, however, his words echoed around the globe. He declared that such a wonderland of nature should remain forever, untouched, to be enjoyed by all the people in all the world. There and then, by the light of the campfire, the explorers solemnly pledged themselves to work unceasingly to have this region set aside as a national park, for the citizens of the United States and visitors from other lands.

Two years later in 1872 an act of Congress established the Yellowstone National Park, the first in the world, as a "pleasuring ground for the benefit and

enjoyment of the people." Nathaniel Pitt Langford, one of the Washburn Expedition, was appointed to be the first superintendent of the first national park. He held this office for five years without either salary or expenses. He refused any remuneration to prevent the job from being given to a man who might allow the region to be commercialized and the natural beauty ruined. Langford successfully prevented all attempts of men to obtain leases and the right to build fences around the wonders and to charge admission. No concessions were granted. Later it was necessary to provide accommodations for the millions of sightseers who came from all over the country to view the wonderland but

**The famous campfire scene re-enacted as it happened, September 19, 1870, at the junction of the Firehole and Gibbon Rivers in Yellowstone Park, Wyoming.**

*National Park Service*



the area remains a national park for all the people.

The national park idea spread over this country and over the entire world. Big ideas are born, sometimes, in unexpected places. It is fitting that an invitation to enjoy the beauties of nature should come from a campfire group in a wilderness. The old West still lives because a lawyer from Montana suggested to his fireside companions that they share with their fellowmen, the thrills they had experienced in an outdoor wonderland.

## RECREATION IS BIG BUSINESS

EVERY YEAR, millions of vacationists play pioneer in the national parks covering more than 6,500,000 acres west of the Mississippi River. Like fur trappers, wagon immigrants, and mining prospectors, they fish in mountain streams, cook over a campfire, and sleep in tents. They ride over scenic trails, ski down the slopes of mountains, and climb to rocky pinnacles.

Most of the vacation pioneers are city dwellers seeking escape from the noise and the speed of their everyday lives. For nearly fifty weeks of the year they drive bolts and rivets on assembly lines; write letters and operate office machines; and serve customers with everything from a ham sandwich to a diesel truck. The people of the United States support a tourist business in which many millions of dollars are invested. They go sightseeing for fun as did adventurers in the early days. A scientist who rode horseback with a party of trappers from St. Louis to Oregon in the 1830's kept a diary of his experiences in the western wilderness. It is packed with thrilling escapes. He wrote of one experience:

June 10, 1836: In the afternoon, one of our men had a perilous adventure with a grizzly bear. He saw the animal crouching his huge frame in some willows which skirted the river. Approaching on horseback to within twenty yards, he fired upon the bear. The beast was only slightly wounded by the shot, and with a fierce growl, rushed from his cover and gave chase. The horse happened to be a slow one. For the distance of half a mile, the race was close, with the bear frequently snapping at the horse's heels. The terrified rider, who had lost his hat at the start, used whip and spur, frequently looking back at his rugged and determined foe. His wild shrieks, "Shoot him! Shoot him!" brought hunters in the party to his rescue, and the bear was killed. The man rode in among his fellows, pale and haggard, but cured of meddling with grizzly bears.

Today, in the national parks and forests where wildlife is protected, tourists hunt bears and other animals with a camera, not a gun. The shy grizzlies are scarce and are seldom seen by summer vacationists, but black and brown bears are rather tame, and at times, a little too familiar. Signs are posted with the warning, "Feeding, Molesting, Teasing, or Touching Bears Is Prohibited." Sometimes a tourist has difficulty explaining to a friendly bruin that the candy box is empty. Beavers build their houses in streams without fear of traps; striped chipmunks sit up and beg for peanuts; curious pack rats carry off small articles that are bright and colored. Birds, too, find the national preserves a haven of delight and safety. The trumpeter swan, once thought to be extinct, has chosen Yellowstone Park for a nesting place.

The forests are practically untouched. Trees are cut down only to provide shelter and roads for the throngs of visitors. Wild flowers grow in abundance and tourists are requested not to pick them. The waterfalls, unharnessed for electric power, tumble into frothy rivers not drained by irrigation. This conserva-

tion is profitable for man's purse as well as his pleasure as it protects the watershed. In uncut forests the snow melts slowly, thus preventing floods and maintaining a steady flow of water in the streams.

States, too, have set aside recreation areas and parks where their citizens may relax and play at pioneering. In our modern world, recreation is considered to be a necessity. Work hard and play hard is the slogan. Many corporations, employing large numbers of men and women, provide gymnasiums, baseball fields, swimming pools, reading rooms, and other opportunities for play after working

hours. Labor unions have clubhouses for their members. The members who rush through the morning traffic to punch a time clock are the people who turn the wheels of our complex industrial civilization. They promoted recreation and made it big business. When vacation rolls along, they hit the tourist trail to seek a change, to play at pioneering, and to see the continent. Our push-button civilization of speed, efficiency, and production began on the eastern coast of North America, where the nation began, and grew up with the country. When? How? Why?

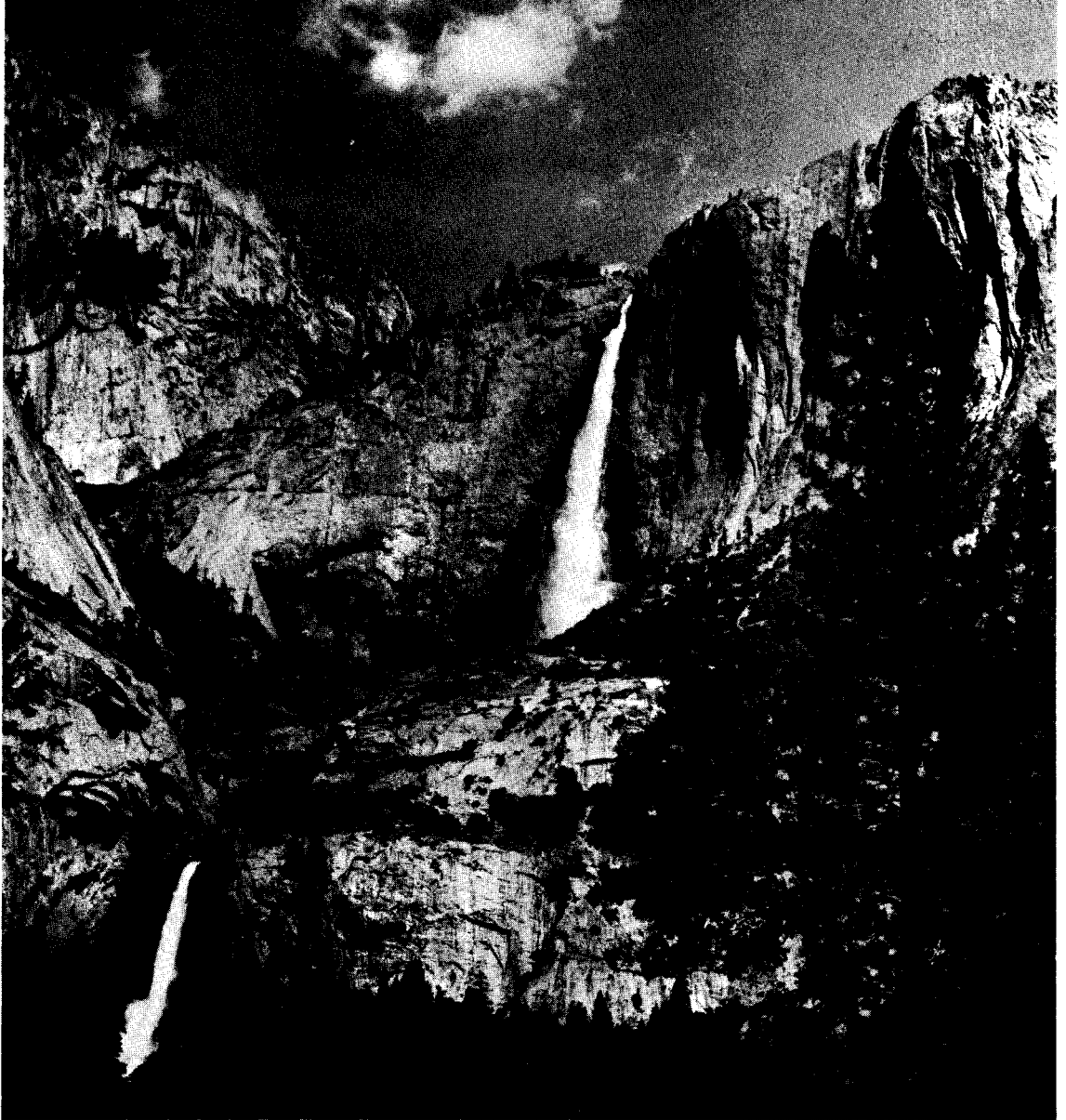
#### MT. RAINIER IN WASHINGTON

Captain George Vancouver of the British Navy was sailing along the northwest coast of North America during the term of Washington as first President of the United States. He named a lone white mountain for his friend, Admiral Rainier.

To the Indians, the mountain was Tahoma, a god. It was probably 16,000 feet high before the top was blown to bits by an explosion, described in Indian legends. Today, the peak rises 14,408 feet above sea level. This national park is scarcely more than a mountain, containing less than 240,000 acres. The space, though not large, abounds in beauty for nature lovers and with thrills for skiers and mountaineers.

*National Park Service*





*National Park Service*

#### YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK -- CALIFORNIA

During the ice age, glaciers gouged out the U-shaped valley with sheer granite walls rising to the height of almost a mile in some places. Streams dropping into the valley break into frothy spray, creating a number of waterfalls.

One day an Indian boy was walking to Mirror Lake below the falls to spear fish. On the way he met a grizzly bear, also going fishing in Mirror Lake. In the fight that followed, the Indian lad was wounded and the bear was killed. The tribes living in the sheltered basin called it Ah-wah-nee, or grassy valley. After the brave boy won the fight, both the tribe and the place were called Yosemite, Indian word for grizzly bear.

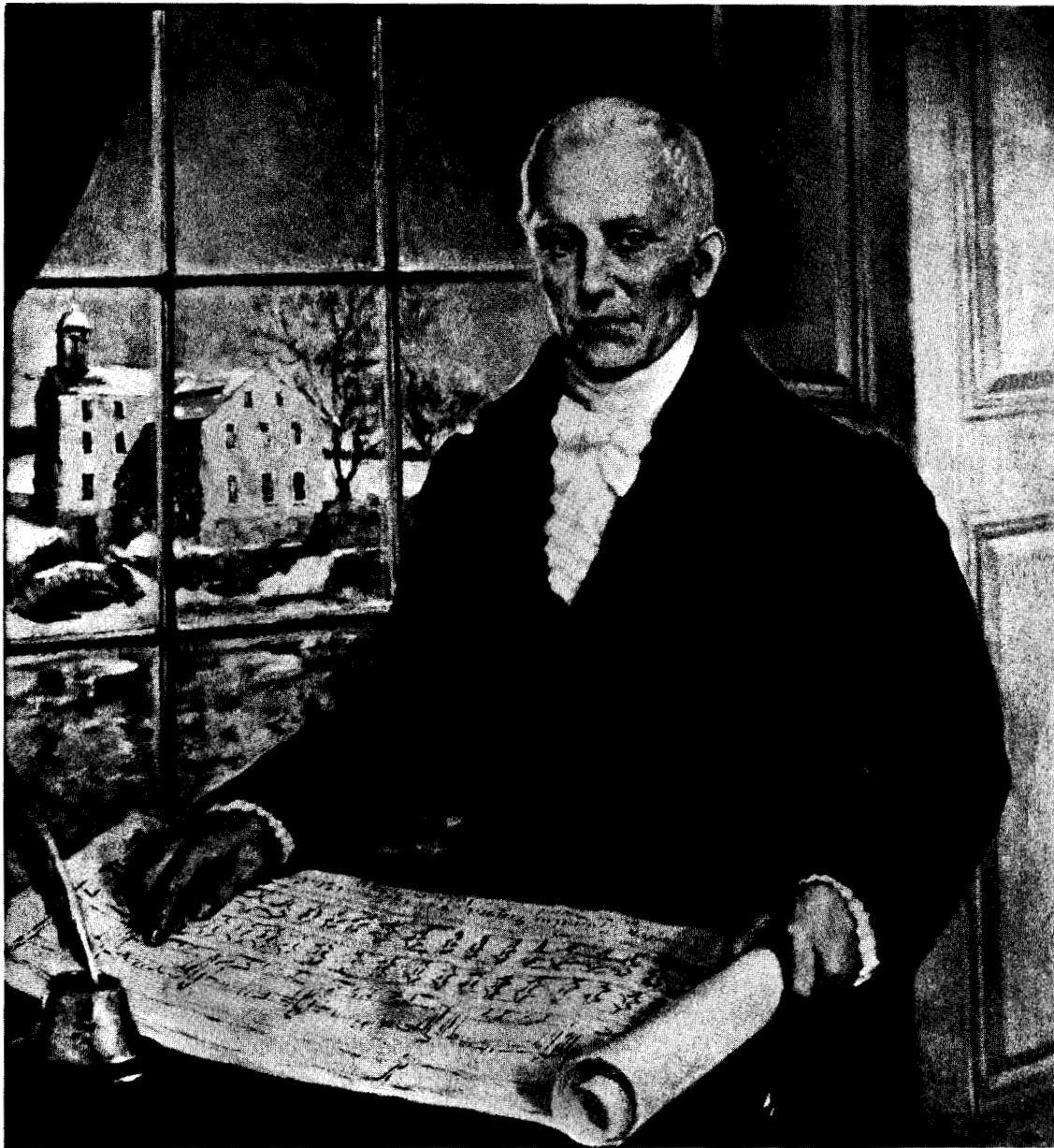
**PART NINE**

**Manufacturing Centers  
in the Northeast**

**Chapter 23: A New Way of Life**

**Chapter 24: Inland Waterways Spread Industry**





*Old Slater Mill Museum*

**SAMUEL SLATER  
"FATHER OF AMERICAN MANUFACTURES"**

In the old Slater Mill, seen through the window, the first water-powered machinery was used to produce cotton yarn. In 1791, the site overlooking the Blackstone River was purchased for 350 Spanish milled dollars. In 1793, Almy Brown and Slater, the owners, began spinning on machines in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The old mill is now a museum where water-powered machinery is being exhibited in operation to show visitors the crude beginning of the factory system in the United States.

## Chapter 23

# A New Way of Life

### IRON WAS THE FIRST MINERAL INDUSTRY

IN THE TIME of Queen Elizabeth I, laws were passed that trees could not be chopped down for fuel within fourteen miles of the sea or any navigable river; and that nowhere in England could oak, beech, or ash be used for making charcoal. The timber was needed to build ships for the growing commerce of the little island kingdom. Since the British ironmasters depended upon charcoal for smelting iron ore, these laws were a hardship. With interest they read Hariot's report (page 50) of one of the exploring expeditions that Walter Raleigh sent to the Carolina coast. America was a land of forests and "in two places of the countrey" he stated, "wee founde neere the water side the ground to be rockie, which, by the triall of a minerall man, was founde to hold iron richly." The English explorers, like the Spaniards, were looking for gold and did not take back a sample of the iron ore.

After iron was discovered in Virginia, a group of men called the Southampton Adventurers formed a company and sent over skilled workmen and their families to erect the first ironworks in America. The

site chosen was on Falling Creek, sixty-six miles up the river from Jamestown, where iron ore had been found in bogs. On March 22, 1622, when the furnace was fired, Indians attacked. They destroyed everything and killed the workmen and their families. The young son of the superintendent, who escaped by hiding in the woods, made his way back to Jamestown and reported the tragedy. Perhaps the Indians thought the furnace, belching fire and smoke, was a monster that would devour them. The works were not rebuilt because the "adventurers" ran out of money. They had lost all they had invested.

Although a little iron was shipped to England by the London Company, the first really successful ironworks were built by another company of English adventurers. They were built on the Saugus River near Lynn, Massachusetts, where iron, washed down by rains, was fished from swamps and bogs with long tongs. The ironworkers named their village Hammersmith, where one of their houses still stands. Men employed at the ironworks were exempt from paying taxes and were excused from the tiresome chore of watching for Indian attacks. Since the colonists paid for kettles,



*United States Steel Corporation*

#### **COOKING POT WAS FIRST PRODUCT OF SAUGUS IRONWORKS – 1644**

The ironworkers decided their first product would be something useful. Joseph Jenks, a skilled ironworker from England poured molten metal from the furnace into a mold he had made in sand. When the iron was solid, he broke apart the mold and held up this cooking pot, still in existence and cherished by the descendants of the man who sold the land for the ironworks.

anchors, and scythes with beaver pelts, bags of grain, and Indian wampum instead of money, the English adventurers realized little or nothing on their investment. The colonists, however, were provided with cooking utensils and farm tools.

The success of iron encouraged an attempt to make steel from a portion of the output. In 1655 a man living in Southold, Long Island, informed the General Court of New Haven of his "abilitie and intendment to make steele" if certain privileges were granted to him. The court encouraged him by agreeing that his property would not be taxed for ten years.

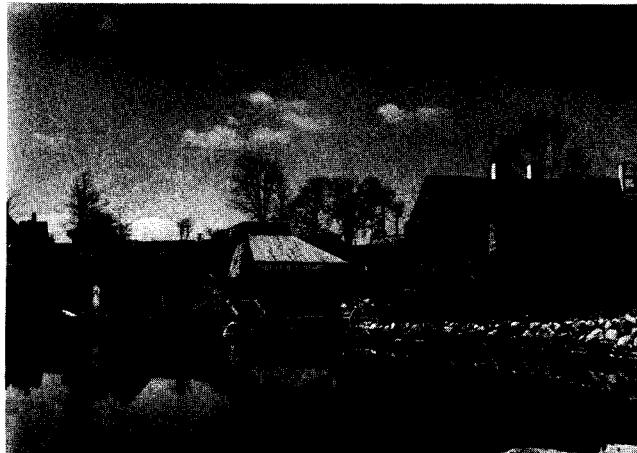
However, he was warned not to take clay and wood from private grounds without the owner's permission, as the court was unwilling "to meddle with any man's proprietie." It is not known for certain whether or not this man succeeded in making steel. The credit for the first steel manufactured in this country probably belongs to another man from Connecticut. Two smiths declared in writing:

This may certify all concerned that Samuel Higley of this town of Simsbury came to the shop of us, being blacksmiths, some time in June in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, and desired us to let him have a pound or two of iron. – He desired that we take notice of them that we might know them again, for, said he, I am going to make Steel of this Iron, and I shall in a few days bring them to you to try for steel. Accordingly he brought the same pieces which we let him have, and we proved them and found them good steel, which was the first steel

#### **RESTORATION OF EARLY IRONWORKS, SAUGUS, MASSACHUSETTS**

In 1948, the still-existing ironmasters's house, erected in 1646-1647 on the Saugus River north of Boston, determined the site of the first ironworks in Massachusetts. Where were the works? Digging through layers of earth, the remains of the furnace, the forge, and the slitting mill were discovered. Surprisingly, after 300 years, a section of a wooden water wheel was found buried 22½ feet under the pavement of Central Street. The old ironworks has been restored, and water again splashes over the water wheels as in colonial days.

*First Iron Works Association, Inc.*



that ever was made in this country that ever we saw or heard of. As witness our hands this 7th day of May, 1728. Timoth Phelps John Drake

William Penn, who owned ironworks in England, looked for ore in his colony and soon found it. Although he tried to induce his colonists to dig the ore and use it, this was not done until two years before his death when a Quaker blacksmith in Berks County made iron in his forge. To satisfy the demand for articles of iron, little forges and furnaces sprang up wherever families settled in new country. Sometimes farmers, who knew something about the iron trade, built small furnaces, where wood was plentiful, to smelt the iron they needed for pots, nails, hinges, hoes, and many items. When neighbors needed these same articles, the farmer left the plow for the furnace. Some large ironworks were started in this way.

Captain Augustine Washington, father of the first President of the United States, was

an iron manufacturer as well as a plantation owner when his famous son was born. When iron ore was discovered on one of his big farms along the Potomac River below Mount Vernon, he traded the 1600 acres of land for one-sixth interest in Principio Company. This was the largest ironworks in the colonies. A furnace was built on Washington's plantation and others at the head of Chesapeake Bay. From these ironworks with direct water transportation, bars of the metal were shipped to England. Their products sometimes brought a higher price than Swedish or Russian iron.

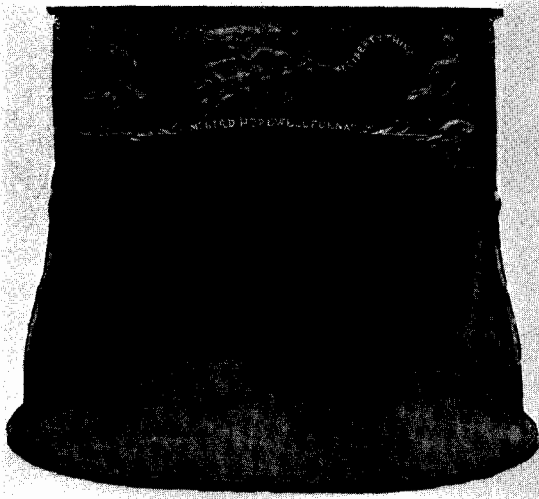
The iron plantations of Pennsylvania were much like the cotton plantations of the old South, except that the laborers were miners, woodchoppers, charcoal burners, and teamsters as well as farmers. These communities were self-supporting, raising their own food and weaving their own cloth. However, most of the labor in the field and at the loom was performed

#### **HOPEWELL IRON PLANTATION NEAR BIRDSBORO, PENNSYLVANIA**

Mark Bird, the owner of this iron plantation, outfitted 300 soldiers for Washington's army at his own expense. Products from Hopewell farms and iron from Hopewell's furnaces were generously supplied to fighting men in the Revolutionary War. Since the Continental Congress was unable to pay for all of these goods, Bird went bankrupt, and his iron plantation was sold by the sheriff.

*United States Steel Corporation*





*The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America  
in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*

#### A "LIBERTY" FIREPLACE

**This iron fireplace was made on the Hopewell Iron Plantation near Birdsboro, Pennsylvania. The design on the front plate shows an angel blowing a trumpet, announcing "BE LIBERTY THINE."**

by the women and children while the men were busy in the woods and the mines. Life centered around the mansion house where the owner lived and the general store where eggs, butter, milk, vegetables, and labor were traded for sugar, molasses, shoes, medicines, and coffins. The woodcutters and charcoal burners greatly outnumbered the miners and ironmasters because one blast furnace, in a single day, consumed all the timber on an acre of ground. Some of these iron plantations, located in heavily forested regions, covered as much as 10,000 acres of land. Others were small, only a few hundred acres, like Valley Forge.

The British Parliament became alarmed at the growth of the iron industry. They were afraid that the colonists would make all the kettles, Dutch ovens, nails, shovels, tongs, anchors, and other articles they

could use and would cease to buy from British merchants. The Act of 1750 of Parliament encouraged the production of American pig iron and bar iron as many British manufacturers preferred it to Swedish iron because it did not rust so quickly. This same act declared that after June 24, 1750, the colonial governors had the duty "to prevent the erection of any mill, or other engine, for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating-forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel in any of the said colonies." Since many ironworks were tucked away in forests, where wood was plentiful for charcoal, this act could not be enforced.

By 1775 when the Revolutionary War broke out, the colonies had more forges and furnaces than England and Wales

#### MAKING NAILS AT HOME IN COLONIAL DAYS

Neighborhood merchants stocked narrow strips of iron from slitting mills, along with food, clothing, hardware, tools, and anything they could sell to customers in town and country. On long winter evenings, these iron rods were heated in tiny forges in chimney corners and cut in a vise to the proper length. Farm families, including children, pounded broad tops on the warm pieces of iron. These hand-hammered nails were returned to the storekeeper and traded for articles the farmers needed and could not provide for themselves. Manufacturing began at home.

*United States Steel Corporation*



combined. The colonies were producing fourteen percent of the world's iron. Cannon, muskets, shot, shells, bayonets, axes, camp kettles, and swords were made in 80 blast furnaces and about 175 forges scattered throughout the colonies.

Steel emerged as the metal of war in the struggle for independence. During the Revolutionary War some states offered premiums for steel, needed for swords and bayonets. North Carolina, where the first iron ore had been discovered by Raleigh's explorers, offered the sum of nearly \$500 to the first man who, within eighteen months, succeeded in making steel equal in quality to British steel. A reward of over \$2000 was offered in South Carolina to the first three works producing 500 pounds of steel.

Although men employed in iron and steel works were exempt from military service, so many enlisted in the patriot armies, that it was necessary to use prisoners of war in iron and steel manufacture. Many of the Hessians stayed after the war was over and kept the same jobs they had had as prisoners. Five signers of the Declaration of Independence were in the iron business. Two more became generals, Nathanael Greene from Rhode Island and Daniel Morgan, a charcoal burner for his father's furnace in Pennsylvania. The ironworks making guns and ammunition for the American armies were targets for British attack. Many were burned. A detachment of soldiers from Howe's army, retreating to Philadelphia to spend the winter of 1777-78, burned the Mount Joy Iron Works, better known as Valley Forge. On this iron plantation Washington spent the same winter drilling his ragged Continentals.

## COAL COMPETES WITH CHARCOAL

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS before Columbus found the New World, the Hopi Indians of Arizona were using lignite, a variety of coal, to fire their pottery. As far as is known, this was the only use made of the mineral by any tribe except for ornament. The common use was crushing it into powder to blacken their faces for ceremonials.

In North America when trees were plentiful everywhere, wood cooked the food and heated the houses; charcoal fired the forges in the blacksmith shops and smelted the ore in the furnaces of ironworks. Blacksmiths were the first to use mineral coal in place of charcoal. In 1702 a Huguenot living on the James River about fourteen miles above Richmond sent his request to the Colonial Council of Virginia:

David Menestrier a black smith and one of ye french Refugees Inhabiting Luciana Petitions his Excellency that he may have leave to use ye coal mines lately discovered there for his forge.

The request was granted for the French blacksmith "to take what coales he shall want out of ye said coal mine for ye use of his forge."

Coal discovered along the James River above Richmond did reach colonial markets. These mines had the advantage of cheap water transportation. Although explorers noted coal deposits in many places, most of this supply was out of reach because there was no way to get it to market. Both Joliet and La Salle mentioned finding coal along the Illinois River. Dr. Walker wrote frequently about coal in the diary of his journey into Kentucky. When their shoes wore out, Walker and his party were forced to seek shelter in a huge cave

in Rockcastle County while they made new moccasins out of the hide of an elk they had killed. Walker thus describes the cave in his journal:

May 12, 1750 – Under the rock is a soft kind of Stone almost like Allum in taste; below it A Layer of Coal about 12 Inches thick and white clay under that. –

May 13, 1750 – The Sabbath.

May 14, 1750 – We wrote several of our Names with Coal under the Rock, –

Five years before the War for Independence, George Washington trailed through the wilderness to the Ohio River, paddling down that stream in a canoe as far as the mouth of the Kanawha River. He was busy surveying land to pay off the Virginia officers who had served in the French and Indian War. In his journal of this tour Washington mentions coal:

Oct. 14, 1770 – At Captain Crawford's all day. Went to see a coal mine not far from his house on the banks of the river, (Youghiogeny, near Connelsville, Pennsylvania); The coal seemed to be of the very best kind, burning freely, and abundance of it.

The coal seen by Joliet, La Salle, Walker, and Washington was bituminous, or soft coal. Anthracite, or stone coal, was first used in the forge of the Gore Brothers, blacksmiths who settled in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania about 1769. They discovered that the hard coal, so plentiful all around them, made a hotter fire than charcoal and lasted longer. During the Revolutionary War anthracite from this region was floated on barges down the Susquehanna River to Harrisburg. It was taken overland in wagons to stoke the furnaces of the armory at Carlisle where guns were made for Washington's soldiers.

Charcoal continued to be used in the



*Bituminous Coal Institute*

### **STRIP MINING THE PITTSBURGH SEAM IN EASTERN OHIO**

The Pittsburgh Seam is a layer of coal near the surface, found in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Maryland. In some places, layers of rock and soil must be removed to uncover this rich deposit of bituminous coal. In other places, like this strip mining operation near St. Clairsville, Ohio the seam rises to the top of the ground where the coal can be scooped up in huge buckets, loaded into trucks, and hauled to a preparation plant to be cleaned and sized for sale. Early explorers reported finding coal throughout the Appalachian region.

iron furnaces until the scarcity of trees forced operators to turn to coal. Then for some time buyers favored iron produced in charcoal furnaces. It was the invention of the steam engine that made coal a great commercial product. Coal became the fuel to fire the boilers that created the steam to operate the numerous inventions ushering in the machine age.

### **MACHINERY AIDS THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY**

WHILE THE COLONISTS in North America were quarreling with England over trade and taxes, industry in the British Isles

was being moved from the home to the factory by the invention of power machinery to do the work of hands. This movement during the latter part of the eighteenth century so changed the pattern of living that it was called the Industrial Revolution. A few inventors led the way.

James Watt was a frail and studious boy who wanted to be an instrument-maker, not for music but for science. His father sent him to school in London where he could learn this trade. At the age of twenty he returned to his home town of Greenock, Scotland, with a kit of tools and a craftsman's skill. A few months later he was employed by the College of Glasgow to clean some instruments, purchased in the West Indies for use in the department of astronomy. Later a professor asked him to repair a model engine that had failed to operate successfully in his classroom. Watt discovered that a waste of steam caused the engine to stop after a few strokes. How could he save this steam to provide the energy to keep the engine going? On a pleasant day in May of 1765 while strolling on the Glasgow Green, the plan suddenly popped into his mind for condensing steam without cooling the cylinder, a principle still in use today in steam turbines. Watt's invention of the separate condenser so improved the steam engine that it soon was used to pump water from British mines and to operate machinery in British mills.

Meanwhile the invention of textile machinery in England was creating a future market for the improved steam engine. James Hargreaves, a poor weaver in Lancashire, invented a machine with a number of spindles placed upright, side by side, all spinning at the same time. He tried to keep it a secret, but the news leaked out that he was operating a spinning machine in

his own home. Fearing this device, neighbors, who depended upon hand work to earn a living, broke into the inventor's house and smashed his spinning jenny. Hargreaves managed to make a few of these machines privately and sell them for enough money to buy clothes for his many children and the family fled to Nottingham.

At about the same time Richard Arkwright, a barber and hair dyer with a knack for tinkering, was also at work on a spinning machine. The youngest of thirteen children in a poor family, Richard had little schooling. He could barely write but he was a natural mechanic. Fearing that mobs would destroy his invention, Arkwright also fled from his home town to Nottingham. There, two bankers advanced the money to manufacture his machines for a share of the profits. Samuel Need, a partner of the ingenious farmer, Jedediah Strutt, joined the bankers in business. Strutt had perfected a frame for making ribbed stockings.

In Derbyshire they built a mill where the wheels were turned by water. Ever after, Arkwright's spinning machine was called the "water frame." Since Hargreaves' jenny made a soft thread for woof and Arkwright's frame spun a hard thread for warp, British manufacturers used both inventions and other labor-saving devices. With the new machinery the British could make cloth faster and sell it cheaper, and so increased their sales everywhere. Therefore, every effort was made to keep other countries from copying the machines; but the new inventions crossed the Atlantic.

William Slater, an independent farmer who owned his land, was a neighbor of Jedediah Strutt in Derbyshire, England. He helped the three manufacturers to find



and purchase the land with water privileges on which they erected the mill. Strutt offered to accept Slater's oldest son as an apprentice and to teach him the cotton spinning trade. The father suggested that he take Samuel, his fifth son, who had a "mechanical turn, and was good at figures." The lad was not quite fourteen. During this probation the boy's father fell from a load of hay and died soon after the accident. Since Samuel's work had been satisfactory, Strutt accepted the fatherless lad as an apprentice in his factory and took him into his own home to live with his family.

In the paper of indenture Samuel Slater promised to serve his master for six and a half years. He agreed not to:

contract matrimony within the said term, play at cards, dice, or any unlawful games, haunt taverns or play houses, nor absent himself from his master's service day or night unlawfully, but in all things as a faithful apprentice to behave himself toward his master during the said term.

Jedediah Strutt signed the indenture, agreeing:

in consideration of the true and faithful service of the said Samuel Slater, his apprentice in the art of cotton spinning, — to teach and instruct him, — finding unto the said apprentice sufficient meat, drink, washing and lodging during the said term.

Offers of prizes by some American manufacturing societies and state governments to inventors and machinists encouraged the young apprentice to seek his fortune in the New World when he had learned his trade. He told the secret to no one, not even his mother and older brothers. When Samuel had completed his apprenticeship of six years and six months, his master was so pleased with his progress that he hired him to oversee

the construction of a new mill. When it was completed, the young man decided to go to the United States and enter into business for himself. How could he get out of England?

Early in September, 1789, Samuel Slater, then twenty-one years of age, asked his mother to pack his clothes as he was leaving on the stagecoach for London. Because he had worked with the Arkwright machines, he dared tell no one that he was bound for the United States. Export of the new inventions in whole or in part and drawings of them were forbidden by law. Machinists who operated them could not leave the country. Every ship and every passenger on board was searched before sailing from a British port. Fortunately Samuel Slater was a country boy and looked like a farmer. Disguised as a field hand he took nothing to identify him as a machinist except his indenture, which he hid in his old work clothes. The searchers did not find it. Just before the vessel sailed, he mailed a letter to his mother with the news that he was going to try his luck in the New World.

After a voyage of sixty-six days he arrived in New York and went to work in a small factory. He stayed there only three weeks because the machines were poor and the neighborhood did not have a single stream to furnish water power. During this time Slater chanced to meet the captain of a sloop carrying cargo between Providence and New York. From him he learned that Moses Brown, a manufacturer in Rhode Island, was looking for a factory manager. Slater wrote a letter to Brown, explaining that he could build the Arkwright machines. Brown had tried water power unsuccessfully and was

using horse power. He answered Slater's letter in his Quaker way, offering the young man a share of the profits, "if thou wilt come." Slater went to Pawtucket where he began building the Arkwright water frames entirely from memory. He put into operation the first successful water mill in the United States. For this achievement he earned the title, "Father of American Cotton Manufacture."

As in England the introduction of power machinery began to change the way of life in the United States. Laborers were moved from homes to factories where machines did the work of hands.

Soon after the new machines were introduced by Slater, the water wheels of cotton mills were turning in the short, swift rivers of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. At first these factories produced cotton yarn, which was sold to weavers in the neighborhood to be woven into cloth on their hand looms at home. Gradually new items were manufactured. One day Samuel Slater showed his wife some unusually fine smooth yarn spun from long staple cotton in his mill. She twisted it into thread on an old fashioned spinning wheel. Testing it on seams, she found it to be stronger than the linen thread she had been using. In the mill of Almy, Brown and Slater the first cotton sewing thread was made.

The industrial revolution moved more slowly in the United States than in England. For years after carding and spinning were done in factories with machinery, weaving continued to be done in homes by hand. Farmhouses of New England were miniature mills. When a single machine could produce more in a day than many hands, the home manufacturer could no longer compete with the mill

owner. Weaving moved into the factory.

Lowell, Massachusetts, became one of the first factory towns. Before the English had settled on the shores of Massachusetts, the site of Lowell at the junction of the Concord and the Merrimac Rivers was called Wamesit. It was the capital of the Pawtucket Indians who gathered there to catch salmon, shad, and many kinds of fish in the waters around the Pawtucket Falls. About eight years before the Pilgrims landed, a mysterious epidemic almost annihilated the tribes living in that part of the country. Daniel Gookin, a magistrate of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, in charge of Indian affairs, wrote in his history of the New England tribes:

I have discoursed with some old Indians that were then youths, who say that the bodies were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they wore, both before they died and afterward.

Only about one-tenth of the 3000 men in the Pawtucket tribe survived the fatal sickness. The small number of survivors were unable to resist the English settlement of their lands. Thirty-three years after the arrival of the Pilgrims, about forty settlers in Woburn and Concord sent a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts. They asked for a land grant extending six miles along the Merrimac River and six miles along the Concord River, near the junction of these two streams. This area of thirty-six square miles included Wamesit, the ancient capital of the Pawtuckets. Rev. John Eliot, defending the tribe, sent another petition to the court, asking that the land lying around Pawtucket and Wamesit Falls be reserved for his "praying Indians" whose wigwams stood on the site. The Massachusetts court

settled the dispute with a compromise. The court gave the settlers the land they wanted except for 2500 acres along the river banks near the falls where the Indians lived.

However, as more and more settlers came to fish in the rivers and to cut timber from the forests, the Pawtuckets were crowded out of their old home. The big demand for ship timber in England and in the colonies made lumbering profitable for the early settlers. Rafts of logs cut from the forests along the Merrimac were floated down the river to Newburyport on the seacoast. The logs were used in shipbuilding there or sent across the sea.

In 1792 during Washington's term as President, a company was formed to dig a canal around the falls. Five hundred shares of stock were sold at \$100 a share to raise the sum of \$50,000 to dig a canal a mile and a half long. The canal started at a spot above Pawtucket Falls and dropped thirty-two feet through four locks to flow into the Concord River. Five years later a big crowd gathered to see the first boat pass through the first canal to be opened in the new United States. When the boat entered the canal which was jammed on both sides with sightseers, the sides caved in. The spectators plunged into the canal and doused the passengers on board the boat. No one was drowned.

After the Middlesex Canal was opened in 1804, connecting the Merrimac River with the Charles River in Boston, lumbermen floated their rafts to that town. Business dwindled on the Pawtucket Canal. Although it was a poor investment for the stockholders, the old canal inspired the founding of the first big manufacturing city in the United States – Lowell, Massachusetts.

In 1810 Francis Cabot Lowell took a voyage to England for his health. Because

he was a manufacturer he visited mills in England to observe new machinery being used in producing cotton cloth, especially the power loom operated by steam. Although the steam engine was invented by a number of men, James Watt is generally credited with making many improvements that made it practical in cotton manufacture. In 1785 the Rev. Cartwright of Kent invented a power loom to be operated by steam. Many improvements were necessary before the machine came into general use in British mills.

The growth of cotton manufacture was slow until Lowell returned from England shortly before the War of 1812. As in the case of Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwright's water frame, the secret of Cartwright's power loom was guarded by the British Government. Like Slater, Lowell depended upon his memory.

When the War of 1812 cut off British imports, Americans were forced to manufacture goods to supply their own needs. Lowell discussed the idea of starting a cotton mill with a relative, Patrick Tracy Jackson, who was familiar with the process in the Slater mills. Needing power looms for weaving, they bought an ordinary loom and began to experiment. Lowell had a knack for mechanics and finally succeeded in building a power loom much like the Cartwright model he had seen in England. Then Lowell and Jackson asked their friends to invest money in a company to make cotton cloth. The two men raised a capital of \$100,000, purchased water power at Waltham, Massachusetts, and hired a skilled mechanic and inventor to install the machinery. The mechanic found it necessary to invent a number of devices to make the power looms work. Then, when the power looms were put into

operation, the yarn purchased from spinning mills could not be used on the new looms. They sold the yarn to hand weavers in the neighborhood and constructed special spinning machines in their own mill.

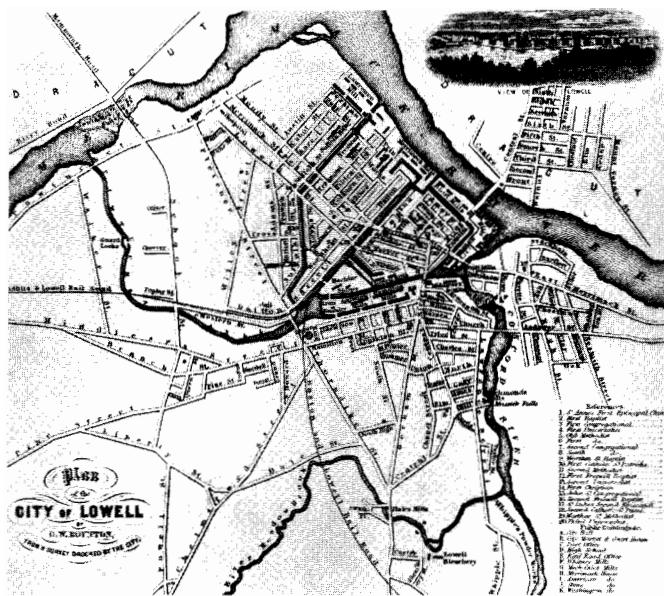
Before the new factory had produced a single yard of cloth for sale, the War of 1812 ended. The \$100,000 had been spent. After the peace was signed, cheap cotton yardage from England and India flooded the American market, forcing factories to close their doors. Mechanics out of work went West beyond the mountains, to seek farms in the Ohio Valley where they could raise enough produce to feed their families. Yet, in spite of the loss, another \$100,000 was invested in the Waltham mills. Lowell spent much time in Washington where he pleaded with Congressmen to pass a tariff law, placing a duty on imported goods, and thus save American manufacture from ruin. He convinced John C. Calhoun of South Carolina that a protective tariff would enable the southern planter to sell his cotton to northern mills for cash to purchase his manufactured goods in this country. This would keep American dollars at home for American prosperity. The Tariff of 1816 placing a duty on foreign goods was passed. This law increased employment in the mills and slowed down the westward march that was draining off the population of New England. The following year Lowell died, leaving the responsibility of the Waltham factories to his partner, Jackson.

One day in 1820 Ezra Worthen from Amesbury called on Jackson to suggest that the Waltham Company start factories in a new place and put him in charge. Jackson was willing to consider the proposition if good water power could be found. As a boy Worthen had fished at Pawtucket

Falls and he knew the country well. With a piece of chalk he sketched a map of the location on the floor, convincing his friend that the old canal could furnish the water power for many mills. Jackson sent his superintendent with Worthen to examine the land at the junction of the Concord and Merrimac Rivers. The site was chosen for a new manufacturing town.

The Waltham Company bought the 500 shares of canal stock and nearly 400 acres of farm land for about \$100,000. Five hundred men were employed to widen the mile and a half long canal to sixty feet and to deepen it to eight feet at a cost of \$120,000. In 1822 on the bank of the river the foundation was laid for the first cotton mill, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. Ezra Worthen was made superintendent. As more and more manufacturers came, lateral canals were dug to provide water power for their mills. In 1826 the little village of factories was incorporated as the town of Lowell in honor of the man who had done much to establish manufacturing in New England. Ten years later Lowell was the "Spindle City" where 9,000,000 pounds of cotton were turned into 30,000,000 yards of cloth by six mills.

When manufacturing moved from the home to the factory, home laborers sought employment in the mills. Since most of these operators were country girls skilled in handicraft, they soon learned to handle machinery. The labor of young men, however, was scarce. With land cheap and plentiful in unsettled country, the young men went West. Few returned to marry the girls they had left behind. The American urge to own land slowed down the industrial revolution in the United



Boynton

#### EARLY MAP OF LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS – CITY OF MILLS

This map shows how an industrial city was laid out when factories depended upon water power. Mills were huddled along the Merrimack and Concord Rivers, and along the branches of the main Pawtucket Canal.

The sketch in the upper right hand corner shows the boarding houses where the mill girls lived. Twenty churches are listed in the lower right hand corner. Church attendance was required by mill owners, as a rule.

Lowell, Massachusetts, built for the textile industry, became known as the “Spindle City.”

States, where many preferred profits in agriculture to wages in manufacturing.

In Lowell the mill girls lived in three story brick boarding houses, provided by their employers and managed by a house mother who supervised the care of the girls. Everyone had to be in by ten o'clock at night when the doors were locked. This type of boarding house was a unique institution that did not become the living pattern in other factory towns. In 1845 the matron of a boarding house

for the Merrimack Manufacturing Company made this report in a survey:

Kept house on Merrimack six years; twenty-eight boarders now; two hundred in all; seventy-five have been married, having kept account; two have died; four gone home sick; three dismissed for bad conduct; very little sickness.

The efforts of both employers and employees to make Lowell a model factory town drew visitors from all over the United States and from foreign countries. Many praised the place as a model industrial community and others criticized it. There were thirty-three churches in Lowell when the population was under 30,000. The town had thirty-three mills. To get operators for machines, manufacturers found it necessary to assure parents that their daughters would be provided with both religious and educational opportunities. Rules like the following were posted in the mills:

All persons are required to be constant in attendance on public worship, at one of the regular places of worship in this place. Persons who do not comply with the above regulations will not be employed by the company.

Labor was scarce during the summer when many girls went home to help on the farm. Since the work day was from daylight to dark, as a rule, they returned in the winter when the days were shorter to attend the evening schools provided by the churches. Out of 300 illiterate employees in one factory, all but 30 learned to read in these evening schools. There were lectures at the Lowell Institute where great men, including Ralph W. Emerson, spoke. Girls formed clubs to study languages, literature, and music. One of these “Improvement Circles” published a magazine called “The Lowell Offering” in which stories, poems,

and articles written by the mill girls were printed. Some of the best stories were published in a book, *Mind Amongst The Spindles*. The editors of this magazine favored laws for a ten-hour day. They suggested that the employees save to buy stock in the companies where they worked. The hours of labor drew the most criticism from visitors. The running time of the mills throughout the year averaged twelve hours and ten minutes, with time out for meals.

The overseers and officials were men with families for whom the manufacturing companies provided houses at reasonable rentals if they did not own their own homes. To this permanent but small population were added the immigrants who lived with their families and not in the boarding houses. A discharge book of one of the factories contains a report of a typical immigrant girl working in the cotton mills of Lowell and other New England towns:

Oct. 14, 1844 – Mary – , worked nine years, discharged to go on Lowell Corporation. She and her sister, who left a short time since to be married, had worked for us over ten years. They are Irish. Their father died about nine years ago. They have since entirely supported their mother, having built her a house costing \$600, in which they have kept house together. They own a pew which cost them \$125, and they have from \$100 to \$200 each at interest.

In this way the mill towns of New England became centers of foreign populations and the way of life changed. In Lowell the mansion of one manufacturer was converted into a hospital where sick employees received medical care at their company's expense, if they could not pay the fees. One corporation donated the land and others the hall, where the Middlesex Mechanics Association met and discussed

the problems of the mill hands. The experiment at Lowell, based on the Waltham system, was a preview of a dawning industrial society with its problems in hours, wages, health, housing, and employment. With freedom of opportunity gained through a political rebellion, the nation met the challenge of an industrial revolution.

## COAL BECOMES A COMMERCIAL PRODUCT

AFTER THE Revolutionary War more deposits of glassy anthracite were discovered in eastern Pennsylvania. In 1791, a hunter accidentally found a rich bed of coal near Mauch Chunk (Bear Mountain) in the Lehigh Valley. He tells the story:

One day, after a poor season, when we were on short allowance, I had unusually bad luck and was on my way home, empty-handed and disheartened, tired and wet with the rain – when I struck my foot against a stone. It was nearly dusk, but light enough remained to show me that it was black and shiny. – When I saw the black rock I knew it must be stone coal. On looking round, I discovered black dirt and a great many pieces of stone coal under the roots of a tree that had been blown down. I took pieces of this coal home with me, and the next day carried them to Colonel Jacob Weiss at Fort Allen.

Shortly afterwards, the Lehigh Coal Mine Company was formed. Digging began in an open-cut mine on the top of Summit Hill, near the spot where the hunter had stumbled over the chunk of anthracite. Eastern Pennsylvania was rich in coal, but how could it reach the markets? The only transportation was on the Susquehanna, Lehigh, and Schuylkill Rivers when the streams were swollen with rains and

navigable for many miles. Who would buy the coal? Anthracite had a hard time winning the favor of a public that had been using bituminous coal in both homes and factories.

A nail manufacturer experimented with anthracite in his factory and in his home. For his fireplace he fashioned a grate from hickory wood and had a blacksmith copy it in iron. With proper drafts he succeeded in burning anthracite in this grate in his fireplace. When he invited his neighbors to witness the feat, only a few came. They could not believe it. Those who basked in the warmth of his grate fire on that cold night in February, 1808, spread the news that "stone coal" was better for heating than wood.

Four months before, two brothers had gone down the Susquehanna River as far as Columbia. No one would buy the black rocks so they dumped their load. After seeing "stone coal" burning in a grate, the brothers tried again the following spring. This time they took along an iron grate to prove to customers that the shiny black stones would heat their homes. Today the main use of anthracite is to furnish fuel.

When the War of 1812 broke out, delaying shipments of bituminous coal from the James River fields in Virginia, an enterprising mine owner in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, started for Philadelphia with nine wagonloads of anthracite. On the way he sold one load to the proprietors of a rolling mill. The foreman complained that the stones would not burn in the furnace. The mining man persuaded one of the millowners, who was a mechanic, to go with him early the next morning to fire a furnace before the workmen arrived. The two men kindled a fire with wood and piled the black stones on top. Anthracite

burns slowly; so when the fire was started, the mining man closed the furnace doors and suggested to his partner that they leave to eat breakfast. When they returned, the furnace glowed with a white heat. Workmen put in iron ore, watched it heat more quickly than usual, and pass through the rolls with greater ease. All were convinced.

On hearing of this success, a wire and nail manufacturer bought a wagon load and tried it in his furnace. The miner from Pottsville made no profits, having sold the coal for the cost of transportation. Hoping for better luck, he went on to Philadelphia with the seven remaining loads. Here and there he sold a few bushels to blacksmiths, but gave away most of his coal to persons who said they would try it. Not only was his business venture almost a total loss, but a writ was secured for his arrest as a swindler, selling black stones for coal.

During the War of 1812 more and more manufacturers tried "stone coal" because it was near at hand. The demand grew for the product. The big problem was transportation. To transport the coal to customers on schedule, rivers were dredged and a network of canals was built all over eastern Pennsylvania and north into the state of New York. One of the first navigation companies was organized by Josiah White, the wire and nail manufacturer at the falls of the Schuylkill who had purchased a wagon load of coal from the Pottsville miner. This company undertook to make the Lehigh River navigable for barges of coal from Mauch Chunk to the Delaware. In the early days of industry the proprietors were often skilled mechanics, themselves, and did hard labor by the side of the men they employed. White directed the work in the difficult spot at the Schuylkill Falls. He wrote in his memoirs:

As our work was generally in the water seven or eight months in the year, and my portion of it being to lay out the walls and channels in the river, pile stones as marks, etc., I dressed in clothes suitable — a red flannel shirt, roundabout coat, cap, strong shoes with holes cut in the toes to let out the water; our clothing being made of a coarse cloth and buckskin tanned in oil to turn the water. In the summer, during the day I was as much in the water as out of it, for three seasons, allowing the clothing to dry on my back, — sleeping at night in one of our boats in a bunk, in the same manner as the workmen.

With this improved navigation 365 tons of anthracite came down the Lehigh River in 1820. The coal business began in earnest. Twenty years later a million tons of anthracite went to market over a network of canals and rivers, large and small. Long after railroads were built, coal barges slipped quietly through this maze of waterways, supplying fuel for homes, factories and mills. However, the great bituminous deposits of the Appalachian Mountains, and not the beds of anthracite in eastern Pennsylvania, put the crown on “Ole King Coal.” Anthracite was scarce but the United States had enough bituminous coal to last 3000 years. The market for coal increased as steam engines furnished the power for operating machinery, especially in the field of transportation. Then the fur-trading posts, located on navigable rivers in the coal land, soon began to feel the throb of industry.

## **HOW COAL CHANGED LIFE IN PENNSYLVANIA**

**DURING THE** Revolutionary War Jonathan and Ruth Slocum, with their seven sons and three daughters, moved west from Rhode Island to the Wyoming Valley

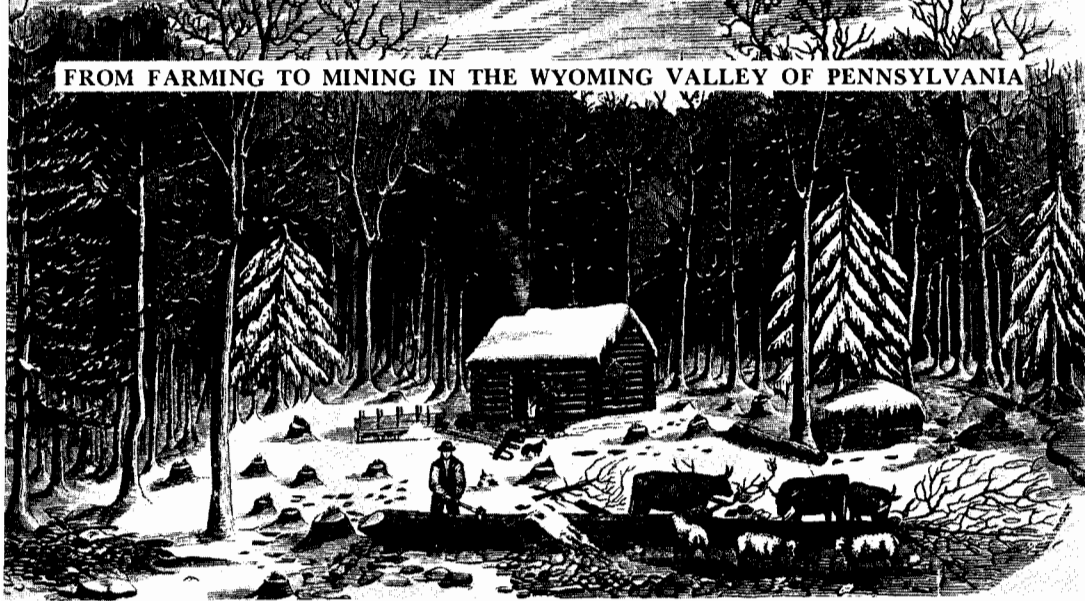
in northeastern Pennsylvania. Shortly after the family settled on land where the city of Wilkes-Barre now stands, the father was killed in an Indian raid, known as the Wyoming Valley Massacre. Later, two of the Slocum brothers, Ebenezer and Benjamin, settled in a bowl-shaped valley a little north of Wilkes-Barre where they built a forge, a grist mill, and a saw mill to supply new settlers with iron, grain, and lumber. After an early, cold winter when crops had frozen, a Dutch blacksmith employed at the forge named the little settlement Slocum’s Hollow, because he said, only a Slocum would have the courage to seek a living in such a poor place. Slocum’s Hollow is now part of the industrial city of Scranton. The name of Slocum Hollow was changed to honor George W. Scranton who moved there from New Jersey in 1840 and erected new furnaces to burn anthracite coal. However, bituminous coal rather than anthracite promoted the great iron and steel industry of the Appalachian region. The rise of manufacturing made coal a valuable product. As factories bought more and more coal to operate the increasing number of steam-driven machines, mining grew into a big industry.

## **PITTSBURGH PROFITS FROM A STRATEGIC LOCATION**

**SETTLEMENT AND INDUSTRIAL** growth in the United States depended upon transportation to carry pioneers to western lands and to haul their products to market. However, both occupation and business began in the days of pack horses, wagon freight, and river flatboats. The trader went first and settlers followed



## FROM FARMING TO MINING IN THE WYOMING VALLEY OF PENNSYLVANIA



### FIRST CLEARING IN THE WILDERNESS

In 1762, about 200 sturdy New Englanders, mostly from Connecticut, settled in the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania. Mothers and little children rode in ox carts with chicken crates and farm tools. Fathers and older sons drove a few cattle, sheep, and hogs to provide milk, wool, and meat. On the way, some of the animals were devoured by wolves.

In the sketch above, the chimney of the log cabin is a hole in the roof; the door is a hide or two; and the window may not be glass. The barn is a crude log shelter with a brush roof. Although snow covers the ground and the brook is frozen over, the pioneer is busy chopping down trees, enlarging the clearing for the spring planting.

### THE SAME PLACE — A FEW YEARS LATER

The clearing is larger. Corn, potatoes, and pumpkins are growing among the tree stumps. The lone settler now has neighbors who are helping him to pile logs for future use. The log cabin has a chimney plastered with mud, a plank door with wooden hinges, and a window with four panes of glass. Vines shade the doorway, a "worm" fence protects the house and garden, and a log bridge spans the creek.

Wyoming Valley was a land of trees which the pioneer had to chop down before he could plant a crop. The logs were used for houses, barns, bridges, fences, furniture, and for cooking and heating in fireplaces. On the frontier, neighbors helped one another in the hard labor of settlement in a wilderness.





### THE SAME CLEARING A GENERATION LATER

The settler's son, now the owner, hauls a load of hay to the barn. His daughter dips a bucket of water from the well in the orchard. His son walks down the lane carrying a bucket in each hand.

The original log cabin is now a wing of the new house built of squared logs shaped in the farmer's sawmill a little distance upstream. Paneling on the front door, shingles on the roof, boards in the barn, lumber in the straight fence, and planks on the bridge are products of the sawmill.

More land has been cleared, and more crops are growing, and a garden flourishes in the side yard. Beyond a grove of trees stands the one-room schoolhouse where children living on farms study the three R's — "readin', 'ritin', 'rithmetic."

### THE OLD HOMESTEAD

At the dawn of the industrial era, a big house stands on the spot where the first settler built his log cabin in a wilderness. A few trees on the hilltops are all that remain after farmers had cleared the land for planting. The landscape is a network of fields and orchards, with a village where the farmers sell their produce and buy the things they need. Gone are the "worm" fences, the wooden bridge, and the tree stumps.

Smoke streaming from the funnel of a railroad engine is an omen of the future when the quiet countryside will hum with industry. Coal will take the place of corn as shiny beds of anthracite lure more and more miners into the river valleys of eastern Pennsylvania.



close behind. The triangle formed by the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers to form the Ohio was a strategic location for a settlement. Pittsburgh began as a frontier post for the Indian trade and grew up to be a large industrial center, the celebrated city of steel.

In December, 1758, a merchant in Philadelphia had wagons loaded with lead, shot, powder, knives, hatchets, cloth, saddles, kettles, pipes, and tobacco. He was enroute to Pitt's Borough where he hoped to trade the articles for valuable furs brought in by the Indians. At Cumberland the merchandise was transferred from wagons to pack horses — 34 in all — for the journey over Braddock's Road to the frontier post. When icy streams were too deep for fording, the bundles were ferried across in canoes while the horses swam to the opposite shore. The leader of the pack train was a Quaker. In his diary he tells of the hardships of this mid-winter journey across the mountains:

My horse lame & ye snow balling his feet made his passing something doubtful, but I lead him along & got safe across, but in swimming ye creek ye water got into my boots & saddle-bags. I emptied ye bags & walked until I was warm. — It being late, and about four or five miles further (to a farmer's house), I began to look for a lodging place, which I found under ye side of a great mountain in a hollow stump. After I cleared ye snow out & made a floor of bark & a great fire at ye door, I lodged with more comfort than I expected & slept some.

At night, wolves chewed the hide tongs that tied his bundles of goods; a keg of knives fell into a stream and the leader had to scour off the rust and oil them; dried apples and hard biscuit were soaked with water; rolls of wet blankets were spread out to dry; horses strayed at night, were lost or

stolen, and some died on the way. On the last day of April after a trip lasting five months, the merchandise reached Pittsburgh. During the summer Indians wandered into the settlement with pelts to trade for these articles. Finding Colonel Mercer and 280 men in the fort disturbed the Indians. They feared the soldiers would be the advance guard of white settlers who would occupy their lands.

The settlers followed upon the heels of the traders. On the way back to Philadelphia in the early autumn with 9000 pounds of valuable furs, the trader met others going west, as related in his diary:

Sept. 14, 1759

Ye South Branch of Pottomock people are in droves along ye road, going to Pittsburgh, some with flower and some with corn, oats, butter, cheese, etc. The day I overtook ye wagons, I met Col. Burd of Pennsylvania & a party with wagons and pack horses going to ye mouth of Redstone Creek to build some storehouses, in order to have ye carriage on this road to go from thence down ye Monongahela to Pittsburgh.

#### EARLY PITTSBURGH A FRONTIER SETTLEMENT

This small village at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers became the supply center for settlers traveling down the Ohio River to settle in the Northwest Territory. With coal, iron, and water transportation, Pittsburgh became the "City of Steel."

*Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh*



The early storekeepers of Pittsburgh lived in constant fear of Indian raids. They were kept busy moving their goods in and out of the protected enclosure of Fort Pitt. In 1763 Pontiac, the brilliant chief of the Ottawas, organized the Indian tribes from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico in an all-out attempt to prevent the British from settling the country in the Ohio Valley.

After a year of savage war Pontiac's conspiracy failed. White men crossed the mountain barrier to build their cabins and plant their corn in the western country. The first written description of the village of Pittsburgh appeared in the journal kept by Washington of his trip down the Ohio to the Kanawha River. Washington wrote in 1770:

We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort. The houses, which are built of logs, and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I supposed may be about twenty in number and inhabited by Indian traders.

During the Revolutionary War soldiers had been stationed at Fort Pitt. Carpenters and sawyers had been sent there to build six boats, each one carrying a cannon, to aid the garrison in defending the place. The soldiers were sometimes hungry and cold because the hunters and woodchoppers were easy targets for Indians and Frenchmen who lurked in the woods. When the garrison complained of freezing, with tons of coal only half a mile away, the commander of the western district ordered that "the coal pit be occupied by turns day and night," while some kept guard.

After the War for Independence ended, the United States gained territory to the Mississippi River. The frontier village at the headwaters of the Ohio began to grow.

When the Ordinance of 1787 opened up the Northwest Territory for settlement, Pittsburgh became the supply center for western emigrants going down the Ohio River to settle in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. It was a dangerous route. Slow-moving keel and flatboats were easy targets for attack by Indians still trying to hold the country against the inroads of settlers.

General Rufus Putnam, who had served in both the French and Indian War and the War for Independence, took out the first emigrants of the Ohio Company to found the first permanent settlement in the Northwest Territory. After crossing the mountains in winter, when it was sometimes necessary to haul their belongings on sleds because the snow was too deep for wagons, Putnam's party of New Englanders reached the Youghiogheny River. At Simrall's Ferry, about thirty miles above Pittsburgh, the emigrants built the *Mayflower*, a galley 45 feet long and 12 feet wide, with a roof over part of the deck. To carry all the baggage of the party, it was necessary to build a flatboat and three canoes, also. On a spring day the little flotilla pushed out into the Youghiogheny, dodging sand bars and shallow water. It then drifted down the wider and deeper Monongahela to Pittsburgh.

The frontier town of log houses and about 400 to 500 inhabitants looked like a city to the New Englanders who had spent weeks in a wilderness. They enjoyed shopping in the stores for clothing and tools to take to their new homes. On April 7, 1788, Putnam's party arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum River, unloaded the boards they had brought along, and began to erect the first crude huts in a little town they named Marietta, after the Queen of France.

A month later Colonel May from Boston, another Revolutionary officer, arrived in Pittsburgh where he was delayed seventeen days waiting for a boat down the Ohio to the colony on the Muskingum River. He, too, did some shopping in Pittsburgh. In a letter to his wife, dated May 1, 1788, he wrote:

I dined today on bacon that was good which I bought by the quantity. — I have laid in four barrels of excellent flour.

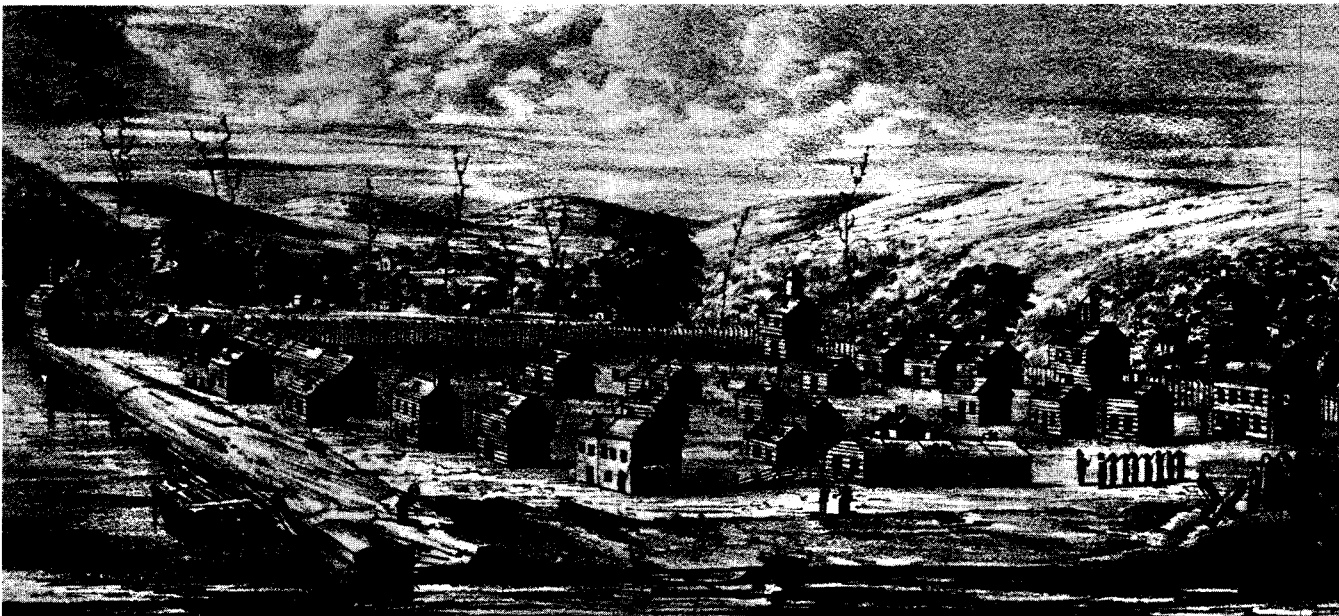
During his stay in Pittsburgh, Colonel May purchased many useful items, including a grindstone, axes, hoes, and tools. To his food supply he added a bushel of salt and two bushels of potatoes. Enroute down the Ohio with twenty-seven men on board, two cows, two calves, seven hogs, nine dogs, and eight tons of baggage, he bought more supplies from farmers living along the shore. May's purchases included 300 pounds of smoked hams, more seed corn, potatoes, butter, a barrel

of pickled pork, young plants and trees, and as many cows with calves as he could crowd on board the boat.

Revolutionary officers of the Society of Cincinnati and soldiers from the ranks settled in Belpre, Cincinnati, and other places where streams flowed down through fertile valleys to empty into the Ohio River. Forts had been erected to protect them. Fort Harmar was at the mouth of the Muskingum River and Fort Washington was near the Miami in Ohio, opposite the Licking River in Kentucky. However, the area protected by these forts was small because the Indians fought desperately to hold their farms and their hunting grounds. Boatloads of immigrants were captured, scalped, and carried away into captivity; farmers were shot from ambush while plowing in their fields; frontier cabins were burned to the ground and the torch was applied to crops of corn. After General St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory, had been defeated in Indian warfare, Major General Anthony

#### MARIETTA, OHIO IN 1792

Marietta, oldest town in Ohio, was founded in 1788 at point where the Muskingum River flows into the Ohio.



Wayne, known as "Mad Anthony," took over the campaign against the Indians.

After the Indians were defeated in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near Fort Miami, in 1794, their power was broken. In straggling bands, dispossessed and disheartened, the tribes of the Northwest Territory began the westward trek to prairie lands beyond the Mississippi. Among them were Shawnees and other tribes who had lived near the Atlantic seaboard before the white man came to North America.

Freed from big Indian raids, the settlers came in ever-increasing numbers. With them came industry, boatbuilding, forges, furnaces, saw mills, grist mills, and factories to make the many articles needed by emigrants in a new country. Coal, plentiful in and around Pittsburgh, was delivered to the doors of homes and factories for five and six cents a bushel. In 1807 about 200,000 bushels of coal were burned in Pittsburgh. Travelers called it the "Smoky City."

When the use of steam made river travel safe and profitable, Pittsburgh became an inland port. Since early industrial growth in this country depended largely upon water transportation to carry the goods to market, inventors began to experiment with steam engines to propel boats. Robert Fulton visioned a future with steamboats hauling the products of farms and factories on the western rivers and, he was willing to invest money in a steamboat on the Mississippi River. In 1809 two years after the *Clermont* steamed up the Hudson to Albany, Nicholas J. Roosevelt and his bride journeyed overland to Pittsburgh to investigate the possibilities of steamboat navigation on the western rivers. They were to report to Fulton and Livingston in New York.

Upon arrival in Pittsburgh, Roosevelt had a flat-bottom boat built with two small houses on top, like boxes, one for himself and his wife, and the other, for the crew, which included the cook who prepared the meals with the aid of a fireplace. This flatboat was home for six months while Roosevelt tested the current and measured the depth of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico. From New Orleans the Roosevelts took a ship home, arriving in New York after an absence of nine months. Fulton and Livingston were so pleased with Roosevelt's report that they agreed to furnish the money for him to build a steamboat at Pittsburgh and test it on a river trip.

On a September day in 1811 the residents of Pittsburgh lined the banks of the Monongahela River and shouted farewells as the first steamboat chugged down the stream on its epoch-making voyage. On board the *New Orleans* were the builder and his wife, a captain, a pilot, an engineer, six hired hands, two women servants, a waiter, a cook, and a big Newfoundland dog, named Tiger. At a speed of about ten miles an hour, the steamboat reached Cincinnati on the second day. The whole town turned out to see it. The hardy river men who had poled the flatboats and the keelboats down the Ohio shook their heads in doubt. The steamer would never get back against the current of the Mississippi River.

At the Falls of the Ohio, opposite Louisville, Kentucky, the *New Orleans* had to wait for the river to rise enough to carry the boat across the rocky barrier. On the way down in the flatboat, Roosevelt had taken time to explore along the banks, searching for coal lands. He had found

some deposits on the lower Ohio. He had coal dug and piled on the bank of the river to burn in case he returned in the steamboat. This fuel came in handy. When all he loaded had been used, the steamboat was forced to tie up along the bank once every day while the crew cut wood to fire the boiler. At about that time there had been an earthquake which shook the region where the Ohio River empties into the Mississippi. Many Indians were afraid of the "fire canoe," and thought the paddles stirring the water had caused the earth to tremble under their feet. Well might the Indians fear the "fire canoe" as it was to bring both settlers and industry westward to drive them from their hunting grounds along the inland waterways.

The *New Orleans* reached Natchez in safety where it served for years carrying passengers and freight back and forth between that town and New Orleans. It cost about \$38,000 to build. The boat was designed, built, and delivered by Nicholas Roosevelt, the grand-uncle of a future President, Theodore Roosevelt, and a distant relative of a later President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Thus began that colorful and romantic period of American history, known as the Steamboat Era, which developed the river ports of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg, Natchez, and New Orleans into centers of trade and manufacture.

In 1824, a famous decision by the Supreme Court promoted steamboat traffic on the rivers all over the country. The legislature of the State of New York had granted Robert R. Livingston and Robert R. Fulton special rights of navigation on the Hudson River. John Marshall, Chief Justice, stated that navigation on the

Hudson River involved interstate commerce that only Congress had the power to regulate, according to the Constitution. This decision made all rivers free to all boatowners who obeyed the laws passed for navigation.

The South Americans, too, were interested in steamboat navigation for their rivers. In the late 1820's a German immigrant tried to establish a steamship line on the Magdalena River, the highway of commerce in Colombia. The Magdalena, winding through a tropical country, was a treacherous river with a strong current, shifting channels, and deep and shallow water according to seasons. Although Simon Bolivar rode on one of the German's steamboats, and encouraged the project, it was not a success. Revolutions that upset the government and natives who refused to cut wood hindered the operation of the line. Natives who were employed to paddle canoes in the Magdalena River, some carrying as much as eighteen tons of freight, were not anxious to cut down trees to fuel a steam engine that would take away their jobs.

Soon after steamships were tried on rivers, the commander of the *Clermont* took the first steamship out into the ocean on a voyage from New York to the Delaware River. Later he was captain of the *Savannah*, the first steamboat to venture across the Atlantic Ocean, but not without the aid of sails. On May 22, 1819, this vessel steamed out of the port of Savannah, Georgia, arriving in Liverpool twenty-six days later, but much of the voyage was under sail. The first vessel to cross the Atlantic under steam power only was the *Royal William*, built in Canada in 1833. This steamship made the voyage from Quebec to the Isle of Wight in nineteen and



a half days, "with seven passengers, a box of stuffed birds, some household furniture, 254 chaldrons of coal (a chaldron being at that time 3456 pounds), and a crew of 36 men." In London the *Royal William* was chartered to the Portuguese Government for a transport. Later it was sold to Spain for a war vessel, as it was the first steamship from which a hostile gun was fired. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville became the building centers for steamboats navigating the western rivers, and New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore for ocean-going steamers.

Some ocean-going vessels were built in Pittsburgh and loaded with cargoes for foreign countries. The town boasted of being a world port. In the House of Representatives, Henry Clay of Kentucky told an amusing anecdote. When a boat from Pittsburgh arrived at Leghorn (Livorno), Italy, the captain presented his papers to the custom house officer, who refused to accept them.

"Sir, your papers are forged," the Italian said. "There is no such place as Pittsburgh in the world! Your vessel must be confiscated."

The captain laid a map of the United States before the customs officer. Beginning at the Gulf of Mexico, he traced with his finger the Mississippi River to the Ohio, and thence up that stream to Pittsburgh.

"There, Sir, is the port whence my vessel cleared out," the captain claimed with pride.

Pittsburgh soon acquired two rivals for the Ohio River trade, the towns of Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

In 1815 Cincinnati was manufacturing the same articles as Pittsburgh, except some made of iron. The town early acquired a large number of skilled craftsmen who

made clocks, jewelry, pottery, carriages, and fine furniture. Hides brought up the Mississippi and Ohio on boats were tanned and manufactured into saddles, boots, and shoes. Lead was imported from the Missouri Territory and Cincinnati became well-known for white lead products. From surrounding farms, grains and fruits for which there was not a market, were made into liquors that were shipped in barrels to New Orleans. However, flour was the chief article of export from the Miami country. A book, published in Cincinnati in 1815, lists the exports of this river port:

After flour follow pork, bacon, and lard; whiskey, peach brandy, beer and porter; pot and pearl ash, cheese, soap, and candles; hemp and spun yarn; walnut, cherry, and blue ash boards; cabinet furniture and chairs; to which might be advantageously added, kiln dried Indian meal for the West Indies.

Five years later when steamboats were plying the inland waterways, a merchant from Cuba wrote a letter to the editor of *The Cincinnati Directory*, suggesting that the people of the Ohio country ship their produce to his country, direct, "receiving in return the coffee, sugar and other articles common to the Island of Cuba."

At this time revolts were brewing in the Spanish colonies, seeking their independence from Spain. The westerners, whose market was New Orleans, wanted the trade of the Latin American countries. Rifles, cannon, shot and shell, made in the little iron furnaces and lead factories of the Ohio Valley, were shipped down the Mississippi and smuggled into the southern countries to aid the revolutionaries. The friendship between the westerners and the insurgents in Spanish America resulted in trade gains when the colonies became independent nations,



according to a dispatch in a Pittsburgh newspaper in 1845:

Four Mexican gentlemen arrived in our city yesterday, by the Steamer *Bertrand*. They brought with them over \$40,000, the greater portion of which they will leave in our city, for articles of Pittsburgh Manufacture. The value of our trade with Mexico is very considerable. Every spring and fall, large orders are furnished to our mechanics and Manufacturers for Iron and Glass Wares, Harness, Saddlery, Wagons, Ploughs, etc. These articles are mostly taken by the Santa Fe route, from whence they are distributed over the Northern Provinces of Mexico.

Steamboats carried merchandise to the Missouri frontier, where it was loaded into covered-wagon freighters and was strapped on to pack saddles for the trek over the prairie to Santa Fe, the trade center of northern Mexico. As markets were extended westward, towns on the inland waterways began to grow in size and importance, with the combined aid of coal, iron, and steam.

Before the steam engine came into general use, factories were erected near streams where falls and rapids furnished water power to operate the machinery. Then the manufacturers were forced to lay out a town and to build houses for their employees, as was the case in Lowell, Massachusetts. Real estate agents selling business sites in Pittsburgh proudly advertised the advantages offered to manufacturers in the town where mechanics had settled and workmen provided their own living quarters. Where coal was so plentiful, steam power was cheap, and one could start a little factory with a small amount of money. Markets were assured because Pittsburgh was the supply center for western emigrants. Steamboats plied the inland waterways of

## C. & O. O. EVANS,

### FOUNDERS,

*Plough Manufacturers and Millers,*

Stone Steam Mill, Water Street,

3 squares west of Market st.

## PITTSBURGH,

Respectfully inform their friends and Correspondents, that having re-built their Foundry and Works, are now prepared to fill orders to any extent for

Crane Ploughs,—Cotton Ploughs.—Wood's Ploughs.—Prairie Ploughs, large and heavy ploughs expressly made for breaking up prairies, new clearings, roads, &c.—Hill-side Ploughs, for ploughing on sides of hills, throwing the furrow all one way, True American Ploughs, Half Patent Ploughs, Peacock's Ploughs,—Eagle Ploughs,—Miller's Ploughs,—Shovel Ploughs, and Cultivators; and Trucks for Stores and Steam Boats.

Their much approved *Farmers' Mill*, for grinding Grain, Corn in the Cob, Plaster, &c. propelled by the most modern and simply constructed horse power in use, which can also be applied to Threshing, Straw Cutting Machines, &c.

Corn Shellers, Threshing and Straw Cutting machines, Mill Irons, Wagon Boxes and Castings of all kinds.

They are also making arrangements for manufacturing *Stoves*; the patterns selected will be of the newest and most approved kind.

*They also have just received the following Eastern Manufactured articles, so indispensable to Farmers:*

Hand mills, for grinding Grain, Coffee, Spices, &c.; Hay Knives of different descriptions; Corn Cutters, for taking stalks from grain fields; manure forks, made from plate steel, and other kinds; and Grain Shovels.—Also, the following Pruning Implements: Pruners, Handled Slide; Gentlemen's Pruning Knives and Saw Cases; Heavy Bill Hooks, Fancy Slide Pruners, &c.; Edging Knives, &c. &c.

☞ *Fresh Family Flour always on hand.* ☛

Henry E. Huntington Library

### ADVERTISEMENT FROM HARRIS' PITTSBURGH DIRECTORY FOR 1837

the Ohio River and its tributaries, carrying the products made in Pittsburgh to river towns all the way to New Orleans, and thence to foreign ports.

With the coming of railroads the steamboat gained a rival in the steam locomotive. In less than twenty-five years after the first boats were propelled by steam, the first steam locomotive in the Western Hemisphere actually ran over three miles of track at Honesdale, Pennsylvania.



*Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*

#### FIRST STONE OF BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

To restore western trade taken from Baltimore by canals and toll roads, a group of business men decided to invest money in a railroad. On July 4, 1828, in Baltimore, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, last living signer of the Declaration of Independence, took part in laying the cornerstone of the first railroad to the Ohio River.

The engine was called the "Stourbridge Lion" because it had been built in Stourbridge, England, and had the head of a lion painted in red on the front of the boiler. The rails had been laid and the engine imported by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company to haul anthracite

coal sixteen and a half miles from their mines at Carbondale to the head of their canal at Honesdale. The same man who had gone to England to buy the engine was the passenger, the engineer, the brakeman, the fireman, and the conductor when the little engine chugged around a curve on a rickety

trestle crossing Lackawaxan Creek and disappeared in the woods beyond. On the eighth day of August in 1828, this brief run of the "Stourbridge Lion" opened the railroad era. In August of the following year, the first American-made steam locomotive, the "Tom Thumb," hauled thirty-six passengers in a coach a distance of thirteen miles on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Although the engine broke down on the return trip in a race with a horse, and the gray steed won, the trial of Tom Thumb was a success.

Railroads could penetrate regions of rich coal and farm lands in the hilly country where canals could not be dug, and operate in winter when the canals were frozen lanes of ice. The directors of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad offered a

prize of \$4000 for the best coal-burning locomotive delivered to them by June 1, 1831. A man from New York won the money. Although wood was long burned in locomotives hauling cars of coal from mines to markets, coal became the railroad fuel. In both steamboats and locomotives, bituminous coal could be used in engines made to burn wood. Special engines had to be built for anthracite.

Little country villages dreamed of a future with factories, population, and payrolls when a rail line passed through. No longer were the river towns the only locations for industrial plants when rails streaked across the country hauling products to market. The railroad era increased "the grand results" of the "mighty age of steam."

## Chapter 24

# Inland Waterways Spread Industry

### INDUSTRY WENT WEST WITH THE PIONEERS

THE WESTWARD MARCH to the inland waterways really began when George Washington stood for the first time on the triangle of land where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers join to form the Ohio. This perilous journey to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's message to the French commander marked the beginning of Washington's adventures in this western wilderness where a county was named for him. Fur traders entered the country first, ahead of the land pioneers who pushed their clearings westward over the mountains to the Ohio Valley. Ironmasters soon followed.

After the War for Independence the iron industry along the seaboard went into a decline. The prewar British market was gone and money was scarce. Forges and furnaces were in need of repair. New inventions like the steam engine and the nail-cutting machine rendered the old equipment scarcely worth replacing. Ironmasters from New Jersey and nail makers from New England joined the returned soldiers in the westward trek to the Northwest Territory and Kentucky

and Tennessee. Their simple methods of smelting ore and cutting nails were welcomed by settlers opening up a wilderness.

Before the tenth anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, a German immigrant was erecting the Bourbon Furnace on Slate Creek, a branch of the Licking River that flowed through his land in Bath County, Kentucky. Armed guards kept watch to ward off Indian attacks while workmen dug ore from surface mines, hauled it to the furnace, cut down trees, burned charcoal, and hammered at the forge. Early settlers in Kentucky were supplied with kettles, warming pans, bake ovens, stoves, and flatirons from this ironworks. Cannon balls and grape shot made in the Bourbon Furnace went by flatboat down the Licking to the Ohio, and on down the Mississippi. They were used against the British regulars by General Jackson's frontiersmen and pirate recruits in the Battle of New Orleans.

In the 1790's furnace smoke curled above the treetops in the mountain wilderness of eastern Tennessee where Daniel Boone had hunted as a lad. Customers were the settlers going west, following the valleys of the Wautaga,



*United States Steel Corporation*

### A PIONEER FURNACE IN THE WILDERNESS

Since charcoal was used for fuel to smelt the iron ore, pioneer furnaces were located where trees were plentiful. In this sketch, a charcoal burner tends a turf-covered pit in which cords of wood are being slowly burned into sticks of carbon to fire the furnace. Air is forced into the furnace with a foot-operated bellows.

Holston, Clinch, Powell, and Tennessee Rivers. Traders went down these streams in flatboats and canoes, peddling their iron wares in frontier settlements. Some traders went all the way to New Orleans. With streams for water power, trees for charcoal, and ore for furnaces, the industrial pioneers under primitive methods made one or two tons of iron per day. This supplied the neighborhood blacksmiths who turned it into horseshoes, wagon rims, and harrow teeth for the soil pioneers. Bar iron was the same as money for paying taxes and buying salt, sugar, coffee, calico, and shoes at the country store.

In the Hanging Rock District iron ores were discovered on both sides of the Ohio River near the present towns of Ashland, Kentucky, and Ironton, Ohio. Early settlers in Michigan were supplied with potash kettles and stoves by forges and furnaces in northeastern Ohio near the shore of Lake Erie. Ironmasters and

plowmen walked side by side, pushing the frontier westward to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The little charcoal forges and furnaces of the iron pioneers were the advance guard of the conquering legions of mills and factories that followed them when industry marched westward to the inland waterways under the triple banner of coal, steam, and steel.

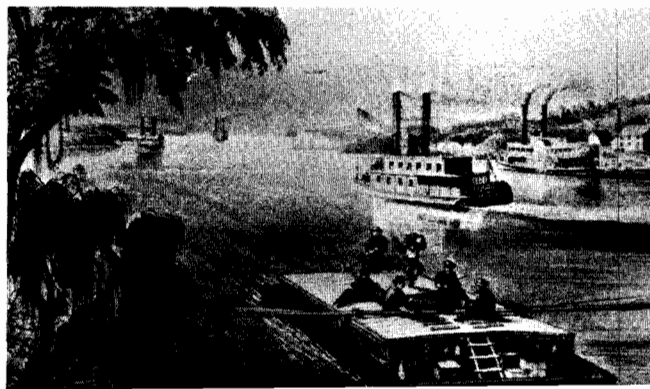
### THE GREAT LAKES BASIN FORMS A NATURAL SETTING FOR INDUSTRY

INDUSTRY DEPENDS upon transportation. The farmer and the manufacturer without easy access to markets actually have little to sell. From the beginning, industry in the Great Lakes region was harnessed to the waterways. The first known white men to enter this country were French explorers and

#### “BOUND DOWN THE RIVER”

In early America, inland waterways were highways of commerce. Farmers in the Ohio Valley went down the Mississippi River in flatboats with bundles of furs, bushels of grain, and hickory-smoked hams to sell in New Orleans. Steamboats plying the rivers added tools and utensils made in frontier furnaces to cargoes of farm products. Families moving west needed cooking pots, frying pans, hoes, rakes, shovels, hatchets and plows. Plantation owners in Louisiana needed big boiling kettles to make a salable product from their sugar cane. Steamboats moved both passengers and merchandise westward on the rivers, and industry followed close behind.

*Currier & Ives*



missionaries who traveled mainly by water. Close on their heels followed the trapper and the fur trading business. The villages of Indians and half-breeds, with a sprinkling of Frenchmen, that clustered around the mission centers were little more than wayside camps for the swaggering voyageurs, coming and going on fur hunting expeditions.

The actual settlement of the Great Lakes region did not get under way until plowmen came to turn the sod after most of the territory was ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. After the War for Independence pioneers paddled down the Ohio River to settle in the Northwest Territory. Others came later, filtering into the back country along the tributaries of the Ohio. They reached the shores of Lake Erie and farther north to the prairie strip of southern Michigan. During the War of 1812 supplies were furnished to soldiers and sailors from farms along the Erie shore. In August, 1813 six farmer boys rented an old French boat, loaded it with melons, beans, cucumbers, corn, butter, and other produce from their farms. Hearing that Perry's fleet was near Sandusky, they set out in the unseaworthy vessel to find it. Not knowing there were any settlements nearby, Perry was astonished when the boatload of fresh food arrived. The boys wanted to give the food to the crews, but Perry insisted on paying for it, asked for more, and gave the boys a better boat. Their boat was leaking.

After they returned, one of the lads rode horseback from farm to farm, collecting potatoes, vegetables, smoked meat, and homemade pickles for Perry's sailors. The day after the victorious battle on Lake Erie, the farmer boy hastily gathered a crew from the neighborhood and left the

shore with a boatload of potatoes. Rowing through the floating litter of broken spars and torn rigging, he came alongside Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*.

In the beginning of settlement the basin of the Great Lakes showed signs of becoming the great food-producing center that it is today. As early as 1796 a ship captain, who had once been General Washington's gardener, delivered to a farmer in Windsor, Canada, a shipment of apple trees purchased in Montreal. The captain, a skillful grafter, took specimens from these trees across the border to improve the fruit growing in an orchard that then stood on land now covered with buildings in downtown Detroit. A traveler, going west by boat, wagon, and horseback, described the country along the Raisin River in southern Michigan:

Monroe Michigan  
Dec. 3, 1833

It would delight an eastern farmer to see the magnificent pear trees which, tall as the trees of the forest, extend through orchards for miles along the stream. Here, too, are apple trees that were brought by the French in 1731. The grapevines, also, from which the river takes its name constitute a beautiful feature in the level landscape, as they hang in rich festoons along the banks of the stream, and climb wherever it is wooded to the tops of the loftiest elms.

In that same year of 1833, two pioneers bought fruit trees, berry bushes, and flowering shrubs in Rochester, New York, shipped them by way of the Erie Canal, across the lake, and overland by wagon to stock their nursery near Ypsilanti. Today Michigan is a fruit raising state, and famous for cherries growing along the shores of Traverse Bay. The miller and the sawyer trailed close behind the plowman in a new country. They came to grind the farmer's

wheat into flour for his bread and to saw the lumber for his house and his barn.

Since boats were needed to carry settlers and products over the inland waterways, the ship-building industry began to grow. The first steamboat upon Lake Erie was *Walk-in-the-Water*. When completed, the vessel lacked enough power to push its way against the current of the Niagara River where it was built. It took sixteen

yoke of oxen to pull it out of the stream and launch it in the lake. When the steamer entered the Detroit River, Indians swarmed along the banks and gazed in wonder. What paddled it? When the boiler blew off steam, the natives ran frightened into the woods. *Walk-in-the-Water* launched steam navigation that played so large a part in building an industrial empire along the shores of the Great

#### WALK-IN-THE-WATER IN HARBOR OF DETROIT

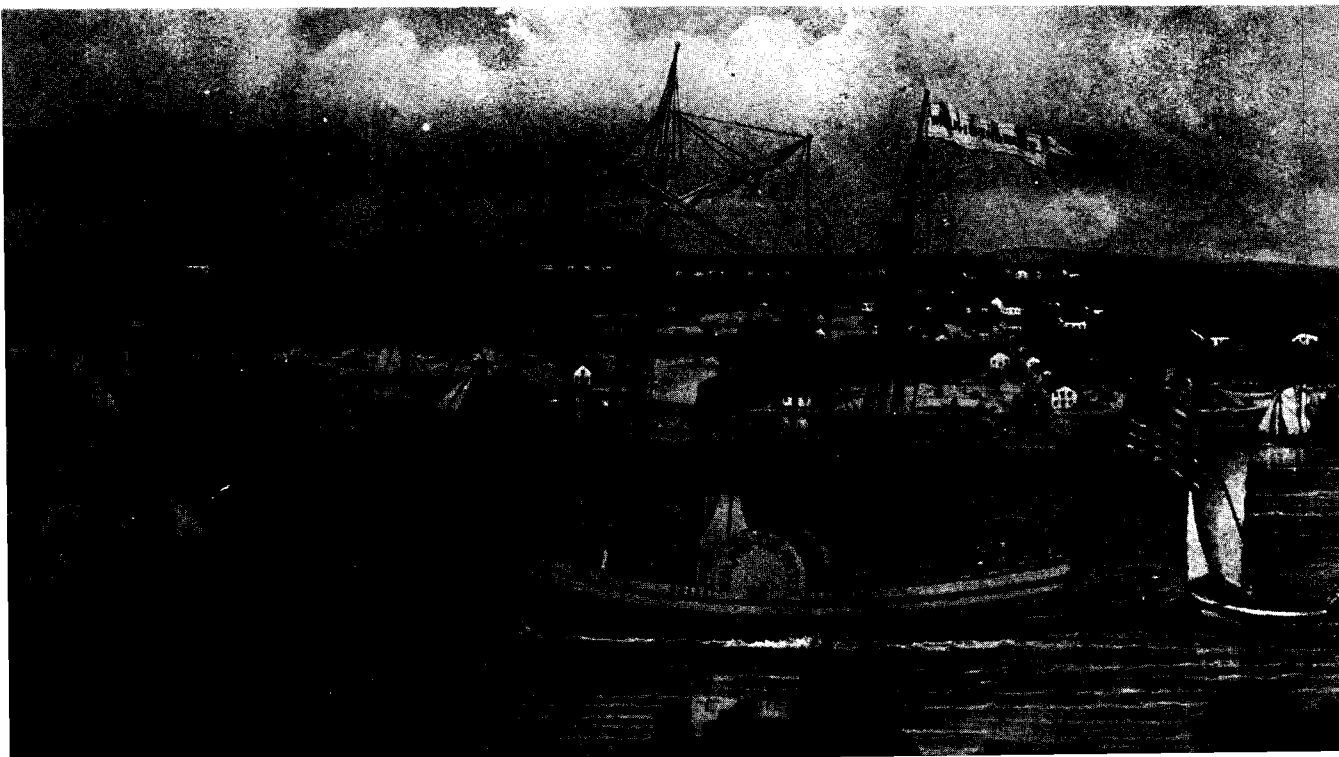
The first steamboat on the Great Lakes was named WALK-IN-THE-WATER for the chief of the Wyandot Indians whose name was Mier, meaning turtle. His tribe lived on the bank of the Detroit River in Michigan. The chief's totem or signature was the figure of a turtle walking in the water.

WALK-IN-THE-WATER, built in the Niagara River at Black Rock had to be towed to Lake Erie for launching, May 28, 1818. Boats anchored in the Niagara River and were pulled through the rapids by oxen until Buffalo developed a harbor. The sailors jokingly called this towing process, the "horn breeze."

In 1820, and again in 1821, this boat transported United States Army soldiers to forts defending frontier settlements. Among the notable passengers was a young officer who later gained fame as General Winfield Scott in the Mexican War.

WALK-IN-THE-WATER met an untimely end in a gale on Lake Erie on the first night out from Buffalo, bound for Detroit, October 31, 1821. Through high waves, strong winds, and heavy rain, the captain steered the battered, leaking boat to the shore not far from the lighthouse in the harbor. He wrecked the boat, but saved the lives of the passengers.

*Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society*





*Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society*

### LIGHTHOUSE, STEAMSHIP "BUFFALO," AND HARBOR AT BUFFALO

After opening a harbor in 1820, Buffalo, New York became a port city in time to serve the people going west by way of the Erie Canal, completed in 1825. New Englanders traveled by stage to Albany, Erie Canal to Buffalo, and boat to Detroit and settlements along the shores of the Great Lakes.

At one time, the steamship BUFFALO was the fastest boat on the Great Lakes.

Lakes. Passenger vessels did a thriving business during the years of the westward migration. In July of 1835 the following news item was printed in the *Erie Gazette*:

No one who does not witness it, can have any just idea of the immense throng of people who are wending their way, by the route of Lake Erie, to the West. The steamboats and the schooners plying between the various ports on the lakes, are constantly crowded. More than 200,000 settlers will go west during the present season, and take up their abiding places on the fertile lands which border on the Great Lakes and their tributary streams.

The wharves at Buffalo were piled with barrels, boxes, and bundles for shipment to Cleveland, Detroit, and a frontier village, called Chicago, whose population grew from 54 in 1832 to 4000 in 1835. So many New Englanders were going west by way of the Erie Canal in 1837, that one editor declared: "the fever for emigration pervaded the whole region from Rhode

Island to Vermont." Popular songs of the day advertised the states bordering on the Great Lakes, with verses like the following:

We here have soils of various kinds  
To suit men who have different minds,  
Prairies, openings, timbered land  
And burr oak plains, in Michigan.

You who would wish to hunt and fish  
Can find all kinds of game you wish;  
Our deer and turkey they are grand  
Our fish are good in Michigan.

By 1840 Buffalo, western terminal of the Erie Canal, was a port of call for most of the fifty-three steamboats on Lake Erie. In July of that year the steamboat *Erie* made a record run of 1200 miles from Chicago to Buffalo in four days, "carrying a large number of passengers and 300 barrels of flour and pork." One of these steamers consumed, on an average, three cords of wood per hour. To provide this fuel, woodchoppers went into the forests,



and lumbering began in a small way. Another industry was then added to the Great Lakes region and a new kind of ship appeared on the inland seas — the lumber schooner.

## LUMBERMEN INVADE THE WHITE PINE FORESTS

THE RAPID SETTLEMENT of the rich farm lands in the basin of the Great Lakes and the prairie beyond opened up a greedy market for timber. Poles for masts, lumber for hulls, pilings for docks, ties for railroads, boards for boxcars and siding for houses in town and country were in constant demand.

Trees growing near the rivers and lakes were the first victims of the woodsman's ax because water transportation was handy. The pilots who guided the log rafts down the Mississippi River were viewed with awe and wonder — so great was their skill! One slight error might cause a break-up that would crush and drown dozens of raftsmen maneuvering a float of logs around a treacherous bend in the river. These daring pilots, dressed in red flannel shirts, flowing black ties, and wide slouch hats earned \$500 a month and more during the busy rafting season. This sum was a fabulous salary in those days. The reign of the rafting pilot was colorful, but brief. The steamboat took over his job.

During the War Between the States the first steamboat rafter towed a shipment of timber from the Chippewa River in Wisconsin to a sawmill in St. Louis, Missouri. The largest raft ever towed down the Mississippi River by a steamboat was one third of a mile long, 270 feet wide, and contained 9,000,000 feet of

lumber. More logs could be handled at a time by a small steamboat crew than by pilots and their gangs. The daredevil raftsmen, with their fiddlers and cooks, faded out of the lumbering scene. As soon as the ice began to thaw in the rivers of Wisconsin and Minnesota, captains of the steamboat rafters headed north in the annual race. Each wanted to be the first to nose into the current of the Mississippi with a float of logs.

Sawmills in towns and villages along the Mississippi and its tributaries were busy slicing logs into boards to build houses for the western immigrants. The huge migration to the prairie state of Iowa in 1854 can be traced in the local newspapers.

*The Keokuk Dispatch:* No one can travel up and down the Mississippi without being astonished at the immigration pouring into Iowa from all parts of the country, especially from Indiana and Ohio. At every ferry on the river, crowds are waiting to cross. The land offices all over the state are unable to meet the demands upon them by those who are eager to enter lands.

*The Burlington Telegraph:* 20,000 immigrants have passed through the city within the last thirty days, and they are still crossing at the rate of 600 to 700 a day. We have these facts from the ferry folks. About one team in a hundred is labelled "Nebraska." All the rest are marked "Iowa."

There was plenty of government land selling at \$1.25 an acre. Town lots were often donated to men willing to improve them. For about \$2.50 per acre the settler could hire a man to "break the prairie" with a heavy plow, pulled by five yoke of oxen. This plow, which was ten feet long and turned a furrow two feet wide, was able to cut through the stringy roots of the native grasses on the buffalo plains.

Each new settler was a new customer for lumber. By 1854 the town of Davenport, Iowa, was becoming a lumber depot, with

six sawmills cutting about 20,000,000 feet of lumber a year to supply the needs of settlers in the surrounding territory. A spacious eddy in the river made it easy for rafters from the northern pineries to halt at Davenport. The loggers bartered with the sawmill owners for the sale of their logs. The cost of rafting timber from the Chippewa River to Davenport or to Rock Island on the opposite bank of the river amounted to only a dollar per ton for the lumber sawed from the logs. In all, about 50,000,000,000 feet of lumber, rafted down the Mississippi from the northern pineries, was used in building farm houses and city dwellings in the Middle West. This river output was only a part of the lumber industry. Another story of adventure and production was written in the woods of Michigan and on the timber schooners plying the waters of the Great Lakes.

The race for timber land on sale by the Government lured many a fortune hunter into forests where no white man had been

**LAST STAND OF WHITE PINE SOUTH OF  
GRAYLING, MICHIGAN. ABOUT HALF  
THE TREES IN THIS  
PHOTOGRAPH ARE NORWAY PINE.**

*Michigan Historical Commission*



before. In the early 1870's two fishermen left a hamlet on the northern shore of Lake Michigan to search for unclaimed timber land on the upper peninsula which was wild country south of Lake Superior. It was midwinter. With packs on their backs, snowshoes on their feet, and a compass in one man's pocket, they plunged into the wilderness. Each night they chopped down a green maple tree, cut it into logs, and erected a shelter for their campfire. Rolled in blankets, they slept on a bed of balsam boughs in front of the fire. The bitter cold of the northern night settled down around them.

The fishermen located a forest of white pine well worth the government price of \$5 to \$10 an acre. The first man to file a claim on a specific section of land in a certain township became the owner of both the land and the timber on it. He must have the location correctly measured to hold his claim. In surveying with the aid of a compass the fishermen stumbled upon some snowshoe footprints in a swampy clearing. The tracks in the snow ran in a straight line. Only a timber cruiser walked like that and he was stepping off a claim. They followed the footprints until they turned toward Marquette on Lake Superior. The land office was there. These fishermen stepped off their claim as if no one had been there before. Their rival was at least a day ahead of them and they could not overtake him on land. He might travel slowly, stopping to hunt along the way, since he had seen no tracks in the snow. It was moonlight. In twenty-four hours the fishermen walked forty-five miles on snowshoes to reach the shore of Lake Superior, where they could travel faster on ice than on land. Here they parted. One man turned

toward home. The other raced over the ice, reaching Marquette ahead of his rival. The winner's feet were covered with painful blisters and bleeding cuts from walking on the jagged ice along the frozen shore.

The key man in the lumber industry was the timber cruiser. With only a compass for a guide, he trailed through the primeval forests, stepping off the sections of land and counting the number of white pine giants on every single acre of it. In following his compass in a straight line, the cruiser hacked his way through briars and brush and waded through swamps and streams. So keen was his judgment, he could glance at a tall tree and measure with his eye the number of board feet of lumber in it. He wrote down the amount in a pocket notebook. The successful timber cruiser was an uncanny mixture of surveyor, woodsman, and mathematician — strong, fearless, and efficient. Upon the reports of the timber cruisers the lumber companies based their logging operations.

By 1850 lumberjacks were trudging westward from the logging camps of Maine, to chop white pine in Michigan's upper peninsula, along with the French Canadians. Immigrants arrived from Europe — Irish and Germans, and later, Finns, Swedes, and Norwegians. In the heyday of lumbering 140,000 men were employed during the winter months cutting down the forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

The logger's workday was from daylight to dusk. His home was a bunkhouse, a rambling shack of logs with a sloping roof. His bed was a straw-filled bunk nailed to the rough, unplastered wall. In the center of the shelter was an open fireplace, a pavement of stone and sand in a wooden box about eight feet square and a foot



*Michigan Historical Commission*

#### **WHITE PINE TREES IN MICHIGAN**

**A student of forestry uses calipers to measure a white pine tree, four feet in diameter, as the timber cruisers did during the great lumbering days in the state. The last stand of original white pine trees was cut in the summer of 1910.**

high. There was a funnel of slabs for a chimney sticking through a hole in the roof. The smoky air reeked with the wooly smell of socks and shirts drying on hooks and wire clotheslines strung around the fire. Buried in the hearth under glowing embers was the everlasting beanpot, day and night, around the clock.

The lonely men, marooned in a frozen wilderness, hungered for amusement. An unwritten law of the lumber camps provided the only entertainment between paydays. A new logger, a timber cruiser, a mining prospector, and any passing stranger found a hearty welcome in any bunkhouse of a lumber camp. He must pay for his beans, bread, molasses, and coffee with a song or a story. He who could neither chant a ballad nor spin a

yarn was tossed in a blanket. Thus came into being the shanty-songs of the lumber camps and the fanciful tales of the Finnish comic, Big Matt, and the superman, Paul Bunyan. Many legends reflected the superstitions of the men to whom danger was merely a habit, like eating and sleeping. Who would cut down a poplar tree, change his bunk, or his place at the table? What teamster would change his horses? Bad luck! A tree might crash in the wrong direction, an ax fall from a partner's hand, or logs jam on the river drive. The everyday life of the lumberjack crept into the lore of the northern woods.

Timber from the woods of Michigan and Wisconsin went into homes and factories of the industrial cities rising on the shores of the Great Lakes, where lumber was king. Some of the square timber used in Chicago's first breakwater was cut in a forest that once stood on the streets of Escanaba. Special vessels had to be constructed to deliver the heavy piling on

#### A FIELD OF STUMPS IN NORTHERN MICHIGAN

Like tombstones in a graveyard, stumps mark the spots where trees were felled in a forest that covered the land before the lumberjack arrived.

*Haines*

Chicago's waterfront, where winter gales dashed waves upon the doorsteps of houses at the foot of Lake Street. Timber from the same woods went into ships that carried lumber and other products to ports on the lakes, and into ties for the railroads that transported grains and meats from the western prairie to the shipping centers.

When the trees were gone, the way of life changed in the northern country. The lumberjacks burned out the dead stumps, plowed the land, and planted beans, potatoes, oats, barley, and fruits. Many of the Scandinavian loggers became farmers and stayed in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Others moved on farther west to fresh, uncut forests in the Pacific states of Washington and Oregon. The prospector for ore and the cruiser for timber trailed through the same forests at the same time. Long before lumbering began to wane, mining stepped in to take its place as the backbone of industry in the Great Lakes region. Then came steel, like magic, creating new industries, new cities, and new patterns of living along the waterways, where the trapper and the trader once paddled their canoes with the murmur of the forests ever ringing in their ears.

#### STEEL ENTERS THE MARKET

DURING THE Revolutionary War, prizes were offered to increase the production of steel needed for armaments. This encouragement continued after the peace treaty that ended the war. In April of 1783 the state legislature of Pennsylvania lent a manufacturer about \$1300 for three years, to aid him in making steel from bar iron, "as good as in

England.” The steel industry of this country grew out of experiments by Americans to make from native iron “as good” steel as the British made from Swedish iron.

Since it was easier and cheaper to manufacture articles from iron than from steel, the iron industry continued to prosper for half a century following the war before steel loomed on the horizon as a strong rival for business. In 1832 near the close of President Jackson’s first term of office, two English emigrants, brothers, made crucible steel in Cincinnati, Ohio. One of the brothers, William Garrard, was a bricklayer, not an ironmaster, which explains why he succeeded in being a steelmaker. In West Virginia he found clay like the famous Stourbridge variety used by the British steelmakers. From this clay he made molds into which he poured a poorer grade of steel, first converted into the metal from iron ore in his own furnaces. The clay purified the steel. The process of making steel in clay molds, or crucibles, was probably invented by some unknown Hindu in ancient times, long before the Christian era. The famous swords of Damascus were forged from crucible steel made in Persia and India.

In the Cincinnati Steel Works the Garrard Brothers made a tool steel from Missouri and Tennessee charcoal iron. Manufacturers declared that this steel was “as good as in England” for saws, springs, chopping axes, files and tools of all kinds. With blades shaped from Garrard steel, Cyrus Hall McCormick, the young inventor of the reaper, cut grain on his father’s farm in Rockbridge County, Virginia. The Panic of 1837, following Jackson’s second term, put the Garrard Brothers out of the crucible steel business and left McCormick with only the patent for his reaper.

A decade later, farther west than Cincinnati, a new day dawned for steel in a village near the Cumberland River in the western part of Kentucky. In 1846 William Kelly made a trip through Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, selling dry goods for a wholesale firm in Pittsburgh in which his brother had an interest. Late in that same year William Kelly persuaded his brother to quit the dry goods business and become his partner in an ironworks in Eddyville, Kentucky. They purchased an old furnace and 14,000 acres of ore and timber land. From chunks of ore picked up on top of the ground, the Kelly Brothers manufactured kettles for boiling sugar and ironware to supply the needs of their neighbors. The business prospered. Soon it became necessary to dig ore from underground where it was plentiful. However, this buried ore was different and caused trouble in the furnace.

Kelly began to experiment, hoping to find a cheaper and less troublesome way to refine pig iron than the process used by ironmasters of the time. One day he noticed that a small spot in his iron brew was white with heat, although there was no fuel near it. Then he discovered that a draft of cold air was blowing on the spot. He concluded that oxygen in the air was burning out the carbon, causing the intense heat. Kelly reasoned that if he could burn out nearly all the carbon, he could make steel out of this very same brew. After a number of experiments he constructed a crude converter, something like an iron barrel with perforated holes in the bottom. Kelly invited the ironmasters of the Cumberland River Valley to be in Eddyville on a certain day to see his new process in action. Out of curiosity a crowd gathered.

First, workmen filled the bulging barrel with molten iron. When a bellows pumped cold air into the sizzling brew, there came a roar like a muffled thunder. The converter, spouting fire and smoke, splattered hot iron like hailstones over two acres of ground. No one was hurt. The ironmasters had come to laugh at "Crazy Kelly" but went away wondering how his experiments would affect their future.

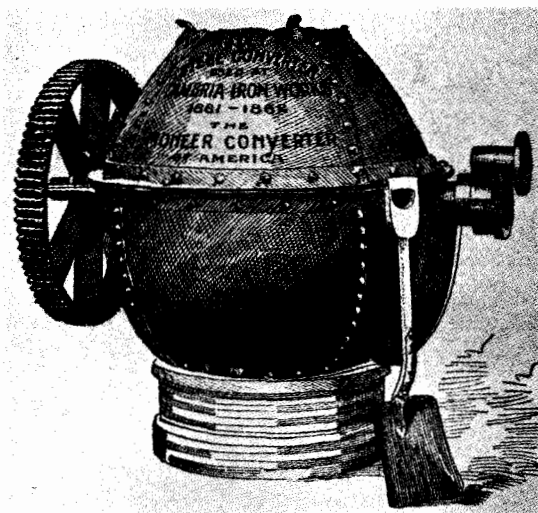
Kelly's product, however, was really more a soft, carbon-free iron than a finished steel, but it could easily be pounded into shape. Seldom is a great

#### THE KELLY CONVERTER

Kelly's converter was tested for the first time in a large ironworks in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and found to be as usable in a large plant as in a small one. This same converter has been preserved. The words identify it as follows:

KELLY  
STEEL CONVERTER  
used at  
CAMBRIA IRON WORKS  
1861-1862  
The  
PIONEER CONVERTER  
of America

*United States Steel Corporation*



invention the work of only one man. Like the steam engine, perfected by a number of inventors and mechanics, the process of making steel by blowing drafts of cold air through molten iron was achieved by combining the discoveries of several men. In 1856 Kelly was busy continuing his experiments at an ironworks in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, when he read in a newspaper that Henry Bessemer had arrived in the United States from England to patent his discovery of a steel process. The formula was the same as Kelly's — hot iron and cold air. Since Kelly had failed to get a patent, he rushed to Washington and proved that his discovery had preceded Bessemer's. Although Kelly received a prior patent in 1857, lawsuits lingered in the courts for some time. As a matter of fact both men followed the same formula but Bessemer had invented the better machinery for making it. At about the same time another Englishman, Robert Mushet, discovered an alloy to purify iron brewing into steel. Since Kelly's process was not successful without Bessemer's machinery and neither one could make commercial steel without Mushet's alloy, the patents were consolidated. Steel men named the combination the Bessemer process, and the converter, Bessie.

In Wyandotte, Michigan, during the fall of 1864 occurred the first blow of Bessemer steel in the United States. In May of the following year, shortly after the death of Lincoln, the first steel rails produced in the Western Hemisphere were rolled in a Chicago mill from Bessemer steel blown at Wyandotte. The railroad boom that began to develop following the War Between the States created the first big market for steel. With the Bessemer

process came mass production of steel, which lowered the price of the metal. Like the touch of a magic wand, new markets arose from new discoveries and new inventions until the race for steel became as dramatic as a play upon the stage. In fact the steel industry of the United States owes much of its success to a mistake in geography and to Benjamin Franklin who shrewdly took advantage of it.

## WON BY A MAP

WHEN THE Revolutionary War ended, Benjamin Franklin had been one of the commissioners sent to Paris to arrange a treaty with Great Britain. Franklin had advocated taking possession of Canada during the French and Indian War. He had made the journey to Canada urging the people there to join in the fight for independence. Then he went to Paris, determined to get all the territory he could for the new United States. Both the British and American commissioners agreed to a water boundary by way of the Great Lakes as far as possible. This rule worked well until the line reached Lake Superior.

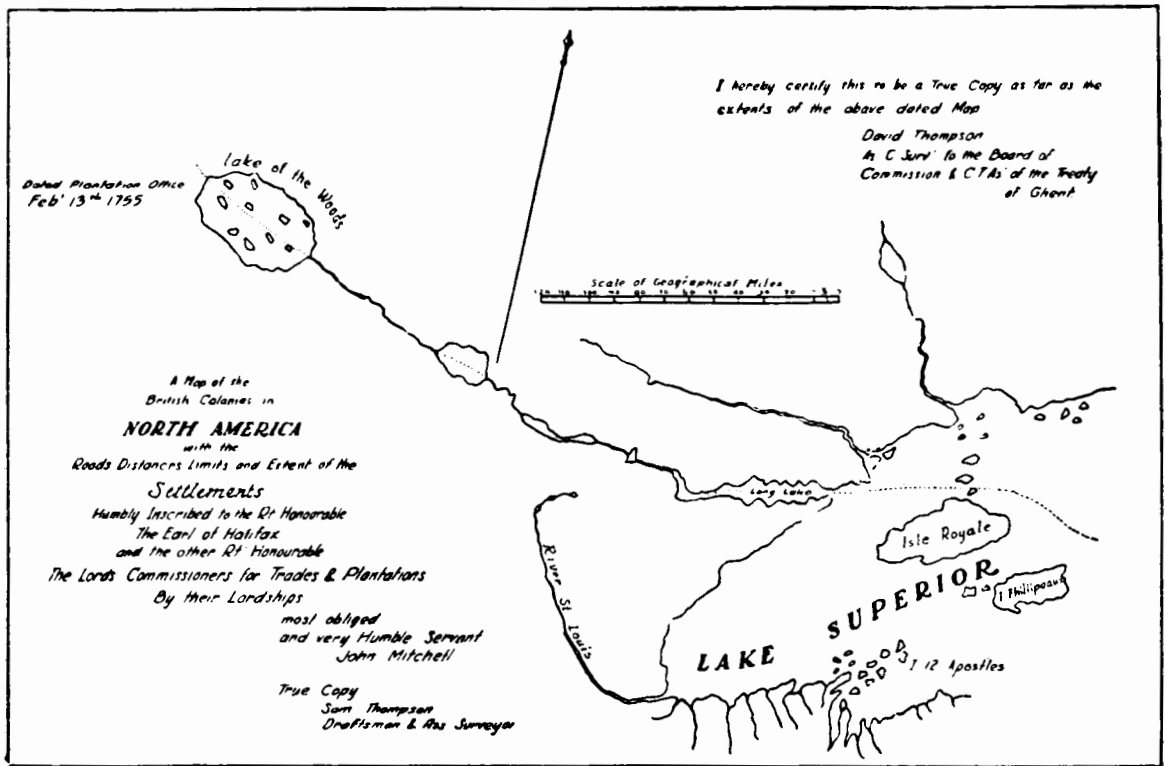
In 1783 maps of the Lake Superior region were few and faulty. The British and American commissioners agreed to accept, as the best available, a map sketched by a Virginian, John Mitchell, who had never seen Lake Superior. John Adams was most concerned with the Maine boundary and John Jay with the Mississippi River. This left Benjamin Franklin to barter for the mineral wealth in the western wilderness. Being a printer and publisher, Franklin was fond of books and read widely in both French and English. No doubt, he was familiar with the writings of French

missionaries who told of finding great deposits of iron ore and copper in the region of Lake Superior.

Beside Franklin at the peace table in Paris sat a rough-and-ready fur trader from Milford, Connecticut. The trader had tramped through the northern woods and paddled a canoe along the shore of Lake Superior. Although he could not draw a map of the region, he knew the resources of the country. The British also knew there were mineral deposits near Lake Superior.

When they met at the peace table, the British commissioners wanted the line drawn through the middle of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis River, the present site of Duluth. This plan would have given to Great Britain the rich iron ranges that later supported the steel industry of the United States in supplying armaments for two world wars.

Since trappers and traders paddled their canoes on a curving line north of Isle Royal and Isles Philippeaux to Grand Portage, fur center of the Northwest, Franklin suggested that Lake Superior be divided on this familiar route. Also, Long Lake, as shown on Mitchell's map, afforded a better water route than the St. Louis River. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, defined the western boundary, "thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isle Royal and Isles Philippeaux to Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods." Herein occurred the error that gave to the United States the fabulous wealth of iron ore deposits in northern Minnesota. There was no such body of water as Long Lake and the Pigeon River extended inland only a short distance. The Isles Philippeaux, mythical home of the



THE MITCHELL MAP

Had the border between the United States and Canada been drawn westward from the mouth of the St. Louis River, where the city of Duluth now stands, the United States would have lost the rich iron ranges of northern Minnesota.

The British agents in Paris in 1783 selected Long Lake for the border on Lake Superior, and this body of water was an error in the Mitchell map. In a later survey, the Pigeon River became part of the border between the two countries.

Great Spirit, existed only in Indian legend. The shadowy islands disappeared like magic, the natives declared, when they paddled their canoes in that direction.

Disputes soon arose over this boundary line. British trappers and traders complained bitterly because Grand Portage, the fur center, was in American territory and no longer free to them. Hoping to roll back this line, the British Government did not surrender posts in this northern country. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet, tried to settle the boundary dispute. He wrote to

Benjamin Franklin to verify what map had been used at the peace table in Paris. Franklin, then 84 years old, replied in a letter from Philadelphia, dated April 8, 1790:

I am perfectly clear in the remembrance that the map we used in tracing the boundary was brought to the treaty by the Commissioners from England, and that it was the same that was published by Mitchell.

Not until 1842 was the boundary line between Canada and the United States definitely settled by Daniel Webster,



Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet, and Lord Ashburton, Commissioner from Great Britain. Today, the northern border of Minnesota follows the same line that Franklin traced on Mitchell's map in Paris.

## MINERALS ON THE SHORES OF THE GREAT LAKES

A JESUIT MISSIONARY to the Huron Indians wrote in his report for the year, 1653:

The earth contains iron ores, and certain rocks which melt like metal, with an appearance of having some vein of silver. There is a copper ore, which is very pure, and which has no need of passing through the fire.

In the records of the Detroit mission is the copy of a contract between a blacksmith and the director of the mission:

On the 16th of July, 1733, Father La Richardie and Jean Cecile entered into the following covenant: the said Cecile, toolmaker and armorer, binds himself to work at the forge of the said Reverend Father at Detroit, in the Huron Village, for all the needs of the French and of the natives, in all matters connected with this trade. The said Reverend Father will give the assistance of his servant, when he has one, to the said Cecile for chopping wood and building his charcoal furnaces.

The profits derived from the forge were divided between the mission and the blacksmith. Although this contract was for six years, with permission for Cecile to leave at will, after due notice, the blacksmith remained a longer time, expanding his ironworks.

One French missionary, skirting the shore of Lake Superior in a canoe, wrote about seeing a large mass of copper from

which the natives cut chunks of the metal weighing from ten to twenty pounds. However, long before Indians inhabited this region, mound builders toiled in copper mines along the shore of this inland sea. Ten cartloads of their stone hammers, one weighing nearly forty pounds, have been found in mine pits they had abandoned centuries ago.

Commercial copper mining did not begin until after Michigan was admitted to the Union. To win statehood Congress demanded that Michigan cede a strip of territory along the southern boundary to Ohio, in exchange for the upper peninsula. A verse of a popular song told the feelings of the irate citizens:

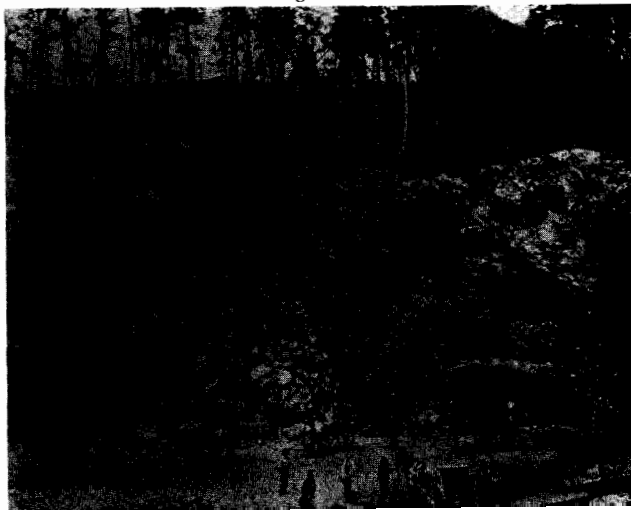
But now the song they sing to us  
Is — trade away that land,  
For that poor, frozen country,  
Beyond Lake Michigan.

A state geologist, Douglas Houghton, was one of the first appointments made by the first legislature of Michigan which convened in 1837. The discovery of

### JACKSON PIT IRON MINE NEGAUNEE, MICHIGAN — 1860

Iron ore found along Lake Superior was first mined with pick and shovel. In two-wheel carts drawn by horses, the ore was dumped into rail cars.

*Michigan Historical Commission*



valuable ores in "the howling wilderness on the shores of Lake Superior" might soothe the wounded feelings of the people over the loss of Toledo and surrounding territory. Houghton's report of copper deposits on the tip of the upper peninsula started a mining boom there in the early 1840's. In frail canoes and sturdy mackinaw boats the copper hunters searched the bays and inlets of Lake Superior.

Copper Harbor on the far northern tip of the peninsula was the meeting place of these eager adventurers in flannel shirts and slouch hats. The noise of blasting powder and clanging hammers echoed through the woods where mining was pushing aside the old-time quiet industries of hunting and fishing. Towns began to rise along the Eagle and Ontonogan Rivers and on the shore of Portage Lake. Canadian voyageurs sang as they rowed their boats, loaded with fortune hunters, over the waterways of the copper country. The Cliff Mine, discovered near the Eagle River in 1844, was the first in the United States to tap a vein of pure copper.

However, it was iron, more than copper, that turned the "poor frozen country" of the upper peninsula into a mint of wealth for the state of Michigan. Since the natives who used copper never learned to smelt iron, this metal was not mentioned in Indian legend. Although the French missionaries made some use of iron ore found near their settlements, the rich deposits of the northern ranges were unknown until 1844. In September of that year a surveyor for the Federal Government noticed that his solar compass, his own invention, was behaving in a strange manner. The queer antics of the needle denoted the presence of iron

nearby. He showed the compass to the seven men in his party, two of whom were Indians.

"Boys," he said, "look around and see what you can find."

Within a mile of Teal Lake, with every turn of the sod the explorers found outcroppings of iron ore. The party went on its way surveying the country, making no attempt to realize any personal gains from the great discovery. Among the natives, to whom the surveyors spoke freely of finding ore, were a half-breed living at Sault Ste. Marie, and a Chippewa chief whose wigwam stood at the mouth of the Carp River. The following spring an adventurer from Jackson, Michigan, arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, looking for copper and silver in the upper peninsula. He chanced to meet the half-breed who told him about the Indian dwelling near the mouth of the Carp River where iron had been found.

The Indian guided the stranger and his party to two hills of iron ore, later called Jackson Mountain and Cleveland Mountain. Returning home with samples of ore, the adventurer organized the Jackson Mining Company. In February of 1848 in a forge on Carp River, this company produced the first iron made on the upper peninsula from Lake Superior ore. This iron was sold to a manufacturer who used it to make a ship's beam.

With cabins of miners, wood-choppers, and charcoal burners, a town sprouted around the Jackson mine and furnace. The people decided to give their camp an Indian name, Negaunee, meaning in Ojibwa, "I take the lead." The settlement around the Cleveland mine perched on the divide from which one could see the Carp River flowing toward Lake Superior and the Escanaba heading for Lake Michigan. It was named

Ishpeming, the Ojibwa word for a high elevation. The early French explorers were well remembered in naming the towns on the iron ranges. A little nest of log cabins and Indian huts was christened Marquette, after the Missionary who had explored the Mississippi River.

In 1852 it took four vessels to move a big shipment of iron ore, 152 tons in all, from Marquette to Sault Ste. Marie. Here, it was unloaded, hauled over the portage at the falls, and reloaded on other ships for the voyage to Erie, Pennsylvania. The ore was purchased by an iron works in Sharon, Pennsylvania, where it was made into bar iron, spikes, and nails of good quality. The freight cost was so high that it was almost prohibitive.

To get the Lake Superior ore to the furnaces in Ohio and Pennsylvania, a canal was needed to bypass the rapids in the St. Mary's River and to connect Lake Superior with Lake Huron. In 1852 Congress passed an act granting 750,000 acres of land in the state of Michigan to any company willing to build this canal 100 feet wide and 12 feet deep. Since land sold for as little as 25 cents an acre, bids would have been few without the privilege of selecting the allotted acres from any government lands offered for sale. The bid made by the St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal Company was accepted. On the first day of June in 1853, a young man only twenty-four years of age arrived at Sault Ste. Marie on a chartered steamer, the *Illinois* which was loaded with horses, lumber, tools, and supplies. His name was Charles T. Harvey, the man in charge of construction on the proposed canal. Three days later work gangs marched with their picks and shovels to the site. Harvey shoveled the first barrow of dirt,

wheeled it aside, and dumped it. The Soo canal had become a reality.

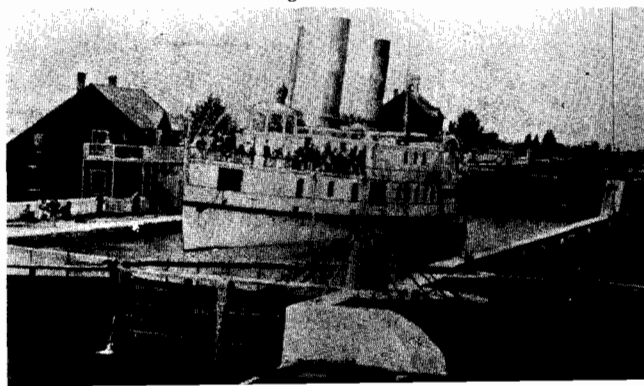
Labor was scarce in the wild unsettled country. The canal company dispatched agents to New York and other Atlantic ports to hire immigrants as soon as they landed, to buy railroad and steamship tickets for them, and to escort the laborers in gangs to Sault Ste. Marie. Sometimes as many as 2000 men were digging and hauling dirt within the space of a single mile. It took less than two years to hollow out a ditch 5700 feet long and 13 feet deep. On April 19, 1855, when Harvey opened the northern gate, the waters of Lake Superior gushed into the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. The brig *Columbia*, leaving Marquette on August 14, passed through this man-made waterway with the first shipment of Lake Superior ore. The cargo was delivered to a firm in Cleveland at a carrying charge of \$2.75 per ton.

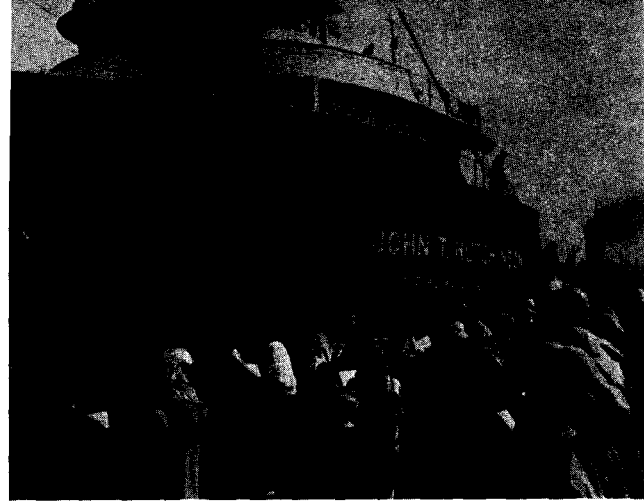
With cheap water transportation direct from the mines to the furnaces along the southern shores of Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, it proved to be more profitable to ship the ore than to smelt it into iron on the upper peninsula. The iron and steel works of the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley were near the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky.

Soon a network of railroads was built to transport ore to docks on Lake

#### LOCKS IN THE SOO CANAL, BUILT IN 1855

*Michigan Historical Commission*





*Materna Studio*

### **A HIGH SCHOOL BAND SERENADES A WINNER AT SAULT STE. MARIE**

Since the "Soo" Canal was opened in 1855, captains of ore boats, from time to time, have vied for the honor of being the first skipper to navigate his ship through the Canal into the icy waters of Whitefish Bay in the spring of the year. Crossing Lake Superior and loading the first cargo of iron ore was a coveted title. The captain of the John T. Hutchinson, 14,000 ton ore carrier, won the race in 1949.

During World War II, 16,000 soldiers were sent to guard the "Soo" Canal through which passed most of the iron ore consumed by the steel industry manufacturing the tools of war.

Superior and from docks on Lake Erie and Lake Michigan in all directions to mills in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and neighboring states. As industry moved westward into the Great Lakes region, the demand grew for more iron to make more steel. Then came the greatest discovery of all, the immense iron ore deposits in upper Minnesota. The deposits were north of the St. Louis River in territory that had been won by Benjamin Franklin with the stroke of a pencil.

### **DULL RED DIRT AND SHINY BLUE STEEL**

LUMBERING PAVED THE WAY for mining in the Great Lakes region. The

timber cruiser knew iron when he saw it and was usually able to fish a specimen of ore from his pocket at any time. Some of the richest mineral deposits were found accidentally by lumbermen.

During the severe winter of 1851, along the Escanaba River in the upper Michigan peninsula, a logger struck slate ore when shoveling dirt to coat an icy road. Where there is slate, there is probably iron not far away. Later, only a mile from this spot, the Princeton mine was located on a bed of ore lying near the surface of the ground.

In the lush forests along the Menominee River, separating Michigan from Wisconsin, a productive iron range was discovered by chance. It happened in the 1880's. Three prospectors, shouldering knapsacks with blankets and food, plunged into the wilderness one summer to search for ore. In crossing a dense cedar swamp one man became separated from his companions and lost his way. Emerging finally from the spongy bog, he climbed a hill and halloed loudly. While waiting for his comrades to overtake him, he sat down on the knoll and began to probe the leaf mold with a small exploring pick. The point came out tipped with red hematite. Eagerly scraping away the leaves, he uncovered a vein of iron ore. Thus was discovered the rich deposits of the Menominee range in Michigan, extending across the border into Wisconsin.

On board the first vessel passing through the Soo Canal in 1855 was a sawyer from Chautauqua, New York, enroute to the head of Lake Superior to erect a mill. His name was Lewis H. Merritt. He settled with his large family of boys on a homestead near the place where the village of Duluth was soon to appear. Shortly after his arrival the sawyer made a trip into the woods to locate choice timber for his mill. Upon his

return he told his sons that he believed there was iron on the Mesabi Range because his compass acted so strangely when he walked over the ground. During the summer months the Merritt boys sawed lumber in their father's mill. When snow covered the ground, they cruised the northern woods for timber, following their father's advice to keep one eye on the ground.

In the same year that President Lincoln was assassinated, the elder Merritt joined the gold rush to Lake Vermilion in the Arrowhead district of northern Minnesota. Over rough trails hundreds of miners and prospectors carried drills and supplies on their backs, only to learn that the yellowish mineral was "fool's gold." They had been deceived by pyrites, a compound of sulphur and iron ore that glitters like the precious metal. Thus was discovered another supply of iron ore, the Vermilion range deposit near the border

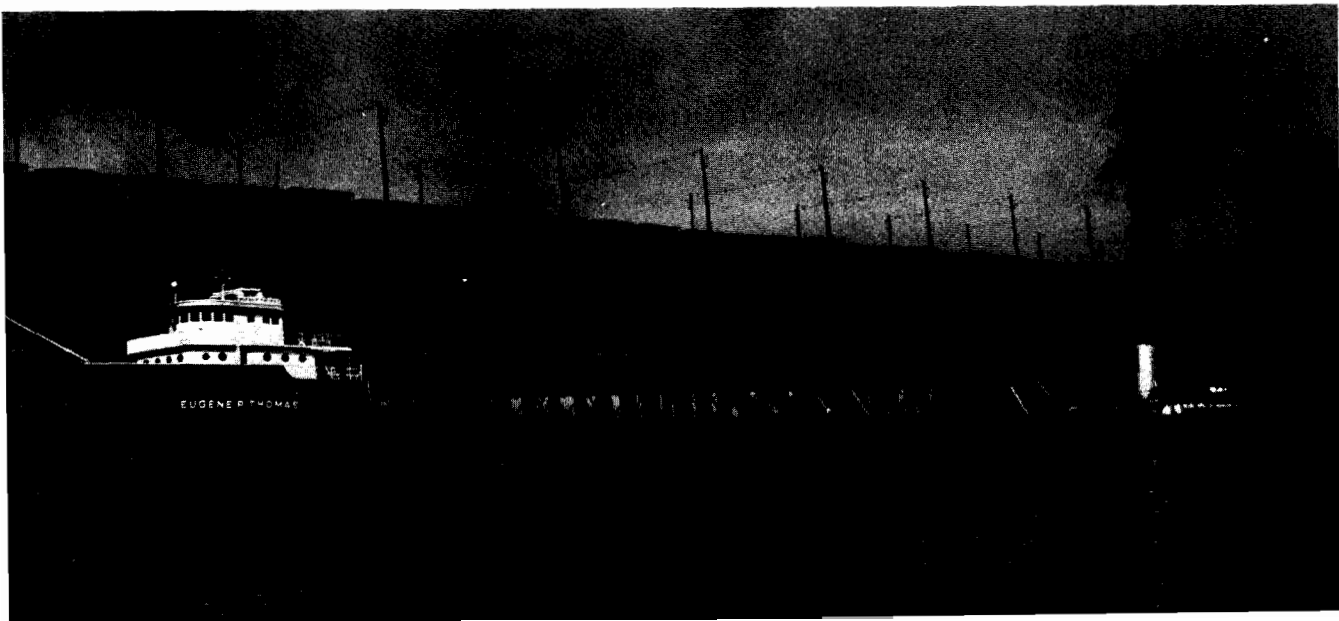
of Canada. From this foolhardy gold rush Merritt returned with only a package of dull red dirt that he kept in his log cabin for many years. Every once in awhile he would open the box and sift the heavy grains of dirt through his fingers, wondering if the soil had iron in it. Not being a geologist, Merritt reasoned that iron might have been washed into the soil ages ago because the region had once been under water. His boys remembered what he had told them.

Ten years after their father's death, four of the sons and three nephews began prospecting for ore in the queer, rocky hills that the Indians called Mesabi. In thrusting a shovel only one length into the ground, they struck soft hematite, dull red in color, with only a mat of pine needles hiding it from view. Confident that they had made a great discovery, the Merritt Brothers, as they were called, set out to raise capital to mine the ore and to

#### A TRAIN OF LOADED ORE CARS ATOP THE DOCKS AT DULUTH, MINNESOTA

At the mines, iron ore was loaded into cars with huge shovels and then hauled by train to the docks in Duluth, a port on Lake Superior. There, the sandy ore was dumped from the cars into loading spouts to fill waiting carriers, long boats built for this trade on the Great Lakes.

*Oliver Iron Mining Company*



transport it to mills in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The public was slow to invest money in ore that was scarcely more than dust. Miners and geologists, sent to investigate the site, did not make favorable reports. The experts were looking for ore that was hard and firm, not soft and loose. They solemnly declared that the Mesabi ore was quite ordinary and at the time they were walking over millions of tons of sixty-six percent ore, almost as pure an iron as has ever been found.

In 1890 with little outside help, the Merritts opened the first Mesabi mine. Two years later, over their own railroad, the first shipment was hauled to docks on Lake Superior and shipped for trial in steel mills. When the reddish-brown dust turned out to be superior Bessemer ore, steel men rushed into the northern country to homestead and buy sections of land. The Mesabi Range, one hundred and ten miles long and one to three miles wide, has produced three times as much ore as the Marquette, Menominee, Gogebic, Vermilion, and Cayuna ranges put together. The place was well named by the Indians, Mesabi, the Chippewa word for giant, whence came the dull red dirt that made the shiny blue steel for industries established in the basin of the Great Lakes.

## **SUPPLIES AND MARKETS FOR STEEL**

WITH RANGES near Lake Superior supplying iron ore, the southern shores of Lake Michigan became a natural setting for the steel industry and for manufacturers using the metal in their products. Steel became the main support of navigation on

the Great Lakes. During the free season, a speck looming on the horizon might be an ore carrier bound for steel mills in northern Indiana and Illinois. In the distance, these long boats with smokestacks in the rear resemble Indian canoes with stovepipes.

Other ingredients needed to make steel were also found nearby. Limestone came from northeastern Michigan where cliffs of Dundee limestone hugged the shore of Lake Huron, from Kelly's Island in Lake Erie near the site of Perry's victory, and from Marblehead on the Ohio shore. Water transportation from mine to mill encouraged location of steel plants in the region of the Great Lakes. Coal, another necessity, was abundant in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia, but much of it was shipped by rail to the mills.

Water played a large part in the developing industry. Steel works need plenty of water and acres of ground. A desolate waste of sand dunes and stagnant pools along the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan was redeemed by the steel producers. Swamps were drained, canals were dug, lake front was filled in, harbors were dredged, and the Calumet River was deepened for navigation of the huge lake freighters and ore carriers.

The labor supply, too, favored this location near the rapidly growing city of Chicago. As steel employees wanted to live within a reasonable distance and not spend too much time going to and from their work, towns grew into cities around the mills. In less than twenty years, the city of Gary, Indiana rose from the dunes and marshes along the Michigan shore. The suburbs of Chicago crept steadily southward.

Located in the heart of the continent,

the Chicago area attracted manufacturers of steel products wanting to locate near sources of supplies. Markets were easy to reach from Chicago, and this was an added inducement to manufacturers. The first steel plant in the area was built to supply rails for lines leading out of Chicago in all directions. Being a transportation center for boats and trains, the city was a natural place to make locomotives, coaches, freight cars, wheels and all kinds of railroad equipment. Trade on the Great Lakes was responsible for the growth of the shipbuilding industry in Chicago. Settlement of the rich prairie lands created a demand for plows, reapers, cultivators and every kind of farm implement from a hoe to a harvester. Hogs, cattle, and sheep from mid-western farms supplied the developing meat-packing industry in centrally located Chicago. The canning industry bought land for packing meats, fruits and vegetables.

Before long, structural steel was needed for skyscrapers rising along Michigan Boulevard, and for the factories being started in smaller towns in the Middle West. Then came an entirely new industry to patronize the steel industry. It was a new invention destined to revolutionize transportation — the automobile. The new business centered in Detroit and vicinity, near steel plants in Pittsburgh and on the shores of Lake Michigan.

Benjamin Franklin had predicted that the time would come when future generations of Americans would feel that his greatest patriotic service to the country was rendered at the peace table in Paris in 1783, where the new-born nation gained the rich iron deposits in northern Minnesota. Lake Superior mines furnished most of the iron ore that made the steel for armaments in two world wars. From 1940

to 1945 steel plants in the United States consumed 482,000,000 gross tons of iron ore from this northern mining area. Much of it came from the fabulous Mesabi Range, won through an error in the Mitchell map.

The nation's two world wars within twenty-five years cut deeply into the supply of high-grade iron ore left in the Lake Superior region. While new processes were being developed to use lower-grade ore, steel companies were searching for iron deposits elsewhere.

## **IRON DEPOSITS ARE DISCOVERED IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE**

STEEL COMPANIES began to explore in other countries of the Western Hemisphere for new iron deposits. Iron of good quality exists in Labrador, where open-pit mining is possible for only about six months out of the year. Winters are

### **CERRO BOLIVAR — MOUNTAIN OF IRON ORE IN VENEZUELA**

This dome of rich iron ore was located 150 miles east of the mouth of the Orinoco River. "Bolivar's Hill" is a rounded dome of reddish earth, six miles long, rising 1800 feet above grasslands in sparsely settled country. It is one of the richest deposits of high-grade iron ore ever found.

*United States Steel Corporation*





*Orinoco Mining Company*

### **OPEN-PIT MINING OF CERRO BOLIVAR**

**Huge electric shovels take big bites of iron ore from man-made cliffs to fill trains of cars on the railroad tracks winding around the mountain on man-made ledges.**

long and severe in this far northern country. However, since the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, more iron ore from eastern Canada is being used in steel plants in the region of the Great Lakes. Much of this ore still enters through Atlantic ports.

Men searching for ore turned to South America. In 1939 a rubber tree hunter discovered iron ores six miles from the Orinoco River, near the place where the stream branches to flow through its wide delta to the Atlantic Ocean. Mining engineers and geologists hacked their way through country along the Orinoco never visited before except by native Indians and rubber hunters. The search in the grasslands with scattered trees was made by air. Pictures were taken with aerial cameras of an area of about 11,000 square miles in Venezuela. These photographs were divided into sections and enlarged for study of the rock formations and the rolling hills.

Engineers and scientists poring over these pictures of the landscape noticed a

dark rounded hill which looked as if it might have iron deposits. Traveling in a jeep and on foot over rugged ground, two ore hunters reached the hill and climbed it on April 4, 1947. They found huge outcrops of iron all over the hill. When they reported their rich find, drills were moved in as fast as roads could be blasted out of the ore deposits. Deep drilling proved that the rounded dome was made of iron, more than half a billion tons of high grade open-pit ore.

After arrangements had been made to acquire the necessary amount of territory, and to pay taxes to the government of Venezuela, work began. To ship this ore to steel mills in the United States, it was necessary to dredge channels for ore carriers, span rivers with bridges, lay tracks of rails for hauling ore and supplies, construct good roads for trucks and tractors, and build an airfield for landing big planes. Permission was granted by the Venezuelan government to rename the dome-shaped mountain, "Cerro Bolivar" (Bolivar's Hill), in honor of the great liberator born in that country. His armies had camped in this area preparing for the daring march across the Andes to Bogota, Colombia. In 1951, construction began on a steel mill along the bank of the Delaware River near Trenton, New Jersey. Today, huge ore carriers unload the treasure of Cerro Bolivar on the docks of this steel plant, located for water transportation from mine to mill.

### **STEEL AFFECTS THE PATTERN OF INDUSTRY**

**IRON WAS LITTLE BUSINESS.** In places where trees provided charcoal for fuel and ore lay buried near the surface of



the ground, it took only a small amount of capital to engage in the iron business. A new steel age arrived with the converters developed by both Kelly and Bessemer at about the same time, one in the United States and the other in England. What did the ironmasters do? Owners of large ironworks either financed their own steelmaking plants, or merged with other companies to raise enough capital to enter the steel business. The little man kept his furnace going as long as he could sell his wares, and then put out the fire, leaving his works to rust in the sun and rain.

Steel was big business. New inventions for making steel and new products to use the metal sometimes rendered a plant obsolete in a short time. Changes came so fast that steel became a race of “the

survival of the fittest.” By the year 1900, sixty-five percent of the 10,000,000 tons of steel was produced by the Bessemer process, and thirty percent of this amount was rolled into rails. Thirty-seven years later, when the output was 54,000,000 tons, only five percent was purchased by the railroads. Even the Bessemer process has been largely replaced by newer methods of making steel. Customers want a certain kind of the metal for a certain product. To please them, ingredients of steel are measured as carefully as a housewife mixes a cake. New inventions create new products that develop new industries that bring new customers to the steel mills. Factory orders may include anything from a toy to a truck. Industry in the United States is constantly renewed and expanded by new inventions.

# PART TEN

## The Nation Moves Toward Industrialization

**Chapter 25: Inventions Contribute to National Growth**

**Chapter 26: A Century of Moving**

**Chapter 27: Adjusting to Industrial Change**

**Chapter 28: Mass Production Promotes Abundance**



*United States Immigration and Naturalization Service*

## ALIENS ENTERING ELLIS ISLAND STATION – 1900

### MILLIONS OF EUROPEANS SOUGHT OPPORTUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Scandinavian farmers settled in the northern states of the Central Plains, and in the region of the Great Lakes. Others, including Finns, went farther west to cut timber in the forests of Washington and Oregon, and to enter the fishing industry of the Pacific Coast. Many families from Sweden, Norway and Denmark settled in Chicago, Minneapolis, and Seattle.

A large number of immigrants from Russia, Poland, Hungary and other countries of eastern Europe were Jews. Being a town people, they remained in the large cities, especially New York. Many Poles, Hungarians, and Bohemians sought jobs in mills and mines. Some of the farmers among them made their new homes on the prairie lands west of the Mississippi River.

Many immigrants from the Mediterranean countries – Italy, France, Portugal, Greece and Spain – settled in the manufacturing states of the North Atlantic Coast. Some found their way to regions in the United States where they could follow the same occupations they had in the old country. French and Italians planted vineyards in the wine-producing states. Portuguese fishermen found employment in the growing fish-canning industry of the Gulf region and the Pacific Coast. Greeks settled largely in cities like New York, Chicago, and Cleveland. Spaniards tended to seek places where their native language was spoken.

Chinese junks crossed the Pacific Ocean to North America before Columbus came, according to historians, and all of the Chinese sailors did not return to their homeland. After the Europeans arrived and claimed the country, not many Orientals were welcomed to settle among them. Asiatic peoples who came first as laborers to work the mines, build the railroads, and plant the crops, remained in the new land. Today, their descendants are citizens of the United States, living mainly in the Pacific region.

## Chapter 25

# Inventions Contribute to National Growth

### MESSAGES BY WIRE

UNDER A FORM of government granting freedom of opportunity, men were able to dream, to experiment, and to produce. Men's dreams and work made this nation a land of invention. According to records in the patent office, inventors were numerous but only a few found fame and fortune. Among them were the inventors in communication.

Samuel F.B. Morse was born in 1791, in a house at the foot of Breed's Hill (where the battle of Bunker Hill actually took place). Though his curiosity about electricity was aroused when he entered college at the age of fourteen, a year later his talent and interest in art led him to decorate a room in his father's house, with a picture of the family. Samuel liked best to paint historical scenes, but no one would buy them. While visiting in the country towns of New Hampshire and Vermont he turned to painting portraits, and these he did sell for \$15 apiece. Before long the demand for Samuel's portraits was so great that he could charge as much as \$60 for a picture. In 1825 the authorities of New York City commissioned Morse to paint a full-length portrait of Lafayette

who was making a triumphal tour of the United States in that year.

While painting and teaching, Morse spent his spare time tinkering with a machine to send electric current along a wire and with an instrument to interrupt the current and make a spark. In this way signs could be made into an alphabet and messages could be transmitted. In fact Morse spent so much time with his invention that his art suffered and he became poor. It was a great disappointment, however, that turned him away from his profession and made him an inventor. Commissions were offered to American artists to paint pictures for panels in the capitol at Washington. Being president of the National Academy of Design, Morse felt he should be engaged as one of the artists to decorate the capitol. He was not among those selected.

From an old canvas frame, the wheels of a clock, three wooden drums, a pencil, some paper, carpet binding, a wooden crank, an electro-magnet, and a few more items, Morse put together his first telegraph instrument. He worked in a room of the University of the City of New York where he was a professor in design.

Not until one of his students, Alfred

Vail, managed to obtain for Morse some money in exchange for a one-fourth interest in the project, was Morse able to build an instrument to place on exhibit and try to prove its worth. Finally, he was able to present his plan in Congress. He asked for an appropriation to build the first telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore. At first the legislators were skeptical and insisted upon proof that messages could be sent over a wire. On the last day of the session on March 3, 1842, five minutes before Congress adjourned, the Senate voted \$30,000 to build the first telegraph line. Morse, weary from waiting all day, had gone home at twilight, thinking that all hope was gone. As he came down to breakfast the next morning, the daughter of the Commissioner of Patents arrived to tell him that her father had stayed until Congress closed, and that the telegraph bill was the last one passed. Morse promised the young lady that she would have the honor of sending the first message when the line was opened officially.

Morse took advantage of the popular interest in the convention of the Whig Party meeting in Baltimore to prove the worth of the telegraph. In a letter to his brother, Sidney, dated May 7, 1844 he wrote:

“You will see by the papers that the Telegraph is in successful operation for twenty-two miles, to the junction of the Annapolis road with the Baltimore and Washington road. The nomination of Mr. Frelinghuysen as Vice President was written, sent on, and the receipt acknowledged back in two minutes and one second, a distance of forty-four miles. The news was spread all over Washington one hour and four minutes before the cars containing the news by express arrived.”

Later, when the key clicked the choice

of the Whig Party for President, the man was Henry Clay whose portrait Morse had painted. Although Henry Clay was the first man whose nomination for President came over a wire, his Democratic opponent, James K. Polk, won the election.

On the twenty-fourth of May in 1844, friends of Morse assembled in the chamber of the Supreme Court in Washington to witness the official test of the new telegraph. Miss Ellsworth, daughter of Morse's friend, was there with the first message, suggested by her mother — WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT! At the station in Baltimore ten men and one boy sat silently and tensely, awaiting a signal. When the instrument clicked, the operator, Alfred Vail, touched his lips with his fingers and the watchers scarcely breathed. The message came in and Vail touched the key, sending it back to Washington. As the use of the telegraph spread to foreign countries, honors were poured upon Morse, as a benefactor of all mankind.

About two years before the first telegraph line was completed on land, Morse began to experiment with a cable to carry messages under water. On a moonlit night, October 18, 1842, he unreeled nearly two miles of wire, insulated with hemp coated with pitch, tar, and rubber, from lower New York City to a small island. The next morning a notice appeared in a New York paper that Morse would exhibit his telegraph by sending messages under water to a station on Governor's Island. The inventor arrived early to prepare for the event and found seven vessels lying along the line of his submerged cable. In testing the wire he was able to send a signal or two, but the messages suddenly ended. One of the ships in pulling up its anchor caught the



*The Western Union Telegraph Company*

#### **SAMUEL F.B. MORSE SENDS FIRST PUBLIC TELEGRAM**

The inventor asked a few friends to witness the sending of the first public telegram from the Supreme Court Chamber in Washington to Alfred Vail, forty miles away in Baltimore.

The girl is Annie Ellsworth to whom was given the honor of selecting the first official message. With dots and dashes, Morse ticked the words she chose — **WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT**. This practical use of electricity was made on May 24, 1844.

cable. Not knowing what the strange line was, sailors pulled in about 200 feet of it and then cut it off, carrying it away with them. The exhibit failed and the crowd jeered. This first attempt, however, stirred the idea of bringing Europe and the Western Hemisphere closer together with telegraph service.

The laying of an Atlantic cable was undertaken by a wealthy New York business man, Cyrus W. Field, who was neither a scientist nor an inventor.

Although he was not the first man to dream of laying an underwater cable from one hemisphere to another, he was the first one to make up his mind to do it. In 1856 the Atlantic Telegraph Company was organized "to continue the existing line of the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company to Ireland, by making or causing to be made a submarine cable for the Atlantic." Field, himself, subscribed \$500,000 of the \$1,750,000 that had to be raised before work could begin on laying a

cable from Trinity Bay in Newfoundland to Valentia in Ireland. The plan was outlined by Field, to haul the cable on two ships, to meet in midocean where they would splice the cable and then to go in opposite directions. After many breaks and disappointments, the *Agamemnon* headed west toward Newfoundland and the *Niagara* started east toward Ireland. There was great excitement when the cables were pulled ashore at both ends in August of 1858. It was a fleeting triumph. In a few weeks the cable stopped working and all was lost.

Before another effort was prepared, war broke out between the North and the South. However, during the conflict, Field was busy with plans to try again when he could get enough support. In January, 1863 Field wrote in a letter to a friend:

Some days I have worked from before eight in the morning until after ten at night to obtain subscriptions to the Atlantic Telegraph Company.

By the time the war ended in the spring of 1865, cable had been manufactured and the *Great Eastern* was chartered to lay it across the Atlantic. The English were as enthusiastic about the project of a telegraph line across the ocean as were the Americans. A news report from Valentia Island off the coast of Ireland was printed with the date line of July 24th. It read as follows:

Before this reaches the public, the *Great Eastern*, if all goes well, will already have laid some 300 miles of the Atlantic cable.

The crew published *The Atlantic Telegraph* on board the cable ship but the paper did not long survive. On the second of August while Field was on watch, the cable broke. Pale but composed, he

announced to his working partners, "The cable has parted and gone overboard."

Several days later, he wrote to his family explaining the disaster:

Spent nine days in grappling; used up all wire, rope; nothing left, so obliged to return to England. Three times cable was caught and hauled up for more than three-quarters of a mile from bed of ocean.

In London another company was formed by ten men who sat around a table discussing help for Field. When each one put down 10,000 pounds, the Anglo American Telegraph Company took over the task of laying the cable.

Although the new company was formed only on March 1, 1866, the messages were speeding from continent to continent over the underwater telegraph about five months later. On the twenty-seventh of July, the western end of the cable was landed on the shore of Trinity Bay in Newfoundland and the eastern end on the Irish coast. The national rejoicing at the successful completion of the first ocean cable is expressed in a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier. The last stanza expressed the hope that new means of rapid communication would bring the people of the world together to live in peace:

And one in heart, as one in blood,  
Shall all her peoples be;  
The hands of human brotherhood  
Are clasped beneath the sea.

Both Morse and Field persevered through hardships and disappointments because they believed their work would benefit mankind.

## TALKING OVER THE WIRE

ANOTHER MEANS of wire communication developed from the experiments of Alexander Graham Bell who taught deaf children with a method of "invisible speech" evolved by his father. Before migrating to the United States the Bell family of Edinburgh, Scotland had been known as elocutionists (public speakers). Alexander, like his father and grandfather, studied the human voice and taught the deaf to speak. Two well-to-do men, one a leather merchant and the other a lawyer, were so impressed with Bell's lectures, sponsored by the board of education in Boston, that they engaged him as a private tutor for their deaf children, a girl and a boy. With their encouragement Bell opened a school for the deaf in that city.

When not occupied with teaching, Bell was busy experimenting with sound, hoping to discover new ways of helping deaf children to talk and to understand speech. The fathers of his two private pupils took an interest in the young teacher's experiments and provided him with needed supplies for his projects. The grandmother of the small boy invited Bell to live in her roomy house in Salem. Here he could teach the lad in the evening after returning on the train from his school in Boston. Since Bell could not be satisfied away from his experiments, she kindly offered the basement of her house for his use as a laboratory.

As a boy Bell had played the piano and he had wanted to be a musician. He first experimented with transmitting the tones of the scale over a wire — a musical telegraph. Then it occurred to him that the spoken word might be sent over an electrical wire. Since Bell knew little

about electricity, his two patrons hired a young mechanic for nine dollars a week to assist him and moved his laboratory to the attic of the electrical shop where the electrician was employed. Here Thomas A. Watson, the assistant, spent his evenings and sometimes most of the night with the inventor.

As the experiments progressed, Bell quit teaching and gave all his time to this endeavor. He rented two rooms in an attic for living quarters and laboratory combined, where he could work privately. In these stuffy upstairs rooms on a hot June day in 1875, a faint sound passed over the wire while Watson was sending in one room and Bell was receiving in the other. Though only a feeble wail, this was the birth of the telephone. After forty weeks spent in improving the invention, Bell spoke over a wire to his helper in the next room on the evening of March 10, 1876.

"Mr. Watson, come here. I want you!" he said.

Bell's voice was clear and natural, but there was such a note of alarm in it that the assistant rushed into the room. He discovered that Bell had spilled some acid on his clothes and was actually calling for help. The damage was soon forgotten, however, in the joy the men experienced talking over the wire.

It was the year when the United States was celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of independence with the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Needing money for food and rent, Bell had returned to teaching deaf children in Boston. When he decided to show his "toy," it was too late to find space in the electrical building. Finally, the telephone was placed on a table under a stairway



among the school exhibits from Massachusetts. Hubbard, the lawyer, whose daughter was Bell's pupil and later his wife, secured a patent for the inventor, barely in time to save his telephone. While at the exposition Hubbard sent Bell a telegram notifying him that the judges were scheduled to reach his exhibit on June 25. At the last minute Bell decided to go to Philadelphia although school examinations were at hand. He realized that his telephone would receive scant attention if he were not there to demonstrate it.

It was Sunday when the gates were closed to the general public, but distinguished visitors were admitted. On this day Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, his Empress, and their retinue were touring the buildings and grounds of the Centennial Exposition. The royal guests examined the products and inventions as eagerly as children and showed their enthusiasm to the judges. Late on the hot, humid Sunday, near closing time, the judges arrived at the exhibit next to Bell's. They announced that one would be the last for that day. As the judges turned to leave, Dom Pedro spied the teacher, whose school for the deaf he had visited in Boston. Greeting Bell with a hearty handshake, the genial emperor inquired why he was there. The inventor showed his instrument, explaining that he could talk with His Majesty over a wire, if he wished. Since Dom Pedro showed much interest in the apparatus, the judges were obliged to do likewise as a matter of courtesy to their royal guest. Aleck hurried to the transmitter, five hundred feet away. While the members of the party passed the receiver from ear to ear, Bell turned elocutionist and recited Hamlet's famous soliloquy, "To be or not to be."

Dom Pedro listened with astonishment.

"It talks!" he exclaimed.

"It is the most marvelous thing I have seen in America," remarked a British scientist.

The "talking wire" became a sensation. Although many inventions are combined in modern telephone equipment, the original idea of Alexander Graham Bell is still a basic principle in transmitting sound over wires. Like the telegraph which sent signals under water, the telephone crossed the oceans to make possible conversation between persons in remote corners of the globe.

## SIGNALS THROUGH THE AIR

FEW ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE thrill people more than a new means of communication. Soon after the first message was sent over a wire by Morse, experimentors began to send messages without wires. Although several inventors made progress, Marconi was the man who made wireless telegraphy operate successfully. Unlike most inventors Guglielmo Marconi was born rich, the son of an Italian father and an Irish mother. As a boy, Guglielmo did not go to schools with other children. He was instructed by a private tutor, whether his family was at home on the country estate at Pontecchio or in the town house at Bologna, Italy.

It was at the Villa Griffone in the country, that Marconi carried on his experiments to send signals through the air. While he worked, the door of his shop on the third floor was locked to all except his mother, to whom he explained his experiments. Even when she did not know what he was talking about, she listened and encouraged him in his efforts.

Sometimes the sons of peasant farmers living on his father's estate were seen burying copper plates in the ground, climbing trees with strange apparatus, and erecting poles in odd places. His two brothers often helped him to string wires through the terraced garden, across the spacious lawn, and down into the chestnut grove. The elder Marconi was a bit perplexed because his youngest son spent so much time in the attic and so little in the family circle.

"What IS he doing?" his father asked his mother one evening.

"His idea," she answered proudly, "is to send signals, even voices, through the air."

One autumn day in 1894, when Marconi was twenty years of age, he invited his parents to his attic workshop to show them the progress he had made on his experiments. He pressed a button and rang a bell on the first floor of the house without the aid of connecting wires. As further proof the father asked his son to remain in the attic and send the Morse signal for the letter "S" to the receiver on the lawn, a distance from the house. When the machine outdoors tapped three dots, he was convinced that Guglielmo's experiments had resulted in wireless telegraphy.

On the twelfth of December in 1901 Marconi and his assistants were huddled in a station on Signal Hill, St. John's, Nova Scotia. Outside the wind was blowing a gale and a man was scarcely able to stand upright. Inside the anxious watchers could barely hear one another speak with the rattle of icy rain on the sheet iron roof. The masts stood against the storm and a kite remained aloft to catch the signal from the Cornish coast of England – if it came that way. The letter "S" was chosen because it is easy to transmit. Marconi sat

tensely with an earphone clasped on his head for a long time past the hour set for the test of wireless across the ocean. Finally, he heard three dots – and again. When he was sure, he passed the earphone to his assistants. Although the signals died out from time to time, they were heard quite often on that day and the next, across 1700 miles of water. Later it was agreed among nations that the wireless distress signal for ships at sea would be SOS – three dots, three dashes, three dots.

Wireless telegraphy was one of the marvels at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904. It created as much excitement as the telephone when that invention had been exhibited in Philadelphia in 1876. In June of 1910, the United States Radio Act was passed, making it unlawful for any ship carrying more than fifty persons to leave port without wireless equipment and a trained operator, if the vessel was bound for a harbor two hundred miles away. Although wireless had been credited with saving lives at sea before the *Titanic* struck an iceberg in the North Atlantic in April, 1912, the dramatic rescue of 700 persons on that sinking vessel proved the value of Marconi's invention to the entire world. By 1914 the leading maritime nations had laws requiring even cargo vessels to carry wireless apparatus and a licensed operator for the safety of the crew. The outbreak of war in 1914 was flashed around the world by wire.

In that same year a few months before war began, two officers on separate vessels forty-five miles apart held a conversation by radio-telephone. Marconi predicted at the time that the day was near when the human voice would cross the Atlantic on the air waves.

## INVENTIONS LIGHTEN LABOR

IN THE SAME YEAR that Samuel F.B. Morse sent his famous message over the first telegraph line, Elias Howe completed a working model of a sewing machine. Being one of eight children in the family of a farmer and miller, Elias began at the age of six to help with chores. He would stick wire teeth through leather straps used for carding cottons. When he was eleven years old, he tried farm work but failed because he was lame and not strong. He returned to his father's mill where he took an interest in machinery, when he was not busy grinding flour. A friend who had visited Lowell, Massachusetts, the first real industrial city in the nation, told Elias about the wonderful machinery he had seen in the mills there. Elias went to Lowell when he was sixteen and found employment in the mills where machines were doing the work of hands. When the Panic of 1837 struck, the mills were forced to cut down production. Elias found new employment in a machine shop in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Since Howe's earnings were small, and there were three small children to support, his wife did sewing to add a little cash to the family income. Because this labor was poorly paid and his wife sewed late at night, Howe began to work on a machine which she could use to lighten her burden. Although he completed a working model in October of 1844, he lacked the money to buy the metals to make the kind of machine which he could exhibit to prove the worth of his invention. A coal and wood dealer in Cambridge, who had a little money saved, offered to give Howe's family board and room and advance \$500 for materials to construct a sewing machine. In

exchange the dealer would have half ownership in the patent if Howe succeeded in procuring one. By the middle of May in the following year, 1845, the machine was completed. Before the end of the year Howe secured his first patent and was ready to show his invention to the public.

Then followed years of disappointment. Tailors refused to buy the sewing machine. It would ruin their trade, they said. The more Howe improved it and the better it sewed, the more tailors resisted it. Few persons were willing to invest money to manufacture it. His partner became discouraged and withdrew, leaving Howe to return with his family to his father's house. He moved with his family to England, where he thought he could interest someone in helping him to market his invention. He soon sent his family back home while he stayed on hoping to gain financial help. Failing in this he arrived in Boston to learn that his wife was dying from tuberculosis. This was Howe's dark hour.

After his machine had been copied and manufactured by Englishmen and its value was established, Howe found men willing to advance money to defend his patent and force the manufacturers to pay him royalties. The demand for his sewing machine grew so rapidly, for both home and factory, that his royalties grew in six years from \$300 to \$200,000. Howe welcomed the inventions of other men to improve his machine and even helped some of them to obtain their patents. The invention of the sewing machine made possible the making of wearing apparel in factories. It gave rise to the garment industry which in turn provided employment for thousands of men and women.

While the sewing machine was finding

its way into farmer's homes, other labor-saving machines were being invented to lighten the burden of toil in the field. The westward migration created a demand for improved farm tools. In a new country where there was much work to be done and not enough workmen to do it, people were eager for any machinery that saved labor and speeded the production of food. In the New England states hundreds of families were leaving the country to work for wages in the mill towns. The rise of manufacturing in the East increased the demand for flour, corn meal, pork, cheese, and all kinds of farm produce. The simple tools that were good enough on the small, sandy farms of New Hampshire and Vermont became dwarfed and puny implements on the vast prairies of the Middle West.

In 1836 the lure of the West brought to this region a blacksmith, skilled in making shovels, hoes, and pitchforks, and in repairing all kinds of iron tools. He was John Deere. He came from Vermont, having traveled the length of the Erie Canal on a packet boat pulled by mules walking the towpath on the bank of the big ditch. At Buffalo he boarded a lake steamer for the voyage to Chicago. The blacksmith did not linger long in the marshy settlement with about 400 houses and 75 stores which sold clothes, food, and drink to travelers heading west. Deere continued his journey to settle among Vermonters in the frontier village of Grand Detour on the Rock River in northwestern Illinois. In his pocket he had \$73.73 with which to go into business.

He built a forge from stones picked up along the river, using clay for mortar. He filled his first order, the repair of a broken shaft in a sawmill nearby. With the nearest blacksmith forty miles away, Deere, from

the first, had all the work he could handle. Next door to his shop he built a five-room frame house and sent for his wife and five children. John Deere might have been any one of the thousands of unknown settlers who went west, had he remained a blacksmith and not become an inventor.

While shoeing oxen and mending chains, Deere overheard the farmers talk about their difficulties in plowing through the sticky soil of the prairie. The earth clung to the plow like balled snow, forcing the farmer to spend more time cleaning off the muck than turning furrows in his field. For the prairie they needed a plow that scoured. The blacksmith from Vermont began to fashion such a plow from a broken circular saw he found on the floor of a neighbor's sawmill. It was made of Sheffield steel. This metal was hard to obtain on the frontier. From this scrap of steel he shaped and reshaped the plowshare to cut through the black earth and slice the furrows without muck clinging to the blade.

The day came to make the test in a field while unbelieving farmers trudged behind the inventor. While the farmer, in whose field the trial was made, guided the horse pulling the steel plow, soil curled from the moldboard in a smooth furrow. One furrow was not enough to convince the watchers. Turning the horse, Deere guided his plow down another furrow, just as neat as the first one, proving that he had invented "a plow that scours." Then he gave the plow to the farmer who had furnished the land and the horse for the test. Others had taken a turn and felt the plowshare biting deep into the gummy soil. In the following year, 1838, the blacksmith from Vermont fashioned three steel plows in his spare time. In 1842 he sold nearly a hundred



*Deere and Company*

### JOHN DEERE TESTING HIS PLOW

John Deere, a blacksmith, tested his plow in a field. He proved that he had shaped a steel plowshare that could cut a clean furrow through the sticky soil of the prairie.

implements by allowing settlers to take the plows to their farms to try them out before buying. The inventor of the first steel plow moved to Moline, Illinois, to take advantage of the steamboat traffic and started a factory. Plowmen followed, turning the buffalo range on the western prairie into fields of grain.

Inventions come when a need arises for them. From another blacksmith shop, this time it was in Virginia, came the reaper to cut the grain on the boundless prairie. In 1831 Cyrus Hall McCormick, then

twenty-two years of age, completed a working model of a mechanical reaper in the blacksmith shop on his father's farm, Walnut Grove in western Virginia. On a hot July day young McCormick invited his neighbors to Walnut Grove for a demonstration of his wheat-cutting machine, destined to free laborers in the harvest from the sickle and the scythe. Although the grain fell in waves as horses pulled the reaper, the inventor saw the need for improvements before asking for a patent. Like John Deere, who made a

plow and set it outside his shop for passersby to see, McCormick built one reaper at a time and sold it to a neighbor. He also believed in field trials to prove the worth of his invention. He, too, went to the Middle West.

The reaper was not well suited to the rolling landscape of western Virginia but the machine performed successfully on the level lands of the western prairie. For a factory site McCormick selected the fast-growing village of Chicago which had less than one hundred inhabitants in 1832. It grew from three to four thousand only three years later. A news item of May 16, 1835, stated:

Chicago has one of the finest harbors on Lake Michigan, 20 to 25 feet of water in front of the town. The town will command the trade of the Illinois River and the Mississippi by means of the canal, and the west and east by the navigation of the lakes. It is destined to be the New Orleans of the west.

When McCormick moved to Chicago in 1847, the population of the town was 17,000. The place was uninviting. Broken plank roads threaded through the swampy townsite, few streets were paved, and the houses were small. The canal was about to be opened. Immigrants were flocking into the village, arriving by the hundreds on the lake steamers from Buffalo. Chicago was a place of opportunity, located in the heart of fertile lands awaiting the reaper for development. In a small brick factory a new industry was established in 1848. Thirty-three men were employed and ten of these were blacksmiths. The output was 778 reapers, but twice as many were built in 1849, the year of the California gold rush. When people were leaving their farms to try their luck in mining gold, McCormick advertised his reaper as a

labor-saving machine that would save the harvest of grain that might be lost for lack of men to swing the scythes. The mechanical reaper had a large share in making the central part of the United States one of the great wheat regions of the world. This invention was merely the beginning of labor-saving machines for use on the farm.

## **RUBBER PUT THE NATION ON WHEELS**

WHILE JOHN DEERE was forging steel plows and Cyrus McCormick was building reapers, Charles Goodyear was seeking a way to "cure" India rubber. In time, Goodyear's experiments put tractors in the fields to pull disc plows and harvester-threshers which developed from the early inventions of Deere and McCormick. Today the treads of rubber tires trace a geometric pattern along the moist, black furrows on many farms.

Indians living along the Amazon River in South America tapped certain trees in the forests to obtain sap from which they made bottles and rough shoes. Hence, the gummy substance came to be called Indian rubber or India rubber. In 1823 a Boston merchant bought five hundred pairs of rubber shoes, made by the natives of Para, and sold them. The Portuguese settlers in Brazil, for some time, had been manufacturing waterproof shoes, boots, hats, and cloaks from rubber to afford comfort during the rainy season. However, the rubber shoes were not practical in a climate with extremes of heat and cold. The rubber hardened in winter and melted in summer.

A struggle, lasting twenty-five years,

began in 1834 when a hardware merchant in Philadelphia, out of curiosity, bought a life-preserver made of the substance. The storekeeper was Charles Goodyear, then in his thirty-fifth year and in poor health. He moved to Massachusetts to use the abandoned works of an India rubber company in Roxbury, where he succeeded in making articles with such a smooth, dry surface that he secured an order from the Government for a hundred and fifty rubber mail bags. The handles began to fall off before delivery as coloring matter had caused the gum to decompose.

While Goodyear was describing the merits of sulfur-cured India rubber to a few relatives and friends on a winter evening, a piece accidentally fell from his hand onto a red hot stove. It shrivelled like leather but did not dissolve. He nailed the sample outdoors in the cold. When it was still flexible the next morning, Goodyear knew that he had made a discovery. This happened in Woburn, Massachusetts, where the inventor had moved to use another factory for his experiments. Five years later, in 1844, Goodyear patented his process for vulcanizing rubber and started a factory in Naugatuck, Connecticut.

Like many other inventors he had difficulty holding his patent and was sued in the courts. Six years after patenting his process, shoe manufacturers depending upon it paid Daniel Webster, the famous lawyer and brilliant orator, the sum of \$25,000 to defend the rights of Goodyear to his patent for vulcanizing rubber. Goodyear was cheated out of the fortune which might have been won by his discovery. He was not a good business man. During his lifetime he served jail sentences for debt and still a debtor, he

died in July of 1860, leaving his great discovery for mankind.

Although factories sprang up in many towns to make garments, life preservers, and numerous articles from rubber, the product did not become a big factor in the business world until it was used in the field of transportation. First, wheels of carriages, buggies, and bicycles were fitted with rubber tires, but it was the automobile that built the big rubber industry.

While travelers were still depending upon vehicles drawn by animals, inventors were experimenting with the horseless carriage, propelled by steam. Although some steam cars were built in the United States and other countries, the real automobile waited for gasoline, rubber, and roads.

Shortly after Goodyear vulcanized rubber in 1839, an Englishman patented the principle of the pneumatic tire. Gasoline was developed soon after the Drake well in Titusville, Pennsylvania, began pumping oil in 1859. It took some years to discover its use for motor fuel. The first application for a patent on a gasoline motor to propel a road vehicle was filed in 1879. However, to the bicycle goes the credit for road improvement which prepared the way for the horseless carriage. The bicycle was a social vehicle and every town had its cycle club. On Sunday afternoons parties of cyclists pedaled miles into the country to enjoy the great outdoors. Rubber tires for bicycles and carriage wheels started the tire industry in a small way, by establishing plants that were in operation when the demand arrived for automobile tires. Cyclists wanted smooth tracks for their wheels and worked for the improvement of roads. The bicycle made highways more important to more people than ever before and a roadminded public

welcomed the advent of the automobile.

Charles E. Duryea of Springfield, Massachusetts is credited with building the first American-made gasoline car that actually ran. He won the first automobile race held in this country on Thanksgiving Day, 1895, in Chicago. Many mechanics were tinkering with horseless carriages in backyard shops. One of these was Henry Ford, who awakened his neighbors on a rainy April night in 1893 as he drove his noisy, chugging gasoline buggy through the deserted streets of Detroit. Not until Ford acquired a special permit from the mayor was he allowed to drive freely about the city. The horse owners objected to the contraption which frightened their animals and caused accidents. At the time, Henry Ford claimed "the distinction of being the only licensed chauffeur in America."

It was March of 1898 before the first automobile was sold commercially, when a mechanical engineer from Carbon, Pennsylvania, bought a car from the Winton Motor Carriage Company in Cleveland. At that date only one automobile was completed, but three more cars were in production. These small beginnings at the dawn of the twentieth century marked the rise of the fastest-growing industry yet launched in the world. The rubber industry that furnished tires kept pace with the output of cars. Rubber put the nation on wheels, although rails and ships continued to share the responsibility of transportation.

## **INVENTORS IMPROVE RAIL AND WATER TRANSPORTATION**

JOHN ERICSSON, though born in Sweden, is usually listed among American

inventors because he lived in this country for so many years and rendered such outstanding services to the nation. Although he invented many improvements for railroads, he is best known for screw-propellers on steamboats.

Captain Ericsson's name is linked with the sea and ships. At the time that Ericsson was working to improve water transportation, Abraham Lincoln was trying his hand at inventing. He actually secured a patent in 1849 for an apparatus to float river vessels over sand bars and other obstructions. Steamboats on the inland rivers were Lincoln's concern, and ocean-going vessels were Ericsson's major interest.

The Yankees, who excelled in building wooden vessels, had developed the fastest sailing ships afloat — the tall, slender and graceful clippers. These speedy merchant vessels, the pride of the seas, pulled down the curtain on the golden age of the American merchant marine. Although the steamship was gaining in popularity, owners of shipping companies in the United States clung to the sturdy sailing ships that had made money for them. Seamen have an affection for sails and the challenge of wind and weather that is not easily transferred to a steam engine that turns a propeller. However, it was after the War Between the States, and the sea battle between Ericsson's *Monitor* and the iron-plated *Merrimac*, that the death bell was sounded for wooden vessels and yards of wind-filled canvas. Shipbuilding began to decline when manufacturing turned the nation's interest to railroading for inland transportation. Following the War Between the States, after a century of colorful Yankee traders, the United States veered away from the sea. American cargoes were



carried in foreign ships more and more, although the diminishing merchant marine still bravely carried the Stars and Stripes into ports all over the world.

During the canal era inland transportation was by water wherever possible, since barge freight was cheaper than wagon freight. Towns and cities grew up along the navigable rivers, lakes, and the canals between them. Not until the coming of the railroads in the 1830's did settlements grow and prosper away from the rivers. The frontier moved westward with the railroads. Any country, though rich in soil, timber, and minerals, is practically worthless without transportation. Since the opening of new territory depended

largely upon rails, inventions to improve railroading were welcomed. They came as the need arose for them.

As more and more freight was hauled and trains grew longer, brakes became more important. When a long train was suddenly halted, cars bumped one another so hard that, sometimes, cattle were knocked down and trampled and the shipment was ruined. A vital improvement for railroads had its origin in a wreck. George Westinghouse was riding on a passenger train enroute to Troy, New York, when his trip was delayed by a collision ahead. One freight had rammed another because the engineer of the second train had not been able to stop quickly

#### GEORGE WESTINGHOUSE — INVENTOR

At the age of 15, George Westinghouse was experimenting with his rotary steam engine. For this invention, he received his first patent.

*Westinghouse Air Brake Company*



enough to avoid an accident. In the early days of railroading, brakemen ran from car to car on top, turning hand wheels to set the brakes. This procedure took considerable time. Viewing the damage done to merchandise, scattered and broken by the impact, Westinghouse realized the need for a brake that could be operated readily by the engineer in the cab of the locomotive. Not long afterwards he invented one which worked by compressed air.

At first railroaders showed little interest in this invention. Finally, an alert superintendent of one line persuaded his directors to equip one train with the new air brake and test it. Westinghouse and

#### CROWD AT BURLINGTON TRIALS — 1887 — BURLINGTON, IOWA

Although Westinghouse patented his air brake in 1869, all railroads did not accept it. So many inventors were working on brakes for trains that railroad officials held tests every few years. These races were exciting. People came for miles to check the time it took to stop a train at high speed after the brake was applied.

In the trials held in Burlington, Iowa the air brake won again. This invention, with improvements through the years, came into general use on railroads.

*Westinghouse Air Brake Company*



the railroad officials boarded the train for the trial run between Steubenville, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. During the trip the engineer decided to gain some speed before he tested the brake. He waited for a straight stretch of road. Emerging from Grant's Hill tunnel at thirty miles an hour, he sighted a wagon crossing the track not far ahead. As the frightened driver lashed the team with a whip to clear the track quickly, the horses reared. With all his strength the engineer applied the brake. The train rolled to a full stop within four feet of the driver and a life was saved. Although the officials had skinned knees from the sudden bump, the air brake needed no further testing than this incident. A few months later, a group of far seeing railroad men met in Pittsburgh and organized a company to manufacture the safety device. They named the twenty-four year old inventor president of the Westinghouse Air Brake Company. Westinghouse patented his air brake in 1869.

Railroading has traveled far since Peter Cooper's engine ran a race with a horse in 1830 and lost it. The following year the first mail was carried on a railroad train in South Carolina. In 1858 the first sleeping car, named Pullman after the inventor, added comfort to long journeys by rail. The cars were elegant with red plush seats, paneled wood, gleaming mirrors, linen damask, and silver-plated cuspidors.

An item of news in a Denver paper, dated June 18, 1870, mentions the first train to that city on the Great Plains:

Nearly every tall building in Denver had someone on its roof yesterday looking at the inbound engine. It was first seen on Wednesday evening, June 15, from the roof of the First National Bank building by some officers of the road. Many in Denver have never seen an engine.

The Diesel engine, named for its German inventor, was developed by Alexander Winton, a Scotch immigrant, for use on ships. Winton first became famous as a builder of bicycles, then of the first automobile sold commercially. Later, Winton built Diesel electric-driven power plants for the United States Navy. The nation's first Diesel electric-powered streamlined train went into service between Denver and Chicago in 1934. Diesel engines have also been developed for trucks hauling freight. For mountain country some railroad operators prefer electric engines.

In a short time, the coal-burning steam locomotives, puffing smoke and cinders, lost out in competition with the powerful Diesels. The old work horses of the railroad era were driven from the tracks to the lonely pastures of museums as relics of the past.

## **THOMAS EDISON – INVENTIVE GENIUS**

THE NAME OF Thomas Alva Edison, with more than a thousand patents to his credit, is linked inseparably with the electro-industrial progress of the push button age. When Edison was twelve, he was a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway running between Port Huron and Detroit. He became interested in telegraphy and secured his first employment as a telegraph operator at Port Huron when he was fifteen years old. He was soon experimenting during spare time in his office and invented his first successful telegraph instrument. He was discharged from the office in Louisville, Kentucky, when acid from one of his

experiments dripped through the floor and ruined fine furniture in the private office of a bank official on the floor below. Edison landed in New York, penniless, in 1870. He walked the streets for three weeks before he found a job as a telegraph operator by repairing an instrument that no one else had been able to put in working order.

From New York he went to Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he established a laboratory and began work on varied inventions that came into his mind. By this time many men had discovered his genius and were willing to offer financial help. Edison foretold in 1878, the many uses that would be made of his inventions, such as:

Letter writing and all kinds of dictation without the aid of a stenographer – Reproduction of music – Preservation of language by exact reproduction of the manner of pronunciation – The family record, a registry of sayings.

Being an expert telegrapher, himself, he invented devices to improve wire communications, including the telephone. In August of 1879 Edison attended a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Saratoga, New York. The following report was published in the *Popular Science Monthly*:

An exhibition of Edison's electro-chemical telephonic receiver was given before the Association in the Town Hall. Mr. Edison was present and he offered an explanation of his new instrument. Apparently it is simply a small box provided with a crank, and looking like a coffee mill... The instrument exhibited was only an experimental model; nevertheless, it transmitted messages which were heard by the whole audience, numbering 1500 persons.



*Henry Ford Museum, Edison Institute*

### **CELEBRATING FIFTY YEARS OF ELECTRIC LIGHTING**

**Thomas Alva Edison and his assistant repeated their original experiment in the same setting on the fiftieth anniversary of the inventor's electric light.**

At the time, Edison was trying to produce a steady light with electricity, and to do it so cheaply that it could compete with gas for illumination. After costly experiments using platinum for a filament, the inventor began the search for a cheaper material. He tried almost anything at hand, including cotton sewing thread. He sealed a piece of carbonized thread in a glass bulb, after pumping out the air, and turned on a current of electricity. A steady light glowed without a flicker. How long would it burn? Edison and a few of his assistants kept vigil for forty hours and the

lamp was still burning. Edison increased the current to see what would happen. The light flared brighter and then suddenly blinked out at two o'clock on October 21, 1879.

Two weeks later Edison filed application for a patent on an electric lamp with a paper filament, carbonized pasteboard baked in an oven. The scientists were skeptical. The public was curious. A reporter from a New York paper went down to Menlo Park to see for himself. The inventor was always news because readers expected almost any startling device to follow the phonograph, the wonder of the day. Edison promptly invited the public to Menlo Park on New Year's Eve to watch the old year out in the glow of electric lights. The invitation was a scoop for the reporter who made the most of it by whetting the curiosity of his readers. On December 21, he wrote, teasingly:

Edison's electric light, incredible as it may appear, is produced from a little piece of paper — a tiny strip of paper that a breath would blow away. Through this little strip of paper is passed an electric current. The result is a bright, beautiful light, like the mellow sunset of an Italian autumn.

The public did not wait until New Year's Eve. To accommodate the crowds, the railroad ran special trains from New York City to Menlo Park, where Edison staged a nightly demonstration of his lamps. On December 29, the reporter continued his story, describing the crowds:

All came with one passion — the electric light and its maker. They are of all classes, these visitors, of different degrees of wealth and importance in the community and varying degrees of scientific ignorance . . . In the office the lights were all electric. In the library upstairs it was the same. Such volleys of questions as were pouring out! The visitors have been around to see the

engine, the generators, the regulators . . . .

Satisfied about the electric light, they have asked about the tasimeter, the microphone, the phonograph and a dozen other things, as though they wanted to improve every instant before the train starts. At last they go in twos and threes down the hill to the railroad track, and it is all "wonderful! marvelous! wonderful! wonderful!" among them till the train takes them away and Menlo Park is left to itself.

New Year's Eve arrived. Snow was gently falling as trains pulled into the little depot. Eager guests hurried up the lighted lane to enter the buildings. Farmers came in wagons from the countryside and sightseeing parties arrived in carriages from nearby towns. Many guests were well-dressed. Edison wore his working clothes. The inventor was busy explaining how he regulated the supply of current at the central station, stopping now and then to inspect the apparatus. An electric motor pumped water and operated a sewing machine to the delight of the visitors.

#### NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY AT MENLO PARK, NEW JERSEY

To greet the new year of 1880, Edison invited the public to his laboratories in Menlo Park to see an exhibition of electric lighting.

*Henry Ford Museum, Edison Institute*

Edison told his guests that electric motors would change the pattern of living in both the home and the mill. Edison had a keen sense of the value of publicity. In a dramatic way his New Year's party for 1880 announced to the public that the age of electric power was dawning. People came to see for themselves and were convinced by the "Wizard of Menlo Park."

Although water, steam, and gasoline operated machinery, electric energy was largely responsible for the age of power. Electricity helped to take the drudgery out of labor in this industrial nation and gave man more time to improve his education.

New inventions in printing increased the number of books, magazines, and newspapers. In 1825, at the age of fifteen, Richard M. Hoe went to work in his father's printing business in New York City. Printing with a flat-bed model in the press was too slow for him. He set type on a revolving cylinder to print with greater speed. Hoe's invention developed into the rotary or "lightning press," patented in 1846. The rotary press has made possible the printing of so many sheets of paper in a short time that the daily newspaper has become a necessity in American life. Books, also, could be printed at a price more people could afford to pay, and book shelves in homes, schools, and libraries added volumes for learning and pleasure.

New inventions create new industries and new markets. As factories grew in number and production of goods and services increased, more money was needed for investment and more workmen were needed to fill jobs. Emigrants came by the thousands from other countries to find employment and opportunity in the United States and other nations of the Americas.

## Chapter 26

# A Century of Moving

### THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE SEEKS POPULATION

MAGNIFICENT OCEAN! I commit all my hopes to thee! A young family, in whose happiness centers my own, I trust to thy fickle, thy vanishing waves. May they live to inherit the land of promise, the land of hope and liberty!

Looking out upon a watery world as the sun went down, an English emigrant wrote this entry in his diary, May 22, 1818. For hours he had been on deck, silently watching until the coast of his native land faded from his sight. He was one of the millions of emigrants who crossed the Atlantic to the Americas in the nineteenth century.

During the early 1800's the armies of Napoleon swept over Europe, all the way from Paris to Moscow. The Americas needed population to develop the resources of the two continents and the tax-burdened peoples of war-weary Europe welcomed a place to go. Thus did the great migration to the western world get under way. The nations of both North and South America entered the race for population. The one winning the largest number of emigrants in the shortest time could develop its natural resources the

quickest. It could become the richest and most powerful nation in the Western Hemisphere. Land was the lure. From the North Pole to the South Pole governments offered free and cheap farms to settlers.

The British encouraged migration to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to populate these possessions. The British Government even agreed to pay part of the passage for farm workers, general laborers, and domestic servants, as well as for tradesmen and their families who wanted to settle in Canada. Since most of the British emigrants came from the big manufacturing towns and had never held a plow, they were advised to accept small wages as farm workers while they learned to work on the land. It took time for tailors, shoemakers, and weavers to become wood choppers, stock raisers, and tillers of the soil.

Typical of the British immigrants to Canada was the canny Scotsman who came to look things over before he moved his family. After a stormy voyage of six weeks in a sailing vessel, he landed at Quebec. There he talked with an agent of the Canada Company who advised him to look around a bit before choosing a place to settle. Traveling on a boat to Montreal,

he passed through settlements of French Canadians, with "the bonny white farm houses in the middle of their orchards" and "the beautiful kirks, with tinned steeples glancing in the sun." On a sightseeing tour he continued his way to Toronto, thence overland to view the famous Niagara Falls. Hearing of a fair in London, Ontario, he went to the town to see the cattle and sheep on exhibit. He

wanted to learn more about the crops raised in that part of the country.

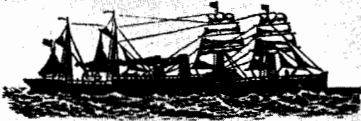
Sauntering through the fair grounds he chanced to meet an old friend, Tam, from his home town in Scotland. Tam had come to Canada ten years before with only enough money to pay his passage. Now he owned a fine farm well-stocked with sheep and cattle. He advised the new-comer to buy an improved farm near his,

#### ADVERTISEMENTS IN A BRITISH EMIGRANT FOLDER

The British Government encouraged Englishmen to settle in Canada and develop that British possession. Emigrant folders notified farm laborers, tradesmen, and domestic servants that jobs awaited them there. Although jobs lured many to Canada and the United States, the real bait to catch emigrants was free land. In the countries of northern Europe, land meant more to the people than jobs. As farmers, they wanted to work for themselves.

*Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery*

**EMIGRATION.**



**DOMINION LINE**  
OF FIRST CLASS POWERFUL SCREW-STEAMERS FROM  
**Liverpool to America,**  
EVERY THURSDAY,  
CALLING AT BELFAST THE FOLLOWING DAY,  
FORWARDING PASSENGERS ON EASY TERMS  
TO ALL PARTS OF  
**CANADA & THE UNITED STATES.**

The DOMINION LINE has Cheap Inland Bookings to  
Points in the WESTERN STATES.

**ASSISTED PASSAGES TO QUEBEC,**  
FROM £3.

Passengers destined for MANITOBA and the North-West  
Territory should choose the DOMINION LINE.

OCEAN FARES:—  
Saloon from £10. 10s.; Intermediate. \$8. 6s.; Steerage, \$4. 4s.  
Intermediate Passengers are provided with all requisites for the Voyage  
FREE. In this Class, Family and Party Rooms can be arranged by giving the  
Company One Week's Notice.  
For Tickets and any other information, apply to any Dominion Line Agent  
or to  
**FLINN, MAIN & MONTGOMERY,**  
24, JAMES STREET, LIVERPOOL.

**AGRICULTURE IN ONTARIO,**  
*The Principal Province of Canada.*

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FERTILE SOIL,  
HEALTHY CLIMATE,  
EXCELLENT INSTITUTIONS,  
AND DISTANT LITTLE MORE THAN A WEEK'S JOURNEY.

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**FREE GRANTS OF LAND**  
TO  
**ACTUAL SETTLERS.**

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Improved Farms can be purchased on easy terms of payment. Lists, with descriptions and prices, sent free.

Farm Labourers are in great demand. Wages, £80 to £40 per annum, with board, washing, and lodging. Married Men get from £40 to £80, with free house, fuel, keep for a cow, and other perquisites.

Domestic Servants are also much wanted in every town and village in Ontario, at good wages. On arrival in Ontario, Domestic Servants are taken care of at the expense of the Government, till situations are found for them.

Assisted Passages, at low rates, are granted to Farm Labourers, General Labourers, and Tradesmen and their families, as well as to Female Domestic Servants.

*For further particulars apply to the*  
**ONTARIO GOVERNMENT AGENCY,**  
6, SOUTH CASTLE STREET, LIVERPOOL.

soon to be auctioned at a sheriff's sale. The owner had gone to the United States. The Scotsman's bid was the highest, less than \$500 for 100 acres of land. There were thirty cleared acres, a barn, an orchard, and a log house with broken windows and a leaky roof. Then he bought a yoke of oxen for \$60. He arranged to pay Tam \$2.50 a week for boarding himself and his team, while he felled trees, burned brush, and prepared the ground for planting wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and turnips after the snow had melted. Early in the spring he sent for his wife and children. To his brother, a mechanic in Glasgow, he wrote in a letter:

Tell Mary I'll be sure to have the house sorted for her and the bairns. She should come in one of the earliest ships, go to the agent of the Canada Company in Quebec, get to the head of Ontario, then through the Welland Canal, and I'll meet her. Blythe will I be to see her and the bairns on the banks of Lake Erie, and take them to their own home with the wagon and ox team.

The countries of South America also entered the race for population. Brazil bid high for immigrants, offering land for as little as 44 cents an acre, and to some of the German Colonization Societies, only 22 cents an acre. Europeans coming to buy land and settle on it had their goods imported free, including farm tools and machinery; free board and room while they waited to be taken to the government colonies; free transportation for themselves and their belongings; free lodging and food for six months, if necessary, or until they were settled on a farm; and free seed for their first planting. Most of the government colonies were located in Santa Catarina and other provinces south of Rio de Janeiro. Here the climate was more like that of Europe. A colony of Irish settled in Rio Grande de

Sul, the southernmost province of Brazil. However, most of the immigrants came from Germany, France, and Portugal.

Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, who was strongly opposed to slavery, used immigration to get rid of the system. His government made it easy for plantation owners to import all the help needed on their big estates. He proved to them that free labor was more profitable than slave labor. By encouraging immigration Brazil was able to abolish slavery without a war. The freed Negroes were hired by former masters to work for wages, especially in the tropical regions where the climate was hard on the white immigrants. The newcomers found employment as managers and overseers on the huge plantations.

Although the nations along the Rio de la Plata were torn with revolutions, they received their share of immigrants because the climate was so much like that of western and southern Europe. When Brazil guaranteed the independence of her southern neighbor, Uruguay, that nation offered land and privileges to foreign settlers. Big colonies of German farmers from the Rhine Valley came over to till the land left idle when slavery was abolished and the owners had no laborers for their fields. Montevideo and Buenos Aires grew up to be foreign cities. The region of the Rio de la Plata became a little Europe where Basques were vegetable gardeners, Italians were boatmen, Germans were farmers, English were merchants, French were shop owners, Portuguese were tavern keepers, and Irish were servants.

However, the mass migration of the nineteenth century descended upon the United States. A ticket cost less to New York City than to Rio de Janeiro and this nation offered greater freedom of



opportunity. The United States had industry as well as land to offer. There were mills and factories where people could work for wages if they had neither the means nor the desire to settle on a farm. The landseeker, with a little money to invest, could go to Canada or Brazil and get along well. The poor job-hunter, with only a ticket in his pocket, had little choice. He came to the United States. This comment was printed in the *Glasgow Chronicle* in 1830:

The manufacturing and commercial speculations which are fostered and encouraged by the tariff laws of America, have had the effect of draining our country of its improvements, and many of its productive population.

An Englishman wrote to a friend in this country:

Though some of the Hull and Yarmouth ships are bound for Quebec, the people are going to the United States, – Three millions of gold will, this very year, go from England to the United States, by means of emigration.

The editor of the *Mainz Gazette*, printed in the town where Germans were crossing the Rhine River to Atlantic ports, wrote in his paper on April 25, 1840:

At no period was emigration to North America so considerable as at present. The emigrants, in general, are families in easy circumstances, some even rich, and whole caravans are daily passing through this town. The Americans will be delighted with their new colonists – young, active men between twenty and thirty years of age.

This mass migration opened up the western lands for settlement and built the transportation to carry the products to market. The Germans usually settled on farms. The Irish dug the canals and laid

the rails. The immigrant created his own market and industry grew to supply it.

Three events of the 1840's pushed the United States far ahead in the race for population. One happened in each of three countries. The potato, introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1610, became the main food of the Irish people. When a blight caused the failure of the potato crop, famine spread over Ireland, taking the lives of about 300,000 persons in a short time. To escape starvation, the Irish fled from their native land. Most of them came to the United States to seek jobs as day laborers. Many young men sold themselves to ship captains, who sold them to foremen of construction gangs to work out their passage. Only a few had money enough to reach into the western country and settle on the land. The Irish settled largely in the cities of the Atlantic seaboard where their labor erected the buildings, installed the water systems, and paved the streets.

In 1848 a revolution in Germany drove thousands of that nation's best citizens to other lands. These people wanted more self-government, and not obtaining it, they left their homeland to seek freedoms in the Americas. With them came Bohemians and others escaping from the political turmoil of central Europe.

In that same year of 1848 gold was discovered in California. The cry, "there's gold on the Sacramento," echoed around the world, luring emigrants from nearly every country on the face of the earth.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the United States was thirty years ahead of the other American nations in the race for population. Although the rising tide of immigration alarmed some citizens, little was done to check it until a

secret society was formed in 1853. To questions the members replied, "I know nothing," and it was called the "Know Nothing Party." There was some cause for alarm. Governments in Europe were known to pay passage of their paupers and criminals to the United States to evade supporting them in almshouses and prisons. An investigator in New York discovered that one third of the steerage passengers on two vessels became inmates of the city poorhouse. Persons unable to support themselves in their homelands found the task even more difficult in a strange new country. To stop this traffic, laws were passed forcing ship captains who brought immigrants physically unfit or undesirable to take them back at their own expense.

Between the years of 1850 and 1855 about 2,500,000 immigrants entered the United States. Guide books printed stories of the hazards for emigrants — smart swindlers, ship fever, crowded steerage, false advertisements, frontier hardships. There was advice ranging from what to wear to where to settle. The author of "The Emigrant Pocket Companion" stated in his guide book:

No man is fit for being an independent emigrant, or even existing at all in a new country, who is not both able and willing to work. He must have health, he must have strength, he must have perseverance, — and be able to turn his hand to many things.

Little heed was paid to these warnings by the onrushing horde, fleeing from hunger and poverty, war and military service, taxes and political persecution. America was a dream. Going up the St. Lawrence or the Rio de la Plata, they pursued the vision of the British emigrant

who sailed up the Delaware River to dock at Philadelphia. It was June, 1818. Only a month before the emigrant had stood on the deck of the same ship, bidding a silent farewell to his native England. Gazing over the green countryside of Pennsylvania, he wrote in his diary:

Hail, land of liberty! I live to behold thy hospitable shores, the abodes of peace and plenty, and the sure refuge of the destitute, the persecuted, and the oppressed of all nations.

### **IMMIGRANTS ARRIVE FROM SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE**

FROM THE CLOSE of the War for Independence to the year 1855, more than 14,500,000 foreign-born persons arrived to seek new homes in the United States of America. These immigrants came largely from Ireland, Germany, England, and France. Smaller numbers came from forty other nations, including islands like the Azores and the West Indies. Most of these foreigners, Irish, German, and English, had the same general ancestry as the native-born citizens whose forefathers had crossed the Atlantic in colonial times. On the whole these newcomers were welcomed, whether rich or poor, if they were able and willing to work.

The immigrants created a market for food, clothing, and many articles of manufacture, increasing commerce both at home and abroad. Between the years 1840 to 1855, exports increased 300 percent, and imports increased 200 percent. Although these immigrants brought in millions of dollars to invest in the United States, their labor was worth more to the nation than their money.

Industry, expanding rapidly to supply the needs of the increased population, was able to provide employment for most of the job-hunting immigrants except during hard times. Sometimes, there were more jobs than there were men and women to fill them.

During the War Between the States, the American Emigrant Company was organized "for the purpose of procuring and assisting emigrants from foreign countries to settle in the United States." Advertisements like the following one appeared in the newspapers. This one is from the *Missouri Democrat*, 1865:

**LABORERS OF EVERY KIND SUPPLIED** — The American Emigrant Company is now prepared to supply miners, puddlers, machinists, blacksmiths, moulders, and mechanics of every kind; also gardeners, railroad and farm laborers, and female help at short notice and on reasonable terms.

Agents of this company and others like it, stationed in foreign countries, were supplied with blocks of prepaid steamship tickets to transport laborers to this country. The immigrant signed a contract agreeing to work for a specified time at fixed wages and to repay the sum advanced for his passage and expenses in regular monthly payments. Small payments served to extend the time that the immigrant worked for the wages specified in his contract.

Since wages were higher in the United States than in Europe, these immigrants often agreed to work for less than was paid to native-born citizens. The labor unions protested loudly against the importation of cheap contract workmen. Congress passed a law forbidding the practice. However, societies, formed to aid immigrants, sent agents abroad with

prepaid tickets to offer to laborers desiring to go to the United States without a labor contract. Then other agents in this country met these immigrants at the boat landings and found jobs for them. This insured the payment of the sum advanced for their steamship ticket. The foreign agents, who received a certain percent for each immigrant, did a profitable business in the over-populated and poverty-stricken countries of southern and eastern Europe.

In 1896 a government official in Rome wrote in an Italian magazine:

For Italy, emigration is a necessity. We should desire that some hundreds of thousands of our people should find annually an abiding place abroad. If twice as many left us as now leave we should not lament the loss of them, but rather rejoice that they find work outside.

In January of 1949 the President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies in Rome made this statement:

The problem of emigration is, for us, fundamental, — and this is generally known. We can never employ in Italy all the manpower which we have in overabundance.

About forty percent of the land surface of Italy is mountainous, swampy, and worn-out. On the remaining land enough food cannot be raised to feed the people. Although the Po Valley in the north is industrialized, the factories in the big cities cannot employ all workmen who apply. Many Italians for many years have been forced to emigrate or starve. By 1881 half a million persons from Italy had settled in Argentina. Early in that year at an exhibition in Buenos Aires, pianos, organs, furniture, jewelry, carriages, farm implements, steam engines, boilers, leather goods, and many other articles made by Italians were shown and admired. Some of

the states of Brazil gave prepaid steamship tickets to Italian peasant families who were farmers. In 1888 Brazil acquired 104,000 Italian immigrants. Three years later the number increased to 183,000.

However, under the "padroni" system, more Italians came to the United States than to any other country in the Western Hemisphere. The padroni were Italian agents who spoke English. They made a business of finding jobs in mines, mills, and on railroads and public works for immigrants from their homeland. These immigrants were obligated to work under the orders of their padroni until they had repaid the price of their steamship tickets in monthly payments of as little as \$2.50.

#### IMMIGRANT RUNNER

During the mass migration, "immigrant runners" did a thriving business. With bundles of steamship tickets stuffed into their pockets, they arrived in European countries seeking emigrants to the United States. They offered workmen free passage across the Atlantic for themselves and families if they signed a wage agreement with the "runner" who agreed to get jobs for them in return for a part of their salary.

Since wages were much higher in the United States than in their homelands, the workmen accepted a much smaller part of the money, received for their labor, than the "runner," who collected their wages. The difference was the "runner's" profit. Some factory owners, needing help, hired "runners" who worked on a commission. Others operated independently.

*New York Public Library*



In a strange country with a strange language, these Italian workmen were often exploited by these agents who became rich at the expense of their less fortunate countrymen. Labor unions objected, declaring that this system differed little from contract labor and demanded an investigation. Immigrants were summoned to testify before a Congressional committee in the Fiftieth Congress. Among those questioned was an Italian laborer from a village near Naples.

Congressman: "What was your occupation in Italy?"

Immigrant: "Farmer."

Congressman: "What did you receive for farming?"

Immigrant: "Ten cents and meals."

Congressman: "Meals for yourself, or yourself and family?"

Immigrant: "No, sir, the meals were for me, and the family fed on ten cents."

Congressman: "When you landed in this country, were you in possession of any money?"

Immigrant: "Not a cent."

Congressman: "Or property of any kind?"

Immigrant: "Nothing, sir, no property."

Although many of the poorer Italian immigrants could neither read nor write, they had over 2000 years of civilization for a background. They appreciated the opportunities for education in their new homeland and made loyal American citizens. So many had settled in New York that a district of the city was called "Little Italy."

During the Middle Ages, Jewish people were expelled from countries of western Europe. They settled in eastern Europe, especially in Poland and provinces of western Russia. They had little freedom in these countries. Forbidden by law to be farmers and own land, they were forced to live in towns and earn their living in



*New York City Housing Authority*

#### **COOLING OFF IN EAST HARLEM YEARS AGO**

**On hot days, city firemen flooded streets in crowded sections of New York City, giving the children a cool shower. These tenements were the first American homes for immigrants of many nationalities. Many of the houses were razed and replaced with large airier apartment buildings by the New York City Housing Authority.**

trade and money lending. In the early 1880's anti-Semitic riots broke out in western Russia. The Jewish people were robbed, beaten, and killed, and their houses were stolen, plundered, and burned. Laws passed in 1882 made it almost impossible for them to live in Russia. A Jewish person could have no share in the government, could not hold office, could not assemble without a permit, could not do business on Sundays and Christian holidays, and could not leave his section of a town without permission. They were barred from universities and the learned professions. Then the mass migration of Jewish people began. Being a townspeople, few emigrated to South America where cities

were few and far apart. One-third of the Jewish people in Russia came directly to the United States, before laws were passed establishing quotas for each nation. Most of these immigrants remained where they landed in the neighborhood of New York, making that city and its suburbs the largest Jewish community in the world.

The Jewish immigrant had a "sweater," as the Italian had a padroni. Agents known as sweaters, who could speak English, Russian, and Yiddish, contracted with manufacturers to have ready-cut garments stitched and finished. Sweaters were busy carrying bundles of pants, vests, coats, skirts, dresses, and many articles of clothing to dingy flats and little factories where men, women, and children

worked on them. Often, the factory was only one room in a damp basement or a stuffy attic. In these dirty, crowded, and poorly-ventilated "sweat shops," new immigrants toiled long hours for low wages. Earnings were so small that several families sometimes lived in a one-room flat, sharing the rent.

The sweating system was pointed out as the great evil of unrestricted immigration by those citizens beseeching Congress to limit the number of persons who could enter the United States from a foreign country in any year. In 1905 the Garment Workers of America voted in favor of limiting immigration to protect the foreign-born who were already here. Today, many of the descendants of these Russian emigrants still live in New York City, Brooklyn, and nearby cities and towns, and earn their living in the garment industry. But, the sweat shops have disappeared from the scene.

Since New York was the main port of entry and the poorest immigrants usually stayed where they landed, that city bore the burden of Americanizing most of the foreign-born immigrants who arrived each year. These new citizens were Americanized largely through their children who learned in schools the language and ways of their adopted country. Evening lectures for adults were held in the schools where stereopticon slides were shown of Niagara Falls, the Adirondacks, the Mississippi Valley, Yellowstone Park, and other places in the United States. Courses on how to use the secret ballot were given in Yiddish, Italian, Russian, Slovakian, Polish, and many languages to aid new citizens in learning to vote for the first time in a constitutional republic. Many of these immigrants had never voted until

they became citizens of the United States. Large industrial cities like Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Chicago promoted Americanization of their foreign-born through programs in schools, churches, libraries, lecture halls, and union meetings.

A Canadian declared that the right of property was the strongest motive for Americanization:

The possession of permanent property creates a tie between the emigrant and his adopted country. There (in the old country) he was dependent, but here independent; there he was a tenant, but here he is the proprietor — the lord of the soil.

The government of Argentina considered it a good investment to buy steamship tickets for farmers who were willing to settle on undeveloped lands away from the seacoast. In one year, 1888 to 1889, the export of corn in Argentina increased nearly 350 percent — more laborers, more crops, more exports, more business, more prosperity. Other nations in South America, especially Brazil, helped farmers to settle on land. The abolition of slavery in May of 1889 in Brazil had cost the planters one-third of their coffee crop. In that same year the government passed a bill to spend \$5,500,000 to increase immigration and secure labor for the plantations.

In 1889 from three German ports, records show that 187,057 emigrants from Germany, Russia, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, and smaller European nations boarded vessels to seek new homes in the following places: 179,142 to the United States; 2,522 to the Argentine Republic; 2,043 to Brazil; 816 to Australia; 490 to Africa; 426 to Asia; 328 to various countries in Latin

America; 200 to Chile; 107 to the West Indies; 53 to Mexico; 39 to Peru.

The German Government became alarmed at the loss of many citizens leaving the fatherland for the United States and taking their money with them. These German citizens were going forth to invest their money in the United States and with their labor, to develop the resources of that country. Perhaps the United States would become a rival of Germany for world trade and world power.

In 1880 commissioners at German ports requested emigrants bound for the United States to tell why they preferred that country to others throughout the world. From the answers of over 100,000 emigrants, the German Commissioner of Emigration made this statement in 1880. The emigrants chose the United States because:

There, an opportunity is afforded every one, by diligent work, in a comparatively short time,

to gain possession of a house and land of his own, and to become independent of others and well-to-do.

Thus did the United States win the race for population, develop its resources the fastest, and become the richest and most powerful nation in the Western Hemisphere. The achievements of man are boundless when his spirit is set at liberty. To this land of the free came millions of men, women, and children from places all over the face of the earth. These immigrants pooled their talents and their labor and helped to build the greatest industrial civilization the world has ever known. In doing it most of the people earned for themselves that for which they had come to the New World – a more abundant life. Sometimes, their days were laden with hardships but their hearts were filled with hope. They were free men, carving their own destiny in their own way, and this was what they asked. They MADE history.

## Chapter 27

# Adjusting to Industrial Change

### EMPLOYERS

THE NATION owes its rapid industrial growth to the fact that the nineteenth century was one long moving day. It was the mass migration to the United States that provided mechanics for mills, hired hands on farms, diggers of canals, lumberjacks in forests, and builders of cities. As more and more people came to depend upon industry for a living, new relationships between employers and employees began to evolve.

When industry was in the home, the same person was owner, manager, and workman. In a home factory, as a rule, employer and employees were father, mother, children, and any relatives living with them. When industry began to move from the home to the factory, owners, managers, and employees gradually became divided into three separate groups. The change came slowly because most factories were small in the beginning. A weaver, printer, shoemaker, tailor, or any tradesman who had saved enough money to go into business for himself could start a little factory. He was both owner and manager. His employees were few and he worked with them, as he was a skilled

craftsman himself. Working together in the same room the owner-manager became well acquainted with the men he hired. They could easily talk over their common interests.

The machine age forced workmen to use tools so costly that they could not afford to own them. In early days, a canal digger brought his hand shovel to the job. He paid for it. The operator of a power-driven shovel cannot afford to buy such a tool. Therefore, others must furnish the money to buy his shovel before he can get a job digging a ditch. As machines became more and more costly, it took the savings of more and more people to create jobs. The amount of money invested to insure one job varies with the kind of industry, large sums being necessary where the risk is great and machinery is expensive. In some industries the cost is so great that corporations have more stockholders than jobholders. This system of sharing a business with investors wanting to own a part was used during Washington's first term as President of the United States.

In 1965, an estimate of the amount of money needed for investment to insure one job was approximately \$25,000. Therefore, big corporations employing





*Museum of the City of New York*

#### UNDER A BUTTONWOOD TREE ON WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY

On May 17, 1792, twenty-four merchants and auctioneers signed an agreement to meet daily under a buttonwood tree on Wall Street to buy and sell shares in business. They also handled the buying and selling of government bonds issued by Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, to pay the debts of the Revolutionary War.

The following year, this first "broker's office" moved indoors from the table under the buttonwood tree to cozy quarters in the new Tontine Coffee House nearby. From this humble beginning grew a world center of finance, the New York Stock Exchange.

thousands of men and women need thousands of stockholders to operate successfully. For example, approximately 2,500,000 shareowners maintain the telephone and telegraph companies serving millions of people. A large automobile manufacturer has over a million owners, and a steel company has more than half a million. How does a business with so many owners operate?

The stockholders elect a board of

directors from their group, voting either at a meeting or by mail. These chosen members accept the responsibility of conducting the business for the owners. The directors, as a rule, hire trained managers to carry on the business for them, and the managers, in turn, hire employees to manufacture the products of the company, and sell them. The employees report to the managers who hire them, the managers to the board of

directors who hire them, and the board of directors to the owners who elected them.

Most big corporations providing products now in everyday use began in a small way. New products and inventions create new industries. For example, let us examine the progress of a can opener business:

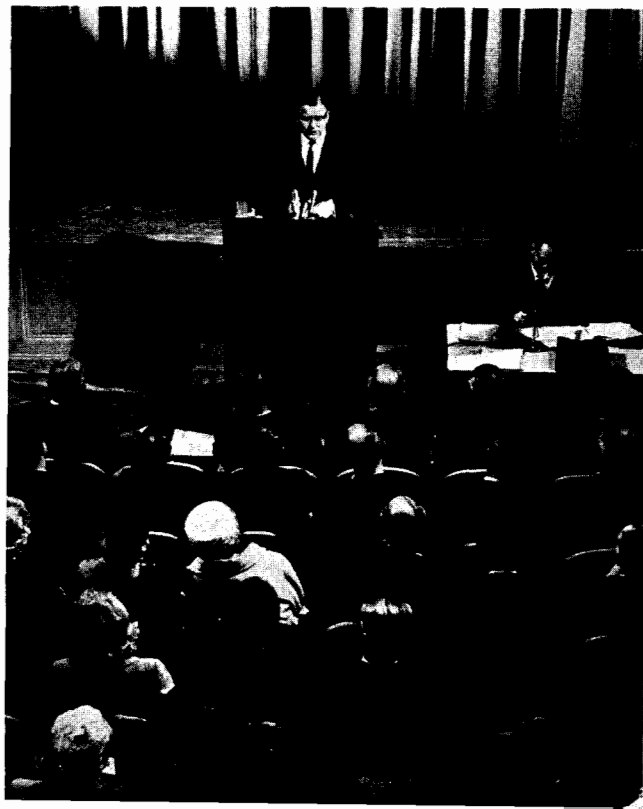
1. A man invents a new can opener.
2. He secures a patent on his invention from the United States Patent Office. Now no one can

### A MEETING OF STOCKHOLDERS

The president of the board of directors of an electric company reports to a group of shareholders attending an annual meeting. Although reports are mailed to each one, some part-owners like to be present at a meeting to express their own opinions.

In this company, 150,000 shareowners have invested \$221,000 per job to furnish electric power for 6,500,000 people. If any shareholder is not pleased with the progress of the company, he can sell his stock and invest his money elsewhere. It is a free market.

*Southern California Edison Company*



copy and manufacture his can opener without his permission.

3. He starts making can openers, perhaps in a shed in his backyard, and sells them to his neighbors.

4. The neighbors like his can opener. Soon he receives more orders than he can fill. From his local banker he borrows money to enlarge his plant and to buy a new machine to make can openers faster. He sells more, and hires a salesman.

5. More and more orders come in as distribution spreads. The inventor needs a little factory. Instead of borrowing again from his local banker, he goes to an investment banker who has customers with money to invest in any growing business. The inventor agrees to share his business with others by selling stock to get enough money to build a factory, buy new machinery, and hire more help. The investment banker sells shares in the can opener factory for a fee.

6. With the new factory, business grows rapidly. More salesmen are hired. The inventor, who is probably the president of the company and owns shares of stock, decides to incorporate under a charter from the state. To be granted this charter his company must comply with laws that protect people doing business with him. His incorporated business, under this charter, becomes a corporation and operates accordingly.

7. The corporation prospers. Additional money is needed to enlarge the factory and to buy newer machines to turn out more can openers in less time. By increasing production prices can be cut to meet competition. At this point, the business may be large enough to seek a listing on the stock exchange. The inventor applies to a stock exchange. Again, he has certain requirements to meet, one being proof that his company has many individual stockholders and that it is not owned by a few men who control nearly all the shares.

8. If accepted, shares in his company will be listed in daily newspapers. More people will buy them if the company is successful, continues to grow, and pays a fair profit to its stockholders, who really own the factory making can openers. Thus little business grows into big business.

In our highly industrialized society, business is carried on through a system of representation. As industries grow larger and larger, both employers and



*The New York Stock Exchange*

### TRADING ON THE OLD NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

A stock exchange is a market place where bonds and stocks are bought and sold. Bonds and shares are not the same. A person who loans money to a corporation, at interest, the sum to be repaid at a certain date, is a bondholder. A stockholder buys a share in a business and runs the risk of losing his money or making a profit on his investment. A bondholder is not a part-owner as is the share-owner.

As industry grew, the market place that started under the buttonwood tree had to be enlarged to keep pace with demand. After moving many times, a hall was built and seats were sold to brokers. A seat gave its owner the right to buy and sell there. Needing larger quarters, the present Exchange was built in 1903 to accommodate more brokers, but no chairs were provided for them. However, "seats" are still sold at prices that vary, since a "seat" means the privilege of trading in the market place. Brokers with orders walk among the trading posts seeking the best prices for their customers. The Stock Exchange does not buy, sell, or set prices. It is only the market place for buying and selling by brokerage firms who own "seats."

employees seek ways to speak to one another in a collective voice. Personal contacts are impossible because so many people are involved in so many ways.

### EMPLOYEES

DURING THE TERMS of our first two Presidents, George Washington and John Adams, carpenters and shoemakers in

Philadelphia, tailors in Baltimore, and printers in New York were seeking the kinship of trade. In their meetings, they discussed conditions in their work. How many apprentices should a shop accept? Should the owner of a shop hire traveling journeymen? What should be the qualifications of a journeyman? (An apprentice who can prove he has mastered the skills of his trade can be "graduated" to journeyman.) Wages and hours were also debated. When craftsmen became wage earners producing for others in shops and mills instead of working for themselves in their own home factories, they felt the need to talk among themselves.

As little business grew into big business and both owners and employees were numbered in thousands, both groups were contacted through representatives. Labor organizations, generally called unions, began to grow in number and size.

ADVERTISEMENT IN  
CINCINNATI, OHIO NEWSPAPER

In early days it was the custom for parents to bind their children when quite young as apprentices to learn a trade. This advertisement offers a reward for the return of a runaway apprentice who had not served his full time. The apprentice system is still used but the boys are assigned under union laws, as a rule. Most laws make sixteen the age of a beginner, but many are older.

**SIX CENTS REWARD.**

**R**AN away from the subscriber, on the 5th instant, an apprentice to the Barber's business named **GEORGE KYLES**, aged 13 years. All persons are forbid harboring or trusting him on my account, as I will pay no debts of his contracting, and will not be in any way responsible for his conduct. The above reward, but no charges, will be paid to any person who returns him to the subscriber.

**EDWARD KING.**

Cincinnati, April 12, 1825.

3749

Members of these unions elected their officials who acted as their representatives and met with managers who represented the owners to discuss their working conditions. They met for the purpose of entering into mutually satisfactory contracts binding upon both parties.

These contracts establish wages, hours of work, paid holidays, paid vacations, safety, sanitation, and general work rules. Gradually, more personal services paid for by owners in whole or in part, have been added to union contracts. Among these benefits are medical care of employees and their families which includes hospital bills, doctors' fees, medicines, sick leave, dental care, and sometimes, psychiatric care. Many corporations, large and small, support pension plans for their employees at retirement age.

As this pattern developed in business and industry, men in various trades formed unions of their own crafts. The next step was to unite these craft unions. In 1886 at a labor conference held in Columbus, Ohio, the American Federation of Labor was organized. Samuel Gompers, an immigrant cigarmaker, was elected the first president. As industrialism advanced, more and more unskilled workmen were employed. In the early 1930's the American Federation of Labor set up a committee to organize these employees into unions for employees, no matter what their jobs were, according to industries instead of crafts. At a meeting in Pittsburgh in 1937 these industrial unions withdrew from the American Federation of Labor to form a new organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, known as the C.I.O. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, was elected the first president of the C.I.O.



**A MEETING OF RETAIL CLERKS UNION – LOCAL 770**  
**Affiliated With Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO**

The people attending this meeting are clerks in food markets, drug stores, and discount centers. Such meetings are held to present new contracts for approval by members of the union. These agreements define working conditions, wages, paid holidays and vacations, apprentice-ships, medical and hospital benefits, and other items of common interest. Meetings are called by the secretary of the union when the need arises.

After being separated for about twenty years, the two joined to form a single group again.

As our industrial pattern becomes more complex, more emphasis is being placed on the human side. Jobholders are people. Managers are people. Stockholders are people. All three groups cooperate for the benefit of all concerned. No one group can succeed if one group fails. Industrial relations are human relations.

The big human problem of the machine age is to restore pride to workmen who can no longer provide their own tools, make their own products nor market them for their own personal profit. What can be done to get a workman on an assembly line to feel that he has a personal stake in the factory where he is employed? Managers give much time and thought to this question, and study the many factors to be considered.

What should be the basic wage for the average production of each workman? How can an employee be rewarded for better conduct, workmanship, and output? How can an efficient employee be encouraged to stay on his job? Since the industrial pattern is based upon mass production, the men and women who make products must be able to buy them, and to share in the services they provide for others. Therefore, basic wages need to be scaled to make consumers out of jobholders. If the workmen on an assembly line in an automobile factory were not able to drive their cars to and from their jobs, how extensive would the automobile business be? Jobholders represent the mass of consumers. Therefore, big mills and big markets demand products and services that most jobholders can afford. Small business also prospers by catering to buyers who can afford to pay more money for their products and services. Customers create business through their choice of products. This fact accounts for the American business slogan, "The customer is always right."

Employers have developed a variety of ways, generally called incentive plans, through which their employees may share in the profits earned from increased effort on their part. The employer wants to produce more goods. The employee wants to increase his income. This result may be achieved in different ways in different companies. There are many incentive plans operating in various industries in this country. All aim to encourage pride in workmanship and a personal interest among employees to aid productivity.

In some companies employees in the various departments share in a bonus award for increased production. At the end of a week, a month, or a year, they

receive extra pay. Some factories operate on a piece plan. A seamstress in a garment factory may prefer to be paid by the piece since it would be a simple matter to measure her work at the end of a day. However, the piece plan would not be practical in a large steel mill where men work with coke ovens, blast furnaces, and cauldrons of molten metal. Employees in heavy industry and in large plants with thousands of men and women usually prefer hourly wages with medical and other services provided by owners in union contracts.

In recent years the profit-sharing plan has gained in popularity, but it is not a new idea. In some corporations, profits are shared by giving employees stock on which they receive dividends the same as any shareholder who bought his stock from a broker. Owners of some big retail stores include the employees who automatically become partners in the business when they have worked there satisfactorily for a specified time. Some corporations contribute a percent of profits to pension funds to which employees also contribute from their wages, and so provide a larger income for retirement. Seldom are any two profit-sharing plans exactly alike as each one is adapted to a certain situation. The varied incentive plans, as a rule, are benefits in addition to the customary wage agreements.

The cooperative corporation has been particularly successful in agriculture. Farmers form cooperatives both for buying and selling. In contrast to the ordinary corporation, the cooperative serves only as an agent for its members. The members serve only themselves. A farmer delivers his milk to the cooperative creamery which sells and distributes it for him. At the end of each month, usually, the farmer is paid

for the milk the creamery sold for him, minus the operating expenses.

Variety is the keynote of "The American Way" for doing business. In this country during the rise of industry, there was no set pattern which could not be modified or changed for the greatest good of the greatest number. Only in a constitutional republic like the United States can there be such healthy disagreement and respect for the rights of others.

## LAWS INFLUENCE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

WITH THE RAPID GROWTH of industry came problems of adjustment which the Federal Government sought to solve by law. Interstate commerce drew the attention of Congress during the railroad era. Following the War Between the States so many railroads were built that competition for business resulted in rate wars and unfair charges for passengers and freight. Many lines traversed new country where the settlers were too scattered to support them. Sometimes two railroads served the same territory and each tried to take business from the other by lowering the rates. When these same companies had a monopoly, and farmers were forced to ship their products on the single railroad, freight rates were unreasonably high to make up for losses suffered under keen competition. In the late 1860's freight rates between Chicago and New York varied from 25 cents to \$2.15 per hundred pounds. A few years later cattle could be hauled from Chicago to New York for \$5 a carload.

In 1867 the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, an organization to

improve the lot of farmers, was formed in Washington, D.C. The Grange made a determined fight for laws regulating railroad rates and cheap transportation for farm products to markets. Although many Senators and Representatives introduced bills in Congress to regulate railroads and stop the rate wars which were harmful to the public, it took twenty years for the original Act to Regulate Commerce to win a majority of votes in Congress. The measure was signed on February 4, 1887 by President Grover Cleveland. This act established a commission to regulate commerce between the states.

From this small beginning grew the powerful Interstate Commerce Commission which controls transportation between states on railroads, inland waterways, and highways. The original act has been amended many times to fit new situations, and now includes truck and bus travel between states. In the public interest the Interstate Commerce Commission makes rules of safety for both employees and passengers; fixes rates on freight handled by any carrier; and requires insurance as a protection against loss of life or property.

Passage of the Act to Regulate Commerce has been generally interpreted as giving the Federal Government power to supervise industry. Later, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act, granting the Federal Government the authority to prevent industrial monopoly. President Benjamin Harrison signed this bill into law on July 2, 1890. The first section stated:

Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.

According to this law, what is a trust? The word was interpreted to mean a person

or corporation, or combination owning or controlling enough industrial plants producing any certain article to be able to fix the price. People were disturbed about the way small companies refining oil, manufacturing sugar, tobacco, shoe machinery, steel products, farming implements, and other essentials were being absorbed into large corporations. The passage of the Sherman Anti-trust Act set off long and bitterly fought cases in the courts over what kind of combination constitutes a trust dangerous to the public interest. Both the Republican and Democratic parties favored anti-trust laws.

On September 5, 1901, President McKinley was shot while attending the Pan American Exposition at Buffalo, New York. The Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, was sworn in to succeed him in the office. The new President enforced the Sherman Act so vigorously that he gained the nickname of "trust buster." During the seven and one half years of Theodore Roosevelt's administration, forty-four cases were launched under the Sherman Act. In 1909 William Howard Taft, another Republican, followed Roosevelt in the Presidency. Taft's record for a single term of four years eclipsed that of the former President with a total of ninety anti-trust proceedings. During the first term of Woodrow Wilson, who followed Taft into the White House, thirty-four anti-trust indictments were filed. In fact court dockets seldom are cleared of cases to question any monopoly leading to price fixing not in the public interest.

Although the original Sherman Act has been amended a number of times with the passage of new laws, courts find it difficult to decide when a merger of companies becomes a trust exercising a

dangerous monopoly. The United States holds the lead in scientific progress because large industrial organizations have been willing to invest capital in long, detailed, often unsuccessful experiments. Before a yard of cloth is offered for sale, \$23,000,000 maybe spent to research and develop the fabric. If the fabric is enthusiastically accepted by the public, employment is provided for thousands — in garment factories, department stores, small owner-operated shops, defense plants and numerous industries. The question then asked is: If the cloth can be purchased by anyone at a reasonable price, does the corporation owning the patent on this new fabric constitute a harmful trust?

People generally do not become concerned about the size of any corporation unless it becomes powerful enough to set prices which they consider unfair. From the beginning, the average citizen of this country has harbored an innate fear of any kind of monopoly that would rob him of personal liberty, be it in business or government.

As industries grow in size and number, industrial laws are passed by local, state, and federal governments. Business firms hire attorneys to keep officials informed on these laws, changing from time to time. One may regulate the amount of smoke from a factory chimney, and another, safety devices on machinery. Child labor laws are general. A law in Vermont states:

No minor under 14 may be employed in or about any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment, or in any other gainful occupation except during vacation and before and after school.

The minimum wage law of California contains this clause concerning hours:



No woman or minor shall be employed more than eight (8) hours during any one day of twenty-four (24) hours, or more than forty-eight (48) hours in any one week.

In some states a fund is raised by a tax upon both employers and employees, to provide a weekly allowance for men and women who have lost their jobs. The amount of tax taken from the wages of employees and the operating expense of

their employers depends upon the number of people who apply for unemployment compensation. Industrial laws differ from state to state, and legislatures add more as needed.

The United States Department of Labor, directed by a member of the President's Cabinet, was established to serve both employers and employees in adjusting to the ever-changing pattern of our complex industrial society.

## Chapter 28

# Mass Production Promotes Abundance

### EDUCATION GREW WITH THE COUNTRY

EDUCATION HAS BEEN considered important since colonial days. In 1636, just sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, Harvard College was established in the British colonies. The story of its founding was written in a letter from Boston, dated September 26, 1642:

After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship, and setted the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, . . . dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Minister shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* . . . to give one halfe of his Estate towards the erecting of a College, and all his Library.

(Latin America's University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru, and the University of Mexico in Mexico City, are on record as being the oldest universities in the Western Hemisphere. Both were founded in 1551 by order of Charles V, King of Spain.)

In the Ordinance of 1787 for governing the Northwest Territory, Article 3 expressed the feeling of most citizens then and now:

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

In early days, schooling for children was provided by parents in the home, church, and private school. Children on the large southern plantations had tutors who lived with the families. Not until a little over thirty years after the end of the War for Independence was the first system of schools started for every child at public expense. The reforms of the 1840's improved the public schools. However, the pattern of the present public school system was barely taking shape when war broke out between the states in 1861.

On July 2, 1862, Congress passed the Morrill Act, "an Act donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts."

By this law, public land was to be divided to each state — 30,000 acres for each senator and representative the state

had in Congress, under the census of 1860, except mineral lands. This Act stated:

That all moneys derived from the sale of these lands . . . shall be invested in stocks of the United States, or of the states, or some other safe stocks yielding not less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks; and that the moneys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital shall remain forever undiminished and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated . . . to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be . . . to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts . . . .

In 1862, during the war, Lincoln signed three bills passed by Congress to promote settlement of the West: the Homestead Act, the Railroad Act, and the Morrill Act.

When a settler in the frontier region had built a log cabin or a sod house, and planted a crop, he and his neighbors gathered to talk over ways to erect a schoolhouse, a church, and a courthouse, to provide for education, religion, and law. Sometimes a single log cabin served all three until separate buildings could be afforded. Having no factories, rural schools received taxes from land only and so often suffered from poor housing, lack of textbooks, and untrained teachers. A backwoodsman who could neither read nor write owned a country store and a boat at a ferry where the trail crossed the Cache River in Arkansas. When he wanted to go fishing for a few days he asked the country schoolmaster to write a notice to travelers that he tacked on the door of his log cabin trading post:

Ef anny boddy cums hear to git across the Rivver they kin just blow this here Horne, when my wife betsey up at the House heers the Horne

a bloin she'll cum down and set across the Rivver, i'm a gwin fishin.

Education was so much appreciated in new settlements that a school could actually start a town. The first school in Denver, Colorado was opened on the third of October in 1859. It was only a log hut with a strip of wagon cover for a door and a hole in the gable end for a window. The teacher was a graduate of the University of Dublin, a newspaper man who had come to the West to write about the gold rush in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado. When a covered wagon train was sighted approaching on the plain, scouts rode out to meet it, telling the families, not about gold in Cherry Creek, but about the school in West Denver with a college graduate for a teacher. With attendance between twelve and sixteen per day and tuition only \$3 per month for each pupil, the teacher could not have survived had he not received \$20 a week for articles printed in eastern papers on the Colorado gold rush. Living expenses were high. Flour cost \$20 a barrel and tallow candles sold for \$1 apiece.

As a rule schools improved faster in industrial towns where factories helped pay the taxes that supported them. Since New England had the most industry, this section for a long time had the best schools, both public and private. Public schools for the children of all the people, were gradually established throughout the country, wherever industry located to share the burden of the cost. Today, even in rural districts, splendid graded schools offer instruction in many subjects to prepare children for abundant living in our complex industrial society. Education has traveled far from the one-room school with the three R's — "readin', ritin', rithmetic."

Education is a costly item in the budgets of town, city, county, state, and federal governments. Taxpayers are assessed to provide education from the nursery school to the university. In many communities schools are maintained at the taxpayers' expense for adults, especially evening schools. Although a citizen no longer attends classes, he may continue his education by reading books, magazines, and newspapers and listening to lectures in halls and over the air. There are day schools, evening schools, and correspondence schools; public schools, private schools and church schools; country schools, city schools, and state universities. A citizen of the United States has a wide choice in education.

## FOUNDATIONS TO PROMOTE LEARNING

FROM EARLY DAYS, leaders in the nation encouraged learning. In 1732, Benjamin Franklin established the first

circulating library in Philadelphia. Wishing to continue his support to education after his death, he set up the first foundation for training young men in crafts. During his lifetime, he had helped many skilled craftsmen from Europe to settle in Pennsylvania. Franklin stated in his will:

I have considered that among Artisans good Apprentices are most likely to make good Citizens, and having myself been bred to a manual Art Printing, in my native Town . . . I wish to be useful even after my Death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men that they may be serviceable to their country . . . To this end I devote Two thousand pounds Sterling, which I give, one thousand thereof to the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston . . . and the other thousand to the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia . . .

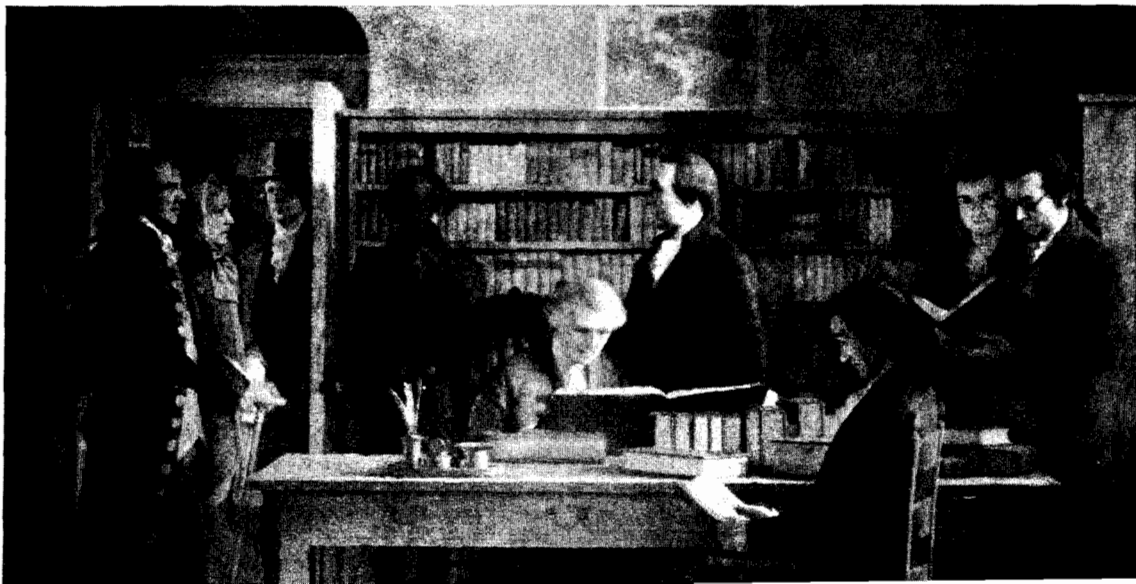
With this fund, Franklin desired to help young married men take care of their families while learning a trade and starting a business. His will reads:

The said sum of One thousand Pounds Sterling, if accepted by the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the Select Men, united with the

### FIRST CIRCULATING LIBRARY IN PHILADELPHIA

Benjamin Franklin welcomed readers at the first circulating library in Philadelphia in 1732. His idea helped to establish free libraries in the United States.

*Franklin Institute of Boston*



# Quest of a Hemisphere

*By the same author*

American History Was My Undoing

# QUEST OF A HEMISPHERE

*by*

Donzella Cross Boyle

**Pro Patria Series**

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This book is dedicated to the girls and boys in my classes,  
whose interest in their country's history guided the research  
for writing QUEST OF A HEMISPHERE.



# Preface

QUEST OF A HEMISPHERE is a factual American history written from documents, manuscripts, journals, diaries, letters, newspapers, and rare books in the Library of Congress, National Archives, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Pan American Union, and private collections of Americana.

Although QUEST OF A HEMISPHERE is basically a history of the United States, the title indicates that events in neighboring countries, vitally affecting the way of life in this nation, are interwoven chronologically into the text. By recording the varied political, social, and economic history of both Americas, the point of view becomes hemispherical.

Illustrations feature the art of historical periods — reproductions of sketches and paintings, portraits of famous men by artists of their time, and copies of documents in the original style of printing. Legends are vital history, serving to supplement the text.

In narrative style, each chapter renders a factual account of the struggle, achievement, and vision of the peoples who forged new nations in the Western Hemisphere. Who were they? Why did they come? Where did they go? What did they do? What destiny were they seeking? That is the story in this book.



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Author

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## Note to the Reader

The attention of the reader is called to the map references at the end of various chapters in this text. These maps can be found in the *Atlas of American History* or in the larger *Our United States*, both by Edgar B. Wesley and published by Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

As an aid in using *Quest of a Hemisphere*, in the school room or for home study, Mrs. Boyle has prepared a parent-teacher guide and a student manual. The reader is invited to write to the publisher for further information on either or both.



# PART ONE

## The Old World

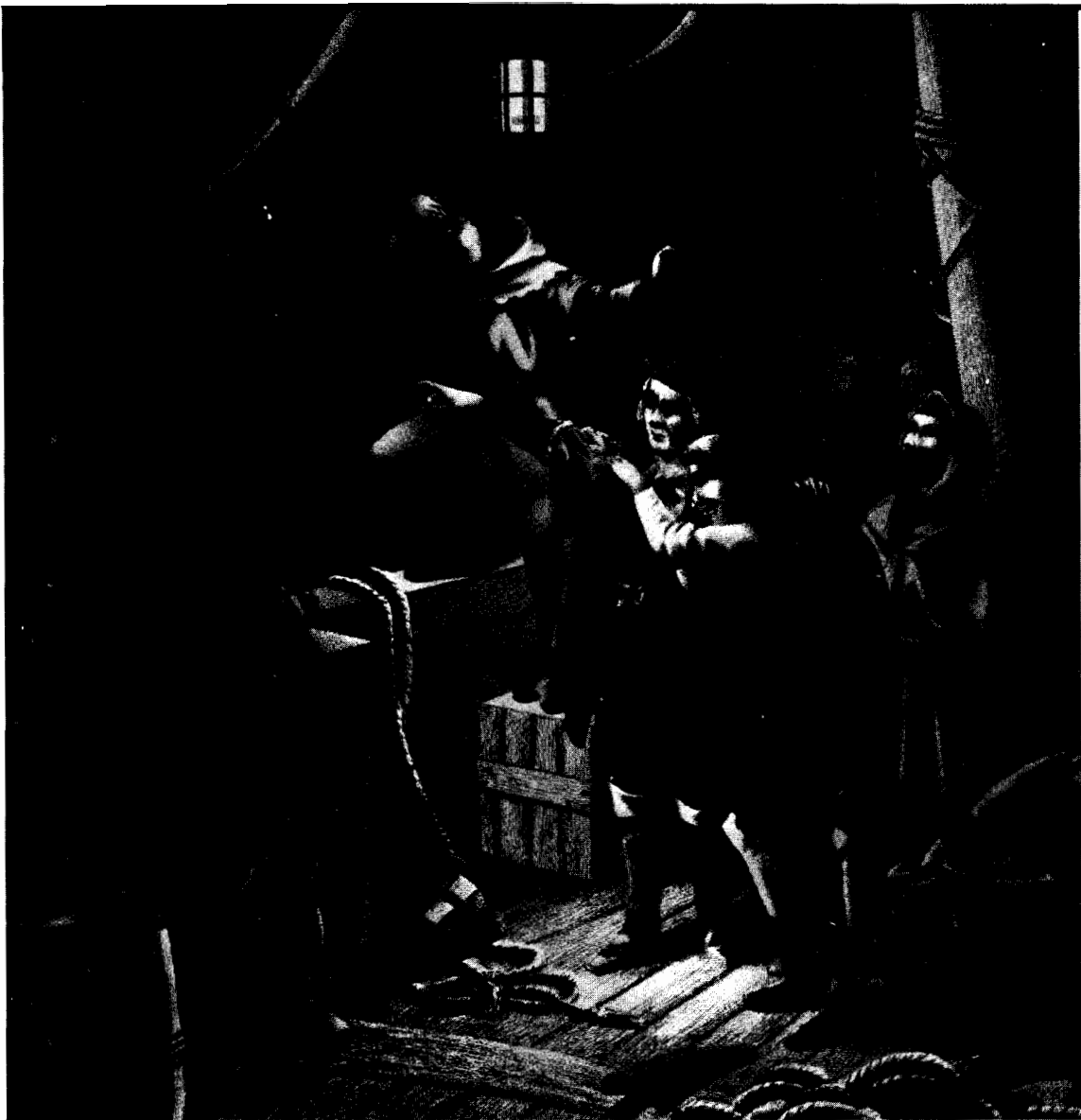
### Finds the Western Hemisphere

**Chapter 1: Spanish Civilization Invades the Americas**

**Chapter 2: Portuguese Navigators Explore the Seas**

**Chapter 3: New Netherland and New Sweden are Started**

**Chapter 4: France Plants Her Banner in North America**



### **COLUMBUS SEES A LIGHT, INDICATING THAT LAND WAS NEAR.**

**Copied from "The Journal of the First Voyage of Columbus." October 11, 1492:**

... the Admiral at ten o'clock at night being in the stern forecastle saw a light, but it was so concealed that he would not declare it to be land. But he called Pedro Gutierrez, the Groom of the Chamber of the King, and said to him that it appeared to be a light, and asked him to look at it, and he did so and saw it. He also told Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, whom the King and Queen sent with the fleet as Inspector . . . . After the Admiral told it, it was seen once or twice, and it was like a small wax candle which rose and fell, which hardly appeared to be an indication of land. But the Admiral was certain they were near land.

Although a sailor on the Pinta first saw land two hours after midnight, Columbus received the award of 10,000 maravedis (small gold coins) offered by the King and Queen of Spain to the man who first saw land. Columbus had seen the light two hours before midnight, and received the award each year of his lifetime.



## Chapter 1

# Spanish Civilization Invades the Americas

### A SAILOR RETURNS

ON A BALMY April day in 1493, Columbus made his triumphal entry into Barcelona to report his famous voyage to the King and Queen of Spain. A special messenger had summoned Columbus to the Court as soon as Their Majesties had learned of his return to the city. In August, 1492, he had ventured into unknown seas to prove that the earth was round, that he could find the east by sailing to the west.

On this day, the port city on the Mediterranean welcomed a seaman who came with a strange caravan. As the train of horses and mules approached the city, runners dashed along the streets and shouted, "The Admiral! The Admiral!"

The news created an uproar. Merchants left their shop doors open and swarmed into the lanes. Women unlocked their ironbarred windows and stood on the balconies. Church bells clanged throughout Barcelona.

Armed sailors on horseback led the procession. They cleared a path through the excited mob that choked the narrow street leading to the royal palace. Next in line were the dark-eyed, copper-colored men from the newly-discovered islands

which Columbus thought were off the coast of India. These natives were in feathered hats made from the brilliant plumage of tropical birds. In little cages, carried on the shoulders of these men, were bright green parrots with yellow heads and red-tipped wings. Columbus was fond of parrots. The screeching chatter of the birds mingled strangely with the cheers and laughter of the noisy crowd. It was circus day in Barcelona, the city by the sea.

The nuggets of gold in the noses and ears of the native Indians caught the eye of many a Spaniard. Columbus had his natives wear gold in their dress so that Spain would be impressed with the importance of his discovery. Servants walking in the procession carried baskets of tropical fruits and flowering plants. One basket was filled with chunks of quartz that glittered in the bright sunlight of the warm, spring day.

Columbus showed cunning in displaying his wares first, instead of leading the procession. He rode in the middle of the train with his two young sons. At his side was the King's chamberlain, dispatched by Ferdinand to escort him into the royal presence. A wild clamor broke loose whenever the crowd caught sight of Columbus in the slowly-moving line. The

fiery Spaniards waved their arms and shouted his name. They sang the ballads of Spanish heroes and clicked their heels in Spanish dances. Their joy knew no bounds.

A train of pack mules, guarded by soldiers, brought up the rear of the parade. The packs bulged with boxes containing the secret treasure of the Indies. What was this loot that Columbus hoarded to show to the King and Queen? The curious throng could only wonder. Was it gold?

## ADMIRAL OF THE OCEAN SEA

AS COLUMBUS APPROACHED the throne, Ferdinand and Isabella rose to greet him as "Admiral of the Ocean Sea and Viceroy of the Indies." The audience gasped at the honor accorded a common seaman as Columbus knelt before the King and Queen and kissed their hands. A still greater honor awaited him. Columbus was invited to sit beside Their Majesties and the young prince, Don Juan.

Looking out over that well-dressed audience, perhaps the sailor's mind wandered back to that day in May, seven years earlier, when he had first met the beautiful, auburn-haired queen at Cordova. Isabella, though inclined to believe his story that the world was round, and that he could sail *west* to reach the east had felt obligated to consult the learned men of her kingdom. "All in one voice said that it was complete folly and vanity."

The weary years had dragged on, but Columbus had not given up. He had a real friend at court, Luis de Santangel, who said to Isabella:

I have wondered much that your Highness did not accept an empire such as this Columbus has offered. This business is of such a quality that, if

what your Highness thinks difficult or impossible should be proposed to another King and prove successful, the result would be an injury to your kingdom.

Since Spain was impoverished by war, the Queen had suggested waiting, but Luis de Santangel had shaken his head. He knew that Columbus was then on his way toward the border of France to seek aid from the French king.

Santangel, a rich man, offered to lend the money to Isabella for fitting out an expedition for Columbus. He assured her that it would be a small favor to lend her over a million *maravedis* from his own family. He wanted Isabella to send a messenger in haste to overtake Columbus and ask him to return for an audience with Her Majesty.

Well did Columbus remember the day that an officer had overtaken him on the road to France, with a royal summons to return to the Court of Spain. Now, having made his great voyage, he would not disappoint the woman who had believed in him. This was his great moment, and the Queen's.

Like an actor in a play, Columbus leaned forward to tell his story to a breathless audience. For five weeks his three ships had sailed through uncharted seas. They had met wind and rain, and hours of calm without a breeze. The fretful sailors had threatened to turn back toward home and loved ones, but hopes had been revived with signs of land. A sailor on the *Pinta* killed a land bird with a stone; a pelican rested on the deck of the *Santa Maria*; the crew of the *Nina* saw a berry bush floating in the sea. After dark one night, Columbus had seen a light moving up and down. Who was carrying the torch? Four hours later, at two o'clock in the morning, a sailor on the

*Pinta* sighted land. That was the twelfth day of October in the year 1492.

Columbus praised the kindness of the natives. Knowing Isabella's zeal for her faith, he assured her that the gentle natives could easily become good Christians. At a signal, the Indians walked out with jingling steps. The rulers of Spain fastened curious eyes upon them and their gold. Columbus displayed ears of corn, sweet potatoes, bananas, rhubarb, coconuts, palm oil, and medicinal herbs found in the Indies. In the animal exhibit were lizards, fish, and tropical birds. The parrots chattered glibly, to the delight of the listeners.

The royal audience waited anxiously to learn what loot was stored in the boxes. Columbus lifted a lid and picked up samples of gold ore, grains of gold dust, and little nuggets of the yellow metal for which his sailors had traded thongs of leather and cheap trinkets. He handed the specimens to the King and Queen, who examined them like delighted children with a new toy.

Brass trumpets and shrill woodwinds joined the Queen's chapel choir in a loud *Te Deum* (Hymn of Praise). The reception ended in a blaze of glory for Columbus, Their Majesties, and Spain.

The reception was the last real glory Columbus experienced. He thought he had discovered islands off the Asiatic coast. Instead, he had landed in the West Indies. Four times he set sail in search of the Asiatic mainland and oriental treasure. If Columbus had explored the mainland, he might have realized it was not Asia but a New World. It was not until Magellan, another explorer, and his crew sailed westward around the world in 1522 that the people of Europe knew that the New World was not Asia.

Columbus died before his countrymen fully appreciated the importance of his discovery. As Spaniards migrated to the West Indies, however, the bold adventurers among them explored the shores of Central America. New World lands might mean more gold! The hunt for treasure continued.

## **CORTES LEADS A GOLD-SEEKING EXPEDITION**

A YOUNG BOY who was to find the treasure came to the Indies in the same year that Columbus returned from his last voyage. The bold adventurer who found the gold was the ruthless soldier and leader of men, Hernando Cortes.

Cortes was only nineteen when he left Spain on a sailing ship bound for the Indies with colonists and supplies. In Cuba he was given a land grant with a small gold mine on it and Indian slaves to till the soil and dig the ore. The easy-going life of a plantation owner, however, failed to satisfy his craving for excitement.

The governor of Cuba had previously sent two expeditions to the mainland to seek gold. Although the natives greeted the strangers with showers of lances and arrows, the Spaniards succeeded in trading green glass beads, which the Indians prized, for little idols, animals, and trinkets made of gold. Always, the natives pointed toward the rising sun. They wanted to know if the palefaced men had come from the east. From captured natives, the Spaniards learned that the tribes on the coast were ruled by a powerful emperor called Montezuma, who lived inland in a great city surrounded by water.

In battle with these natives along the

shores of Yucatan, a large number of Spaniards were killed, a few were captured, and most of those who returned had been wounded with poisoned arrows. This did not stop the Cuban governor, who was after the gold in the new land. Ten ships idled at anchor in the harbor of Santiago, within sight of the governor's palace, awaiting a commander to take the fleet on a third expedition.

The chosen man was Hernando Cortes. At once, he began to collect matchlocks, armor, cross-bows, powder, cannon, cassava bread, salted bacon, and other supplies. He spent his own money and all that he could borrow from his friends. Cortes hired men to walk through the streets of Santiago to advertise his voyage. Tooting trumpets and beating drums, they spread the news that Cortes would share gold, silver, and jewels with every man who joined the expedition. Also, he would give a large piece of land and Indian slaves to any man who wished to settle in the lands he conquered. Such lavish promises led many colonists to seek their fortunes with Cortes. They sold their plantations and slaves to buy food, clothing, ammunition, and horses.

With three hundred soldiers on board, the ten vessels sailed out of the harbor of Santiago. A few days later, the fleet dropped anchor in the harbor of Trinidad, another port on the southern coast of Cuba. Cortes made a speech in the public square of the town. He invited men to join him and promised them great wealth in gold, land, and slaves. One of the richest men in Cuba joined the party in Trinidad. He brought his own ship, food, Negro servants, and, most important of all, his spirited chestnut mare. At the time, horses were scarce and costly in the Indies. At Havana, where the fleet delayed, more

supplies were loaded and more men joined the expedition.

In a holiday mood, as if on a pleasure cruise, the fleet of eleven vessels put out to sea early in the year 1519. On board were poor men seeking a fortune, rich men hunting more gold, landowners wanting more land, noblemen searching for thrills, and young men seeking adventure. The chief pilot was Alaminos, navigator for Columbus on his fourth and last voyage to the Indies.

Alaminos had piloted the two former expeditions from Cuba to the mainland and was familiar with the coast line of Yucatan. There was plenty of battle equipment, including four small falcons and sixteen horses. This was real adventure and hopes were high. Little did those on board dream of the hardships that awaited them. They had yet to learn that the persuasive gentleman, Cortes, was a stern commander who would never turn back once he had set a goal. From this day on, his mission was to lead, and theirs, to follow. Cortes had come to the New World for adventure and gold.

## GODS OR MEN?

AMONG THE MANY GODS worshipped by the Mexican Indians was one named Quetzalcoatl, a prophet with a white skin and a black beard. According to the legend, this god had once lived among the tribes. He taught them to be kind to each other and not to cut out the hearts of their brethren in sacrifice to their idols. The natives loved this kind man and obeyed him while he lived among them. When he went away, he promised to return someday from the east, bringing men like himself to conquer and rule the land. In his honor,

great temples were built. In time, however, the people forgot his teaching and returned to their old custom of human sacrifice.

When Montezuma heard that palefaced men with dark beards had landed on the coast, he trembled with fear. He was the rich and powerful emperor of the warlike Aztecs, who had conquered neighboring tribes and demanded from them a tribute of young men and women to be sacrificed to the war-god. Montezuma had disobeyed the laws of Quetzalcoatl. Now the god must be returning, as he had promised, from the east. Montezuma walked the floor and wrung his hands, wondering what move to make.

The Emperor sent his trusted lieutenant, Tendile, a clever, bright fellow, to head a group of messengers with gifts for the strangers. The messengers brought corn-bread, pheasants, plums, and choice dishes to feed the strangers. War captives were included in the party in case the bearded men were cannibals and might wish to feast on human flesh. Among the presents were ceremonial hats and capes made of brilliant feathers, and a tiger skin coat of the Aztec priests which was like the one Quetzalcoatl used to wear. When Cortes failed to recognize these sacred emblems, the shrewd Tendile began to doubt. Later, when a bell rang calling men to prayer and Cortes knelt with his men before a wooden cross stuck into the sand, Tendile concluded this bearded stranger was not a god.

During the interview, the church service, and the meal, the artists in Tendile's party were busy painting what they saw on long sheets of white cotton cloth. Cortes suddenly realized that these painters must be impressed with his power, although he did not know they were sketching him so that Montezuma could determine whether

he was a god. He ordered his officers to mount their horses. The Indians had never seen horses. With the spirited chestnut mare in the lead, all sixteen horses galloped down the beach at breakneck speed. The Aztecs stood in awe, thinking the horses, and not the men, were the gods. Next, Cortes had a cannon fired. The sketches of the round ball tearing through the air greatly amused the Spaniards.

In exchange for the Indian gifts, Cortes gave cheap glass beads, a string of imitation pearls, and a decorated armchair for Montezuma to sit in when Cortes called at the palace of the mighty Aztec emperor. He sent to Montezuma a bright red cap trimmed with a medal engraving of St. George slaying the dragon. One of the messengers asked for a gilded helmet worn by one of the Spanish soldiers. Cortes handed it over and requested that it be returned filled with gold dust.

Montezuma was so frightened when these messengers returned that he ordered more war captives to be sacrificed to the gods before he dared to look at the paintings. The horses and cannon ball puzzled him, but the helmet alarmed him. In shape, the headpiece resembled the helmets worn by his forefathers in battle. How could he keep his bearded stranger out of his kingdom? For hours at a time, Montezuma locked himself in his own room in the palace and refused to eat the meals which servants brought to him. He called in fortunetellers to advise him what to do. Finally, he decided to send such costly gifts that the strangers would be satisfied and sail away as others had done who came to Yucatan. If the palefaced leader was not Quetzalcoatl, he would accept the bribes and leave, Montezuma concluded.

## THE GOLDEN BRIBE

CORTES HAD THE good fortune to find excellent interpreters at the start. At his first stop after leaving Cuba, he rescued a Spaniard named Aguilar, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Yucatan eight years before. Aguilar had been a slave of Indian masters for all of that time. The Indians of Tabasco gave Cortes an orphan girl called Malinche. Bright and attractive, Malinche had learned to speak several languages. Without her the conquest of Mexico by Cortes might have failed. Since she could speak both Tabascoan and Aztec, and Aguilar could speak Tabascoan and Spanish, Cortes was able to carry on a conversation with Tendile. He sent word directly to Montezuma that he desired to visit him in his palace. The Emperor did not want him and sent a golden bribe.

In the short space of seven days Tendile returned to the coast with a hundred Aztec porters, their backs bent over with the weight they carried. Tendile uncovered the treasure, each article having been wrapped in white cotton cloth. First, he presented Cortes with a solid gold plate, round like the sun and as large as a wagon wheel, with the Aztec calendar engraved upon it. From another porter's back, he lifted a heavy silver plate, still larger, representing the moon. The third gift was the helmet filled with grains of gold. The Spaniards were speechless with wonder. A treasure, given without asking, was spread before them.

It took a long time to display all the gifts strapped to the backs of the hundred porters. Among the presents were thirty golden ducks, solid gold figures of lions, tigers, dogs, monkeys, deer, and some wild animals which the Spaniards had never seen. A golden bow, with a string attached,

gave Cortes an idea of the Aztec weapons. The carriers unloaded rolls and rolls of white cotton cloth with designs woven in bright feathers, fans made of the gay plumage of tropical birds, sandals of deerskin embroidered in gold thread, feather ornaments in gold and silver cases, necklaces of pearls, emeralds, and rubies, and ten gold chains with lockets. With this loot Montezuma hoped to bribe Cortes to leave the country.

The Spaniards could scarcely believe their eyes. They knew now, beyond any doubt, that Montezuma ruled over an empire of fabulous wealth. An Aztec stepped forward to deliver a message from his Emperor. Indeed, this message was the real purpose of the gifts. In polite terms, he stated that Montezuma would be pleased to give Cortes and his men all the food they needed as long as they remained on the coast, but that the Emperor would not see him. In equally polite language, the messenger hinted that the strangers might regret the blunder of trying to enter Mexico uninvited. Cortes thanked the messenger for the gifts and the speech, but insisted that his king, Charles V, had sent him across a wide ocean to pay the respects of His Majesty to the great ruler of Mexico. (Charles V had never heard of Montezuma.) These speeches were translated by Aguilar and Malinche.

When this message was brought back to Montezuma, he grew more worried. In his fright, he ordered young children to be sacrificed. He begged the war-god for power to outwit this stubborn paleface with a beard. Day and night the question haunted him, "Was he Quetzalcoatl?" The Emperor made his last attempt to prove that the stranger was or was not the god. As a final bribe, he sent four green stones,

sacred to the Mexicans, because Quetzalcoatl had taught them how to polish these jewels. To the Spaniards, who wanted gold, the stones were worthless.

While the stones were being delivered to Cortes, the church bell rang, calling the Spaniards to prayer. One of the Aztecs inquired why Cortes humbled himself to kneel before a wooden cross. The answer was a sermon preached by a friar and translated by Aguilar and Malinche. The friar explained that the white strangers had come from the east to stop human sacrifice, kidnapping, the eating of human flesh, and other crimes.

When the third mission returned, Montezuma was even more confused. The bearded man had ignored the precious green stones. He was not Quetzalcoatl. The strangers said they had come from the east to stop human sacrifice. Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. At last, Montezuma stopped brooding over his fate and called a meeting of his war council to dispatch runners to all the conquered tribes with orders to fight the strangers.

In a few days the Indians who had been bringing food disappeared as if by magic. Cortes and his men went up the coast to a better location to start a settlement which they called Vera Cruz. The friends of the Cuban governor wanted to return home with the golden treasure, which they would divide among themselves and the governor who had sent out the expedition. The majority, however, voted to stay and perhaps gain more gold.

It was agreed to send most of Montezuma's bribe to Spain as the fifth which the King claimed of all the gold found in the New World. The best vessel in the fleet was outfitted for the voyage. The charge of the golden loot was given to Alaminos, the best

navigator who had ever come to the Indies. In 1513 he had piloted Ponce de Leon to Florida in his vain search for the "Fountain of Youth." On that expedition, Ponce de Leon crossed the Gulf Stream four times. Consequently, Alaminos learned much about this warm river sweeping out of the Gulf of Mexico into the Atlantic Ocean.

Near the end of July Alaminos left for Spain. He cruised up the coast of Florida to gain speed and time in the swift current of the Gulf Stream, and to avoid the danger of capture by pirates lurking in the sea lanes to the Indies. He delivered the golden bribe to His Majesty, who melted the treasure to pay for his wars in Europe. Thus ended the golden sun and the silver moon, pride of the Aztecs whose works of art were wasted in a futile effort to bribe Cortes.

## ON TO MEXICO

TO PROHIBIT THE FRIENDS of the Cuban governor from deserting, Cortes suggested that the ten remaining ships be run onto the sands. The majority agreed. After the vessels were beached, the sailors and pilots joined the expedition. The older men, unable to march, stayed in the new Spanish town of Vera Cruz. Now, there was no retreat!

Going inland from the coast, the invaders cut their way through dense jungle. Parrots screeched in the tree tops and butterflies swarmed in the air. A steady climb brought them out of the steaming lowland into the cooler air of the plateau region, where hills were patched with little plots of corn. At first, the tribes along the way fought the invaders, either through fear of Montezuma or loyalty to him. In these encounters, the Spaniards lost both

men and horses, and many were wounded. It was a bloody road to the inland province on a high plateau. After these battles, however, Cortes gained allies for his conquest by promising to free them from paying tribute to the mighty Emperor of the Aztecs. The chiefs complained that Montezuma's taxgatherers stole their gold, robbed their fields, and kidnapped their daughters. Montezuma grew more fearful when some of his vassals joined the invaders. He sent more gifts hoping Cortes would turn back before he reached the high range of mountains encircling his kingdom.

As if standing on guard, two lofty peaks towered above the mountain barrier to the Aztec kingdom, and one was afire. This was the first active volcano the Spaniards had ever seen and it aroused their curiosity. The natives told them why the mountain smoked. A long time ago, a handsome prince loved a beautiful princess of an

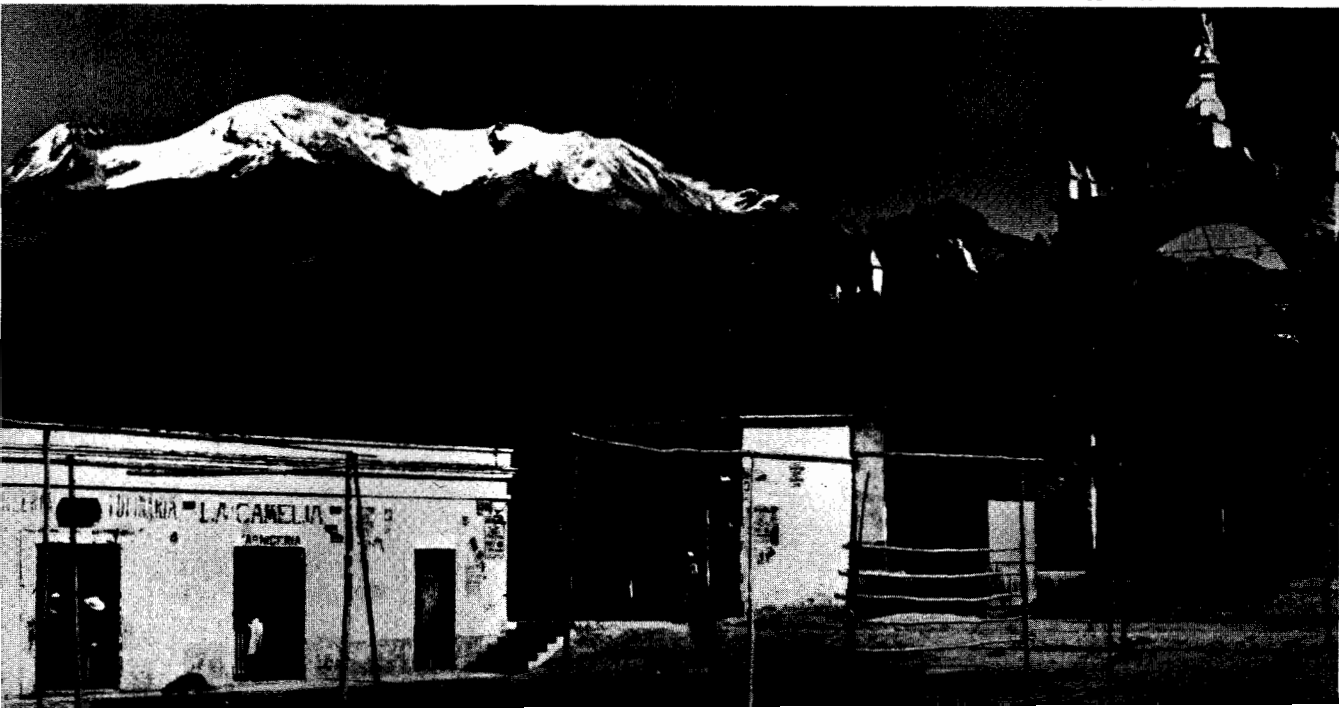
enemy tribe. Forbidden to marry, they eloped and perished. According to the Mexican legend, their spirits were united in the two volcanoes. In his wrath, the prince, Popocatepetl belched hot rock and ashes to hide the sun and destroy the crops. The Aztecs named the highest volcano after him. Popocatepetl became the word in their language for "smoking mountain." At his side, the princess sleeps on the summit of the other volcano. The snow which never melts moulds her figure in a long white gown. The "sleeping woman" is Ixtaccihuatl. With a rumbling sound like distant thunder, the earth trembled beneath the feet of the invading army crossing the divide near the spouting volcano. The native warriors were very frightened at this ill omen. Popocatepetl was muttering angry words at them, they said.

As the army descended from the cold

#### IXTACCIHUATL (Sleeping Woman)

According to legend, the lovely princess slumbers on top of the mountain by the side of Popocatepetl. The "Sleeping Woman," wrapped in her shroud of eternal snow, is Ixtaccihuatl.

*Pan American Union*







*Pan American Union*

### POPOCATEPETL (Smoking Mountain)

**Popocatepetl is no longer a "smoking mountain," as in the time of Cortes. Years ago, as the crater cooled, snowflakes healed the ugly scar. Today, the glistening white cone of this volcano can be seen for many miles in the clear dry air of the high plateau of Mexico.**

heights, the climate grew warmer. Pine forests gave way to groves of oak and sycamore. After days on twisting trails, a sudden turn in the road gave the Spaniards their first view of the beautiful basin of Mexico, a high plateau hemmed in by mountains. In the bright sunlight of the autumn day, the lakes were as blue as the sky. On an island in the center rose the temples and palaces of the Aztec capital. This was their goal.

Fearing a rebellion among his conquered tribes, Montezuma decided to receive Cortes as the visiting ambassador of a foreign monarch. He sent his nephew to invite Cortes and his army into the city. The Spaniards entered the capital over a long dike wide enough for eight horsemen to ride abreast. The foreigners "did not amount to four hundred and fifty, but

there were about a thousand natives for the baggage and artillery," and others joined along the way. The lakes swarmed with sight-seers in canoes. From roofs and terraces, the curious crowds eyed the strangers and their horses. They viewed with some alarm the entrance of their old tribal enemies. As Cortes passed through the main gate of the city, Montezuma came forth to meet him. Seated in his throne chair, the Emperor was carried on the shoulders of favorite nobles. A canopy of royal green feathers shielded him from the sunlight. On his head he wore an ornament with green feathers which floated down his back. The soles of his shoes were made of gold and the uppers were studded with jewels. As he stepped from the royal sedan, attendants unrolled yards of cotton cloth for him to walk upon.

## CORTES VISITS MONTEZUMA



*Pan American Union*

In this old sketch, Cortes and Montezuma are carrying on a conversation with Aguilar translating Spanish into Tabascoan, and Malinche — her Christian name was Donna Marina — translating Tobascoan into Aztec.

Bernal Diaz, who went with Cortes into Mexico, wrote an account of this meeting in his journal:

The next day (November 9, 1519) was fixed on by Cortes for his visit to Montezuma. (He took four officers and five soldiers for his bodyguard.) He went to his palace, which as soon as Montezuma was informed of, he came as far as the middle of the hall to meet us, attended by his relations, no other persons being allowed to enter where he was, except on most important business. With great ceremony on each side, the king took Cortes by the hand and leading him to the elevated part of the room, placed him upon his right, and with affability, desired the rest of us to be seated.

The artist included samples of the food Montezuma furnished for his pale-faced guests from overseas.

Parrots in cages were provided for entertainment during their meal.

Cortes got off his horse and walked forward with his interpreters to greet the Emperor of Mexico. Montezuma received him cordially, as thousands of Aztecs looked on and wondered. Were these white men with beards the gods whom the prophet foretold would come from the east to conquer and rule them? A brother of the Emperor escorted the Spaniards to their quarters, while Montezuma returned by a shorter route to arrive ahead of his guests. In his father's palace, large enough to accommodate the four hundred Spaniards, Montezuma welcomed Cortes and his soldiers.

"You are in your house," he said. "Eat, rest, and enjoy yourself. I shall return presently."

He did, with gifts in gold for every man.

## THE PRICE OF GOLD AND GLORY

AFTER FOUR DAYS Cortes asked Montezuma for permission to go on a sight-seeing tour of the city. The Emperor assured him safety to go wherever he pleased. With a bodyguard of his own officers, Cortes visited the huge market place. Here, as many as forty thousand people came on special days to buy and to sell their many products, ranging from honey cakes to gold dust. From the market place, the Spaniards went to the great temple of the war-god, the place which they wanted most to see. A steep climb up the 114 steps of the temple rewarded them with a bird's-eye view of the city with its aqueduct, bridges, lakes, market, and two volcanoes in the distance. The sight of prisoners stretched and tied to slabs of stone, waiting to be sacrificed, made the Spaniards shudder.

Montezuma stepped forth from an inner

chamber, where he had been worshipping and watching in fear that the strangers would offer any kind of an insult to his idols. Through Malinche, Cortes asked to go inside. Montezuma entered with him. Three bleeding hearts, freshly cut from victims, dripped on the stone altar before the statue of the war-god. The floors were black with dried blood and the stench was terrible. The Spaniards did not ask to stay long.

With uneasy minds, they returned to their quarters where they learned from their Indian allies that the war-god had advised Montezuma to welcome the strangers into the city. There they were, on an island, surrounded by thousands of natives who could make them prisoners at any time. Like other prisoners, they might be sacrificed on the foul-smelling altars of that hideous idol, the Aztec god of war. It was not a comforting thought. How could they escape? Again, as at Vera Cruz, gold made the fatal decision.

It was a custom of the Spaniards to look for gold wherever they went. In searching the palace, two soldiers discovered traces of an old doorway in one of the apartments which they occupied. Secretly, they tore down the sealed doorway and found the treasure which Montezuma had inherited from his father. Sheets of solid gold, pounded thin, were stacked in piles upon the floor. Mounds of gold and jeweled trinkets were strewn around the room. The news spread rapidly among the soldiers. Plans were made to escape and take with them the riches of the Aztec kings.

They agreed upon a bold scheme to kidnap Montezuma and hold him in their quarters as a hostage to guarantee their

safety. Cortes and several of his officers called upon the Emperor and forced him to accompany them under threat of death. Although Montezuma was treated with every courtesy and held court for his chiefs as usual, Spaniards were always present. The Aztecs grew suspicious that their ruler was held against his wishes and made plans to rescue him. The nephews of Montezuma gathered an army of warriors pledged to fight until not one Spaniard was left alive. When battles broke out around the palace, Cortes pleaded with Montezuma to tell the Aztecs that the Spaniards would leave the city if the warriors would return to their homes.

A hush fell over the packed square when Montezuma spoke, but it was soon broken by the angry mob, shouting, "Coward! Woman! Traitor!" The air grew

#### THE CALENDAR STONE

The Calendar Stone, completed in 1479, is thirteen feet in diameter and weighs twenty tons. The carving represents the history of the world with the face of the sun god in the center. This stone shows the extent of Aztec civilization in art and science. It is now exhibited in the National Museum in Mexico City.

*Pan American Union*



thick with arrows and stones hurled at the speaker. The great Emperor was knocked senseless with a rock and was struck with several arrows. Although the Spaniards waited upon him with every care, he refused to eat. Montezuma wept bitter tears, declaring he wanted to die because he had betrayed his people and his gods. As Montezuma breathed his last, he asked his conqueror to take good care of his most precious jewels, his daughters. Cortes, deeply touched by this request, promised he would guard and provide for them. He kept his word.

After the death of Montezuma, Cortes decided to sneak out of the capital with his army and the golden treasure of the Aztec rulers. The backs of wounded horses were loaded with sheets of gold, and the backs of eighty Indian porters were weighted

down with loot. Each soldier helped himself to all the gold and jewels he could stuff into his pockets and strap onto his shoulders. Cautiously, in a drizzling rain, the army crept across the bridges which connected the island city to the mainland.

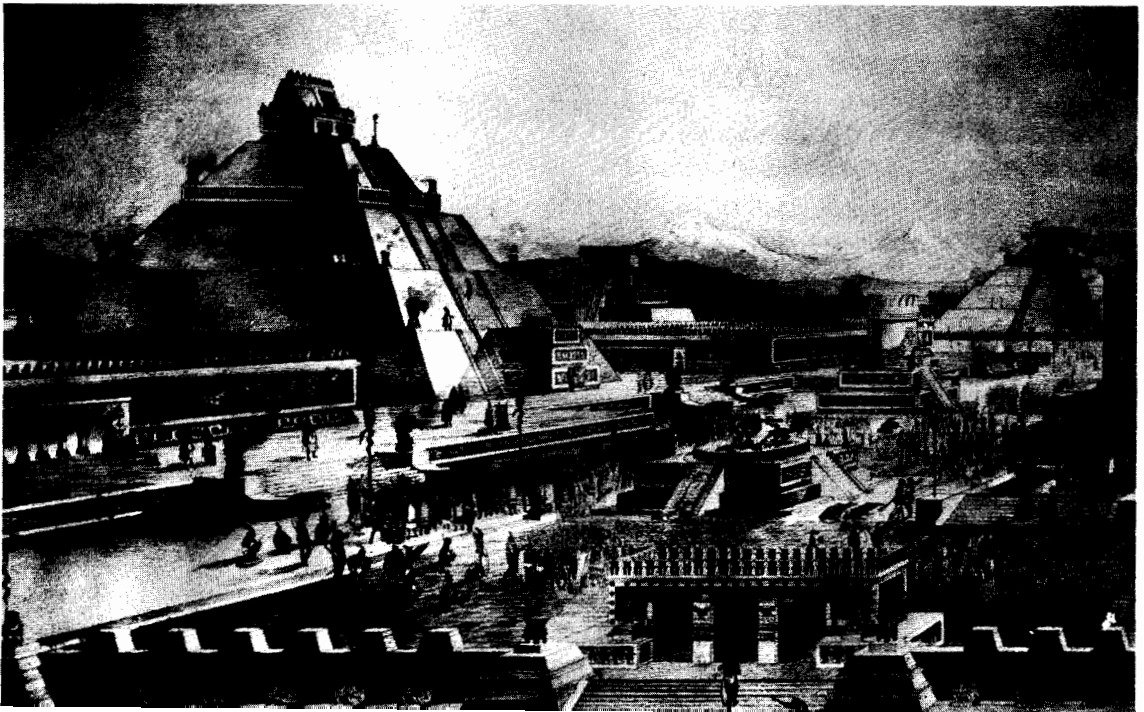
The Aztecs were waiting in the darkness. Suddenly, the lakes became alive with canoes. Thousands of fierce warriors pounced upon the Spaniards and their Indian allies. There was not much room to fight on the bridges and horses and men tumbled off into the water. Most of the stolen gold was lost. During the night, the long-haired priests were busy sacrificing Spanish captives to the greedy god of war. Their weird chants mingled with the blast of trumpets, and the boom of drums drowned the cries of their victims.

Although Montezuma's warriors avenged

#### CENTRAL SQUARE OF MONTEZUMA'S CAPITAL IN 1519

The temple of the War God towers above all the buildings. To the left of this tall monument is the palace of Axayacatl, Montezuma's father, where Cortes and his soldiers were housed. At the right of the great temple is the palace of Montezuma. The square is crowded with temples to lesser gods, the round sacrificial stone in the center, and the skull rack to the far right.

*Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.  
Great Temple of Tenochtitlan by Ignacio Marquina*



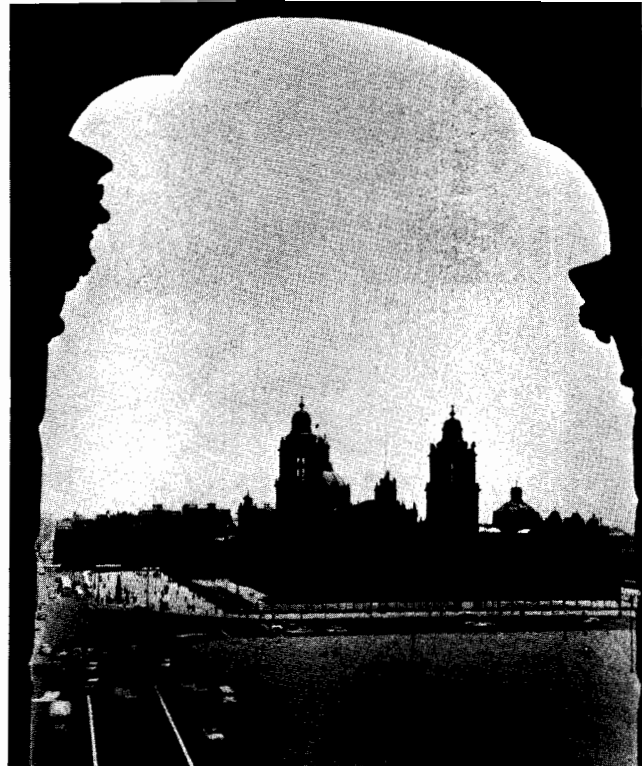
his death on this terrible "night of sorrows," their victory was short-lived. Cortes and part of his army escaped. The Spanish forces grew as more and more pale-faced men from the land of the rising sun came to conquer and rule the native tribes. The ancient prophecy was fulfilled.

After the conquest, Cortes settled in Cuernavaca, the center of a fertile and beautiful valley where he ruled over a vast estate. For leading the conquest, the King gave him a title, "Marquis of the Valley." His wealth and fame brought him neither peace of mind nor peace of conscience. Jealous Spaniards plotted against him and Indian tribes rebelled. Another man was sent to govern the country which Cortes had discovered and conquered for Spain without costing the Crown and government a single penny. Cortes returned to Spain seeking justice at the Court and remained to die, like Columbus, a "forgotten man."

The winner was Spain. This bold and ruthless conquest gave that nation the first colonies in the New World and a foothold in America. The results were far-reaching. More adventurers came, hunting Montezumas and golden treasures. They stayed to build a Spanish empire in the Western Hemisphere.

### THREE SPANIARDS AND A MOOR

EIGHT YEARS AFTER Cortes sailed from Havana, Narvaez landed at Tampa Bay in Florida on another gold-hunting expedition. With him were about four hundred men and forty horses. Travel was slow in the swampy wilderness. The land was strewn with fallen trees blown down by hurricanes. As they stumbled over logs and waded through streams, both the men and their horses were targets for hostile



*Pan-American Union*

### PLAZA de la CONSTITUCION -- MEXICO

The great central square in the heart of Mexico City is named "Plaza of the Constitution," but commonly called Zocalo. It marks the heart of the ancient city destroyed by Cortes. The Cathedral of Mexico, with altars covered in gold leaf, stands on the site of the ancient temple to the god of war. Today, in Montezuma's capital, busy streets cover the old canals; an open paved park hides the spots of temples; a new civilization builds a new way of life.

Indians. The explorers found gold maize, needed for food, but no signs of a golden treasure. Discouraged, the conquistadores begged to return to New Spain (Mexico), although their fleet had sailed away, leaving them stranded in a foreign land.

Out of their stirrups, spurs, and crossbows, the Spaniards made axes, saws, and nails. The one carpenter in the group supervised the building of boats for their escape. Every third day, a horse was killed for food, and the skin on the legs was dried to make water bottles. In about three

weeks, five boats were completed. Their ropes and rigging were made from horses' tails and the sails were fashioned from the shirts of the men. This strange and rickety fleet, carrying the 242 survivors, sailed from Apalachee Bay late in September, 1528.

The frail vessels followed the coast line of the Gulf of Mexico westward, toward the mouth of the Rio Grande. They kept a safe distance from the shore until hunger and thirst drove the men into some inlet for fresh water and shellfish. Once, when suffering terribly from thirst, the men discovered a river of fresh water running through the salty sea. They dipped into the muddy current and drank their fill, not knowing this water came from the Mississippi River that drained the central part of a continent.

In a storm, the boat of Narvaez drifted away into the Gulf and was never seen again. The vessel commanded by Cabeza de Vaca was washed ashore with such violence that men lying unconscious on the bottom were jolted to their senses. Here, they were found by Indians who brought them fish, roots, and water. Other shipwrecked Spaniards were enslaved by Indians wherever they were found along the coast. A wealthy gentleman and his slave were both forced to dig for roots under water until the flesh was torn from their fingers. They had to carry loads of firewood until their bare shoulders were streaked with blood. Summer and winter, they went without clothing.

The captives managed to meet several times a year when the tribes gathered. Finally, after eight years of slavery, only a few of the forty captives were left when the tribes met to feast. The survivors were the son of a physician; the

rich Spaniard and his slave, a black Moor from Africa; and Cabeza de Vaca, the only living officer of the ill-fated expedition. While the Indians were busy feasting, dancing, and singing, the captives made their escape.

The fleeing men had the good fortune to come upon the Indians of the plains of Texas. These Indians were more friendly than those along the Gulf coast. These tribes wandered from place to place as they tracked the "hunchback cows." De Vaca was the first white man to write about the wild bison which roamed the plains of North America. The natives were kind to the strangers. They sent guides to lead them through a pass in the mountains near the present site of El Paso, where they crossed the Rio Grande. The four that were left of the four hundred conquistadores finally reached the town of Culiacan on the western coast of Mexico, to tell a story stranger than fiction. The three Spaniards were the first white men, and the Moor, the first black man, to cross the continent of North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions changed the maps of the day, which had pictured Mexico as an island with a waterway north of it. Now the world knew that Mexico was a peninsula attached to a large land mass on the north. Having lived with a number of the tribes, these men learned their languages and their ways. They returned with first-hand information of the natives and their customs, of trees and plants, of birds and beasts, of rivers and mountains, of deserts and forests, of climate and rainfall.

Although de Vaca's report to the King of Spain told of suffering hardships and not of finding gold, more adventurers came on

treasure-hunting expeditions. Among these were Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who started from opposite borders of the continent. De Soto landed in Florida and traveled north and west until he crossed the Mississippi River into Arkansas. At one time, unknowingly, the two expeditions were not far apart. After de Soto's march had begun, Coronado started from western Mexico and traveled north and east as far as the Arkansas River in Kansas. Not long after this near meeting, de Soto died from fever. He was buried at night in the Mississippi River near the present town of Natchez. His watery grave was intended to hide his body from the Indians, who believed he was an immortal god from the land of the rising sun.

Coronado's expedition was prompted by tales from the ex-captive, black Moor. At Culiacan, the Moor told the story of the golden cities of Cibola, where the people lived in three-and four-story houses whose doorways were studded with jewels. He related what Indians had told him of these cities to the north. Because the Moor could talk with the natives wherever he went, the viceroy of Mexico sent him with Friar Marcos and Indian guides to locate Cibola.

When nearing one of the Seven Cities, the Moor and some of his Indian guides raced ahead to be the first to arrive in the Zuni village. When he told the people that white men were coming from the east, they did not believe him because he was black. Offended by his arrogant manner, the Zunis killed the Moor. His frightened guides hurried back to tell the friar, warning him to go no farther. Marcos did go on to get a distant view of the village from a hilltop. He returned to report what he had seen and heard to Coronado, the

new governor of New Galicia, in the western part of Mexico. Together, they rode to the capital to tell the exciting news to the viceroy, Mendoza, who was Coronado's intimate friend. Then and there, plans were made to conquer the rich and powerful "Seven Cities of Cibola."

## GENTLEMEN ON HORSEBACK

THE SONS OF Spanish noblemen continued to pour into Mexico seeking adventure and gold. Since they usually carried letters of introduction from the King, the viceroy was obliged to entertain them with barbecue dinners at his ranches and with gay parties at his palace in Mexico City. The favorite sport of these noblemen was to ride about the city on sleek horses from the viceroy's farms. Since these "gentlemen on horseback" wanted adventure and not work, Mendoza turned a willing ear to Coronado's story of the riches of Cibola. A gold-hunting expedition might prove entertaining and attract a number of these "gentlemen."

The equipment for this expedition was costly and today would be calculated in hundreds of thousands of dollars. The captain-general was Coronado. The starting point was Compostela, an inland town near the western coast of the Mexican peninsula. Mendoza traveled on horseback from Mexico City to this distant village to review the troops for this expedition. A blast of trumpets and a roll of drums announced the parade in his honor. Coronado was dressed in gold-plated armor and a shining helmet, tipped with red and white plumes. His horse wore a long, fringed blanket which almost touched the ground. Next in line were his officers, riding prize mounts



from Mendoza's stock farms. Their armor glistened in the sunlight, their lances were held erect, and their swords dangled at their sides. Hundreds of Indians armed with bows and arrows walked in the great procession. It was Sunday, the twenty-second day of February in 1540.

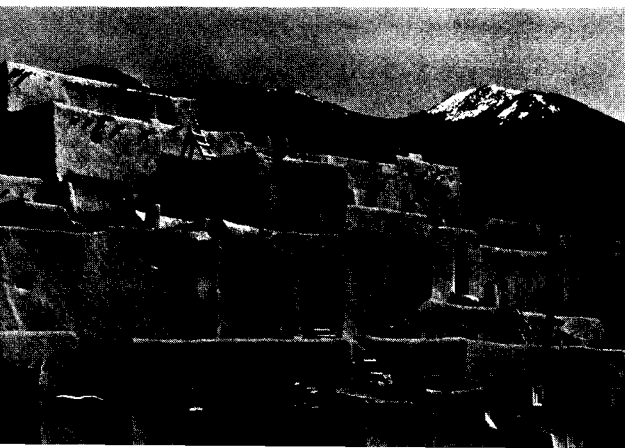
The next morning, about three hundred mounted men, holding silk banners to the breeze, started north from Compostela on the great adventure. It took nearly a thousand Indian and Negro servants to carry the baggage, to lead the pack horses, and to drive the herds of cattle and sheep that were provided to give the men fresh meat on the journey. The friars, except Marcos who remained as a guide, had left weeks before on foot, refusing to ride in luxury. With Indian interpreters, they aimed to make Christians of the inhabitants of the Seven Cities.

In the rough mountain country to the north, the expeditions made slow progress. Along the way, the "gentlemen" gave away their fine clothes to make room on the pack horses for food and water. Many a proud nobleman carried his own belongings

#### INDIAN VILLAGE OF TAOS, NEW MEXICO

**Coronado found Indians living in large apartment houses much like the homes of some Indians in New Mexico today. The old Indian village of Taos was a center of revolt against the Spaniards in the 16th century.**

*New Mexico Department of Development*



on his back. Grass was thin and scattered in the desert region. The plump saddle horses looked like bony nags after five long months of travel.

There was great rejoicing among the Spaniards when they sighted the first of the Seven Cities, a Zuni pueblo in the western part of the present state of New Mexico. The natives saw the strangers approaching. Coronado found the warriors drawn up in battle line to defend their homes. When the chief refused Coronado's terms for peace, the Spaniards attacked and captured the town. Great was their disappointment to find the palaces of their dreams to be mud-brick houses, two and three stories high. Colored rocks and turquoise stones, pressed into the bricks while wet, made the "jewelled doorways." However, they found corn, beans, fowl, and dried meat, which the hungry men needed more than gold and jewels.

In some villages, the frightened natives rushed out to bring gifts of buffalo hides, tanned deerskins, dried melons, wild turkeys, corn meal, turquoise stones, and everything they had with which to buy peace. In other towns, the warriors fought, killing and wounding the Spanish soldiers and stealing their horses. The Spaniards were forced to depend upon the natives for food and clothing. The tramp through cacti and sagebrush had torn their fine clothes into shreds and worn out their shoes. The natives were not prepared to feed and clothe this large, invading army. The demands of the Spaniards took the shirts off their backs and the corn from their bins. In some villages, the natives fled at night into the hills. From their hiding places, the Indians raided the Spanish camps and captured the horses and mules, which they prized. In this way, the Indians



acquired a herd of these fleet-footed animals, unknown to them until the white men came.

The hard-pressed tribes schemed to get rid of their unwelcome guests. Among these tribes was a man from the plains whom they had captured in war and made a slave. A chief promised to free him if he would lead the palefaced strangers into his own country. Here they would die on the prairie without food and water. The slave made up a fairy tale about a wonderland, Quivira, where little gold bells, tied to branches of the trees, tinkled in the breeze to lull the chief to sleep on summer afternoons.

Coronado left the sick and weak men in his base camp near the site of Albuquerque while he took his best soldiers on the journey to Quivira. The slave led them into Kansas, probably as far as the Arkansas River where, he had told them, the fish were as big as horses. On the prairie the Spaniards found wandering tribes of Indians who lived in tents made of buffalo skins and hunted wild cattle for food. The palefaced men did not perish on the plains. They saved themselves by living as the Indians lived. They hunted buffalo and dried the meat in the sun. With wild cherries, grapes, and herbs, they made stews of the dried meat in native fashion. Finally, when the slave, whom they called the "Turk," confessed that he had led the Spaniards out to the plains to die, they killed him. Coronado and his men returned from the "wild-goose chase" hale and hearty.

After searching two years for gold and finding none, Coronado was convinced that the metal did not exist in that country. He was homesick and wanted to return to his wife and children. Rather than endure the



*Kansas State Historical Society*

### CORONADO HEIGHTS

According to legend, Coronado and some of his men stood on this knoll and gazed across the level plain. They were seeking a mythical land of gold, Quivira. If they could return to the same spot today, they would see golden grain in a patchwork design laid down on the prairie. The place would be Kansas, the wheat-growing state.

walk home through desert land, some of his soldiers remained with the Indians. The friars stayed to preach Christianity and established the first missions in this country.

Shamefaced and weary, Coronado entered Mexico City with a small band of soldiers, the remnant of his army. He reported his journey to his best friend, Mendoza, who received him coldly. For weeks afterwards, the "gentlemen on horseback" straggled into the capital on foot. Dirty, unshaven, thin and worn, the survivors were a sorry sight. They went away in silk and velvet and came back in skins and rags. Coronado returned to his rancho, grateful to join the list of forgotten men and live out his days in the peace and quiet of the countryside.

History rates him a great explorer who contributed to the world's knowledge of geography in his day. Coronado had sent

## THE CONQUEST OF PERU

IN 1510, as a stowaway in a barrel, Balboa sneaked aboard a vessel leaving a port in the West Indies for the unexplored mainland. The mainland turned out to be the Isthmus of Panama. There, a story told by the young son of an Indian chief started Balboa on an expedition which wrote his name on the pages of history. The story was of a rich country where the people drank from goblets of shining gold.

With a few Spaniards and native allies, Balboa started on his search, cutting his way through a tropical jungle. On a Sunday morning in late September in the year 1513, Balboa climbed alone to the top of a high hill, eager to claim the honor of being the first white man to look upon the Pacific Ocean. When he gave his soldiers permission to follow him, they scaled the peak, shouting, "The sea! The sea!" Balboa named the large body of water, the South Sea, because it lay directly south of the spot where he stood.

One of the sixty-seven men with Balboa on this eventful day was Francisco Pizarro, who could neither read nor write, but who became the conqueror of Peru.

In this conquest, Pizarro followed the pattern set by Cortes in Mexico, although his methods were more cruel than those of Cortes. The conquest of Peru was a bloody, violent affair for both the natives and the Spaniards, who quarreled among themselves. After Pizarro had arrived in Peru, he invited the Inca Emperor, Atahualpa, to a banquet where he was seized and held for ransom.

The Inca ruler, like Montezuma, tried to bribe his captors, trading gold and jewels for life and freedom. The ransom, amounting to millions of dollars, was a room full



*New Mexico State Tourist Bureau*

### FRIJoles CANYON — NEW MEXICO

Natives were living in this canyon when Coronado came in 1540. Cliff dwellers had chiseled caves in the rocky walls with tools made of stone and bone. Surprised to find beans growing along the banks of a little stream flowing through the gorge, the Spaniards named the place Frijoles Canyon, and the creek, "El Rito de los Frijoles" — the Little River of the Beans.

small groups of his men in all directions to explore the country. A band of soldiers under Cardenas were the first white men to view that great wonder of the world, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River.

Coronado's thorough job of exploration, following the journeys of de Vaca and de Soto, convinced the Spaniards that the country north of the Rio Grande was not a land of gold. They turned their attention to colonizing South America, where riches were flowing from the fabulous mines of Peru. They built a Spanish empire on the southern continent.

of gold and silver plates torn from temples and a bench of gold on which they said the sun was wont to sit down. The ransom was given to the Spaniards but it did not save Atahualpa, who was killed because the Spaniards were afraid to let him go. Almagro, the partner of Pizarro, was not pleased with his share of lands, slaves, and loot. In the civil war that followed, both men were murdered. They died as violently as they had lived.

Spanish goldseekers continued to pour into the new countries. New Spain was colonized. Under the *encomienda* system which the Spaniards established, the natives became the slaves of their Spanish masters. The society developed by the *conquistadores* still affects the pattern of living in Latin American countries. How did it grow?

## ENCOMIENDA

SOLDIERS WHO CONQUERED new territory for the King of Spain, as well as favorites at his Court, received land grants in the New World. Since the soil was worthless without servants to till it, these grants included the people living on the land. Thus the natives became the serfs of the new landlords, whose titles to the property were recorded in Madrid. There was much rivalry among aristocrats near the King over who would get land with the most servants to dig the gold and plow the fields.

The men who had borne the hardship of conquering and subjugating the country, the *conquistadores*, felt they had prior right to these awards of lands and serfs, called "*encomiendas*." Today, thousands of acres of land in Latin America still belong

to the descendants of these first colonists, by right of original titles from the Court of the Indies in the sixteenth century. Some of the natives were already serfs, having been conquered by the warlike Incas before the white men came. Although the Indians no longer owned the land, they still lived on it. Under the *encomienda* system, they were not driven from their homelands.

Since there was not enough land to go around, an *encomienda* also came to mean smaller favors, such as the right to demand the labor of a certain number of Indians for any kind of servile work. In a short time,

### ATAHUALPA, LAST INCA EMPEROR

The warlike Incas conquered their neighboring tribes in all directions. Atahualpa inherited an empire as large as the United States east of the Mississippi River, extending in places from the forests of the Amazon River on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west.

*Pan American Union*



some regions were almost depopulated. Greedy masters had worked the natives to death, and it was necessary to import Negro slaves from Africa. The abuses of the encomienda system were loudly protested by both government and church officials. They pleaded that the King should protect the natives from cruel landlords. The report of Gonzalo Gomez de Cervantes, a governor in Mexico in 1598, deals largely with the abuses of the encomienda system. His description of conditions in the mines explains why so many natives perished in the frantic search for gold. Indians were hunted and captured for forced labor in the mines. Governor Cervantes wrote:

After eight days laborer gets four reales (coins), leaving his clothes torn in a manner to be of no service to him. Besides, when he draws out metal

from the mines, he is covered with mud. When the miserable Indian goes to sleep, he has only these torn clothes to cover him, wet, and full of clay.

By 1598 laws had been passed that limited the laborer's time underground to eight days. Before these laws were made, the laborer often remained in the depths of the mines until he died. The new laws required the mine owners to pay wages to the laborers, although the wages were too small to provide even a bare existence. The abuses continued. Natives would be apportioned for gardening, cleaning, and housework by the judge, and then, be driven to break stones for granaries erected "by the sweat and labor of the miserable Indians." It was mining, however, that caused the most deaths. Cervantes said:

#### **MACHU PICCHU – INCA RUINS – CUZCO, PERU**

**Inca architects used heavy stones of irregular size, cut and fitted so closely together that a thin knife blade could not be wedged between them. Without cement, walls are still standing where the stones have not been removed for later building.**

*Pan American Union*



All this can be remedied by letting each owner of each mine have only a certain number apportioned to him. And, when their work is done, send them to the judge to be paid and given liberty. Anything that can be carried by pack mules, it is right that it should not be done by the poor Indians. Even if it is more work for the judge who apportions, it is better to preserve the Indian than to have the abuse.

All governors, however, were not as considerate of the natives as was de Cervantes. A chart written in a book published about 1575 lists the number of Spaniards and slaves then working in some mining sections of Mexico.

Place	Spaniards	Negroes	Indians
Zultepec	200	500	200
Temascaltepec	60	150	300 (paying tribute)
Taxco	100	700	900
Pachuca	90		2700 (paying tribute)
Zacatecas	300	500	

Some idea of the amount of gold shipped to Spain from the colonies in America can be gained from a fraction of the report submitted by de Cervantes, who carefully recorded the amounts for each viceroy of Mexico from 1522 to 1594.

Viceroy	Date	Pesos
Don Antonio de Mendoza	1535 - 1548	1,794,224
Don Luis de Velasco	1549 - 1564	4,295,073
Don Martin Enriquez	1570 - 1580	8,769,093
Marques de Villa Manrique	1586 - 1589	3,850,463
Don Luis de Velasco, II	1590 - 1594	4,966,166

Since all Indians paid tribute, a law was passed demanding that each Indian bring in a hen as part of this tribute to get chicken raising started in the colonies. In his report de Cervantes complains that mulattoes who were free went into the country and bought chickens from the natives, carried them to the towns, and sold them at too big a profit. He declared that it is only right that all business be carried on by the descendants of the conquistadores, and asked the King to pass laws to that effect. To this day, in much of Latin America, business and governments are carried on by the descendants of the first families who settled in the Spanish colonies. However, as time goes on, more and more citizens in these countries are sharing in the responsibility of government. More and more of the big land grants given to the early settlers are being divided among the descendants of the native peoples who were living on this land when the Spaniards came.

Thus did a Spanish civilization invade the Americas. It was a duty of conquistadores to spread Christianity. Church towers marked the centers of villages where natives gathered to pray, to play, and to sell their wares. In time, Spain lost her empire in the Western Hemisphere, but her culture remains and flourishes in the republics of Latin America from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan.

#### MAPS:

W46r  
*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

WA7r  
*Our United States* by Edgar B. Wesley

## Chapter 2

# Portuguese Navigators Explore the Seas

### VASCO DA GAMA

IT WAS THE HOPE of reaching Asia that had brought Columbus across the Atlantic. He was seeking the gold and spices that Europe wanted from the Orient. Other explorers also were lured across uncharted seas in search of a water route to the Far East. If the precious oriental cargo could be loaded on ships rather than land caravans, Europeans would get more goods at less cost. The land route over deserts and mountains brought a mere trickle of trade to Mediterranean ports.

Portugal was an established rival of Spain in this race for trade. Bordering the Atlantic Ocean, Portugal had early turned to the sea for a livelihood. A school for navigators was founded by Prince Henry, a member of the royal family. The sailors from Prince Henry's school gained the reputation of being the most daring navigators in Europe. Before Columbus had sailed for Spain, these Portuguese mariners had been venturing out into the Atlantic Ocean to the Azores and beyond. They had been sailing down the western shore of Africa and trading trinkets for gold on the Guinea Coast. In May of 1493, less than a year after the first voyage of Columbus,

action was taken to remove a possible cause of war between these two rivals. Pope Alexander VI issued his famous decree that separated the hunting grounds of Spain and Portugal. These two countries sealed the papal edict with the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. They agreed to a line of demarcation:

From the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, which is from North to South, which mark or line — must be drawn straight, as is said, at 370 leagues from the islands of Cape Verde to the West, — . And all that which up to the present shall be found and discovered by the said King of Portugal, or by his vessels, — going by the Eastern side within the said line to the East, — may belong to the said Lord, the King of Portugal and to his successors for ever after.

— From this day, henceforward, the King and Queen of Castile and of Leon, etc. (Spain) will not send any ships, by this part of the line on the Eastern side which belongs to the said Lord the King of Portugal. In like manner the representatives of the King of Portugal agreed not to send ships for trade and territory west of this line, which belongs to the said Lords, the King and Queen of (Spain) to discover and search for any lands or islands, or make treaties, or barter, or conquer in any manner.

In the first part of July, 1497, Vasco da Gama's little fleet of three vessels sailed from Lisbon, Portugal, to gain for that city



**The harbor of Lisbon, Portugal as it looked when Diaz, da Gama, and Cabral were making their famous voyages that brought land, trade, and wealth to that country.**

the envied title, center of the spice trade. Vasco da Gama did not creep cautiously down the coast of Africa as former explorers had done. Instead, he steered southwest, in a huge curve, to take advantage of the trade winds and to escape the dreaded region of equatorial calms. He was the first mariner to explore the South Atlantic Ocean. Not until the fourth of November did he sight the African mainland. On this day the unidentified keeper of the journal on this voyage wrote the following entry, which reported the joy of the crews:

At nine o'clock, we sighted land. We then drew near to each other, and having put on our gala clothes, we saluted the captain-major (da Gama) by firing our bombards, and dressed the ships with flags and standards.

Four days later the fleet anchored in a bay that:

extended east and west, and we named it Santa Helena. We remained there eight days, cleaning the ships, mending the sails, and taking in wood.

Then da Gama headed for the Cape of Good Hope, discovered ten years before by Bartholomew Diaz, another Portuguese navigator. The wind blew so hard at the Cape that it took four days to round the stormy point.

On the way up the eastern coast of Africa, Vasco da Gama stopped at ports where Arab traders eyed the Europeans with unfriendly suspicion. Why had they come? Did they have goods to sell? Would they be competitors in the future? The



keeper of the journal described the people seen at Mozambique:

They are Mohammedans, and their language is the same as that of the Moors (Arabs). Their dresses are of fine linen or cotton stuffs, with variously colored stripes, and of rich and elaborate workmanship. They are merchants and have transactions with white Moors, four of whose vessels were at the time in port, laden with gold, silver, cloves, pepper, ginger, and silver rings, as also with quantities of pearls, jewels, and rubies, all of which articles are used by the people of this country.

Continuing the voyage the three vessels arrived at Calicut, a town on the southwestern coast of India. The name Calicut means cock's crow. The town was called Calicut because the territory of the first king there extended only as far as the crow of a rooster could be heard. Taking thirteen men with him, Vasco da Gama called upon the King, whom he found reclining on a couch covered with green velvet. His Majesty was chewing a betel nut and spitting out the husks into a large golden cup held in his left hand. The two men talked about merchandise and the articles each country had to offer. The King of Calicut then wrote a letter with an iron pen on a palm leaf. Vasco da Gama was to take the letter to the King of Portugal. It read:

Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of your household, came to my country, whereat I was pleased. My country is rich in cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. That which I ask of you in exchange is gold, silver, corals, and scarlet cloth.

Although the King was friendly, the Arab merchants who controlled the trade, resented the coming of any rivals. They made trouble for the Portuguese when the latter tried to display their merchandise. When agents of the King came to inspect

the display, they did not buy because the Arab merchants made fun of the Portuguese goods. Since the Portuguese could not speak the native languages, and the Arabs could, the Europeans were at a disadvantage. The journal entry for Wednesday, August 29, 1498 reads:

The captain-major and the other captains agreed that, inasmuch that we had discovered the country we had come in search of, as also spices and precious stones, and it appeared impossible to establish cordial relations with the people, it would be as well to take our departure. — We therefore set sail and left for Portugal.

Sometime about the middle of September in 1499, after an absence of over two years, Vasco da Gama reached Lisbon. He was honored with a title, Count of Vidigueira, in recognition of his feat in discovering a water route to India. Less than half of his men survived this epoch-making voyage that put the little kingdom of Portugal in the front rank of commercial nations for years to come.

## CABRAL SEEKS TRADE IN THE NEW WORLD

WHEN VASCO DA GAMA told about the riches he had found in the East, the King of Portugal wanted him to return there with shiploads of merchandise to trade for spices, herbs, and jewels. Da Gama was tired and suggested that his friend Cabral go in his place. Cabral could take along some members of da Gama's crew to act as guides and captains.

It was a gala day when fourteen ships assembled in the Tagus River a few miles below Lisbon. This was the first com-



mercial fleet sailing from Portugal with goods to trade for spices in the fabulous East. The cargo consisted of copper, vermilion, mercury, amber, coral, and rolls of woolen, velvet, and satin cloth. Dom Manuel, the King, was there to bid Cabral farewell and present him with a banner carrying the royal arms. The music of fifes, drums, horns, and bagpipes mingled with the cheers of the crowds that lined the riverbanks. It was the ninth of March, 1500 and a great day for Portugal, for whom Cabral was to win both trade and empire.

To avoid the calms off the Gulf of Guinea, Cabral followed the mid-Atlantic route of da Gama. The trade winds and ocean currents, however, carried the vessels far off the course. After almost two months in the South Atlantic, the Portuguese set foot on the mainland of South America at a spot which they named Porto Seguro. Cabral named the newly found land, "land of the true cross." He took possession of it for the King of Portugal. Since Porto Seguro is east of the line of demarcation, Cabral's landing gave Portugal a claim to the country. The territory was soon renamed Brazil, because a valuable dyewood by that name became the leading product exported to Europe.

The unknown keeper of the journal wrote:

During these days which we stayed there, the captain determined to inform our Most Serene King of the finding of this land, and to leave in it two men, exiles condemned to death, who were in the same armada for this purpose. (It was the custom to offer condemned prisoners freedom if they agreed to take the chance of living among natives in new lands to learn the languages.) And the said captain promptly dispatched a small supply ship which they had with them. This small ship carried the letters to the King. In these were contained what we had seen and discovered. After the said

small ship was dispatched, the captain went on shore and ordered a very large cross to be made of wood, and he ordered it to be set up on the shore, and also, as has been said, left two convicts in the said place. They began to weep and the men of the land comforted them and showed that they pitied them. The following day, which was the second day of May of the said year (1500), the armada made sail on its way to go round the Cape of Good Hope.

Approaching the windy region of the Cape, the fleet ran into a storm that wrecked four vessels and all on board were lost. The captain of one of these ill-fated vessels was Bartholomew Diaz, who perished off the "Cape of Storms" which he himself had discovered. The surviving ships rounded the Cape without further damage and continued the voyage to Calicut, India.

Arabs controlled the spice trade. They resented the efforts of the Portuguese to take some of this business from them. In riots started by Arab merchants, Cabral lost fifty men who were killed or captured. He left Calicut to seek cargo in other ports. However, he did not find cloves, the most profitable spice. The Moors had purchased the entire supply on the market.

On the long return voyage around Africa the expedition took a short rest in a harbor near Cape Verde. During this stop-over three vessels under the leadership of Amerigo Vespucci dropped anchor in the same harbor. The King of Portugal had sent Vespucci, an Italian, to explore the new land that Cabral had described in the letters from Brazil. Amerigo Vespucci later wrote such interesting letters about his travels in the New World that he became better known than the men who had discovered the countries he later visited. In 1507 Martin Waldseemuller wrote a geography in

which he suggested that the newly-discovered lands to the west be called "America" after Amerigo Vespucci. At first the title was applied only to the southern continent, and later, to North America.

In July, 1501 seven ships of Cabral's fleet returned to Lisbon. Two of the ships were empty. Five held a cargo of spices, drugs, and jewels. The cargo was enough to pay, in part, for the seven vessels that did not come back. The loss of life cast a pall of gloom over the little kingdom. This voyage, however, netted Portugal both commerce and an empire. The opening of a sea lane to the Orient brought about a decline of the power of Venice, Florence, and other commercial cities of the Mediterranean that had prospered on the overland spice trade by the old caravan routes.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese did not realize the value of Cabral's detour to land in the New World. Little did they dream that the time would come when a Portuguese monarch would flee from a conqueror and set up a throne for the royal family in far away Brazil. Portugal's ambition was to win the spice trade of the East, which seemed more important than empire in those days.

## **MAGELLAN STARTS AROUND THE WORLD**

ONE OF THE GREATEST Portuguese explorers was Magellan, leader of the expedition that was the first to sail around the world. However, this accomplishment brought glory and land to Spain, rather than Portugal. Spain financed this voyage.

In August of 1519, the year that Cortes began the conquest of Mexico, Magellan

sailed from Seville. The fleet of five vessels gathered supplies as they went down the Guadalquivir River to the Atlantic Ocean. There were men from many lands on this expedition. Magellan, the captain-general, was Portuguese. With him went between 235 and 268 men; the exact number is not known. They were Spaniards, Portuguese, Sicilians, Genoese and other Italians, Germans, French, Dutch, English, Malays, Moors, Negroes, and natives of the Madeira, Azores, and Canary Islands. The pilots were Portuguese, and the chief gunners were German, French, and English. On board the vessels were sailors, common seamen, carpenters, calkers, coopers, stewards, interpreters, notaries, accountants, barbers, shepherds, blacksmiths, servants, and cabin boys. In addition there were the officers and five priests, one for each ship. There were other men, "extras," going along for adventure. They took the part of soldiers, defending the crews if the expedition was attacked by enemies. Among these "soldiers of fortune" was a well-to-do Venetian named Pigafetta, who kept the journal of the voyage.

By the time Magellan entered the service of the King of Spain, it was known that two continents connected by a narrow isthmus blocked the western water route to India. Spanish explorers had searched in vain to find a strait across this narrow strip of land linking the Atlantic Ocean and the "South Sea," discovered by Balboa. Magellan determined to find this waterway in another direction. Touching the eastern shore of South America near Bahia (old name for Salvador) he turned south, following the coast line and exploring inlets like All Saints Bay and the Rio de la Plata in search of the mythical strait.

At Port St. Julian mutiny broke out

when the crews learned the captain-general intended to spend the winter of 1520 in this cold and barren region. All had been put on rations to save food. The men declared Magellan “was taking them all to destruction.” When requested to turn back, Magellan replied that he would either die or accomplish what he had promised. He said that he had to sail until he found the end of the land or some strait which must surely exist. He scolded the men for complaining “since the bay had an abundance of fish, good water, many game birds, and quantities of wood, and that bread and wine would not fail them if they would abide by the rule regarding rations.” To quell the mutiny, however, some of the leaders were executed by Magellan.

The fleet remained at Port St. Julian from the last day of March to the twenty-fourth of August. These are winter months south of the equator. On the twenty-first of October Magellan discovered by chance the strait that bears his name. Although this body of water is approximately 300 miles long, Magellan traveled over 400 miles while investigating arms of the strait to find one with an outlet. Some men scaled the snow-covered mountains flanking the waterway to find the way out. It was the twenty-eighth of November before Magellan emerged from the puzzling network of gulfs and bays that link the two oceans. He had only three ships. The *Santiago* was wrecked before entering the strait, and Gomez, pilot of the *San Antonio*, had slipped away with his vessel while under orders to explore an inlet of the waterway. Gomez skirted the coast of both continents in the Western Hemisphere looking for a passage through either one of them. Failing in the attempt he turned home and arrived safely.

For three months and twenty days Magellan sailed the vast Pacific Ocean. When food ran low, the crews ate wormy biscuits, ox hides taken from the main yard, and sawdust. Many died of scurvy. The survivors were overjoyed when they at last came upon some islands. Magellan named these islands “Ladrones” (robbers) because natives swarmed over the ships and stole everything they could, even rowboats. Not far away, however, on another island the Europeans found friendly natives with whom they traded red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, and ivory for fish, figs, bananas, rice, and coconuts.

Magellan discovered the Philippine Islands. This rich archipelago was held by Spain until 1898 – over 375 years. The territory, however, cost Magellan his life. He and sixty of his men joined forces with an island prince who had become a Christian, to force another chief at Matan to accept the Christian ruler, to obey the King of Spain, and to pay tribute. In the battle that followed, a warrior hurled a poisoned bamboo lance into Magellan’s face after he had been wounded in the leg with an arrow. Magellan died on the battlefield. The day was April 27, 1521. A week later two new captains who had been elected to replace Magellan were dead. They were among those killed at a banquet given by the Christian king whom they had defended. Choosing new captains again, the survivors continued the voyage in two vessels. They had burned the third ship before they left the Philippines because there were not enough men left to sail it.

The crews fired guns for joy when they arrived in the Moluccas, the Spice Islands. On these islands were a few Portuguese traders who had arrived after the voyages of da Gama and Cabral. Here, the men in

Magellan's ships traded cloth, hatchets, linen, quicksilver, knives, scissors, and broken mirrors for cloves, a spice that sold at a high price in Portugal. At other islands they gathered nutmeg, mace, and cinnamon.

The little ship *Victoria* was the only ship in the expedition that finally returned to Spain. The other ship, the *Trinidad*, was captured by the Portuguese, who claimed the exclusive right to trade in the East Indies. When the *Victoria* reached Spain, Pigafetta wrote in his journal:

On Saturday, September six, 1522, we entered the Bay of San Lucar with only eighteen men and the majority of them sick, all that were left of the sixty men who left Malucho (the Molucca Islands). Some died of hunger; some deserted at the island of Timor; and some were put to death for crimes. From the time we left that bay (San Lucar) until the present day of our return, we had sailed fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty leagues, and furthermore had completed the circumnavigation of the world from east to west.

Magellan, a Portuguese navigator in the service of a Spanish King, was the first European to sail across the Pacific Ocean. He discovered another water route to India, proved beyond any doubt that the earth was round and that the lands Columbus discovered were not Asia. The voyage was a success commercially. The cargo on the *Victoria* consisting of cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, and sandalwood, was sold for a sum profitably exceeding the original cost of the four lost vessels and equipment.

The visit of Magellan's men to the Moluccas gave Spain a claim to these rich spice islands, where mountains were covered with clove trees. Therefore Portugal and Spain again reached a trade agreement by extending the line of demarcation to the Eastern Hemisphere. Portugal took

the Moluccas, but paid an indemnity to Spain. For nearly a century after Vasco da Gama's first voyage on the Indian Ocean, that body of water was practically a Portuguese sea. Portugal prospered on spices until Dutch traders swooped down upon the rich East Indies and gradually took that business to the Netherlands.

## THE PORTUGUESE SETTLE IN AMERICA

PORTUGAL PLANTED COLONIES in Brazil to hold the country against invaders, especially the French, who threatened to settle there. The colonial plan resembled the encomienda system established by Spaniards in the Americas. The King of Portugal gave huge land grants to nobles of his realm. In turn these nobles accepted the responsibility of conquering and pacifying territory allotted them, of inducing settlers to go there, and of governing the territory as vassals of the King. These original land grants were called captaincies, and their owners, captains. Brazil began with eight captaincies, south of the equator, from which developed the coastal provinces of present-day Brazil. These grants extended along the Atlantic Ocean and inland as far as the line of demarcation separating Spanish and Portuguese territory in South America.

About seventy years after Cabral touched the coast of Brazil, a Portuguese named Pero de Magalhaes wrote the first history of that country. His aim was to encourage poor people in Portugal to migrate to the nation's colony in America. The title of his book was *History of the Province of Santa Cruz* because the name

had not been officially changed to Brazil.

Magalhaes tells of life on the estates:

The first thing which the inhabitants seek to obtain is slaves to work the land and to till their plantations and ranches, because without them, they cannot maintain themselves in the country. One of the reasons why Brazil does not flourish much more is that the slaves revolt and flee to their own land and run away every day. The crops from which they obtain the greatest profit are sugar, cotton, and brazil wood, and, because there is little money in the country, they pay with these the merchants who bring them goods from the Kingdom. All the inhabitants of the country have plantations of food stuffs. There are also many Guinea slaves (Negroes). These are more certain than the Indians of the country, because they never flee as they have nowhere to go.

Since Brazil was an agricultural country, landowners imported Negro slaves from Africa to work on their ranches and plantations. The landowners also held the

natives in bondage. In order to develop the resources of the country, the Portuguese established a social order based upon master and slave from which evolved a society much like that in Spanish colonies. Although the aristocratic landowners became the ruling group in rural sections, towns in Brazil had a form of self-government similar to the plan commonly used in New England towns during colonial times. The Portuguese captains defended their provinces against invaders, mainly French and Dutch, and held the country. Today, the land of Brazil is Portuguese America, where the people celebrate Cabral's Day with national rejoicing on the third day of May each year.

#### MAP:

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*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

## Chapter 3

# New Netherland and New Sweden Are Started

### THE DUTCH SEEK TRADE IN THE EAST AND THE WEST

THE NETHERLANDS (HOLLAND), ruled by Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century, was a little nation hemmed in by neighboring countries. Like Portugal, with an open door to world waterways, she also turned to the sea for a livelihood. Dutch traders challenged the trade of Portugal in the Indian Ocean by organizing the Dutch East India Company in 1602. For almost a century before the formation of this company, bold Dutch sailors had been attacking and robbing Portuguese vessels laden with spices. These pirates, known as "beggars of the sea," broke the power of Portugal in the Far East. They opened the ports of the East Indies to Dutch traders who followed them. During the time Spain ruled Portugal (1581-1640), these daring marauders of the sea lanes had a patriotic excuse for their piracy, since the people of the Netherlands were trying to break away from Spain.

Merchants of the Dutch East India Company were anxious to find a shorter route to the East Indies than the long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. They hired the English navigator, Henry

Hudson, to explore the Arctic in search of a northeast passage to the Orient. Early in April, 1609, Henry Hudson sailed from Amsterdam on the *Half Moon* with "a crew of eighteen or twenty men, partly English, and partly Dutch." A month later, he rounded the North Cape and headed for Novaya Zemlya, an island in the Arctic Ocean north of Russia. Some of his men who had been sailors in the East Indies grumbled about the bitter cold. Finding the sea blocked with ice, Hudson held a conference with his crew. He proposed that they abandon the search for a northeast passage and seek one in the northwest. Maps which a certain Captain John Smith had sent him from Virginia indicated that a strait might pass through the continent of North America.

Early in September of 1609, the *Half Moon* anchored in New York Harbor. Exploring the region, Hudson soon discovered a wide river (later named for him), which he hoped was the Northwest Passage to Cathay. He sailed up the stream as far as the present site of Albany and sent scouts to test the depth of the river beyond. On the twenty-second of September, Robert Juet recorded in the ship's journal:

In the morning our Masters Mate and foure more of the companie went up with our Boat to sound the River higher up. At three of the clocke in the afternoone they (Indians) came aboard, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gave them to our Master (Hudson), and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about. They sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Venison, dressed by themselves. This night at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the River; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in.

The stream did not lead into the fabled Northwest Passage. Early in November of 1609, the *Half Moon* reached England where Hudson and the Englishmen in the crew were held. It was months before the East India Company in Amsterdam received the written report of the voyage, a total loss as far as that trading company was concerned. Hudson had returned with furs from North America instead of cloves from the Spice Islands.

In the following year Hudson made another voyage, this time in the *Discoverer*, in search of the Northwest Passage. The venture was financed largely by three English merchants, one of whom was Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of The London Company that founded Jamestown in Virginia. During the winter months the *Discoverer* was ice-bound in a polar bay. The men were placed on rations of meal and biscuits, although fowl was plentiful. Mutiny began to brew on board. When the ice broke up in the late spring, the crew were afraid that Hudson would continue the search for the waterway. Under the leadership of Juet, keeper of the journal on the voyage up the Hudson River, the men rebelled. The master of the *Discoverer*, John Hudson, who probably was Henry's son, and the sick and lame were bound,

lowered into a boat, and abandoned. The ship's carpenter, refusing to join the mutineers, asked to share Hudson's fate. He begged permission to take along his kit of tools. The nine doomed men had a gun, powder and shot, an iron pot, some meal, and the carpenter's chest in the boat when cast adrift upon the icy waters of the Hudson Bay. No trace of the party was ever found. Juet did not get home. When the *Discoverer* was almost in sight of the Irish coast, Juet died of starvation and was buried at sea. The remnant of the crew that survived were thrown in prison when they finally reached England.

## THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY HELPS SETTLE THE NEW WORLD

THE FURS BROUGHT BACK by Hudson in 1609 created a stir among Dutch traders. They were excited, also, by the report describing lands "as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as ever they had seene," and fish caught in the harbor, "ten great Mulletts of a foot and halfe long a peece." The little country of the Netherlands, proud of independence finally won from Spain, looked forward to trading with the world.

The year after Hudson's voyage, a group of Amsterdam merchants outfitted a ship and loaded a cargo of trinkets and baubles to be traded for valuable furs in the country Hudson had explored. This first venture was so successful that two vessels, the *Little Fox* and the *Little Crane*, were officially licensed the next year to look again for a northerly passage to the Orient. Their real mission was to trade with the Indians. Soon, the New Netherland Company was formed and trading posts



### FORT AMSTERDAM ON MANHATTAN ISLAND

In the "New World" published by Johan De Laet in 1625, this fort and the surroundings are described as follows:

The fort was built here in the year 1614, upon an island on the west side of the river, where a nation of savages dwell called the Mohawks, the enemies of the Mohicans. On this river there is a great traffic in the skins of beavers, otters, foxes, bears, minks, wild cats and the like. The land is excellent and agreeable, full of noble forest trees and grape vines, and nothing is wanting but the labor and industry of man to render it one of the finest and most fruitful lands in that part of the world.

were erected on the island of Manhattan, claimed by the right of discovery.

After the New Netherland's charter expired, plans were made for another trading company, the Dutch West India Company. The organization of the Dutch West India Company followed the pattern used by most of the trading companies of those days. The first step was the meeting of a group of merchants who agreed to form a company, invest their own money, and sell stock to other "adventurers." Any adventurer who bought stock in the company would be entitled to a share in the profits. The money he paid for his stock would be used by the company to run its ships and carry on trade.

The next step, usually assured in

advance, was to get permission to form the company from the king or government in power. When the patent, or charter, was granted, the company had the legal right to sell stock and to seek colonists. The members of the company could make all the rules for operating the company itself and for the conduct of the colonists.

Since the charters made these trading companies into sub-nations, enjoying special privileges, each company set up its own form of government. Usually, the government was modeled upon that of the mother country. The highest governing board was composed of leading stockholders. This board was commonly called the council. The council managed the company's affairs in much the same way



that the directors of modern corporations conduct a business. This council, the home council, carried on its work from the mother country, and it appointed a governor to work in the colony. The governor ruled the colonists with the help of another council, or governing body, that operated in the trading settlement. Sometimes the governor chose the members of this advisory group from the colonists themselves. Sometimes the home council selected these men. The governor and his advisory body represented the home council in the colony. These representatives were charged with the responsibility of operating the colony for the benefit of the company.

The regulations of the French and English trading companies were much like those of the Dutch West India Company in that the company held a monopoly on trade for profit. Naturally, the settlers wanted to trade on their own account and keep the profits for themselves. The governors had difficulties enforcing the rules of their companies. In the friction that developed, the trading companies eventually lost their control of trade to the colonists.

## **THE PATROON SYSTEM DEVELOPS**

TO GET SETTLERS, the Dutch West India Company used the land-grant plan of Spain and Portugal, but adapted it to the needs of trade. Free land was the lure held out to emigrants from crowded European countries. Any man in whom the company had confidence could become a patroon by agreeing to plant a colony of fifty persons over fifteen years of age within four years in New Netherland. Each patroon was

entitled to a grant of land extending for sixteen miles along the bank of any navigable river, or for eight miles on each side of the stream, and as far inland as he could go successfully. He also received the plants, minerals, rivers, springs, and rights to fishing, hunting and grinding on this property. The patroon system of the Dutch differed from the Spanish *encomienda* and the Portuguese captaincy in that the land grant did not include the natives living on it. The Dutch did not enslave the Indians. Since the West India Company had trading rights in Africa, Negro slaves were shipped from that continent and sold throughout the Americas. Patroons were promised that "the company will endeavor to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they possibly can." However, white laborers were preferred by the patroons. These landowners paid for the passage of white laborers across the ocean and maintained them while they worked out this expense in terms of servitude. When their contracts expired, the servants were free.

The lordly patroons had the privilege of trading in fish, slaves, and merchandise, except furs, provided they returned to Manhattan with their cargoes and paid duty of five percent to the West India Company. The company also claimed one third of the booty taken from ships at sea by vessels belonging to patroons. Dutch privateers continued to capture the Spanish treasure ships and the slavers bringing Negroes from Africa to the Spanish colonies.

Realizing that some persons might want to settle in New Netherland without the rank of patroon, the Company welcomed colonists who brought over fewer than fifty settlers. These people were allowed to hold as much land as they could cultivate properly. In an effort to create a perfect

state, the Dutch West India Company purchased land from the Indians; granted it to patroons in exchange for a share of their profits; and provided for the support of the Dutch Reformed Church, along with aid for individual colonists.

The most famous purchase was the site of present downtown New York. In the spring of 1626 Peter Minuit, first governor of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, opened negotiations with Indian chiefs to buy Manhattan Island. The Dutch intended to build their capital on this island. Minuit made a treaty with the natives to transfer ownership of the island to the West India Company for goods that would be worth about twenty-four dollars three centuries later.

The early settlers had no idea of the future value of land on Manhattan Island. In 1682 a lot in the old sheep-walk was recorded as follows:

Lot on Wall Street, south side, 23 feet front, 60 feet deep, sold by Mrs. Drissius to John Pound, a laborer, for about \$30.

The patroon system crumbled within and without. In an open country, rich in natural resources, both patroons and colonists wanted freedom to make the most of their opportunities. The patroons objected to the company's exclusive right to the fur trade and to paying a duty to the company. The colonists wanted to go into business for themselves instead of working for the patroons. Also, the English Government was making claim to New Netherland under charters granted to the Plymouth and London Companies, rivals of the Dutch West India Company for general business as well as fur trade. In addition, a blow was struck by Peter Minuit, whom the company

had discharged. He returned to plant a Swedish colony in their territory and to take some of the fur trade from them.

## **SWEDES AND FINNS SETTLE ALONG THE DELAWARE RIVER**

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN grew out of the need to sell Swedish copper to finance the Thirty Years War in Europe. The Swedish commissioner to the Netherlands was told by Blommaert, a director of the Dutch West India Company, that a market for Swedish copper might be found in North America. Shortly afterwards, Minuit, the discharged governor of New Netherland, called upon Blommaert, who was displeased with the way the Dutch West India Company was managed. The two men made a proposition to the Swedish chancellor that a Dutch Swedish company be formed to trade on the Delaware under the protection of the Swedish flag.

After a charter was obtained from the Swedish Government, it took considerable time to sell enough stock to finance the first voyage to North America. Dutch merchants waited for the Swedish merchants to pay for half the shares before they invested enough money to pay for their part. Finally, supplies were purchased, ships were secured, sailors were hired, and the expedition sailed from Sweden to the Netherlands, and across the Atlantic, with Minuit in charge.

About the middle of March, 1638, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip* sailed into Delaware Bay with colonists from Sweden. The cargo consisted of several thousand yards of cloth, several hundred hatchets, axes, knives, tobacco pipes, and

dozens of mirrors, combs, earrings, and necklaces to trade for furs with the Indians. Minit brought over farming tools — spades, hoes, and rakes, since the colonists would need to raise a supply of food during the summer months; and also, two barrels of wheat and two barrels of barley for seed.

Since Minit had been governor of New Amsterdam, he had some knowledge of the region. Sailing up the Delaware River, he entered a tributary leading into the country occupied by the Minquas, a tribe of expert hunters, with whom he wanted to trade. Two miles up this branch of the Delaware, Minit found a natural rock wharf, a good landing place, away from the beaten path of Dutch traders who claimed the “South” River trade under a charter issued to the Dutch West India Company. Guns on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, a man-o’-war, fired a Swedish salute denoting possession. It also notified the natives that white men had arrived to trade with them. The cannon brought the desired results. In a few days five Indian chiefs came on board. Minit entertained them in his cabin and gave them presents. From them, he purchased territory along the Delaware extending sixty-seven miles along the western bank of the river, south to Duck Creek and north to the Schuylkill. When the chiefs had traced their totem marks on the treaty, all went ashore. They erected a pole with the Swedish coat of arms nailed to it, and a cannon fired a salute. The territory was christened New Sweden. On the rocky shore, Minit built Fort Christina, named for the girl queen of Sweden. The stream, Minquas Kill, today is Christina River. It winds its lazy way through Wilmington, which was built on the site of the old fort, and is now the largest city in Delaware.

Early in the summer of 1638, the *Fogel*

*Grip* sailed for home. Three weeks later, Minit left New Sweden on the *Kalmar Nyckel* to exchange a cargo of wine brought from Europe for tobacco in the West Indies. While anchored in the harbor of St. Christopher Island, the captain of *The Flying Deer*, a vessel from Rotterdam, invited Minit and his skipper to be his guests. While aboard, a storm rose suddenly and swept the ship out to sea. It was never seen nor heard of again. After waiting three days for Minit, his crew returned to the Netherlands. The tobacco was sent to Sweden, and the furs were turned over to Blommaert, director of the Dutch Swedish trading company. The two vessels brought back 1769 beaver skins, 314 otter, 132 bear hides, and some other skins of lesser value. Blommaert sold these pelts to pay part of the expense of the first voyage, which had been disappointing. He had hoped Minit, with a man-o’-war, would be able to capture one or more of Spain’s silver ships and return with a big prize. Unfortunately, the leader himself did not get home.

A few years later the Dutch members of the trading company sold out to the Swedish members. Among the colonists brought over by the New Sweden Company were many Finns who had been reduced to poverty by the wars they were forced to share under the rule of Sweden. The hardy Finnish peasants cut down trees, built log houses, planted crops, and traded with the Indians. Both Swedes and Finns had begun to prosper on farms along the Delaware River when a Dutch squadron of seven vessels appeared, in 1655, and demanded the surrender of the colony. The Dutch West India Company had been complaining to the Government in the Netherlands about the Swedish settlement in territory belonging to the company.

Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, came in person to demand the surrender. He was backed by a force of over 300 men. New Sweden was added to New Netherland under an agreement respecting private property, granting religious freedom, and permitting anyone to return to Sweden. All who remained in the Swedish colony were required to swear allegiance to the Dutch authorities in New Amsterdam. Thus ended Swedish rule on the Delaware River. However, Swedes and Finns continued to come in greater numbers to seek new homes among their countrymen who had settled in the colony. The change of ownership did not stop the migration.

Nine years later, four British frigates with soldiers on board anchored in

Gravesend Bay. The commanding officer, Sir Richard Nicolls, demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam. Lacking ammunition, soldiers, and supplies, Stuyvesant was forced to obey this order. The name was changed to New York in honor of the Duke of York, brother of the King of England. Thus ended both Dutch and Swedish rule in North America, but Dutch and Swedish colonists stayed in their homes along the Hudson and the Delaware. New York joined the British colonies in 1664.

#### MAPS:

WA9r, WA12r

*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

## Chapter 4

# France Plants Her Banner in North America

### **VERRAZANO – PIRATE AND EXPLORER**

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO was born in Florence, Italy, probably about ten years before Columbus made his famous voyage in 1492. In those days Florentine lads with a longing for the sea spent days and days on the docks. They watched the ships unload their cargoes of spices brought to the Mediterranean ports by slow-moving caravans, over long and dangerous land routes. Verrazano learned the art of navigation on this inland sea that was the mariner's cradle. Indeed, he must have crossed the Mediterranean many times because he lived in both Egypt and Syria before he embarked upon the voyages which made him famous. As a French corsair, or pirate, the Spaniards called him Juan (John) Florin or Florinus. He lived in a time when piracy was a respectable business if a captain had a commission from the king of a country to prey upon the merchant fleets of an enemy nation. With papers issued by the King of France, Verrazano became the terror of the seas.

As an explorer for Francis I, King of France, the Florentine navigator was Verrazano, searching for a northwest

passage to the Spice Islands and not Florin, the corsair, waylaying the treasure ships of Spain. In January of 1524, he sailed from the Madeira Islands in the *Dauphine*, steering directly west to avoid the Spanish sea lanes to the West Indies. In less than two months, the light of fires burning on a beach directed him to land. It was the coast of New Jersey. There, Indians gathered in the early spring to feast on shellfish and to manufacture wampum, which were strings of shells they used for money. Skirting the shore line in search of a strait, Verrazano entered New York harbor and anchored off Sandy Hook. In his explorations he found many natives huddled around fires on Rockaway Beach. Although Verrazano entered New York harbor eighty-five years before Henry Hudson, he failed to find the great river. Having only one vessel, he did not risk it in passing through the Narrows. Continuing the northern voyage, he touched the east coast of Newfoundland and then turned homeward.

After his arrival in France in July, Verrazano wrote a letter to Francis I, the King of France, telling what he had seen on his voyage – the natives, the forests, and the fertile lands. Verrazano had brought back no gold and had failed to locate the

Northwest Passage to the spice-laden Orient. Francis I was too deeply involved in war to profit by Verrazano's discoveries, although the pilot recommended the country he had seen for colonization. Ten years passed before the King of France was able to turn his attention again to America.

## CARTIER – THE BOLD BUCCANEER

SPAIN'S SUDDEN WEALTH from the New World tempted the hardy seamen of the French coast and many a captain turned pirate to raid the Atlantic sea lanes. From the sheltered harbor of St. Malo on the coast of Brittany, these daring buccaneers sallied forth to pounce upon the treasure ships of Spain. Among them were the Italian Verrazano and the Frenchman Cartier.

Jacques Cartier was born in St. Malo about the time that Columbus was making his first voyage to America. When the lad was old enough to play on the wharves, he eyed with childish wonder the booty from the Indies, brought in by the buccaneers. It was not long until Cartier was one of them, sharing danger and adventure to capture the Spanish vessels with gold and silver from Mexico and Peru.

When the King of France had a breathing spell from war, his thoughts turned to the spice trade. Was there a Northwest Passage to Cathay? If not, was there land beyond the line of demarcation that might be added to the domain of France? Searching for a strait through a continent claimed by Spain was entirely within the bounds of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Neither Spain nor Portugal could reasonably object to such a venture, especially, if the leader of the expedition was respected and feared. While

looking around for the right man, the Vice Admiral of France took Cartier to the court and personally introduced him to Francis I. No one knows now what the King, the naval officer, and the bold buccaneer said at this meeting. One can only guess.

Cartier, to whom the broad Atlantic was as familiar as the Breton shore, came away from the meeting with a commission from the King placing him in command of an expedition to search for a western waterway to India.

On an April day in 1534, with two small ships and sixty-one hardened sailors, Cartier sailed from the harbor of St. Malo to cross the North Atlantic. He followed the route of the French fishermen who had been coming to the rich fisheries of Newfoundland since 1500. It was a pleasant voyage for Cartier and his men. A strong wind filled the sails, wafting the vessels to the shores of Newfoundland in only twenty days. The sea was so full of icebergs that the ships took shelter in a harbor for ten days. Here, the men feasted on waterfowl. They salted four or five casks of great auk to eat when no fresh fowl could be obtained. Continuing their voyage toward the mainland, the sailors caught their first glimpse of a polar bear "as big as a calf and as white as a swan." Boats were lowered for his capture, and bear steaks were served on board that evening.

The two vessels poked in and out of bays, slipped through narrow straits, and drifted along the coast of Labrador. They explored gulfs and bays, large and small, for a water opening leading westward. For days at a time, dense fog blotted out the shore line. When a strong wind blew, the fog parted to reveal a barren land, bleak,

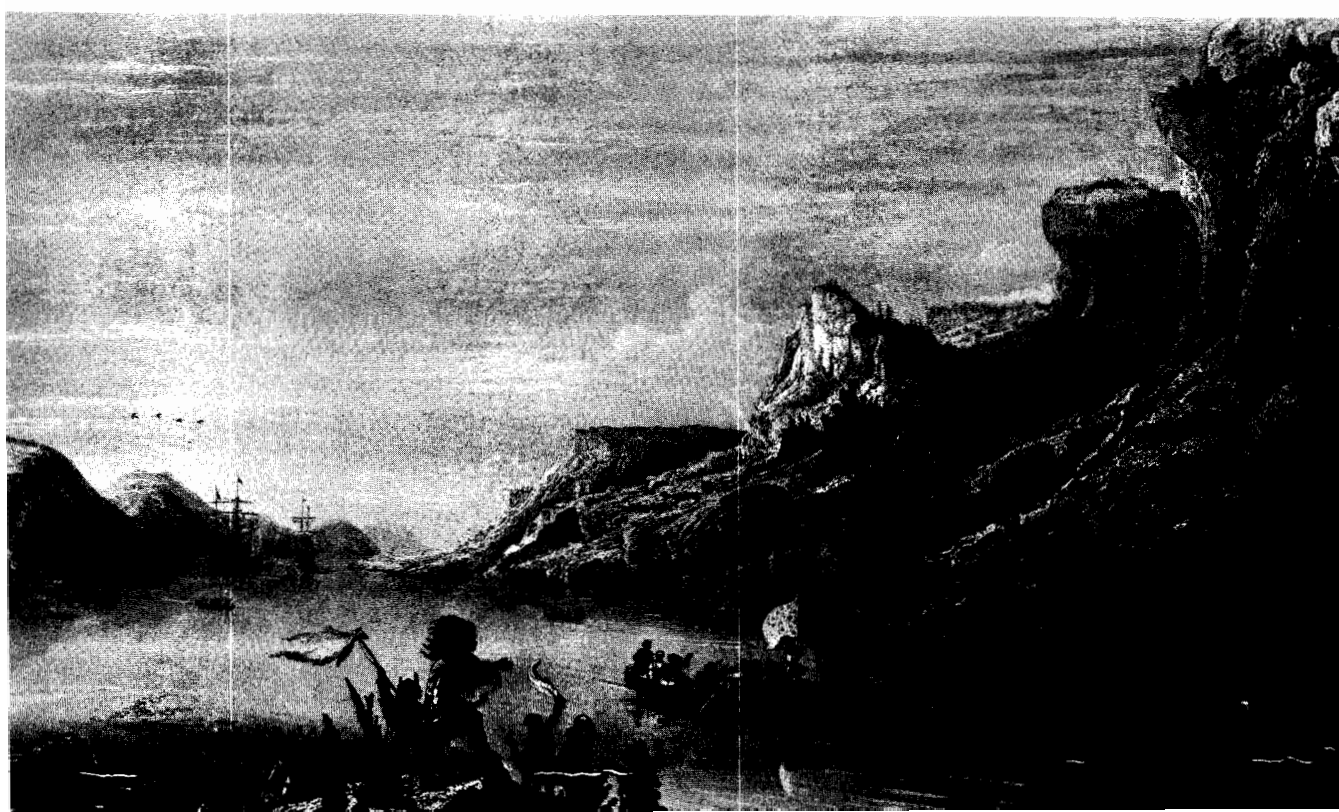
cold, and gloomy. Returning from one of his many trips ashore to explore the country, Cartier was heard to remark: "In all the Northland, I have not seen a cartload of good earth."

Undaunted, the explorer turned westward, still hoping to win for France the glory of discovering the passage to the East. On the first day of July, Cartier and his men went ashore on Prince Edward Island. They feasted on wild strawberries, blackberries, and gooseberries while they listened to birds chattering in the cedars, pines, white elms, ash, and willow trees. After the fog-bound coast of Newfoundland this island seemed a paradise. With renewed courage Cartier sailed up the coast until he found a widemouthed bay which he hoped would lead into a strait to the Orient. He named it Chaleur Bay (Bay of

Heat) because the weather was warm. Chaleur Bay proved to be landlocked.

Leaving the ships anchored, Cartier and a small party of sailors rowed up a river in small boats to explore the country. They had not gone far upstream when about fifty canoes, crowded with Indians, cut across their path and paddled for the shore. With shouts that rang through the woods, the natives leaped ashore and waved pelts of fox, marten, and beaver stretched on paddles. With signs and yells they made it plain that they wanted to trade with the strangers. Cartier feared to run the risk of going ashore — a few white men among so many Indians. The next day a few daring sailors rowed up the same stream to barter with the natives. For furs the Frenchmen traded knives, needed to skin animals, and iron tools, glass beads, combs, and trinkets.

**Cartier explored the St. Lawrence River as far as the site of the present city of Montreal.**



Delighted with their bargains, the Indians danced and sang, clasping their hands and looking heavenward as though they were thanking the sun for their good luck. Thus began the fur-trading business which came to be the treasure France gained in the New World.

Before leaving for home, Cartier planted a wooden cross thirty feet high at the entrance to the harbor of Gaspé. At the center of the cross, he placed a shield with the French emblem, and above that, a board upon which was carved, LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE. While the natives looked on in wonder, the French explorers knelt in prayer, bidding farewell to this new land destined to become New France. Without the loss of a man, Cartier and his crew sailed into the harbor of St. Malo early in September of that same year, 1534.

Eight months later, at the command of Francis I, Cartier sailed from St. Malo on his second voyage to search for a strait leading to Cathay, and to explore new lands he found. On this voyage, he discovered the St. Lawrence River. He explored the river as far as Montreal and beyond, searching for a rich country where the Indians said gold and jewels could be found. The mythical land was probably the Lake Superior region, and copper, not gold, would be the metal the Indians told him about. On Cartier's first voyage, he had kidnapped two Indians, to whom he taught the French language. He could now talk with the natives through these interpreters.

During the long cold winter a number of Frenchmen died of scurvy before an Indian chief told Cartier how to cure the disease by drinking water from boiled bark of a certain tree. It was the middle of July in 1536, before Cartier reached

St. Malo again to report to the King on the country he had explored.

In 1541, Cartier left St. Malo on his third voyage. John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, was to go with him as lieutenant and governor to start a French colony. Since Roberval was not ready, Cartier went ahead of him, taking along cattle, hogs and goats to stock farms in the new land. Roberval arrived later with two hundred colonists, including soldiers and mariners, who took possession of Cartier's old fort on the St. Lawrence River. Many of these newcomers were prisoners released from jail as recruits. The majority did not live through the first, harsh winter. The survivors, Roberval among them, abandoned the colony and returned to France.

## **FURS SET THE PATTERN OF FRENCH COLONIZATION**

AFTER THE FAILURE of Roberval's colony, it was fifty years before the French King renewed efforts to establish a settlement in the New World. Meanwhile French fishermen were coming to the banks of Newfoundland as they had been doing for years. Some ventured to the mainland where they traded for a few packs of furs to take back with their fish. When beaver skins brought more money than codfish, fishermen turned traders, following the rivers to barter trinkets for pelts. Instead of sending over prisoners, forcing them to be colonists, as was done with Roberval, the King granted permits to trading companies. These trading companies were given exclusive rights to the fur business in certain territories. Then the trading companies found their own



colonists, provided for them, and established centers where trappers and hunters, both French and Indians, brought their furs to market.

In the year 1608, on the third of July, Samuel de Champlain marked out the site for the first building in Quebec, the Indian name for the spot where the St. Lawrence River becomes narrower in its course. The structure was both a dwelling for traders and a storehouse for skins. From this trading post grew the largest fur market in the New World and the city of Quebec. Champlain represented merchants in France, bought and sold furs, organized a trading company of his own, served as lieutenant and governor of New France, and still found time and energy to explore the region of eastern Canada as well as the Atlantic Coast. He traveled among the Indian tribes, seeking to win and to hold their friendship. Upon the Indians' good will depended the fur business that supported the colonies in New France. Champlain established missions among tribes to convert them to Christianity and he took an interest in their welfare.

Champlain had a hard time persuading men to stay in one place and till the soil. The French gold that grew on the backs of wild animals lured the colonist deep into the wilderness. Hunters and trappers migrated to the lakes and streams of the Canadian woods. These voyageurs learned to like the carefree life of the wilderness. Men without licenses for fur trading were known as "coureurs de bois" (runners of the woods). In frail canoes made from birch bark or hollowed from tree trunks, the fur hunters paddled up the St. Lawrence River, skirted along the shores of the Great Lakes, and ventured into the back country where no white man had ever

been before. Often a trader went alone in search of furs, with no one to talk to for weeks at a time. His only friend was his trusty canoe. The northern woods rang with the paddling songs which the jolly voyageurs sang to their little boats upon which their lives and their profits depended.

## A TRADER AND A PRIEST EXPLORE THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

AS THE FUR BUSINESS became more profitable, trading companies established posts along lakes and rivers farther inland. To these posts, voyageurs in the region brought their packs of skins and gained supplies for their wilderness trips. Priests followed the trails of the voyageurs. They built missions in the trading centers where they preached the gospel of Christianity to the Indians. In accompanying traders on fur hunting expeditions, these priests, most of whom were Jesuits, explored the wild country and wrote what they had learned.

For protection against Indian attacks, forts were erected in these frontier settlements. Around the log store, church, and fort were clustered the huts of the voyageurs and their Indian wives and children. Thus did furs set the pattern of French colonization in North America.

From tribes in the Great Lakes region the missionaries learned of a wide river, the "Great Water" called by the Indians, "Messipi," or "Missi-Sipi." It flowed into a sea, the natives said. Could this body of water be the South Sea? Maybe the "Great Water" was the long-sought waterway to the East. The two men who finally set out to find this river were a trader, Joliet, and a priest, Marquette. These close

friends were once students together at the Jesuit seminary in Quebec.

In the middle of May, 1673, Joliet and Marquette left the Jesuit mission of St. Ignace, near the Strait of Mackinac, with five companions and two canoes. The only food they took along consisted of bags of cornmeal and some smoked meat. The seven men carried the two canoes and supplies over the portage of 2700 paces that brought them to the Wisconsin River, and then to the Mississippi, in one month of travel time. Late in June the French explorers reached the prairie country of the Illinois Indians. Here fields of green corn lined the riverbank. These natives seldom suffered from hunger because their fertile soil produced abundant crops of maize, beans, squashes, and melons. The friendly Illinois gave the strangers cornmeal mush seasoned with buffalo fat, and invited them to remain with the tribe. Although they declined the invitation, Marquette promised to return and preach the gospel to them. Later, he kept his word.

When the Frenchmen insisted on traveling farther down the stream, the Indians warned them that the heat would make them ill. They said that sea monsters infested the lower region of the "Great Water." Some time later Marquette was tempted to believe the tale when a huge catfish almost upset his canoe. About seven hundred Illinois men, women, and children crowded the riverbank to watch their chief present a calumet (peace pipe) to his white visitors to protect them in their journey. The long-stemmed pipe with streamers of bright feathers saved the lives of the daring explorers on more than one occasion. When hostile Indians shot arrows from the shore or swam out to tip over the light canoes, Marquette held up

the peace pipe. It worked like magic, turning enemies into friends.

Not far from the mouth of the Arkansas River and near the spot where de Soto had been buried, the Frenchmen met a tribe whose advice changed their plans. The natives gathered on the riverbank to welcome the palefaced strangers. The Frenchmen were greeted by the chief, who performed the calumet dance and presented the peace pipe as a token of friendship. At the banquet in their honor, the explorers were feasted with boiled cornmeal and roast dog. They did not relish this course as much as they did the dessert of sweet, ripe melons. The Indians apologized for the meager fare. They explained that they did not dare go out to the prairie on buffalo hunts. Their tribal enemies were friends of white men (Spaniards). These tribes killed the buffalo hunters with guns that barked like dogs.

Joliet and Marquette held a council and decided it would be foolhardy to continue their journey down the Mississippi River and risk capture by Spaniards or their Indian allies. They had gone far enough to prove that the "Great Water" ran directly south into the Gulf of Mexico and not west to the Pacific Ocean. It was not the waterway to the Orient. They turned back, paddling against the current, until they reached the mouth of the Illinois River. Steering from this stream into the Des Plaines River they crossed a portage to the Chicago River and finally reached Lake Michigan. It was the end of September when the party arrived at the mission in Green Bay. Marquette was ill.

After spending the winter at the mission, Joliet started to Quebec in the late spring when the ice broke up in the lakes and streams. In the outskirts of Montreal, the

rowers became so overjoyed at the sight of farmhouses that they carelessly turned into a strong current that capsized the canoe in the rapids. All were drowned except Joliet. He was dashed upon a rock where he was found unconscious by fishermen and rescued. Joliet mourned the loss of his companions, and most of all, the death of an Indian boy given to him by one of the chiefs he had met in the Mississippi country. Frontenac, governor of New France, deplored the loss of Joliet's journal of his expedition, written during the winter at Green Bay. He asked Joliet to write another one, as best as he could remember, and draw another map to replace the one lost when his canoe turned over. With this information Frontenac determined to continue the exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

## **LA SALLE DREAMS OF A FRENCH EMPIRE IN NORTH AMERICA**

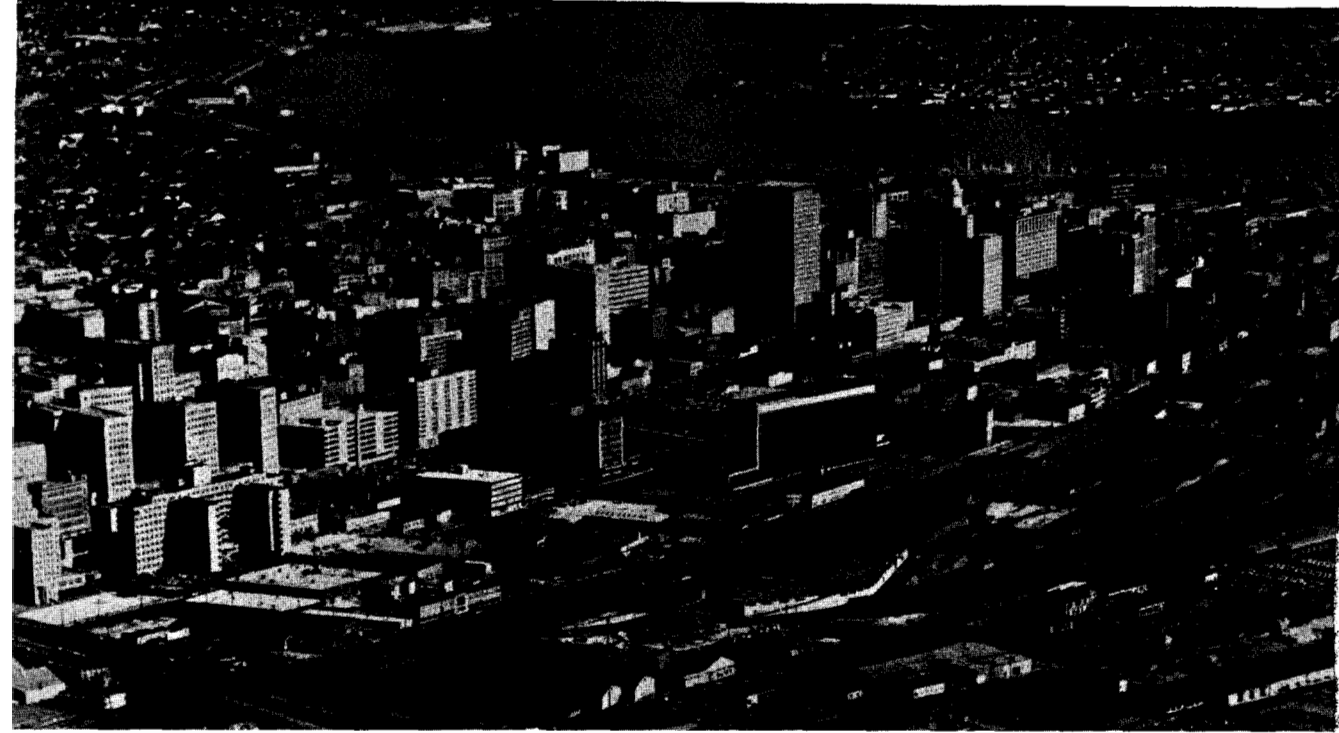
IN 1666 LA SALLE, member of a wealthy French family, migrated to Canada. He received a large land grant near Montreal at the rapids afterwards named La Chine. The name suggested adventure, the search for the waterway to China. Like most colonists La Salle entered the fur business. From the Indians he learned enough of their languages to barter with them. The Senecas told him about a great river to the west that flowed to the sea. Being an explorer at heart, La Salle traded the comforts of his estate for the hardships of the wilderness. While hunting for the headwaters of the great river in the region of Lake Ontario, he met Joliet returning from Lake Superior. Joliet had gone to locate copper deposits which Indians told him

were numerous. Although there are no records to prove absolutely that La Salle discovered the Ohio River in his wanderings, it is quite possible that he found the upper course of that stream in 1670.

In the year (1673) that Joliet and Marquette started on their journey to the Mississippi River, La Salle, as an assistant to Frontenac, the governor of New France, was assigned the task of erecting a fort on Lake Ontario. The purpose of this fort was to shut out the Iroquois who were taking furs to Dutch and English traders on the Atlantic Coast. Since a number of forts were necessary to control the western fur trade, La Salle went to France to present his plan for a chain of forts and missions along the inland waterways of North America. He received the right to own the land he might discover. He also received rights to the fur business with tribes that were not then sending furs into Montreal. He was to pay the expenses of his explorations and he was not to ask financial help from the King.

The French were careful not to antagonize the Indian tribes upon whom their business depended. The French trader found a welcome because he brought knives, kettles, cloth, and other articles the Indians needed to exchange for furs. Then he went away. He did not take their land from them. With few exceptions, the tribes were friendly toward the French. With the natives on their side, La Salle figured that soldiers stationed in the scattered forts could prevent the English colonists from crossing the Allegheny Mountains. Likewise they could keep the Spaniards from moving north of the Gulf of Mexico.

Before he built his forts, La Salle realized that he had to know more about the geography of this vast central region of



*Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans*

### CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

**La Salle's dream of a city like Paris at the bend of the Mississippi River came true in New Orleans. Here, the language and customs of France still cling to the city.**

the continent. He had to prove beyond any doubt that the "Great Water" emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. In the middle of the winter of 1681-82 La Salle started for the Mississippi River. In his party of fifty-four persons were French woodsmen, Indian guides, ten Indian women to do the cooking, and three of their children. The loaded canoes were dragged on sleds over the frozen Chicago and Illinois rivers, enroute to the Mississippi. Travel was slow down the stream, with time out to hunt wild turkey, quail, and deer to feed the party. The only food carried was cornmeal.

Like Marquette, La Salle took along a calumet, the Indian symbol of peace. The pipe of peace warded off Indian attack, assuring tribes that the strangers were friends. In the lower part of the Mississippi

the weather was warm and pleasant. La Salle was delighted to find mulberry trees and dreamed of raising silk worms in the mild climate. At a bend in the river where the ground was dry, he envisioned a city with spires and towers, like Paris.

In April the party reached the broad flat delta where the Mississippi River divides into three channels. La Salle sent a group down each of the branches. A week later all three parties met to celebrate the first successful journey to the mouth of the Mississippi River. They set up a pole and nailed the arms of France to it. La Salle stood beside the column and said in a loud voice:

In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the

Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, — Mississippi and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source, — as far as its mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, —

When he had finished speaking, claiming the entire heart of North America for France, the explorers shouted, “LONG LIVE THE KING!” They fired a salute with guns. Beside the pole, a wooden cross was raised. La Salle pledged the King of France to establish missions for the natives in this vast territory. All sang a hymn. One by one before a notary, Frenchmen signed the paper that La Salle had read, amid hearty shouts of LONG LIVE THE KING!

Five years later, on another exploring expedition in Louisiana, La Salle was

murdered by one of his own men. Although he did not live to carry out his plan, the chain of forts and missions was built. At the bend in the river, the city of New Orleans was founded. In this city, today, many people still speak the French language and follow French customs. LaSalle’s dream came true, but his empire did not survive. It takes people living on the land to hold a new country, and the French were traders rather than farmers. French colonization consisted of relatively few men scattered over a large territory. Their English rivals, who had settled along the Atlantic seaboard, cultivated the land first and then indulged in trade. They were colonizers.

#### MAPS:

WA6r, WA9r, WALLr

*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

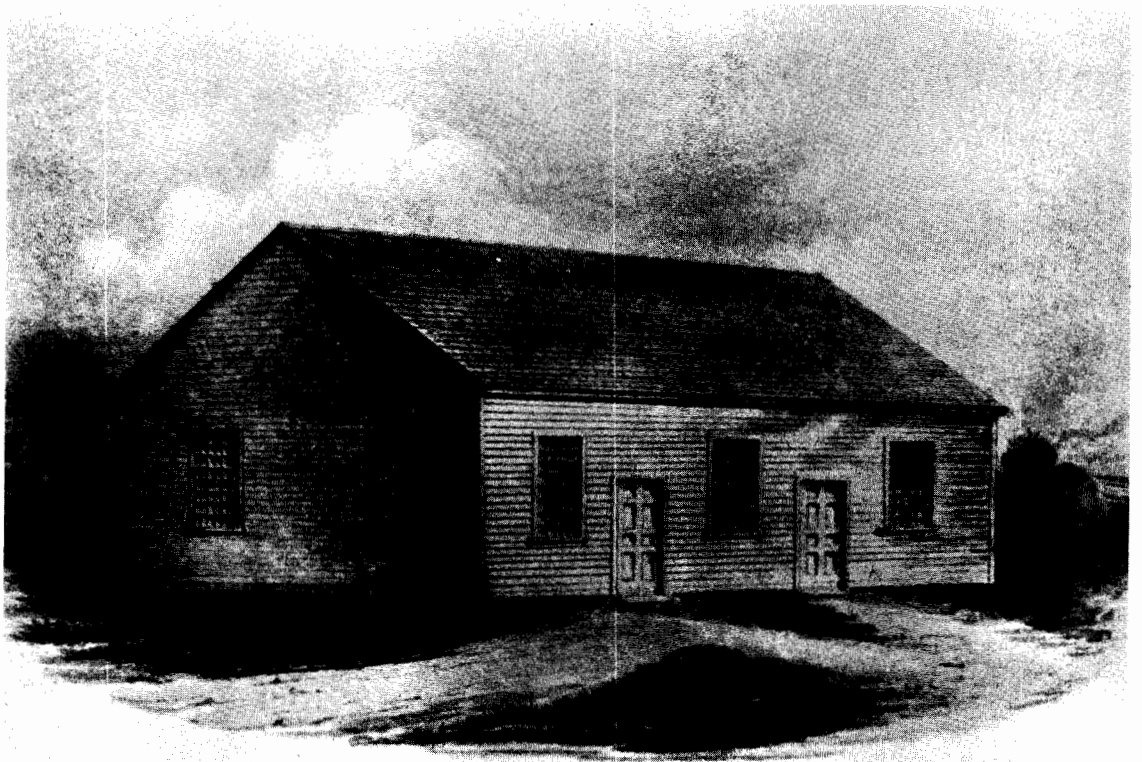
**PART TWO**

**England Bids**

**for the New World**

**Chapter 5: “We Hope to Plant a Nation”**

**Chapter 6: For Freedom of Opportunity**



**TYPICAL PURITAN MEETING HOUSE**  
Gloucester, Massachusetts 1780

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#### **THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT**

In ye name of God Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James by ye grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of ye faith, and having undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancement of ye Christian faith and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallly in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant, and combine our selves together into a civill body politick; for our better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In Witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord King James of England, France, and Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth, Ano. Dom. 1620.

## Chapter 5

# “We Hope to Plant a Nation”

### ENGLAND WINS FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

THE STORY THAT COLUMBUS told at the Court of Spain stirred London as it had the capitals on the continent of Europe. The news of red-skinned natives decked with gold set tongues wagging in England. During the excitement John Cabot, like Columbus a navigator from Genoa, was presented to the King of England. With maps and charts, he convinced the tightfisted Tudor, Henry VII, that he could do for England all that Columbus had done for Spain, and more. He would find a northwest passage to India and bring the rich spice trade to England.

Early in May of the year 1497 John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, sailed from Bristol in an English ship manned by British sailors. On June 24 land was sighted. The captain and his crew went ashore, probably on Cape Breton Island, where they planted a cross and raised the flag of England. After searching along the coast and not finding the imaginary strait, Cabot turned homeward because supplies were running low. Like Columbus, he did not know he had touched the shores of an unknown continent. The King's stingy

reward for the voyage upon which England later based a claim to North America was recorded as follows:

10th Aug. 1497. To hym that founde the new isle, 10 pounds. (Less that \$50.)

Queen Elizabeth I, crowned in 1558, encouraged merchants to form trading companies and to seek markets in distant lands. The Baltic Company provided timber, pitch, and tar from Russia, Poland, and other countries on the inland sea. These materials helped build the ships for England's growing commerce. Grocers joined the Turkey Company, trading along the Mediterranean as far away as Persia and the Bible lands, to get spices and herbs brought to eastern ports by camel caravans.

Other men, not merchants, also bought stock in these trading companies and shared in the profits according to their investments. Although the seas were infested with pirates, the risk and the danger lured men to “adventure” their money, their goods, and their lives. When voyages were successful, the profits were large and the adventurers were suddenly rich. “When my ship comes in” is still a familiar saying in the English language.



Trade was to become the nation's might, and England's future was on the seas. Freedom of the seas, however, was yet to be won.

When English merchants ventured into the Atlantic, their ships were often captured and sacked by rival Spaniards. On one of these looted vessels was a young man named Francis Drake. He had invested his small fortune in merchandise and gone forth to try his luck in foreign trade. Returning penniless, he vowed to fight the power of Spain to the end of his days. With the help of Queen Elizabeth, Drake became the terror of the seas. He captured, plundered, and sank the treasure ships of Spain. Others joined him in this patriotic privateering. They amassed big fortunes in Spanish booty — the gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Angered by Elizabeth's privateers, King Philip of Spain sent a fleet (armada) of about 130 ships and nearly 30,000 men to destroy the British Navy and to invade England. In the channel, the British fleet and its "sea dogs," Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake, awaited the arrival of the grand Spanish Armada. After days of unsettled fighting, the remains of the Armada skulked away into the misty North Sea. In the flight around Scotland and Ireland, wind, weather, and starvation completed the destruction of the mighty fleet. Only a few vessels, with crews more dead than alive, returned to the ports of their homeland.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 opened the sea lanes of the Atlantic to British commerce. In the English Channel the "sea dogs" started the island kingdom on the march toward world empire.

To carry on world trade England had to build more ships. The eyes of merchant

adventurers turned toward the New World for shipbuilding products. Although a Spanish empire was rising in Mexico and South America, Spain no longer controlled the sea lanes to North America. Lumber for shipbottoms and poles for masts would find a ready sale on the London market. Could North America supply this timber?

The merchant adventurers were cautious and sent trustworthy men to explore the country and report on the trees before they risked too much money. It was well known throughout England that Sir Walter Raleigh had lost about \$200,000 in his attempts to plant a colony in the New World. This made traders wonder if America were a good investment.

## WAS AMERICA A GOOD INVESTMENT?

THREE YEARS BEFORE the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Sir Walter Raleigh sent his first colonists to Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. He named the country Virginia in honor of Elizabeth I, known as the Virgin Queen. A year later, in 1586, Sir Francis Drake anchored his fleet of twenty-three raiders off the Carolina coast and the homesick colonists returned with him to England.

Undismayed by failure, Raleigh sent more colonists under Governor White the following year. After a fort had been erected on Roanoke Island, White returned to England for supplies and was held there by the threat of the Spanish Armada. When he did return in 1591, not a trace of the colony could be found. Among the missing was White's little granddaughter, Virginia Dare, the first child born of English parents on the soil of the United States. On a

voyage up the James River in 1607, one of the early colonists saw an Indian boy with light hair and blue eyes. Did Raleigh's colonists join an Indian tribe to survive? Or were they captured and carried away into slavery? To this day their fate is unknown.

Sir Walter Raleigh's experience made businessmen in England hesitate to invest their money in any attempt to plant an English colony in North America. Raleigh, however, did not give up. He published a report by Thomas Hariot, a man he had employed to explore the resources of the new country. As Raleigh had hoped, the little book encouraged his fellowmen to believe in the future of America.

A group of merchant adventurers hired the highly respected navigator, Bartholomew Gosnold, to explore the coast of North America. Raleigh, still believing that America was a good investment, contributed to the fund that chartered the ship *Concord* for this voyage. On the fourteenth day of May in 1602, Gosnold landed on the coast of Massachusetts. After a fishing trip which netted a big catch of cod, the explorer named the "mighty headland" with a "very bolde coast," Cape Cod.

Some friendly Indians on the nearby islands gave the strangers boiled fish to eat and tobacco to smoke. The natives brought deer skins, wolf hides, and costly furs of beaver, otter, and martin to trade for gaudy trinkets. They helped to cut down trees and to load the boat with timber. Like Columbus, Gosnold took back evidence to England in case anyone doubted his word.

Brereton, one of the explorers, kept a diary telling what he saw and learned about the country. This report, also published with Raleigh's help, captured the interest of merchant adventurers in the lumber trade. America was a land of forests with a

store of timber. Brereton praised the climate, declaring the members of the crew had better health on the voyage than at home in England. This pleasant land was only thirty-five days away on the shorter northern route across the Atlantic Ocean.

The people who read books like Hariot's story of Roanoke Island and Brereton's report on Massachusetts told their neighbors about the new country. The stories traveled quickly. All classes in England began to take notice of North America.

After Elizabeth's death, Sir Walter Raleigh was thrown into prison, and finally beheaded by her successor, James I. Although Raleigh lost his fortune, his freedom, and his head, his life was not a failure. He was a great patriot with a vision beyond the day in which he lived. Raleigh did more than any other one man to convince the British public that America was a good investment. He SOLD a continent.

## A GREAT GAMBLE

THROUGHOUT THE NATION the feeling grew that it was a patriotic duty to plant English colonies on the coast of North America, between the French along the St. Lawrence River and the Spaniards on the Gulf of Mexico. Without colonies how could England hope to build up trade in the New World?

Officials of the government favored colonization as a scheme to rid the country of returned soldiers who were getting into mischief. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had ended the wars with Spain. Thousands of recruits from the Netherlands and Ireland were mustered out of service. Many of these men were not anxious to

return to their former homes and settle down. A quiet country life did not appeal to many lads from the farming districts, after they had tasted adventure in foreign lands. Unable or unwilling to toil with spade and hoe, these idle soldiers became the terror of city streets and country lanes. Their officers, too, were unemployed and chafing to unsheathe their swords again. Fighting men could be kept busy in the New World.

From their pulpits, clergymen also urged the people to invest money in North America. It was their Christian duty, said the preachers, to convert the natives in the pagan land across the sea.

Who would pay the bill? It took money to charter ships, to hire sailors, and to provide food, clothing, and ammunition to begin life anew in a wilderness. Bartholomew Gosnold, the navigator, and Richard Hakluyt, a geographer who wrote about explorations, held meetings with merchants in Bristol. They told of vast forests of oak, cedar, beech, elm, walnut, sassafras, hazelnut, and cherry trees found by explorers in North America. The shipbuilding industry was growing rapidly and traders were seeking timber. These learned men assured the adventurers that profits would be large on any investment in America.

It took Gosnold a year to gather enough investors to form a trading company. It was known as the Virginia Company of London and it was commonly called the London Company. Only four percent of the investors belonged to the high-ranking nobility of England. Most of the men who backed the company were the merchant adventurers seeking business in the New World. "Bills of Adventure" were purchased by the bakers, grocers, cloth-

workers, drapers, goldsmiths, ironmongers, tailors, skimmers, salters, leathersellers, dyers, embroiderers, stationers, and fishmongers. Sometimes whole towns bought shares of stock.

A "Bill of Adventure" stated that the buyer would share in new lands according to the sum he had "ventured." This first stock certificate in United States history assured the owner his just share "of such mines and minerals of gold, silver, and other metals or treasure, pearls, precious stones, or any kind of wares or merchandise, commodities or profits whatsoever, which shall be obtained or gotten in the said voyage, according to the portion of money by him employed to that use, in as ample manner as any other adventurer therein shall receive for the like sum."

It took about a hundred dollars to equip each settler for the colony. After the money had been raised, it took Gosnold and others another year to find enough colonists to start the venture. Finally, on the sixth of April, 1606, King James granted permission to Gosnold, Sir Thomas Gates, and others to found a colony in "that part of America called Virginia," between 34° and 41° of north latitude. (In unexplored country the charters of colonies sometimes overlapped. See Charter of New England, Page 58.) Excitement ran high as talk in the streets turned to Virginia. With a patent from the King, an English settlement in North America was no longer an idle dream. With great enthusiasm the London Company prepared for the voyage.

A few days before Christmas in 1606, three ships sailed down the Thames. Captain Newport was in command with seventy-one passengers on the *Sarah Constant*. On a small craft, the *Discovery*,

were twenty men. At the helm of the *Goodspeed*, with fifty-two colonists on board, was the promoter of the venture, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold. One of the ships carried a sealed box in which were written the names of the men who were to govern the colony. It was not to be opened until the coast of Virginia had been found. Delayed by storms, the colonists did not reach the West Indies until the twenty-third of March. While cruising among the islands, the three vessels dropped anchor in a number of good harbors and the men caught fish, hunted wild boars, and filled the casks on board with fresh water. On the twenty-sixth of April, at four o'clock in the morning, the coast of Virginia was sighted. Thirty of the men went ashore and named this first landing spot Cape Henry. While wandering along the coast, the party was attacked by five natives, and two colonists were wounded.

On board was Captain John Smith, a trained soldier, who had fought with foreign armies in wars against the Turks. However, he arrived in chains. Suspected of mutiny, he had been held a prisoner during most of the voyage. Later, in England, he wrote a history of the founding of the colony, published in 1624. The following quotation was copied from a first edition of Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*:

That night (April 16, 1607) was the box opened and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the Councill, and to choose a President amongst them for a yeare, who with the Councill should governe . . . . Until the 13 of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councill was sworne, Mr. Wingfield was chosen President, and an oration made why Captaine Smith was not admitted of the Councill as the rest.

When the colonists landed in Virginia, the struggle to survive severely tested the governing ability of these chosen leaders.

## THEY MET IN PHILPOT LANE

CANDLES BURNED far into the night in a house in Philpot Lane. It was the home of Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the London Company. Here the officers met to discuss ways of supporting their settlement in America. All was not well in Virginia.

After exploring the country on Chesapeake Bay, the first colonists had selected a site on the James River, named for the King. The stream was lined with trees that would give them timber for building ships. Unfortunately, Jamestown was in a swampy region, which was not a healthy place to live. Nearly every day during the hot and humid summer of 1607, a new grave was dug. On the twenty-second of August the colony lost the ardent promoter of the settlement. Captain Gosnold died of the swamp fever and was honorably buried, "having all the guns of the fort shot off with many vollies."

Food for the colonists was kept in a general storehouse, and each man received the same daily rations. The toiler had no more to eat than did the loafer. As a result, many men spent their time in hunting and fishing instead of plowing and planting. They showed little concern for the interests of the company that had paid for these supplies and the expenses of the voyage.

Since the colonists needed a military man both for defense from Indian attacks and for discipline within their own ranks, Captain John Smith was elected to the council on the tenth of September. He put men to work repairing the church, cutting



*Jamestown Foundation*

#### KEEPING WATCH IN JAMES FORT

A uniformed soldier, armed with a halberd used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, greets visitors at James Fort. Another guardsman looks on from the second floor of the wattle-and-daub house, reconstructed to show the houses built by the first permanent settlers in Jamestown.

down trees, building a larger store house for supplies expected from London, improving the fort, and keeping guard. Every Saturday, the able-bodied men were exercised and drilled like soldiers. His success in dealing with the Indians and maintaining discipline was rewarded. A year later Smith was elected president of the council.

Food received from home was never enough, and colonists complained of being left in a wilderness to starve. Smith wrote:

In searching our casked corne, we found it halfe rotten, and the rest so consumed with so many thousands of rats that increased so fast, . . . as we

knew not how to keepe the little we had. This did drive us all to our wits ends, for there was nothing in the countrie but what nature afforded.

Smith held two Indians as prisoners to show the colonists how to plant corn and live off the country. When food became so scarce, he was forced to free them:

for want of victuall. But so well they liked our companies they did not desire to go from us. And to express their loves, for 16 days continuance, the Countrie people brought us 100 a day of Squirrels, Turkeys, Deere and other Wilde beasts.

The natives saved the remnant of the colony by this act of charity.

Among the first settlers were listed thirty gentlemen, four carpenters, and only twelve laborers. It was not long until both the governing council in Virginia and the officials of the company in London realized that the success of their colony depended upon the settlers. A wilderness was not the place for ne'er-do-wells. Before Lord Delaware left England in 1610, the Virginia Council distributed handbills in London. The wording was plain. The company did not want "such an idle crew as did thrust themselves in the last voyage, that will rather starve for hunger than lay their hands to labor."

In an unsettled wilderness, there was much need for laborers with brawny backs and skilled hands. There was little room for "gentlemen" who could not plow and build.

The company had hoped to ship enough timber, ore, and other raw materials to pay dividends to the stockholders. In the spring 1608, Captain Newport sailed from Jamestown with a load of cedar logs, walnut boards, and sassafras wood. In the autumn of the same year, he brought over

seventy colonists. He returned with a cargo of iron ore which was sold to the East India Company.

Lumbering and farming failed to pay dividends. The London Company then turned to manufacturing in an effort to put the colony on a paying basis. They advertised for tradesmen. In 1611, before Sir Thomas Dale sailed with new settlers and supplies, this broadside appeared in London:

It is not intended any more to burden the colony with vagrant and unnecessary persons. This is to give notice to so many honest and industrious men, as carpenters, brickmen, gardeners, smiths, coopers, fishermen, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, brickmen, farmers, and laboring men of all sorts, that if they repair to the house of Sir Thomas Smith in Philpot Lane in London, before the end of the present month of January, the number not full, they shall be entertained for the voyage, upon such terms as their quality and fitness shall deserve.

To the mansion of Thomas Smith came all classes of people, from laborers to rich adventurers.

The officials of the London Company were leading men in England. They would be disgraced if their trading venture failed. When would Virginia begin to pay?

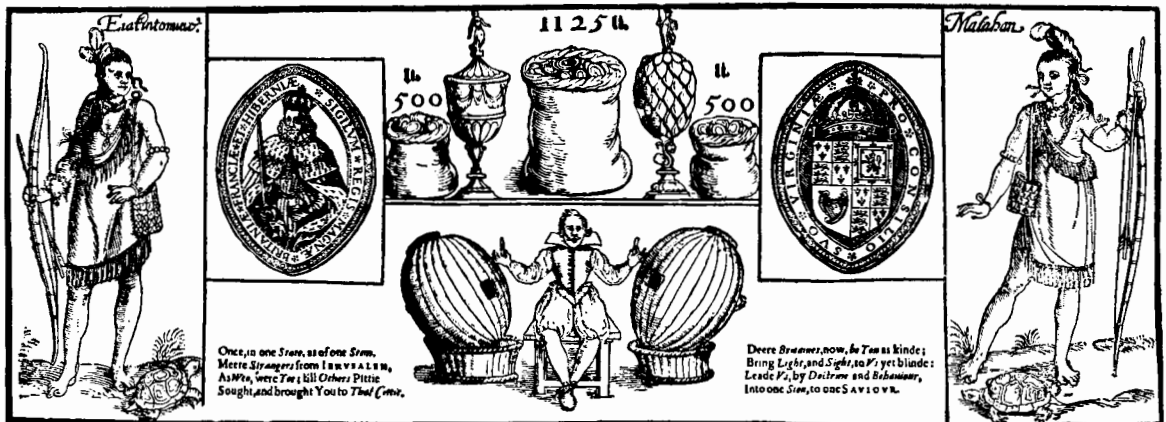
### VIRGINIA MUST NOT FAIL

SWAMP FEVERS, crop failures, home-sick colonists, bickering leaders, and Indian troubles made progress slow in Virginia. The governing council of the colony asked for help again and again, until the members of the company grew weary of giving money without receiving profits. Investors did not readily buy stock in the London Company. England would lose the respect of France, Spain, and the Netherlands, her rivals in trade, if the

#### ADVERTISEMENT OF A LOTTERY FOR VIRGINIA

This drawing and a printed list of prizes advertised a lottery in 1615 to collect money for the Virginia colony. The ad bears the seals of the King and the London Company. A man dressed in the costume of the day is pulling duplicates of chances from two large drums, and calling the names of the winners.

### A Declaration for the certaine time of draving the great standing Lottery.





#### ARRIVAL OF MAIDS "TO MAKE WIVES"

In 1619, the first boatload of maids arrived in Jamestown to marry the lonely men in the settlement and make homes for them. Planters paid the cost of the voyage at the rate of 120 to 150 pounds of tobacco per wife. In early Virginia, tobacco was used for money.

Jamestown settlement failed. The success of Virginia became a matter of national honor.

The council appealed to the Lord Mayor of London, who sent copies of the letter to the merchant associations. He ordered the appeal to be read at their next meetings. He personally asked each one "to make some adventure in so good an action." The merchants could not well ignore such a request from the Lord Mayor, himself. The fishmongers were generous, perhaps with an eye on the cod and mackerel so plentiful in American waters. The clothmakers, on the other hand, were so stingy that their officers had to levy an extra assessment to raise the "petty sum" to one hundred pounds. The grocers published the names of the loyal men who invested in Virginia and a list of the unpatriotic members who did not contribute.

A poem appeared, "Newes From Virginia," praising the citizens who invested money:

And to the adventurers thus he writes,  
Be not dismayed at all,  
For scandal cannot doe us wrong,  
God will not let us fall.  
Let England knowe our willingnesse  
For that our work is good.  
WEE HOPE TO PLANT A NATION,  
WHERE NONE BEFORE HATH STOOD.

A new day dawned when Sir Edwin Sandys was elected treasurer of the London Company to replace Sir Thomas Smith. In April of 1619, Sir George Yeardley, appointed governor by the new treasurer, arrived in Jamestown with another charter. The common storehouse was closed, and martial law, needed to enforce the communal plan, was abolished. Under the

revised charter, each man worked for himself and was entitled to the benefits gained from his own labor. Land was assigned to settlers for farming. Four corporations were created to market their products and carry on trade. This was not enough.

Sandys and the board in London agreed that their colonists would take more interest in the settlement if they had a share in governing it. The most important reform was an invitation to each plantation and village, asking that delegates be sent to a general assembly to cooperate with the governor and council of the company in framing the laws of the colony. This meeting of the first representative assembly in Virginia laid the foundation for government by the people on this continent. From that day on, "something new" began to grow in the New World.

## **THE FIRST COLONIAL REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY**

IT WAS A HOT and humid day near the end of July in the year 1619. The governor, himself, had gathered flowers to decorate the little church in Jamestown for this historic event. The new governor was born a commoner, plain George Yeardley, the son of a merchant tailor in London. The King had knighted him, with the idea that men in high places needed titles to command respect.

Sir George Yeardley sat in the green velvet chair in the choir loft of Jamestown church and presided at the first meeting of the first representative assembly. With him were the members of his council, also appointed by the London Company. Who

were they? One was John Rolfe, who had returned to his tobacco plantation in Virginia after burying his young Indian wife, Pocahontas, in England. Captain West, the president of the council, was a direct descendant of William, the Conqueror. Two were graduates of Cambridge University, one of whom was John Pory who had served in Parliament and knew about law making. He wrote down the proceedings and sent the papers on a Dutch ship, for safe keeping, to a member of the London Company living in the Netherlands.

For the future of America, however, the most important men were the twenty-two representatives called burgesses. These men were elected by eleven communities to work with the council of the company in framing laws for the colony. Who were these representatives? The first settlement, Jamestown, preferred military men, and elected the gunner and flag-bearer as burgesses. From a seacoast plantation came a tough Indian fighter, who farmed the land now occupied by the United States Naval Base at Norfolk. Walter Shelley, related to the famous English poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley, did not return to his neighbors who had elected him. He died on the third day of the meeting, probably from the heat. The plantation, Flowerdieu, sent a young man by the name of John Jefferson.

This meeting opened with a prayer by the minister, "that it shall please God to guide and sanctify all our proceedings to His own glory and to the good of this plantation." This custom is still followed by Congress. In fact, the Virginia House of Burgesses set the pattern of our present legislative body. Our Senate is comparable to the company council. Our House of Representatives is comparable to the House of Burgesses.



The seeds of the American war for independence were sown at this first meeting in 1619. The burgesses sent a petition to London demanding the right to veto any of the company's laws to which they objected. This was bold indeed, considering that the London Company owned Virginia under a patent from the King, and had invested large sums of money in the colony. Edwin Sandys did not object to the plan, which forecast the "something new" destined to grow up in the New World. It was to be a *constitutional* republic based upon the idea *that the human rights of man are above the rights of government*.

Immediately, James I plotted to get rid of the new treasurer, Sandys. A man who would permit His Majesty's subjects in a distant land to have a share in governing themselves was not a friend of monarchy. The idea might grow and threaten the authority of a king who ruled by *divine right*. According to this doctrine, the right to a throne was conferred by God. The king ruled by divine right, and his subjects were granted only the rights which he chose to give them. Sandys had served only a year and two months when he was forced out of office by James I. Then the London Company elected another man who was sympathetic toward the rights of the colonists.

The King kept a watchful eye on the colonists. In a few years, an Indian attack provided James with an excuse for annulling the charter of the trading company. This act meant that Virginia became a royal colony. The trading company was no longer in control. The governor and his advisers now were appointed by the King rather than by merchant adventurers. The House of

Burgesses, however, continued to represent the colonists themselves.

The London Company had spent 200,000 pounds and transported 9000 persons across the sea to establish the first permanent English settlement in America. Yet, as a business venture, the London Company failed. Some of the larger stockholders traded their "bills of adventure" for plantations that were from two to five thousand acres in some cases. From this land-owning class would come the great statesmen of our country — George Washington, general of the war for independence; Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence; and James Madison, "father of the Constitution." Thus did a band of merchant adventurers sow seeds of freedom in a wilderness. They fulfilled the prophecy of the poet and founded a nation WHERE NONE BEFORE HATH STOOD.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

IN ONLY A FEW COUNTRIES in the entire world did freedom of worship exist when the first little band of religious refugees landed on American shores. One of these nations was the Netherlands. A group of people called Separatists fled to the Netherlands to escape persecution in their native England. These people had refused to worship in the Anglican Church, which was the Church of England. The English Government persecuted any group who separated themselves from the Anglican church.

After a dozen years in the Netherlands, where these Separatists were kindly treated, they decided to migrate to

America. They wanted a colony of their own. They wanted to rear their children in the faith of their fathers, and at the same time, to teach them English ways and language rather than Dutch.

The Pilgrims were too poor to pay for their passage across the ocean, so they appealed to the London Company owning settlements in Virginia. Sir Edwin Sandys, then treasurer of the company, listened sympathetically to their plea for help. He encouraged his friends to invest money in a trading company to finance their voyage to the New World. At a meeting in Sandys' house in February of 1620, a patent was granted to a company of merchant adventurers to settle these refugees in the northern part of Virginia. The charter of New England, 1620, stated that the second colony should extend from "forty degrees of northerly latitude . . . to forty-eight degrees of the said northerly latitude."

These Pilgrims wanted a guarantee that they could worship as they pleased and not be bound by the laws of the English Church. Although Virginia did not have religious freedom, the London Company petitioned the King to grant this privilege to the refugees. Sandys assured James I that these thrifty colonists would send timber, fish, and furs to the London market. Trade was England's power. The King slyly consented to ignore the fact that these colonists did not attend his church, but declared that he would not openly grant freedom of worship to any of his subjects, anywhere.

Seventy merchant adventurers, forming the Plymouth Company, paid for the voyage of the first religious refugees to our shores. In November of 1620, the *Mayflower*, with 102 passengers, dropped anchor in Cape Cod Harbor. This was

beyond the limits of Virginia. As they were too far north to be governed by the laws of the southern colony, the Pilgrims found themselves without a government. Since nearly all the Pilgrim fathers had lived in the Netherlands, then a republic, they were familiar with local self-government, town meetings, and voting by ballot. The men met in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and drew up an agreement.

This document was the Mayflower Compact. It established self-government in the second English settlement in the Americas. Among the forty-one men who signed the compact were the first three governors of Plymouth — John Carver, William Bradford, and Edward Winslow; Myles Standish, the soldier; and John Alden, the youngest signer, who had boarded the *Mayflower* at Southampton where the ship took on supplies. Alden was a cooper, engaged to mend leaks in the wooden vessel and keep it seaworthy. Although he was not one of the religious refugees, he chose not to return on the *Mayflower*. He married Priscilla Mullins and stayed in Massachusetts, where they reared a family of eleven children.

In a letter to a friend in England, Edward Winslow described the first Thanksgiving after the first harvest in Plymouth:

Our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner rejoyce together, after we had gathered the fruits of our labour.

They foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little help beside, served the company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other recreations we exercised our Armes; many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest their greatest King Massasoit, with some ninetie men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five deere,

which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed on our Governour, and upon the Captaine and others.

The Pilgrims had come to America to worship in their own way, in a colony of their own, and they wanted no one of another religion to live among them. Others, not of their faith, were sent over by the merchant adventurers who had financed the colony. This displeased the Pilgrims. To them, the Plymouth Plantation was a refuge; to the traders, it was an investment. Under a communal plan, established by the trading company, the colonists were fed and clothed from the common storehouse, and the products of their labors went into the common storehouse. As in Jamestown, the industrious men toiled and the lazy ones loafed. Plymouth, like Jamestown, suffered a starving time.

At the end of seven years the Pilgrims demanded and obtained the right for each man to keep what he had earned. The adventurers agreed that the settlers could have complete ownership of their houses and lands, and the profits from their trade in fish, timber, and furs. In return the colonists would pay the adventurers 1800 pounds sterling in yearly payments of 200 pounds each for nine years. Although this was a large sum in those days, seven of the leading citizens, including Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster, personally signed the agreement in behalf of the colonists and guaranteed the payments to win the privilege of managing their own affairs and working for themselves.

Under the system where each man worked for himself in his own way, the colony began to prosper. With fish, timber, and furs, the hard-working colonists paid

off the adventurers, who were glad to sell out to these independent people who wanted to be left alone. Then the Pilgrims ruled themselves under a charter from the King.

On a winter day in 1620, a shivering band of religious refugees set foot on American shores. They pursued a fleeting vision of religious liberty. It was something they could not see nor understand because they had never known it, except in a foreign land. Yet, unknowingly, they laid the foundation for freedom of worship in the New World.

## **PURITANS ESTABLISH UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE**

SEVEN YEARS AFTER the landing of the Pilgrims, "some friends being together in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the Gospel there." From this friendly conversation in the house of Lincolnshire stemmed plans for the Puritan migration to Massachusetts. The Puritans wished to reform the Church of England and remain in it, while the Pilgrims were Separatists who had quit the English church and broken all ties. The Puritans especially disliked the ceremony of the established church. They were often arrested and thrown into jail for preaching against it. To gain freedom of worship, this small group of merchants, ministers, and landowners agreed to organize a trading company to plant a Puritan colony in New England. The colonists would be Puritans intent upon promoting their reformed faith, and not concerned only with making money for themselves. In 1628 they bought land from the Council of New England, the former Plymouth Com-

pany, that had sent over the Pilgrims. A few months later, the *Abigail*, with forty men on board, sailed from Weymouth, England to plant the first Puritan colony at Salem.

The next spring the company was granted a charter from the King to "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." This charter

granted, bargained, sold, — and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knights, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs and assigns, and their associates forever, all that part of New England in America, which lies and extends between a great river there, commonly called Monomack, alias Merrimack, and a certain other river there, called Charles River, being in the bottom of a certain bay there, commonly called Massachusetts, —

The new corporation was to be ruled by a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants who were elected by the "freemen." They were to meet four times a year and make the laws. The charter warned the company that practicing the Christian faith and converting the Indians to Christianity were the "principall ende of this Plantacion."

Each shareholder, according to his investment, would receive land. For 50 pounds invested in the company, he would get 200 acres. If he came himself as a settler, he was entitled to 50 acres more and fifty for each member of his family. Each emigrant not owning any shares in the company was allotted 50 acres for himself and the same amount of land for each servant whose way he paid.

However, it was the government set up by the Massachusetts Bay Company that attracted the settlers. A measure of self-government and freedom to worship in the

Puritan way appealed to Englishmen persecuted for their religion. In 1629, year of the charter, Francis Higginson brought over five boatloads of emigrants, and one of the vessels was the *Mayflower* that had carried the Pilgrims to Plymouth.

In that same year, a few leading members of the Massachusetts Bay Company met in Cambridge, England, agreeing to move to their colony and take their families with them, if the company would permit. The company consented. The big Puritan migration was in 1630 when John Winthrop, chosen governor, brought over a thousand colonists in seventeen ships and landed at Boston. He also brought the company's charter to escape the fate of the London Company whose charter had been seized six years before. Thus, the charter of a trading company founded in England, and transferred to America, grew into a constitution of an almost independent government in Massachusetts.

The governor and company of Massachusetts Bay provided settlers with warm clothing, seeds for planting, fishing nets, guns, powder and shot, horses and cattle. More important than these supplies was the number of colonists skilled in making pitch and salt, in working with iron and other metals, and in surveying land and building fortifications.

Since the Massachusetts Bay Company had been formed primarily for religious purposes, the ministers held a conference soon after the arrival of colonists in 1629. They met to decide upon the kind of church they wanted to establish. The Puritans had left England and settled in America so that they could worship as they pleased. Unfortunately, they brought over with them the system that had caused their persecution in their homeland. This system

was called union of church and state. Under this system the same people who made the laws of the land also made the laws of the church. In England, the King had ruled that all people worship in the Church of England. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony the Puritan ministers established a church which all their colonists had to attend. In the Puritan colony, as in England, any man or woman who disobeyed a law of the church was guilty of a crime against the state. In other words, if someone refused to follow the specific practices of the Puritan church, he would be subject to fines, imprisonment, banishment, or sometimes, death.

The Puritan ministers passed laws that said only Puritans in good standing could be freemen and citizens, enjoying the rights to vote and hold office. They made laws that interfered with freedom of worship, such as:

— no master or commander of any ship, barque, pinnace, ketch, or other vessel, shall henceforth bring into any harbor, creek or cove within this jurisdiction, any known quaker or quakers, — upon the penalty of the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, to be forthwith paid to the treasurer of the country — . And for default of payment of the said fine of one hundred pounds, or good security for the same, such master shall be committed to prison by warrant from any magistrate, there to continue till the said fine be satisfied to the treasurer.

This court doth order and enact, that every person or persons of the cursed sect of the quakers, — shall be apprehended by any constable, commissioner or selectman (official), and conveyed from constable to constable until they come before the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person or persons to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial by a special jury, and being convicted to be of the sect of the quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death.

Thus, the rules of the Puritan church were also the laws of the Puritan colonies, just as the rules of the Anglican Church were the laws of England. There was one great difference between New England and old England, however. As more and more Puritans came to Massachusetts, the ministers fought among themselves about the kind of reforms they wanted in their new church. When several newcomers felt the same way about a particular reform, they were free to leave the original Massachusetts Bay Colony and make a new colony with a church to their liking.

## ROGER WILLIAMS — THE DISSENTING MINISTER

ELEVEN YEARS AFTER the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, wrote in his diary:

The ship *Lyon*, Mr. William Pierce, master, arrived at Nantasket. She brought Mr. Williams a godly man, with his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, Perkins, Augre and others with their wives and children, about twenty passengers, and about 200 tons of goods. She had a very tempestuous voyage. All their people came safe except Waye, his son, who fell from the spritsail in a tempest, and could not be recovered tho he kept in sight near a quarter of an hour. Her goods came also in good condition.

Roger Williams, a young man from a well-to-do family, was welcomed to Boston. He was invited to take the place of the church teacher who was returning to England on the same ship, *Lyon*. Williams was a well-educated and farseeing man. It was a great disappointment to him to find no more religious liberty on this side of the ocean than on the other side. He quickly

found the cause of the religious squabbles in Massachusetts. It was the union of church and state.

In Boston, Plymouth, and Salem, he began to preach against the rules of the Puritan Church and the laws of the colony. He declared that every one had the right to worship as he pleased, and that no man should be asked to attend or support any church against his wishes. These were radical doctrines in those days, and even Roger Williams did not fully succeed in practicing them. The new preacher was a forceful speaker. Families moved to Salem to hear his sermons, and his followers grew in number. It was embarrassing to have a minister of the gospel preaching against the Puritan laws. Williams was brought to trial. The colonial record reads:

Whereas Mr. Roger Williams of the church at Salem hath divulged new and dangerous opinions, – it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart within six weeks, not to return anymore without written license from the court.

In his own home, the fiery minister began to preach on week days as well as on Sundays. Crowds flocked to hear him. Boldly, he declared that no government had the right to establish a *state* religion, and that every man had the right to worship in his own way. This doctrine, complete *separation of church and state*, was contrary to the laws of Massachusetts and to the legal code of England. It was treason.

Could such a man be permitted to remain six weeks? Officers were sent to kidnap Williams and carry him secretly to a ship lying in the harbor of Nantasket. As soon as he would be safely on board, the captain was to sail for England. When the officers arrived at Williams' house, the

minister was not at home. He had learned of the plot and left three days before.

Roger Williams had long wanted to be a missionary to the Indians. In trading, he had lived among them enough to learn their language. He had often preached to them. Now, in a way quite unexpected, his wish came true. The Narragansetts wintered in the woods, cutting logs for fuel and killing game for food. Although in poor health, Williams plodded for days through deep snow to seek shelter among his Indian friends. Of his flight into the wilderness in 1635, Roger Williams wrote:

I was unmercifully driven from my house to a winter's flight, for fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, I knew not what bread or bed did mean.

The Indians welcomed him into their smoke-filled huts and shared their corn and venison. In the spring he left the hospitable Narragansetts and searched for a pleasant spot where he could build a cabin for his wife and children, whom he had left at home. He selected a site near a spring of good water and named it Providence. He invited all who were persecuted in other colonies to join him in the new settlement, where he would share with them the land he had purchased from the Indians. To all he promised religious liberty without taxation to support an established church, although he carried on heated debates with ministers of other faiths who did not agree with him. Although some men believed in complete religious liberty, the idea was too new for men to live up to.

The little settlement, dedicated to religious freedom, grew into the colony of Rhode Island. As long as Williams lived, all went well. After his death Rhode Island lost that freedom of worship for which the

colony had been founded. People could not grasp the new idea. The “godly minister” lived ahead of his time. However, the doctrine he preached, separation of church and state, was written into the constitution of a republic yet unborn – the United States of America.

## FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

IN SEPTEMBER OF 1633, two ministers, Thomas Hooker and John Cotton, arrived in Massachusetts with a company of Puritan emigrants from England. Hooker went to Newtown, now Cambridge, where about a hundred families lived, and Cotton remained in Boston. Hooker’s parsonage stood on land that is now part of Harvard University.

When Thomas Hooker became the pastor of the Newtown congregation, three thousand Englishmen were settled in the region. They were occupied in planting, fishing, herding sheep and cattle, building houses and barns, and trading with the Indians for furs. Already, there were about fourteen ministers, all well-educated, dwelling among them. Many of the settlers were not accepted as freemen and were denied the right to vote under the strict laws of the colony.

Although Hooker was disturbed over this injustice, he was not outspoken against the union of church and state as was Roger Williams. However, he was not long in the Massachusetts colony until he applied for permission to move his congregation to the valley of the Connecticut River. Since boatloads of emigrants were arriving from England and taking up the land, the members of Hooker’s congregation needed more pasture for their sheep and cattle. Although

this reason was sufficient, Hooker’s plea was refused the first time. Some persons had an idea that Hooker was not altogether pleased with the strict laws of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and that the need for more land was not the only cause of removal. His second request was granted.

On the last day of May in 1636, Thomas Hooker and his congregation set out for the valley of the Connecticut River (claimed also by the Dutch). Driving 160 head of cattle, they tracked their way over Indian trails in the wilderness. “They fed of their milk by the way.” Mrs. Hooker, being too ill to walk, was carried in a litter. The emigrants carried packs, guns, and cooking utensils strapped on their backs. Furniture, farm tools, and other supplies were sent round by water. With only the aid of a compass, they made their way to a site on the Connecticut River, a hundred miles away, in two weeks’ time. The settlement was named Hartford, after the home town in England of Samuel Stone, Thomas Hooker’s assistant and teacher. Ground was purchased from the Indians and two acres were parcelled out to each family.

Thomas Hooker was both minister and statesman. His ideas were woven into the laws of the new colony, which was called Connecticut. In sermons, he declared that the people had the right to choose their own officials and to limit the power of these men. Unlike Massachusetts Bay, the right to vote in Connecticut was not limited to church members selected by church authorities. Thus, more colonists were able to have a share in their government.

Although the settlers suffered from Indian wars, the colony grew rapidly after the destruction of the Pequots, a hostile Indian tribe. Towns along the river

formed a union for their own protection, and this idea of federation probably originated with Hooker. He was usually consulted about all matters pertaining to the welfare of the people. Thomas Hooker stood for the liberty of the individual person and the liberty of the individual church.

In 1637 he was summoned to Boston for the meeting of the church council that tried Anne Hutchinson, a dissenter from the accepted Puritan views on doctrine. After deliberating for twenty-two days, the synod, at which Thomas Hooker was a moderator, condemned many of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions on doctrine. In March of 1638, she was called to trial in the court of Boston and banished from the colony. About six years later Anne Hutchinson and all her children, except one, were killed on the frontier by the Indians.

Like Anne Hutchinson, the Quakers suffered for defending their rights to think as conscience dictated. Public opinion and an order from Charles II brought an end to capital punishment for religious belief in Massachusetts. Thereafter, although the Quakers were not welcome in the Puritan colonies, they were endured, more or less. Since Massachusetts had an established church, only Puritans were allowed to vote and hold office, and real religious liberty did not exist for a long time.

Even the tolerant Dutch had only a vague idea of religious liberty. Governor Stuyvesant attempted to force Quakers in New York to follow rules of the Dutch Reformed Church. He found it necessary to arrest one of their leaders and send him to Amsterdam for trial. In a year, the sturdy Quaker returned with a letter from the Dutch Government to Peter Stuyvesant.

The document, dated Amsterdam, April 16, 1663, contained the following rebuke to the Governor:

In the youth of your existence, you ought rather to encourage than check the population of the colony. The consciences of men ought to be FREE and UNSHACKLED, so long as they continue moderate, peaceable, inoffensive, and not hostile to the government.

It took men a long time to grasp the meaning of liberty of conscience.

### LORD BALTIMORE'S DREAM

THE NEW WORLD BECAME the place to experiment with new ideas for the benefit of mankind. George Calvert, elevated to the peerage as Lord Baltimore, had long cherished a plan to help his fellowmen. Where could he try it out?

Lord Baltimore and Edwin Sandys were neighbors and friends, although they did not always agree in the councils of the London Company to which they both belonged. They had a common bond. Both men believed in religious liberty. They worked together to plant freedom of worship in the New World. Lord Baltimore was a secretary of state and adviser to the King when Sandys had invited the Pilgrims to settle in northern Virginia. These men had wangled the faint promise from James I that the Pilgrims would not be forced to attend the Anglican Church.

Baltimore resigned from public office to carry out his secret ambition of founding a colony with complete religious freedom. He believed that men of all Christian faiths could live and work together in peace and contentment if church and state were entirely separate and the people, themselves,



had law-making rights to preserve religious liberty. Although many made fun of his ideas, ridicule did not stop Lord Baltimore. In 1632 he received from Charles I a grant of land north of the Potomac River. He named this land Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria. The charter that Baltimore received made him the proprietor of the colony he would establish. As a proprietor, he had the right to set up the kind of government he wanted.

Baltimore invited many Catholic families to his colony. Through fines, forfeits, and imprisonment, these Catholics had lost their land, their homes, and their belongings in England, and were a burden to the nation. Lord Baltimore also invited Protestants to his colony. He promised them freedom of worship and no taxation to support a state church.

George Calvert did not live to see his dream come true. His son, Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, carried out his father's wishes. Thirteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, owned by the Baltimore family, sailed for America with another band of religious refugees. The founder asked his colonists not to talk about religion during the voyage. Although a Catholic himself, Baltimore requested that his church ceremonies be held as privately as possible in order that the services not offend the Protestants, who were in the majority. "And this is to be observed on land as well as at sea," he wrote.

Boldly, Baltimore added some political liberty to religious freedom. Every freeman had the right to sit in the assembly and take part in making the laws of the colony. The settlements grew so rapidly that it soon became necessary to elect representatives to the General Assembly at St.

Mary's. Religion was not a consideration for holding office. Each governor of Maryland under the Baltimores was requested to take this oath:

Nor will I make any difference of persons in conferring offices, rewards or favours proceeding from the authority which his said Lordship hath conferred upon me, as his Lieutenant here, FOR OR IN RESPECT OF THEIR SAID RELIGION respectively, but merely as I shall find them faithful and well deserving of his said Lordship, and to the best of my understanding, endowed with moral virtues and abilities, fitting for such rewards, offices, or favours, wherein my prime aim and end from time to time, shall sincerely be the advancement of his said Lordship's service here, and the public unity and good of the province, without partiality to any - .

With liberty of conscience guaranteed by the Baltimores, Maryland became the home of Puritans, Quakers, other Protestant sects, and Roman Catholics. This ideal of many sects living together worked out well until the Baltimores lost control of their colony. Then Maryland was the scene of bitter religious strife. Catholics, Quakers, Anabaptists, and others lost their right to share in their government when Puritan refugees from England gained control of Maryland. Every one had to obey the laws of the Puritan Church. For a long time Puritans clung to the old-world idea that church and state should not be separated.

The Calverts were practical business men. Their motto was to practice freedom of worship, not preach it. Each man should be allowed to go his own way and to mind his own business. Maryland was to be a way of life. To liberty of conscience the Calverts added *security of person and property*. The founder had unusual foresight for his day. He realized that religious freedom and political liberty go hand in hand, and

that neither one can long exist without the other. This idea was his great contribution to the "something new" growing up in the New World. Lord Baltimore was a dreamer. Like Roger Williams in New England, he lived ahead of his time.

### **"PENN'S HOLY EXPERIMENT"**

WILLIAM PENN, well-built and athletic, was a handsome young man with charming manners and a friendly way. Being the son of an admiral in the British Navy, he was educated to take his place in the world as a wealthy English gentleman. Instead, he became a Quaker, trading dinner parties, fox hunts, and tea dances of society for sermons, reforms, and prisons. Penn traveled over western Europe preaching that slavery was wrong; that prisons should be places of reform, not punishment; and, most disturbing of all, the doctrine that every man had the right to worship in his own way. Penn's ideas and Quaker ways proved embarrassing to his father, who once drove his son from his house with angry words.

"You may 'thee and thou' the other folk as much as you like, but you cannot 'thee and thou' the King or me," his father declared.

William did 'thee and thou' the King, who had a sense of humor, and enjoyed the queer ways of the likeable son of his friend, the admiral. One of the Quaker customs was that men did not remove their hats in the presence of others. One day, Charles II snatched off his hat quickly when he met young William.

"Why dost thou remove thy hat, Friend Charles?" Penn asked.

"Because only one can be covered in the

presence of the King," he replied. The "Merry Monarch" chuckled heartily, thinking this was a good joke on the Quaker.

Although Penn's friendship with Charles II did not save him from being thrown into prison with other Quakers, it did help him gain a refuge for the Quakers in the New World. The King owed the admiral 16,000 pounds. The younger Penn fell heir to the debt when his father died. William traded the sum for a grant of land, north of Maryland, named Pennsylvania in honor of his father. Here Quakers could live in peace and worship as they pleased. Penn was another dreamer with ideas for the benefit of his fellowman. This grant gave him a colony of his own. Because he was made a proprietor of the colony, he could try out his scheme of government. His idea as stated in his own words was:

Any government is free to the people, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are parties to those laws.

Penn guaranteed religious freedom to all sects who "live peaceably and justly in civil society," and assured his colonists a share in the government.

"You shall be governed by laws of your own making," he wrote, "and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person . . . ."

Like Baltimore, Penn had the wisdom and the foresight to know that political liberty and religious freedom cannot long exist apart. His whole charter was so generous that many people made fun of it. They dubbed his colony "Penn's Holy Experiment."

The Quaker leader was a shrewd business man. He advertised for settlers in countries

where hard-working, honest people had suffered from religious persecution, feuds, and wars. Penn welcomed the thrifty farmers and skilled craftsmen from the German states, where many people had been reduced to poverty by thirty years of war. So many came that, before the Revolutionary War, nearly one third of Pennsylvania's population was German. From Switzerland and nearby states came Mennonites, who were dairymen and cheesemakers. Among the Scotch and Irish refugees were skilled weavers of linens and woolens. Quakers from England and Wales, Catholics, Jews, Anabaptists, and other persecuted sects migrated to "Penn's Woodland." The people worked together and made use of their abilities.

These newcomers soon made Pennsylvania a busy colony. Mill wheels in little streams ground corn into meal and wheat into flour. In 1690, eight years after the first refugees came, an immigrant from the Netherlands built the first paper mill in the colonies on a creek in Germantown. In Pennsylvania farming and manufacturing grew at the same time, adding material prosperity to political liberty and religious freedom. Also, there was freedom from the fear of Indian massacre. From the Indian owners, Penn had purchased the land "given" to him by the King. With the chiefs of the tribes, he made a treaty that never was broken. The colony with the most freedoms grew the fastest and became the richest of the English settlements in America. "Penn's Holy Experiment" was no longer a joke, either in America or in England. Men liked to live where they could be free.

Of all the thirteen colonies Pennsylvania was the only one that practiced religious freedom from the date of its founding in

1682. This was possible because the heirs of William Penn never lost ownership of their colony.

It took our forefathers a long time to learn that freedoms increase when shared with others, and that the safest guarantee of religious liberty for one sect is to extend the privilege to all. It is fitting that the law which guarantees our freedom of worship should have been written in Penn's City of Brotherly Love, Philadelphia.

The first amendment to our Constitution reads: CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW RESPECTING AN ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, OR PROHIBITING THE FREE EXERCISE THEREOF.

Only sixteen words. Yet, for this victory, Roger Williams was banished; Lord Baltimore was ridiculed; William Penn was imprisoned; and Mary Dyer, a Quaker, was hanged on Boston Common. With a vision that foretold the future, they were prophets in their day. They lived ahead of their time and their dreams came true in the law of our land.

A charter from the King of England gave one man or a group of men permission to start a colony in new lands claimed by Great Britain. However, all charters were not alike.

Colonies in New England whose charters granted the most local control came to be known as "the charter colonies."

When a charter granted land and many privileges of government to one man, the settlement was called a proprietary colony. Although the proprietors appointed governors, judges, and other important officials in their colonies, as a rule, the people had a share in making the laws through assemblies of freemen who were elected.

In royal colonies, the governors were appointed by the King, but the people

shared in governing themselves through their elected assemblies. In some colonies, these assemblies had the right to pay the royal governor his salary, and the governor found it convenient to please the people.

Although most of the British colonies eventually became royal in name, the people insisted in sharing more and more in governing themselves. As a result, the

British colonists acquired the experience in self-government that led to their independence.

### MAPS:

WA6r, WA9r, WA11r  
*Atlas of American History* by Edgar B. Wesley

Colony	Date	Founded by	Reason	Government
Virginia	1607	London Company	Trade	Charter 1606 Royal 1624
Massachusetts	1620	Plymouth Co. Pilgrims (Separatists)	Trade	Self-governing – 1620
	1628 - 1630	Massachusetts Bay Co. (Puritans)	Religion	Charter – 1629 Charter – 1629 Charter – 1691 with governor appointed by the King
New Hampshire	1623	John Mason	Religion	Charter – 1629 Royal – 1679
(Maine	1623	Fernando Gorges)	Trade	(Maine was proprietary in 1629 – Mass. bought rights in 1677.)
Maryland	1634	George Calvert (Lord Baltimore)	Religion	Proprietary – 1632 Royal – 1692 Proprietary 1720
Rhode Island	1636	Roger Williams	Religion	Self-governing 1636 Charter – 1663
Connecticut	1636 1638	Emigrants from Massachusetts	Land Religion	Self-governing Charter – 1662
Delaware	1638	Swedish South Co.	Trade	Swedish rule – 1638 Dutch rule – 1655 English rule – 1664 (proprietary) Merged with Pennsylvania – 1682 Separate governor – 1691
North Carolina South Carolina	1663	Earl of Clarendon Duke of Albemarle William, Earl of Craven John, Lord Berkeley	Trade	Proprietary 1663 N. Royal 1729 S. Royal 1729 Separated in 1729

Colony	Date	Founded by	Reason	Government
		Lord Ashley Sir George Carteret Sir John Colleton Sir William Berkeley		
New York (New Amsterdam)	1614	United Netherlands Company	Trade	Dutch rule
	1622	Dutch West India Co.	Trade	Dutch rule
	1664	Captured by England	To destroy Dutch power in America	
	1664	Named for Duke of York, proprietor	Trade	Proprietary, 1664 Royal – 1685
New Jersey	1623	Dutch West India Co. Swedish South Co.	Trade Trade	Dutch rule – 1623 Swedish rule – 1638
	1664	Dutch West India Co. Lord Berkeley – George Carteret, proprietors	Trade Trade	Dutch rule – 1655 Proprietary – 1664 Royal – 1702
Pennsylvania	1682	Quakers-William Penn	Religion	Proprietary
Georgia	1732	James Oglethorpe	Debtors	Proprietary 1732 Royal 1752

## Chapter 6

# For Freedom of Opportunity

### FREEDOM FROM WANT

THE PATTERN OF LIFE was set for a tenant farmer living in a wee thatched cottage on the huge estate of an English nobleman. Year after year he and his children plowed the duke's fields, stored feed in his barns, milked his cows, tended his sheep, and toiled in his garden. The pay was small, providing the barest necessities of life, and leaving little or nothing with which to seek a better way. Few schools were provided for the poor in England and there was little hope for change. One evening a neighbor of one of these tenant farmers dropped in to bring the news from London. He carried a little pamphlet, thin as a pancake, which he had purchased for a penny at a London book stall. He was a welcome guest – this neighbor who had learned to read and write in the big city, where he went on frequent trips to sell his master's cattle. The farmer seated him on a wooden stool, lighted a candle, and the family gathered around the table to hear the news.

First, the neighbor read the front-page notice from the publisher, assuring the reader that every word was the truth, because the letter (not intended for the

press) was written by a minister living in New England.

In America land was free for the taking. A man standing on a hilltop could see thousands of acres of the finest corn land cleared by the Indians. Along the Charles River the soil was rich and black. Cattle grew fat on the long thick grass, and milk was cheap, a penny a quart. The great crop was Indian corn, which grew wherever the seed was planted. One man paid about \$1.60 for seed, traded his corn crop to the Indians for beaver pelts, and sold the furs for \$1600. Turnips, parsnips, carrots, peas, cucumbers, and pumpkins grew larger in America than in England. Greens, onions, herbs, berries, grapes, fruits, and nuts grew wild in the woods. There were many turkeys, partridges, wild ducks, and geese. Pigeons were so numerous that their flights sometimes darkened the earth like a cloud. Deer and bear roamed in the forests. The minister wrote enthusiastically about the abundance of fish – cod, herring, mullets, mackerel, haddock, crabs, and oysters. He declared that he had seen lobsters weighing as much as sixteen pounds and had heard of others weighing twenty-five pounds. Lobsters were so plentiful that even small boys could catch all they could eat. Such a

variety of food was unknown to the poor in Europe, who always seemed hungry. It was free in New England for those who hunted, fished, and farmed.

In a country where land was easy to obtain and the woods were thick with trees, any man could own his home, be he ever so poor. Stone, too, was plentiful. Not far from Salem was a place with "marble-stone" which the settlers called Marble Harbor. The minister praised the climate of Massachusetts.

"A sup of New England Aire," he said, "is better than a whole draft of Old England's Ale."

The winters were cold but wood was plentiful. A poor servant with fifty acres of land could afford to use more logs for heating than many a nobleman in England. "Here is good living for those who love good fires."

It was a long letter, nearly 5000 words, praising New England. In closing, the minister wrote:

We that are settled in Salem make what hast (haste) we can to build Houses, so that within a short time we shall have a faire Towne . . . We have plentie of Preaching . . . And thus we doubt not but God will be with us, and IF GOD BE WITH US, WHO CAN BE AGAINST US?

The New World was a land of plenty. Without money to pay for the voyage, how could they get there? Alas! America was only a dream. Then, months later, the neighbor returned from another selling trip to London. He brought good news.

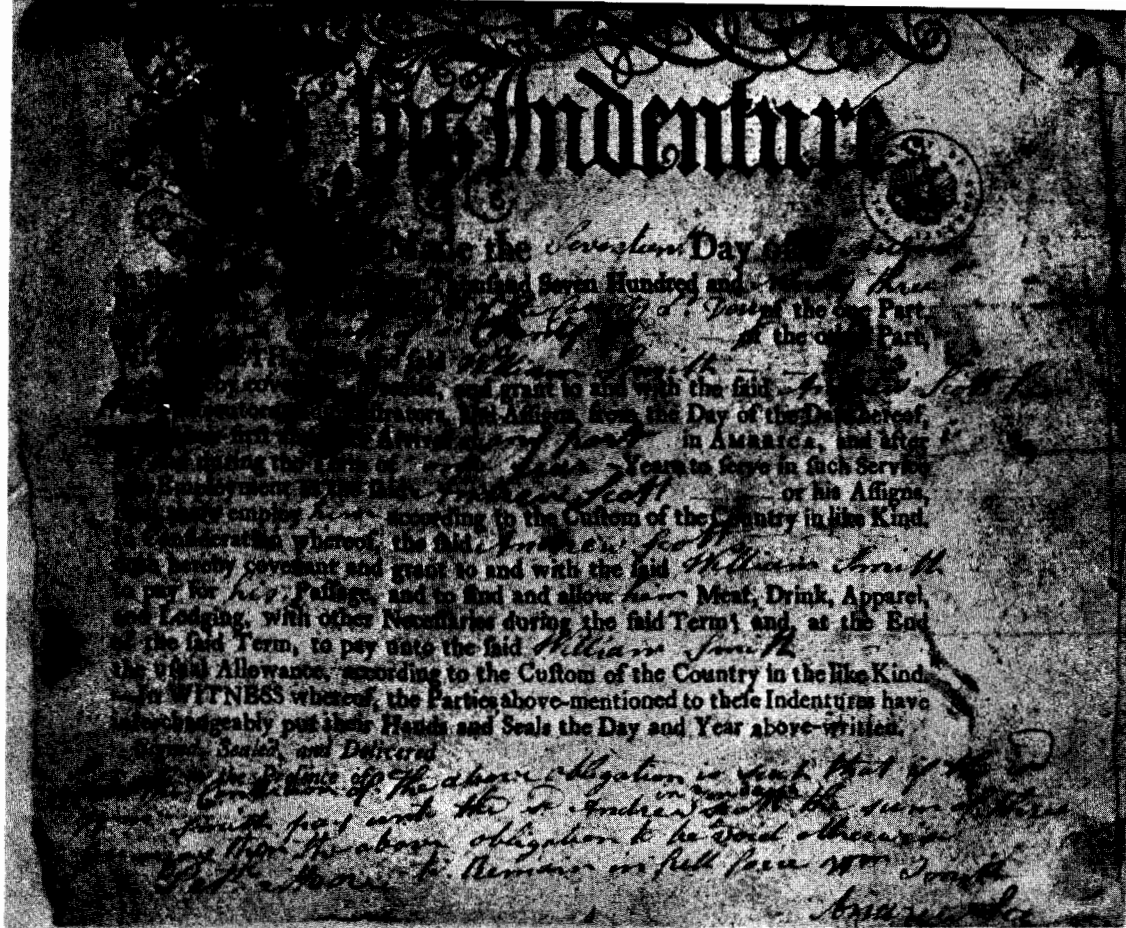
## **INDENTURED SERVANTS PROVIDE WORKMEN FOR THE COLONIES**

THE PLANTERS IN AMERICA needed men in their fields and shops. They

advertised for help in London and seacoast towns. They offered to pay the passage across the ocean for men, women, and families willing to bind themselves to a term of service until they had repaid their master for the cost of the voyage. To guarantee their freedom after a specified number of years, both master and servant signed duplicate papers, indented or notched in the same places to prove the agreement was mutual and legal. When a servant's time expired, he and his master took their papers to an officer of the law. One paper was placed on top of the other to prove that the notches were identical and were made at the same time. Sometimes, both parts were written on one sheet which was torn with jagged edges. Then the master and servant fitted them together to prove that the two pieces were part of one sheet of paper. These papers protected the rights of the servants to become freemen when their time expired. The papers were known as "indentures." Thus, men and women possessing these papers came to be called "indented" or "indentured" servants. They were not treated as slaves. They had rights in the courts to protect them from unjust and cruel masters.

Although the abuses of the system were many, tens of thousands from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and other countries were willing to sell themselves into bondage to escape poverty and want in their homelands. For them, America was a land of hope as well as a land of plenty. When their debt was paid, they could build their own homes, plow their own fields, raise their own cattle, and market their own products.

In fact, this trade in servants became so



Photograph of original indenture between William Smith and Andrew Scott, witnessed by Patrick Moore. Both Smith and Scott received identical copies with edges torn in the same way to prove the indenture was legal. When presented in court, a judge declared that the servant had completed the time required to pay for his passage and was free to go his own way.

THIS INDENTURE made the seventeenth day of August in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety three, between Andrew Scott of the County L. Derry of the one part, and William Smith of said County . . . of the other part, WITNESSETH, that the said William Smith doth hereby covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Andrew Scott, his heirs, administrators, and assigns, from the day of the date hereof, until their first and next arrival at any port in America, and after for and during the term of one year to serve in such service and employment as the said Andrew Scott or his assigns, shall there employ him according to the custom of the country in like kind. In consideration whereof, the said Andrew Scott doth hereby covenant and grant to and with the said William Smith to pay for his passage, and to find and allow him meat, drink, apparel, and lodging, with other necessaries during the said term; and, at the end of the said term, to pay unto the said William Smith the usual allowance, according to the custom of the country in like kind. - In WITNESS whereof, the parties above-mentioned to these indentures have interchangeably put their hands and seals the day and year above-written.

SIGNED, SEALED, AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF  
 PATRICK MOORE  
 William Smith  
 Andrew Scott

(The added note in Moore's handwriting states that Smith can be free before his term is completed by paying Scott three guineas.)



profitable that thousands of persons, including young children, were kidnapped and sold into servitude in the colonies. The King used the system to get rid of criminals and undesirables. Many of these "undesirables," however, had been thrown into prison for political and religious reasons, and were not guilty of crime. They made good citizens in the New World. Two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence came to this country as indentured servants. Twenty Negroes sold in Virginia by a Dutch captain in 1619 were more like indentured servants than slaves. Actual slavery came later.

Of course, there were indentured servants who did not live up to their bargains. The following excerpt from a colonial paper is one of many advertisements for runaway servants:

Six Pounds Reward

RAN AWAY from the subscribers, two servant lads, one named JAMES HAMBLETON, seventeen years of age, about five feet three and four inches high, wears his own red hair, a little knock-kneed; had on a new felt hat, a check shirt, striped outside jacket, a silk vest, new leather breeches, and old shoes.

The other named WILLIAM HALL, about the same age and height, full face and eyes, down look, and had light colored hair; had on a blue and white striped vest, a kersey jacket, a coarse linen shirt with a patch on the left shoulder, striped trousers, and a pair of double-soled calfskin shoes with square brass buckles in them. Whoever takes up said servants and secures them, so that their masters may have them again, shall have the above reward, or THREE POUNDS for either of them, and reasonable charges, paid by

JOHN HILLIAS  
JONAH WOOLMAN

Skilled tradesmen and professional men, as well as laborers, came to this country as indentured servants seeking freedom from

**A** PLACE in the Country is wanted for a likely, active NEGRO GIRL, who is about nine years old, and has had the small pox; she is to be bound until twenty-four years old.— For further particulars enquire of the Printer.

Sometimes owners freed the children of their slaves when they were old enough to take care of themselves. These Negroes were given legal papers assuring their freedom at a given time, and these papers were recognized by the courts.

**T O B E S O L D,**  
**T**HE TIME of an English servant Man, by trade a blacksmith, and understands forging gun barrels. Enquire of the Printer.

Only the time of an indentured servant could be sold. This advertisement offers the time an English immigrant has yet to serve to pay back the expenses of his voyage to America.

want. The desire to possess land is strong in the Anglo Saxon and Celtic peoples of northern Europe. Many humbled themselves in servitude to win a title to fifty acres of land when they became freemen in America. Without these servants to build up the colonies, it would have taken England a longer time to gain a foothold in the New World. To the poor in Europe, America was a land of promise. Even debtors, thrown into prison, found a haven in the New World.

**GEORGIA IS  
FOUNDED FOR DEBTORS**

IN ENGLAND at this time whole families were thrown into prison for debt.

In jail they could not earn money to pay their debts. They lived on in the filthy, wretched prisons until they died. Many kind-hearted Englishmen were moved to pity by the plight of these unfortunate people. The support of these prisoners, poor as it was, made the taxpayers complain of the burden.

A rich and kindly man, James Oglethorpe, asked his friends and Parliament to help him provide the funds to start a colony where these debtors could work to support themselves. The men who invested money in the colony expected some profits and believed that Oglethorpe could make the venture pay. George II favored the founding of the colony because it would place Englishmen farther south to push the Spaniards back and hold them in Florida. The new settlement would protect Carolina, founded in 1663 as a grant to proprietors who were favorites of the King. Oglethorpe's colony was named Georgia in honor of King George and was the last of the thirteen colonies. It was a proprietary colony, in a way, under Oglethorpe's direction. Oglethorpe was granted a charter in 1732, the year George Washington was born. In January of the following year, Oglethorpe arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, with his first colonists, where he was received cordially by the governor and given a pilot to guide his ships to the Savannah River.

Since the debtors had nothing at all, Oglethorpe's company furnished passage, food, and clothing for a year until they could harvest their first crop. The father of each family was given fifty acres of land and a start in cattle, hogs, and sheep. Many families who could afford to pay their way migrated to Georgia from England, Scot-

land, Ireland, and Germany. The men who invested their money in this colony had visions of gaining riches in the silk and wine industries. These adventurers asked the colonists to plant mulberry trees, which they did. In spite of the mild climate, silkworms did not thrive in Georgia. In a new country, where land was plentiful, the farmers planted rice and sugar cane and worked in the fields. Raising silkworms was a tedious, stay-at-home chore which did not appeal to men in a country rich with game. They planted the grape vines but failed to make much wine.

Although Oglethorpe did much to make his colonists happy and successful, the colony did not prosper so much as those farther north.

Some of the debtors were not thrifty. They failed to take care of themselves in the New World as they had failed in the Old World. Like all of the proprietary colonies, except Pennsylvania, Georgia eventually became the property of the Crown.

## **LITTLE TRADE BEGINNINGS OF OUR GREAT INDUSTRIAL NATION**

INTO THE HARBORS along the Atlantic Coast sailed boatloads of Europeans. They were seeking freedom from want, food to eat, clothes to wear, and fires to warm them. As soon as these simple needs were filled, they grew "trade-minded." They were no longer content merely with freedom from want. Many desired to own a farm, a shop, a store, a mill, a factory, a fishing boat, a merchant vessel, and to go into business for themselves.

Land was cheap, sometimes free for the taking. Most families built their own

homes and raised their own food. To provide other needs and some of the luxuries, most farmers made something to sell or trade from the natural resources of the country. In the northern colonies during the winter, farmers cut down trees. From pine and spruce they made poles for masts on sailing ships. White and red oak were used for ship timber and they had a ready market in the shipbuilding industry in England and the colonies. From the refuse of pine forests they made pitch, tar, turpentine, rosin, and potash. In farm homes, barrels, shingles, and clapboards were made by hand. These products were traded for merchandise made in neighboring colonies and in England. Women and girls made linen from flax grown in the fields and woolen cloth from the fleece of barnyard sheep. In early colonial days it was hard to tell who was a farmer and who was a manufacturer, because nearly every man had some little business of his own.

One product led to another from the natural resources of the country. The forests supplied the timber that built the boats for the fishing industry. These vessels were constructed in sheltered coves on the seaboard, on the banks of larger rivers, and sometimes in the deep woods where the timber was cut, miles from water. Then, in the winter, the boats were drawn on sledges to the nearest stream.

When Captain John Smith was in Jamestown, he learned from the Indians that gold and copper deposits could be found along the Atlantic Coast north of the Virginia settlement. Several years after he had returned to England, he had been employed by some merchants to explore the North Atlantic Coast, which he named New England. Not finding either gold or

copper, John Smith wrote in his *Description of New England* in 1614:

Fish and furs were now our guard. By our late arrival and long lingering about the whale, the prime of both those seasons were past ere we perceived it, we thinking that their seasons served at all times. But we found it otherwise, for, by the middle of June, the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40,000; of salted fish, about 7000. While the sailors fished, myself with eight or nine others that might best be spared, ranging the coast in a small boat, we got for trifles near 1100 beaver skins, 100 martins, and near as many otters, and most of them within the distance of twenty leagues.

John Smith and his men probably boiled ocean water to get the salt to "cure" their fish. The early colonists followed this tedious process, using 250 gallons of water to obtain a single bushel of salt. In 1629 Cape Cod fishermen walking along the rocky shore noticed that salt was sticking to their shoes. They discovered that the salt covering the rocks had evaporated from the tide water. They tried it on their fish and liked the flavor. Soon, salt was made by filling shallow vats with ocean water and leaving the water to be evaporated by the sun and the wind. Thus, because the fishing business created a demand for salt, another industry was started. Lumbering, shipbuilding, and fishing grew together. Then the demand arose for merchants who would sell these products in markets at home and abroad.

Less than fifteen years after the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, a sawmill was built at Salmon River Falls on the Piscataqua in New Hampshire. This was years before England had a sawmill. These mills, built near streams and operated by

water power, sawed the lumber that made the ships that carried the fish, lumber, and fur of the colonies to the West Indies and ports of Europe. Salem, Boston, Plymouth, Dorchester, Salisbury, and New Bedford were shipbuilding centers in early days. In 1692 one man had twenty-one vessels trading with the West Indies, the isle of Jersey, and the ports of France. Sometimes a skipper sold both his vessel and his cargo in a foreign port, returning home as a passenger on another ship.

In New England where the winters were long and the growing seasons were short, more and more people turned from farming to trading as a means of earning a living. This created a demand for more things to sell and home manufacturing increased. On long winter evenings boys in farm families hammered out homemade nails in tiny forges in chimney corners. Yankee traders brought bales of raw cotton from islands in the West Indies and sold them to farmers in the colonies. The farmers' wives and children carded and spun the cotton. The fathers, many of whom had learned to weave in the old country, plied their looms during spare time from labor in their fields. When woven and dyed, the cloth was taken to the nearest town and offered for sale or trade. In fact, every family was expected to make some article of commerce. In Massachusetts in 1656, a law was passed demanding that each family spin three pounds of linen, cotton, or wool each week for thirty weeks of each year. This law excused them from spinning during the twenty-two weeks of the growing season in spring and summer.

In the beginning, commerce thrived on these homemade articles and farm products. Gradually, the demand grew for more goods than home manufacturing

could produce. This situation created a demand for mills and factories to produce more goods. Manufacturing outside the home made slow progress because of the lack of capital and scarcity of labor and equipment.

## **CAPITAL, LABOR, AND MONOPOLY IN COLONIAL DAYS**

**MONEY FOR INVESTMENT** is commonly called "venture capital." Although the colonists had food, clothing, and shelter, and were not in want, they had little money or venture capital. Business was carried on by barter. Taxes were paid and trades made in furs, cattle, corn, leaden bullets, and beaded belts called wampum. In Virginia tobacco was used for money to pay taxes and fines. At a meeting of the House of Burgesses in 1629, a law was passed that every master of a family and every freeman must pay a tax of five pounds of tobacco to support three Indians who lived in the colony and who were public charges. Another law stated that everyone absent from church on Sunday was to be fined one pound of tobacco.

The London Company furnished the money to build the first factory in the colonies. Captain Newport, on his second voyage to Jamestown in 1608, brought over eight skilled workmen from Poland and Germany to make glass, pitch, tar and soapashes. The following year, in the woods about a mile from Jamestown, the company built a "glass house" to make beads and trinkets to trade for furs brought in by Indian trappers. During the first year this plant also produced fifty barrels of tar, pitch, and soapashes. The workmen dug a well in the fort, made nets for fishing, and



### A TOBACCO PLANTATION IN THE WEST INDIES

According to tradition, a sailor who came with Columbus in 1492 took tobacco home and smoked a pipe of it to show his friends how the Indians used the plant. At first, Europeans raised tobacco in their gardens as a curiosity, and did not use it. As the smoking habit increased, tobacco became the leading export from some colonies in the New World. Sometimes, colonists to Virginia stopped over in the West Indies to learn how to raise and market tobacco. In 1619, the first Negro servants were sold in Jamestown to work in the tobacco fields as in the West Indies.

erected a block house for the Indian trade. They built twenty houses for themselves, and cleared, plowed, and planted forty acres of land. Then, during leisure time, they made clapboards and wainscot by hand to be shipped to the London Company for sale in England. A "master of all trades" was the factory toiler in colonial days. The "glass house" near Jamestown was the first manufacturing plant to operate in what is now the United States. Ten years later the company erected an iron works in the same forest. In a few years both little factories were destroyed in an Indian attack on the Jamestown settlement. The officials of the London Company made further efforts to establish manufacturing in Virginia, but the colonists

preferred to be planters and raise tobacco.

To get manufacturing started in New England, where money was scarce, the people turned to barter. In town meetings the people voted to give land and special privileges to anyone or any group willing to invest money in a mill or a factory. In 1665 Groton, Connecticut, gave 20 acres of land within the limits of the town to a group of men to erect a mill for grinding corn. At the same time the townsmen voted that the property would be free of taxes for twenty years. They also prohibited the erection of another mill for the same length of time.

In 1646 a man in Lynn, Massachusetts, was granted a monopoly for fourteen years on his invention for using water power in mills, including a sawmill, "so his study and

cost may not be in vayne or lost." The town of Lynn became famous for shoes instead of lumber. The first shoemaker settled there only fifteen years after the Pilgrims arrived. As cattle became more plentiful in New England, leather was tanned for shoes and clothing. The first tannery was in Lynn. The town became a great center of the shoemaking industry. The fisheries furnished oil for tanning and the woods were full of oak and sumac.

In 1641 the townsmen of Salem, Massachusetts, voted to give two acres of public land to each of three men if they would start a glass factory. Since the men lacked enough capital to complete the factory, the citizens in town meeting voted to lend them tax money which they were to repay, "if the work succeeded, when they were able."

The colonial manufacturer had a more difficult time in getting helpers than he did in getting money. Although hundreds of skilled mechanics came to America as industrial servants, there was always more to be done than people to do it. Some men made a business out of supplying workmen for the manufacturers. This was true especially in the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. Advertisements like the following appeared in colonial papers:

Just Arrived

On Board The Brigantine, Friendship,

John Bean, Master, from Dublin

A NUMBER of healthy indented SERVANTS, Men and Women, among whom are several valuable Tradesmen, whose times are to be disposed of, on reasonable terms, by JOHN LYNCH, at the corner of Third and Lombard Streets, or the master on board vessel, now lying off the Drawbridge.

(Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet.)

Many a factory owner failed in business because the "indentured servants" left his employ when their terms of servitude were ended. These workmen had come from countries where the land was largely owned by noblemen and aristocrats. When free, both skilled mechanics and common laborers in the colonies preferred to struggle on a farm and work for themselves, rather than live easily in a town and work for wages. It was land that lured workmen from the mills and hindered the growth of manufacturing. The old-world idea that a gentleman lived on the land greatly influenced the way of life in the British colonies, where even a poor servant could become a land-owning aristocrat. Agriculture was considered more respectable than commerce. Today, the average citizen of this nation desires to own his own home, be it large or small.

Since labor was always scarce and costly, all kinds of labor-saving machinery were welcomed and America became a land of inventions. The English colonists from the beginning took a decided stand against monopoly. They passed laws to prevent a few men from controlling the goods and services that contributed to the welfare of all the people. As early as 1641, the legislators of Massachusetts decreed "there shall be no monopolies granted or allowed among us but of such new inventions as are profitable to the country, and that for a short time." Men were given monopolies to invest their money in mills and factories to help a community, but these all had time limits placed upon them. The colonists who had come to this country for freedom of opportunity made an effort to maintain this privilege for all. They resented attempts to deprive them of the freedom of buying and selling at their own free will.

When the London Company tried to get back Virginia after James I had taken the settlement from them, the House of Burgesses, established by the trading company, voted to belong to the Crown. The planters declared that a return to ownership by the London Company would give that group of men a monopoly of their trade. Freedom of opportunity, sometimes called free enterprise, lured men across three thousand miles of ocean to venture their lives and fortunes in the New World.

### **NORTH AMERICA WAS COLONIZED BY TRADERS.**

IN THE RACE for territory in the Americas, France, England, and the Netherlands depended largely upon trading companies to populate their colonies. Usually, these corporations operated under government charters which gave them a monopoly on trade for a specified number of years.

The Cent Associés, a French trading company headed by Champlain, received a monopoly on the fur trade forever and on all other commerce for fifteen years. In spite of this monopoly, farmers and tradesmen slyly set traps in the woods. They sold pelts to independent buyers instead of to the company that had brought them to Canada. However, the monopolies of trading companies hindered the growth of population in Canada and discouraged manufacturing. Although the shipbuilding industry made a feeble start and some grain was milled for export, the fur business absorbed the energy of New France.

The Netherlands gained a foothold in the New World by granting a charter to the Dutch West India Company. In the

instructions issued to colonists in January of 1625 is the following paragraph:

The Director of New Netherland shall give the colonists and other free persons full permission to trade in the interior and to catch the animals with the skins, but they must deliver up the said skins and goods to the Company at the price for which we obtain them at the trading place from the Indians, and he shall not permit them, by selling the skins to others, to make the Company pay a higher price.

The King of England did not grant such sweeping privileges of monopoly to the Plymouth Company and the Virginia Company, although both were purely commercial enterprises for profit. In order to get timber, furs, and minerals, it was necessary for these companies to maintain settlements for families who would produce these articles for sale. Not finding gold and silver and sudden riches, the English colonists settled down to the hard task of cutting timber and planting crops, through which prosperity came the slow way.

When tobacco became an important export in Virginia, the Crown saw a chance to gain revenue by taxing the article. By the time the adventurers of the Virginia Company were hopeful of profits on their investments, the charter was revoked in 1624. Virginia became a Crown colony. The trading companies did not last in the British colonies because the settlers wanted free enterprise for themselves. The settlers did not want to be limited to trade through the company. Therefore, more emigrants came to the English settlements. Here they could eventually have more freedom of opportunity than in the French and Dutch colonies which were largely controlled by trading companies.

The Dutch West India Company lost its

New Netherland colony to the English, who greatly outnumbered the Dutch. England claimed this region under the Plymouth and Virginia charters. Late in August of 1664, a fleet of four men-of-war cast anchor in the harbor of New Amsterdam. On the four English vessels were trained soldiers. Stuyvesant, governor of New Netherland, had less than a hundred men to defend his town. He called a meeting of the leading citizens who advised surrender after securing the best terms possible. Colonel Richard Nicolls, the English commander and new governor, promised to follow the terms suggested by Stuyvesant if the fort would surrender. Stuyvesant asked that the people be permitted: to keep their houses and lands; to have the privilege of remaining there or returning to the Netherlands;

#### PETER STUYVESANT

Peter Stuyvesant, Dutch governor of New Netherland was enraged when he received the summons to surrender New Amsterdam to the commander of the British fleet.

to have liberty of conscience; and the right to choose their local officers by vote. Nicolls agreed.

It was the eighth of September and a sad day for the governor who had ruled New Netherland for seventeen years. Peter Stuyvesant, hobbling on a wooden leg, led his Dutch troops down Beaver Street with drums beating and flags flying to board the *Gideon* for the Netherlands. Three years later, he returned to his farm, the "bouwery" on the east side of Manhattan Island to end his days in peace among his Dutch and English neighbors. His New Amsterdam had another name, New York, and he had another friend, Colonel Nicolls.

Many of the Dutch citizens welcomed the change to English rule which gave them more freedom of opportunity. Nicolls proved to be a wise and popular governor. New York began to grow into a flourishing colony. The city began to spread over the island of Manhattan under a form of government which encouraged individual enterprise. The Dutch gradually became as jealous of their rights as any Englishman. They took an active part in their government. Through town meetings and colonial assemblies the early settlers of this country gained the political liberty that insured their freedom of opportunity. New England colonies led the way. In the British possessions of North America, government by the people evolved but freedoms were hard won.

#### POLITICAL LIBERTY GROWS IN THE TOWN MEETING

The freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Topsfield Quallified according to Law for voting are to Take notice to meet at our meeting house in Topsfield on the first





Tuesday in march next at eight of ye clock  
in ye forenoon.

Dated in Topsfield:  
14th of February: 1718  
Elisha Putnam  
Constabel of Topsfield (Mass.)

It was the custom to list the reasons for calling a town meeting. This gave neighbors time to talk over the business at hand before they gathered in the meeting house. The purpose of this meeting in Topsfield, Massachusetts on March 8, 1718 was to choose officers; to consider the petition of Isaac Peabody who wanted some land near the mill pond; to agree upon some way to preserve the timber on the common land owned by the town; to choose jurymen for Ipswich Court; and to do any other thing for the benefit of the town.

The town meetings were New England's way of carrying on local government. At each meeting the townsmen chose one man to conduct the gathering. He was called the moderator. Any townsman had the right to ask for a vote on any matter affecting the public welfare.

School and church were common subjects for discussion at these meetings because each was necessary to the other. All good Puritans had to be able to read the Bible. Since both men and women needed to learn to read in order to practice their religion, schools were important in Puritan colonies. However, most of these schools were not free. Although some public funds were voted to support education, the parents paid tuition if they were able to afford it.

The school teacher and the minister were selected by vote at these town meetings and their salaries were set. Before school-houses were built, committees were appointed to find homes in which the

schoolmaster could live and teach for a few weeks in each neighborhood. In the early days of the Puritan colonies in New England, the church was supported by public funds voted by the citizens in town meetings. From old records these items were copied:

Ye towne have agreed to build ye new meeting house two and forty foot wide and four and forty foot long.

The town agreed that ye committee shall have power to Draw Money out of ye Treasury to pay Mr. Eliot for his service in ye ministry as Long as he shall Preach to & amongst us.

Disputes over boundaries, permits for mills and shops, construction of roads, building of fences, payment of bills, help for the poor, protection from Indian attack, and other neighborhood problems were discussed in open meetings. Decisions were made by vote. This was self-government at work under charters obtained from the King of England. Although the Puritans in New England had the privilege of self-government, obligations went with it. It was the duty of every freeman to attend these meetings. Absence carried a penalty. When a member was late as much as thirty minutes, he was fined. When he was tardy an hour, the sum was doubled. No man was permitted to leave until all the matters under discussion had been settled by voting. The meeting was announced by drums beating a thunderous summons thirty minutes before the time set for roll call.

The stern Puritans believed in discipline. A notice of a town meeting, posted by the village constable, was not passed by unheeded. The paper amounted to a summons and citizens obeyed the call. "Ye Olde Towne Meeting" was a training school

in political liberty. It laid the foundations for our present local governments. When James II tried to destroy this system of self-government, the independent New Englanders staged their own rebellion.

## IN DEFENSE OF POLITICAL LIBERTY

IN 1686 JAMES II sent Sir Edmund Andros to Massachusetts to be:

Our CAPTAIN-GENERAL and GOVERNOR IN CHIEF in and over all our territory and dominion of New England in America commonly called and known by the name of Our Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, Our Colony of New Plymouth, and Our Province of New Hampshire and Maine, the Narragansett country otherwise called the King's Province with all the islands . . .

Andros was given almost unlimited authority by King James, and he used it. He demanded the surrender of the early charters upon which depended the colonial rights of property and self-government. All obeyed the order, except Connecticut, where, according to tradition, the precious piece of parchment was hidden in the hollow of an oak tree. New York, taken from the Dutch in 1664, and the neighboring province of New Jersey also came under the control of Andros. A one-man rule was established from Delaware to the St. Croix River. Then Andros set himself up as a dictator with an advisory council.

Three years later, when a revolution in England swept James II from the throne, the long-suffering New Englanders captured Sir Edmund Andros and held him a prisoner, along with men on his council. Boston was filled with armed colonial soldiers and 1500 more awaited a call at

Charlestown. Andros tried to escape from the fort by wearing women's clothes. In this disguise he passed two guards, but the third one noticed his shoes, which he had neglected to change. He was recaptured and held a prisoner until he was deported to England. The colonists defended their action in a long paper sent to the new rulers of England, William and Mary. The colonists declared:

It was absolutely necessary for the people of New England to seize Sir Edmund Andros and his associates. They made what laws they pleased, WITHOUT ANY CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. In New England, by constant usage under their charter governments, the inhabitants of each town did assemble to consider the welfare of their respective towns, the relief of the poor, and the like. Sir Edmund Andros, with a few of his council, made a law prohibiting any town meeting except once a year, the third Monday in May. The inhabitants of the country were startled at the law, fearful the design of it was to prevent the people from meeting to make complaints of their grievances.

It took about 20,000 words to list the crimes of Sir Edmund Andros against liberty, in the opinion of the colonists. What did he do? One paragraph lists a number of grievances with complete frankness:

In the time of his government, without form or legal authority, he made laws destructive of the liberty of the people, imposed and levied taxes without the consent of the people either by themselves or by an assembly, threatened and imprisoned them that would not be assisting to the illegal levies, denied that they had any property in their lands without patents from him, and during the time of actual war with the Indians, he did supply them with ammunition. Several Indians declared that they were encouraged by him to make war upon the English.

At the trial of a minister in Ipswich, Massachusetts, who had organized a

movement to fight taxation without representation, a member of the council of Andros said to the defendant:

You have no more privileges left you than not to be sold for slaves.

In the report, the colonists asked this question:

What people that had the spirit of Englishmen could endure this?

Andros denied the colonists freedom of the press, the right to assemble, their own general courts, and many other liberties to which they had become accustomed. A hundred years later, the basic human freedoms defended in this lengthy document were briefly stated in Article One of the Bill of Rights, the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

## FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

THE RIGHT TO PRINT the truth is a necessary part of political liberty. Freedom of the press was won in colonial days by a poor printer, John Peter Zenger. Zenger had come to America in 1710 at the age of thirteen, a religious refugee born in Germany. His father died on shipboard, and the lad became a printer's apprentice in New York to obtain a living. He served for eight years to learn his trade. In 1726

Zenger set up his own print shop on Smith Street.

In 1726 New York was an English royal colony. It was ruled by a governor appointed by the King. Although the people had an assembly to which they sent representatives, the governor had the power to dismiss this legislative body at will. English officials collected revenues and spent the tax money as they pleased. They paid little attention to the needs of the colonists. A storm broke when William Cosby became governor in 1732. His acts fomented discontent. The people felt the need of an independent newspaper in which they could expose the acts of the governor and get him recalled. They selected the German printer, Zenger. A paper called *New York Weekly Journal* was started. The first issue appeared November 5, 1733.

In 1697 censorship of the press had been established in New York by law, "that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet, or other matter whatsoever be printed without your (Governor's) especial leave and consent first obtained." When articles appeared in the *New York Weekly Journal* criticizing the governor, Cosby ordered the arrest of Peter Zenger, who had printed the sheet. When Zenger was lodged in jail, his wife put out the paper. Through a hole in the door of his cell, she would discuss the content with her husband. The anger of the people increased. They determined to free the German printer.

The trial began on the fourth of August, 1735, in the City Hall on the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. The courtroom was jammed long before the opening. The crowd overflowed into the street. The twelve jurymen took their seats. Seven of

them were Dutch. A principle was at stake, a cornerstone of political liberty. It was the trial of a basic freedom as much as it was the trial of a man. Zenger had a famous lawyer, Andrew Hamilton from Philadelphia, who took advantage of the occasion to defend the human rights of man, such as trial by jury, freedom of speech, press, and religion. He said, among many statements:

The loss of liberty to a generous mind is worse than death . . . . The man who loves his country, prefers its liberty to all other considerations, well knowing that without liberty, life is a misery.

When both sides had presented their cases, the jury retired to reach a decision. The men were not out long. The foreman of the jury stood and spoke clearly and firmly – NOT GUILTY. Three deafening cheers filled the courtroom. In the evening forty citizens entertained Zenger's attorney at a dinner in the Black Horse Tavern. When he left New York the next day, after the printer had been released from jail, guns fired a salute in his honor, "as a public

testimony of the glorious defense he made in the cause of liberty in this province."

Thus, in colonial days, did the people of the colonies stand firmly against any form of dictatorship. Thousands of immigrants came to the settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, with only a vague idea of the freedoms they were seeking, because they had not known many of them. They were pursuing a vision. Freedoms sprouted in a wilderness like flowers on a vacant lot, because each person who came had broken the pattern of life in his old country and he was starting all over again. "Something new" began to grow in the New World – a mere idea. People began to question the right of government to interfere with their freedom to come and go, to buy and sell, to own or lease, to talk or listen, to vote and elect. In other words, people began to think they had the right to govern themselves. Yet, a new nation had to rise in the Western Hemisphere before this idea gained the force of law.