

# THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 36

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JOURNALISM SERIES, NO. 61

T. C. MORELOCK, *Editor*

## Visit of the German Ambassador and the Gift From the Press of His Country

To the School of Journalism of the  
University of Missouri



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ISSUED THREE TIMES MONTHLY; ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MAT-  
TER AT THE POSTOFFICE AT COLUMBIA, MISSOURI—2,500  
DECEMBER 20, 1930







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**T**HIS bulletin contains an account of the visit made to the University of Missouri by His Excellency, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, ambassador of Germany to the United States, who came here to participate in the Twenty-first Annual Journalism Week, held by the School of Journalism May 4-10, 1930, and to present to the school several rare old German newspapers. During his stay, he gave two addresses and took part in several ceremonies.

Each year journalism in its widest and narrowest phases is discussed by scholars, statesmen and newspaper men on the programs of Journalism Week. The Missouri Writers' Guild and the Missouri Press Association hold conventions at the school in connection with Journalism Week. Everyone interested in journalism is invited to attend the annual exercises. Announcements of the program may be obtained in advance by writing to the Dean of the School of Journalism, Columbia, Mo.



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*His Excellency, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, Ambassador of Germany to the United States.*

## THE OCCASION

**F**ITTING ceremonies were held for His Excellency, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, ambassador of Germany to the United States, on the occasion of his visit to the University of Missouri during the twenty-first annual Journalism Week, May 4-10, 1930. The University conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon His Excellency at 11 o'clock Friday morning, May 9.

The ceremonies opened with the ambassadorial salute of nineteen guns by the field artillery division of the University Reserve Officers Training Corps. Following this, the University Cadet Band played the German national air. At 10:55 a. m., His Excellency, accompanied by Dean Walter Williams of the School of Journalism, entered the office of Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, president of the University. The University Cadet Band, the Tiger Battery of Artillery, and the Pershing Rifles of the Infantry were marched into formation in front of Jesse Hall, facing the building, at 10:58 a. m. At 11 o'clock, the military units, under the command of R. D. Slade, lieutenant-colonel of the University R. O. T. C., were called to attention as His Excellency, accompanied by President Brooks and the deans of the University, came out of the president's office to the steps of the building. After viewing the military units during the presentation of several drills, His Excellency, with Capt. Gilbert Parker, proceeded to inspect the units. He later paused to congratulate Lieutenant-Colonel Slade.

The procession then marched into the auditorium, taking seats upon the platform. While the assembly arranged itself in the auditorium, the University Orchestra played Mendelssohn's "March of the Priests." The invocation was then given by the Rev. Albert C. Bernthal, pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church of Columbia. Following the invocation, President Brooks introduced to the assembly, His Excellency, the ambassador, who gave an address on "Modern Diplomacy."

Upon the conclusion of this address, Dr. Jay William Hudson, chairman of the Committee on Honorary Degrees, addressed President Brooks, recommending that the degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred upon the ambassador, saying: "Mr. President, I have the honor to present the candidate for the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He has been approved by the Committee on Honorary Degrees, recommended by the

University Faculty, elected by the Board of Curators, and is now presented in order that the degree may be conferred: His Excellency, Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron."

His Excellency and President Brooks advanced to the front of the rostrum, where President Brooks conferred the degree in these words: "Distinguished descendant of an ancient and noble family of patriots, scholar in history, constitutional law, the science of government; writer of repute; brave soldier; champion of democracy; advocate of international understanding; wise statesman; eminent diplomat, ambassador of Germany to the United States:

"In behalf of the Board of Curators, and by virtue of the authority vested in me, I now confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and in token thereof grant you this diploma, and in further token whereof you will now receive the doctor's hood."

The hood was placed on His Excellency by Prof. A. G. Capps of the Committee on Honorary Degrees and the ceremony was thus ended. Following the ceremony, Dean James T. Quarles of the College of Fine Arts led the assembly in the singing of "Old Missouri," after which the Rev. Mr. Bernthal pronounced the benediction.

The ambassador and his party were escorted to Columbia Thursday afternoon, May 8, by motor by a special committee composed of Dr. Hermann B. Almstedt of the German department of the University, Omar D. Gray, newspaper publisher of Sturgeon, Mo., and Prof. T. C. Morelock of the faculty of the School of Journalism. His Excellency and his party, including his wife, Frau Marielise von Prittwitz und Gaffron, were met at Boonville, Mo., where they were entertained as the special guests of the citizens of that city. Upon their arrival in Columbia, they were guests at a garden tea given in their honor by Dean and Mrs. Walter Williams at the Williams home. Other guests included out-of-town Journalism Week visitors and a number of townspeople. The two tea tables were presided over by Mrs. Frank L. Martin and Mrs. W. D. A. Westfall. The guests were received by Mrs. M. J. Lockwood, Mrs. Marshall Gordon, Mrs. John F. Rhodes, Mrs. E. B. Branson, Mrs. R. L. Hill, Mrs. C. B. Miller, Mrs. A. H. R. Fairchild, Mrs. W. C. Curtis, Mrs. Albert K. Heckel, Mrs. Hermann B. Almstedt, Mrs. T. C. Morelock, Mrs. Eugene W. Sharp, Miss Julia Sampson, and Miss Frances Denny. Those who assisted in serving were:



Mrs. Sherman Dickinson, Mrs. Jessie Williams Thompson, Miss Lola Anderson, Miss Edith Marken, Miss Frances Grinstead, Miss Martha Anne Martin, Miss Lona Gilbert, and Miss Maxine Wilson.

His Excellency delivered an address on "The Press in International Relations" at the "Made-in-a-Printing Office" Banquet Friday evening and presented to the School of Journalism several issues of rare old German newspapers, the copies dating back as far as the days when Johann Gutenberg first endowed journalism with movable type. Dean Walter Williams presided over the banquet with a gavel made as a replica of the hammers used by printers in Gutenberg's day, presented by journalists of Berlin. The other speakers of the evening were: Henry S. Caulfield, governor of Missouri; H. J. Blanton, a member of the Board of Curators of the University and editor and publisher of the Monroe County Appeal; E. E. Swain, president of the Missouri Press Association; Senor Jose Santos Gollan, Jr., exchange lecturer of the School of Journalism from Buenos Aires, Argentina, and a member of the editorial staff of La Prensa. Dr. Marion Nelson Waldrip, pastor of the Missouri Methodist Church of Columbia, gave the invocation.

Dr. Williams opened the banquet with toasts to the presidents of both the United States and Germany, Herbert Hoover and Paul von Hindenburg. The orchestra played the national anthems of both countries as the guests remained standing. During the progress of the banquet a reproduction of an early issue of the Missouri Gazette was printed on an old Ramage hand press from type furnished by J. L. Wilcox, venerable editor of the Ashland (Mo.) Bugle, and a modern newspaper containing a list of the guests at the banquet and other news, including telegraph news furnished by the United Press Associations, was published. The printing equipment used in producing the modern newspaper was supplied for the occasion through the courtesy of the American Type Founders Company of St. Louis. Messages were read at the banquet by Dr. Williams from President Herbert Hoover; Frederic M. Sackett, ambassador of the United States to Germany; Henry L. Stimson, secretary of state; Jacob Schurman, former ambassador of the United States to Germany; and Senor Ezequiel P. Paz, editor of La Prensa.

His Excellency and Frau von Prittwitz were guests of Gov. Henry S. Caulfield Saturday morning at a breakfast given in the Executive Mansion at Jefferson City. More than sixty persons,

including many state officials, were present. Before leaving Columbia, the ambassador turned the ground for the planting of a memorial tree on the north side of Jay H. Neff Hall, the home of the School of Journalism. Dean Walter Williams, in an introductory speech, expressed his gratitude to the ambassador and gave a description of the tree. His Excellency expressed appreciation for the honors extended him during his visit. Horace F. Major, professor of landscape gardening and superintendent of University grounds, who supervised the planting of the tree, ended the ceremony by congratulating the ambassador. The tree planted is a species of *aesculus*, commonly known as the horse chestnut. It is of European origin and is used as an ornamental street shade tree in central Europe. Around its fruit hovers the tradition of good luck.

## THE GIFT FROM THE GERMAN PRESS

BY DR. HERMANN B. ALMSTEDT, *Professor of Germanic Languages and Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri*

**T**HE crowning event of every Journalism Week is the Journalism Banquet on Friday night. These banquets in the past have had distinguishing features to set them off and to make them significant, and the banquet on May 9, 1930, was no exception. When His Excellency, the German Ambassador, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm von Prittwitz und Gaffron, had concluded his well considered address on "The Press in International Relations," he presented to the School of Journalism a set of five rare old papers of the very first beginnings of journalism in Germany. They were the gift from the Press of Germany to the world's oldest school of journalism, the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri. No more fitting gift could have been presented on this occasion: the celebration of the beginnings of the Gutenberg press activities in Germany. More significant, however, than merely fitting into an occasion, enhancing it and flowering it, was the fine spirit that lay back of the gift, a spirit that was sensed by everyone present. It was Germany's way, through its properly constituted authorities, of reaching out over the seas and joining hands in the spirit of fraternal understanding and good will—the Press of Germany with the Press of the United States.

The letter of cordial greetings and felicitations that accompanied the gift runs as follows:

Berlin, den 5. April 1930.

Titl.  
School of Journalism an der  
Universitaet Missouri

Columbia (Missouri)

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U.S.A.

Die Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft der Deutschen Presse, in der die deutschen Redakteure und Verleger zu gemeinsamer Vertretung der deutschen Presse zusammengeschlossen sind, uebersendet der School of Journalism an der Universitaet Missouri mit herzlichen kollegialen Gruessen fuef seltsene alte Zeitungen, die aus den allerersten Anfaengen des Zeitungswesens in Deutschland stammen.

Diese Stuecke sollen ein Bild geben, wie lebhaft, gegenwartsfrisch und anschaulich damals bereits das Zeitungswesen in der Form der sogenannten



“Einblattdrucke” wirksam gewesen ist. Mit Absicht haben wir die Stuecke so gewaehlt, dass sowohl das grosse politische Ereignis (die feierliche Kroening Karls V.), wie auch die kriegerische Nachricht (die Schlacht bei Tunis, Einnahme der Festung Vessprim) und auch die Schilderung von Naturkatastrophen und astrologischen Vorgaengen Beruecksichtigung gefunden hat. Sie zeigen, wie damals schon alle Gebiete, die das Interesse jener Zeit wachriefen, von den Zeitungen gepflegt und zum Gegenstand der Berichterstattung gemacht wurden.

Moechten die fuenf Stuecke in der Bibliothek Ihrer Schule den Studierenden Gelegenheit geben, einen Einblick in das historische Werden des Zeitungswesens zu gewinnen, das heute in den Vereinigten Staaten wie in Deutschland eine so starke Kraft oeffentlichen Wirkens und oeffentlicher Geltung geworden ist.

Wir nutzen die Gelegenheit, der grossen amerikanischen Presse im allgemeinen und der School of Journalism im besonderen unsere Gruesse zu uebermitteln.

In vorzueglicher Hochachtung  
Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft  
der  
Deutschen Presse.  
Die Vorsitzenden:  
DR. KURT SIMON  
A. MURMANN

*The following is an English translation of the letter:*

Berlin, April 5, 1930.

School of Journalism  
of the University of Missouri  
Columbia, Mo. U. S. A.

The United German Press Association, which embraces the German editors and publishers in a common representation of the German Press, takes great pleasure in transmitting to the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri with cordial fraternal greetings five rare old newspapers which originate from the earliest beginning of newspaperdom in Germany.

The purpose of these editions is to give a picture showing how effectively vivid, fresh and colorful even at that time journalism was in the form of the so-called “single page prints.” The editions were chosen with a special view to give consideration to the great political event (the solemn coronation of Charles V), as also the war report (the battle of Tunis; occupation of the fortress Vessprim) and also the report of catastrophies of nature and astrological happenings. They show that even at this time every field, which aroused the

interest of those days, was covered by the newspapers and made the subject of publicity.

May we hope that the five editions will give the students of the School of Journalism an opportunity to gain an insight into the historical development of Journalism which today in the United States as well as in Germany has become such a great power for public activities and recognition.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to convey our greetings to the great American Press in general and your School of Journalism in particular.

In great esteem,  
The Board of Directors  
of the United German Press Association.  
(Signed) DR. KURT SIMON  
A. MURMANN

# Kayfers Karls Krönung zu Bononia.



Charles V was crowned Emperor by Pope Clement VII at Bologna on Feb. 24, 1530. The Emperor is here shown in full regalia, flanked by the seven electoral princes, three on his right, four on his left side.



*THE GIFT ITSELF*

**T**HIS rare and precious gift is most significant in its own rights. Each of the five papers is durably bound in vellum; the format is 6x8 inches; on the front cover of each a single gold line reinforces the format. All five of the papers are preserved in a case of dark-red Morocco leather, stencilled along the edges of both sides with a double gold line. The care, work and craftsmanship that entered into giving these five rare specimens of early newspapers a handsome and enduring outer covering and home are obvious at the first glance and predispose the book lover to search further within the covers for values that are greater than formal outer beauty. And in his search he will not be disappointed, for here on paper that has stood the test of time and in beautifully clean Gothic type are five cultural documents giving one, as nothing else could do, a first-hand, a source impression of how folks away back in 1527, 1530, 1561, 1564, and 1566 saw the world and the happenings therein, how they commented on them, how they reported what they considered news, how their emotions ran and how, too, these early journalists were liable to errors in print—in short, here is a human touch that makes the sixteenth century akin to the twentieth; and any agency that works such miracles is worthy to be treasured highly.

There can be no question that these papers will give the student a fine historic sense of the growth and development of modern journalism. Today, when journalism is emerging as a science, it is significant that Germany with such a gracious gesture is making a vital contribution to the spirit and encouragement of this scientific endeavor.

It will be interesting to sketch briefly the content of each of these five papers. Remember as you follow along that the events and happenings have the sixteenth century as their background. It was the time when the Turk under Soliman II was threatening Western Europe, when Charles V was crowned Roman emperor by Pope Clement VII at Bologna, when the Reformation was swaying the minds and hearts of the German people, when natural catastrophes and astrological signs fired the imaginations not only of the common folk but of the learned as well. These papers interest the journalist, they quicken also the historian absorbed in political and cultural movements, the astronomer, the geologist, and the student whose field is the rise and growth of early Modern High German.

Sketching these papers in chronological order, we come first to Peter Creutzer's astrological pamphlet on the celestial phenom-

enon seen from 4 o'clock to a quarter past 5 on the morning of Oct. 11, 1527. It is a bit of sensational news reporting that we get here. People were as news-hungry then as they are now. This particular pamphlet is especially important as it records, so science holds, the earliest description in print of the Northern Lights. Peter Creutzer erroneously calls them a comet. The wood-cut on the title page shows a comet with three stars, surrounded by clouds in which pictures of bearded heads and swords appear.\* In eight chapters with an introduction replete with biblical quotations giving reasons for writing his pamphlet, Peter Creutzer sets forth the evil influences of this "comet." He covers in all fifteen and one-half pages. Interesting is the concluding paragraph which in substance, runs like this: "If I have warned you in telling about all these evil influences and threatening calamities of the comet, let me remind you also, in case these predictions do not come true, that God is almighty and can turn evil from us. Amen."

The second paper gives an account of the solemn crowning of Charles V by Pope Clement VII<sup>#</sup> at Bologna on Feb. 24, 1530, and affords an example of the way in which one of the most important world events was made known and spread among the people. The full meaning of this paper lies in its intended wide appeal.† The wood-cut shows the emperor in full regalia seated on his *Muschelthron*. To the right of him are three, to the left, four electoral princes, each with his coat of arms. This picture was calculated not only to catch the eye of the curious, but also to satisfy at a glance those who wished to know, but could not read.

The crowning of Charles V as Roman emperor was political news of the greatest importance. It meant that pope and emperor were at peace. The Peace of Barcelona in the year previous had paved the way to this "crowning consummation" of Feb. 24, 1530. One may expect, therefore, and, in fact, does find, an almost cinematic reproduction of the coronation ceremony. In the six

\*Incidentally, this wood-cut tallies exactly with the description of this "comet" as reported by Link and Metzler in Goethe's "Goetz von Berlichingen" V, i. For further study it would be interesting to consult chronicles and chroniclers of the sixteenth century, such as the Swiss chroniclers, Peter Etterlin, Aegidius Tschudi; the Bavarians, Johannes Thurmaier and Sebastian Franck, especially the latter in his "Chronica, Zeytbuch and Geschichtsbibel."

<sup>#</sup>Journalistic errors will creep in; then, as now: *Die Kroenung Keiserlich Meyestat / Karolo dem vierten / Von babst Clemens dem achten*.—It was, of course, Charles V (not IV); it was, of course by Pope Clemens VII (not VIII); the dative *Karolo dem vierten* must, of course, be *Karoli des vierten*.

†No place of printing or date of issue are given.

and one-quarter pages not one movement of pope, of emperor, of attendant cardinal or bishop, seems omitted. With meticulous care every detail is noted in the processional from the palace to San Petronio, in the ceremony itself in the choir; in the recessional to the palace. The joyous description of the market-place with its ox on the spit and the two lions, one spurting forth white wine, the other red, leaves no doubt that this solemn occasion had its festive and jovial side as well.

This paper of the year 1530 has an especial interest for us today, inasmuch as the 400th birthday of the Augsburg Confession is being celebrated all through the world of Lutheran Christendom. It was on June 25, 1530, at Augsburg, that the Lutheran princes of Germany presented to Charles V, the lately crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, their articles of faith, which became and have remained a foundation stone of Protestant Christianity.

The third paper was printed in the year 1561 at Nuremberg by Georg Kreydlein. In six pages it treats of the fate of those fighting in the naval encounter near the Island of Jerba, off the coast of Tunis, and of the capture of the Christians and their leaders by the Turks. The text, which uses the indirect discourse throughout, is in the form of a report from Constantinople, written Oct. 10, 1560. The wood-cut on the title page presents the encounter, and by giving in one picture what in reality were successive events, curiosity and the desire to buy are aroused. This paper, which is especially rare, illustrates vividly and graphically how war news of the day was reported.

It is interesting to note in passing how the Turkish danger in this and the two following papers hovers over all the events. In the rather crisp account of the happenings, one Don Alvaro, apparently the foremost of the three Christian captains, is especially featured as of heroic mold. When the Turkish sovereign asks him why his king had had the temerity to oppose his Turkish lordship and why he had not surrendered, he answered that it was his duty always to serve and be obedient to his king and that "such [namely capture, imprisonment, and death] are the fortunes of war." The report makes much of the humiliation visited upon the Christian captives. The Turkish captors dragged the Christian flags in the water and along the ground, called the captives dogs and generally heaped shame and disgrace upon them. There were 2600 prisoners brought to Constantinople, among them the son of the viceroy of Sicily. Him, so the report

Neue Zeitung.

**Bericht / so geschehen**  
von dem fürnemen obersten Haupt  
mañ des Venedischen Kriegszugs auff dem  
Meer / an den Durchleüchtigen Herzogen  
von Venedig / antreffende die grausam vnd  
vngestüm Zerstückung der Statt Cattaro /  
welche durch einen Erbdidem / den 6.  
tag Brachmonats des 64. Jars  
zerstört / sampt andern er-  
schrockenlichen zeichen /  
so erschienen seindt.



Getruckt zu Augspurg / durch  
Mattheum Francken.

*This wood cut pictures the Earthquake of Cattaro, a city on the Dalmatian Coast of the Adriatic. This event occurred on June 6, 1564.*

runs, the Turkish captain will hold for a ransom of 30,000 crowns or else turn him over to his sovereign.

The fourth paper takes us to the year 1564 and records an earthquake and a cometary apparition. The description begins and ends with a devout prayer. The graphic story of the earthquake which destroyed more than one-third of the city of Cattaro on the Dalmatian coast, is told by an eye-witness, the supreme captain of a Venetian exposition, in a letter to the illustrious Duke of Venice. A modern account of the cataclysm could not be more humanly tense and interesting. The paper affords a fine example of how news of the times was conveyed.

This letter to the duke was written from Cattaro, June 13, 1564, the quake having occurred June 6. The paper was printed in Augsburg by Matthaeus Francken. A brown colored wood-cut showing the ravages of the disturbance appears on the title page. Two interesting matters are noted:

The one is that two rival houses, the Bolitz and the Bagaltri, whose feud has divided the city, became reconciled after the calamity and took the holy sacrament together. The writer adds, "No Superior could have accomplished that." The other is, that 500 nearby Turks were ready to come in and plunder, but were dissuaded by the approach and appearance of the rescuers.

On the last page of this news-sheet is the description of a comet, red like blood, seen for one and one-half hours at 3 o'clock in the morning of June 7, 1564. The paper closes thus: "God alone knows what it signifies. Let all of these phenomena be warnings to all who love, and may they be converted, looking to Him for grace and mercy and forgiveness of our sins. God grant this. Amen."

Outstanding news events in the last of the five papers are concerned with the Turkish invasion of Hungary. What especially characterizes this type of paper is that the broad and expatiating account of a single event has yielded to the narration of a number of different kinds of news events, all of them variants, in this case, on the engrossing topic of the day: The Turkish Danger. In the foreground of interest stands the capture, by the Imperial troops, of the city of Veszprem and the fortress of Tobis (spelled Todtes, Tottes), and the foray carried out by Count Niklas Zrinyi. The paper is dated Vienna, July 24, 1566.

From 1566 on, the number of papers grows larger, due mainly to the increasing danger that was threatening from the Turk. Single printings are followed by serials numbering as many as eight. Such were issued from the printing offices of Strassburg



and Basel. Regular weeklies appear in the seventeenth century, the first example of this type being printed 1605 by the Frankfurt bookseller, Egenolph Emmel.\*

Selected so wisely for kind and content, so handsomely bound, and then so graciously presented in the spirit of a united enterprise—the scientific study of journalism—, these five rare old papers of the very first beginnings of journalism in Germany, will always hold a place of unique interest in the library of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri and, in a larger way, will bear witness to the truth that in science, as in art, humanity knows no national boundary lines.

\*See Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Volume III.

## MODERN DIPLOMACY

*Address of DR. FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON PRITZWITZ UND GAFFRON in the University Auditorium*

The word "diplomacy," besides being used in common parlance as a synonym for the diplomatic profession or as a term for the skillful conduct of affairs, is usually defined as the science of international relations and interests.

This definition may suffice as far as dictionaries and handbooks of political science are concerned. To me it does not completely answer. Defined in this way, diplomacy would almost be synonymous with foreign policy. Obviously this is not the case. Diplomacy rather comes under that category of science which has its place between abstract theory and technical practice. Diplomacy, strictly speaking, is not an abstract science and should more properly be called an applied science, as it is the practical application of foreign policy. It follows that the aims and methods of diplomacy are interdependent of the aims and methods of foreign policy.

In looking through the history of civilization, this interdependence becomes very evident. The practice and principles applied by diplomacy at a certain period of history always indicate as unmistakably as a barometer the spirit in which the foreign policy of that period was conducted.

International relations exist since the days when the human race dissociated into separate communities. In those days, however, international contacts were irregular, accidental, mostly unfriendly and warlike. There was no field for diplomacy then. Nevertheless, it was at this period that diplomacy originated. After a war had been waged, it was customary to send ambassadors to end hostilities and to conclude peace treaties. These occasional emissaries can rightly be considered the ancestors of today's diplomats, and we diplomats are proud that our profession can be traced back to those first messengers of peace.

It was not until the sixteenth century that regular and more stable international relations between European states were established by sending permanent missions abroad. The art of diplomacy, renowned since the glorious days of the Adriatic republic of Venice and highly developed in the chanceries of papal Rome rapidly became an essential element in the conduct of state politics. The history of diplomacy is an interesting sub-

ject and much could be said about it. A few examples, however, will be sufficient to show the evolution diplomacy has undergone during the centuries following the changes in the aims and methods of the foreign policy of the different nations. In the days of the celebrated words, "L'etat, c'est moi," attributed to Louis XIV, and typical for many other rulers, the only factor directing foreign policy of a state was the autocratic power of a ruler or a cabinet minister. Whereas, as I have pointed out, diplomacy can be traced back to those early peacemakers who wandered from one community to the other, the medieval period is responsible for most of the prejudices which existed for a long time against diplomacy and diplomats. Diplomatic practice, however, followed the trend of the international policy of those days. At that time foreign policy aimed predominantly at the conquest of political power and at territorial expansion. In order to attain these aims, the worst methods of diplomacy were often considered the best. The term "secret diplomacy" originated in this period of political intrigue. It dates from the time when the followers of Machiavelli maintained the theory that a different moral law should be applied to the conduct of state than to the conduct of private affairs.

Along with the progress of democracy in the world came the change of political systems. Simultaneously, economic development and technical inventions have altered the aspect of international relations. International affairs are no longer a field reserved to a few experts, but have through multifold relations become a large network. Parties and parliaments, economic interests, the masses of the peoples themselves, and all the other factors of public opinion, have influenced foreign policy and have given it a different character, emanating from the will of an entire nation. Consequently, the field of diplomacy is no longer confined to bureaucratic skill and discussions of cabinets; diplomatic activities nowadays are on a much larger basis. If our patents are signed by the chief executive of the state who sends us and if we are consequently dependent on the orders of our government, only those of us will grasp the entire importance of our office who realize that we are emissaries from one people to the other. Therefore, more than in any other previous period of history, international problems are at the present time the problems of modern diplomacy.

Nothing is more difficult to discuss than contemporary history, nothing is harder for the living generation to determine than the truth underlying present political happenings. Such

difficulties ought, however, not to prevent us from ascertaining the main features of our modern international life.

A closer study of the situation in the different countries shows that the traditional extremes of liberal and conservative conceptions which were characteristic of internal politics were to a large extent replaced by two other extremes, nationalism on one side and international ideas on the other. According to Mr. Gladstone's recognition that internal and foreign politics are closely connected, it is only natural that also in foreign politics these two opposing conceptions indicate the main problem of international relations.

The nationalistic theory places foremost the individual rights of a country and maintains that all diplomacy is intended for is to protect and further national interests. Those who advocate an international mind as essential for a constructive foreign policy place the interest of the world-wide community of all the nations first. According to their idea, diplomats should never forget that they are all in the same boat, and that it is their task to develop international understanding. Nationalists criticise their opponents, calling them ideologists and pacifists and receive the reproach that their call for preparedness is merely a camouflage of imperialistic and aggressive ideas. Hardly an event happens on the stage of foreign policy whereby the arising differences of opinion cannot be traced back to these two basic theories. This is not only the case in political, military or naval fields. The same applies to economic affairs where protectionism faces free trade.

The differences between the two schools are not merely theoretical. The applied science of foreign policy furnishes us with the practical evidence. Whilst out of a more nationalistic conception of foreign politics, diplomacy is led to conclude alliances and limited commercial agreements, the internationalistic school aims, through world-wide general pacts, at the establishment of stable, peaceful relations and through a general economic agreement at the creation of an international economic system.

Speaking from a general point of view, I think it could fairly be said that previously to the World War the nationalistic or individualistic theory prevailed more or less everywhere in the world. We notice, however, especially during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the century we are living in, a growing effort to come, apart from merely technical agreements, to agreements of a general character, especially for the purpose of the pacific settlement of disputes be-

tween the different nations. It is a fact familiar to you that the lead in the movement was taken by the western hemisphere as early as in 1881 when your secretary of state, Mr. Blaine, extended an invitation to the Latin-American governments to meet in a conference for the purpose of considering and discussing methods for the prevention of war between the nations of Americas. The meeting of the conference did not take place until 1889, when the first national conference of American States assembled in Washington. At this conference a compulsory arbitration treaty was drafted and signed by eleven American states. In Europe, the most outstanding conferences of this kind were those held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. The first convention at The Hague for the pacific settlement of international disputes gave the impulse to the conclusion of a large number of arbitration treaties and led to the creation of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. American co-operation in these conferences was conspicuous. Whereas the idea of compulsory and general arbitration was first uttered in the Western Hemisphere, the conferences at The Hague can claim the merit of having generated the idea of the establishment of international commissions of inquiry. The United States, however, carried the idea into practice, when in addition to the arbitration treaties, negotiated by Secretary Root, Mr. Bryan, in the years 1913 and 1914, initiated the conclusion of a number of conciliation treaties.

The World War halted this promising development.

It was more than natural that, when finally after the catastrophe of the war peace was re-established, an outcry of the masses of all the nations called for the definite replacement of the principles so far directing foreign policy by new methods aiming at the creation of a new type of international agreements. The protocols of the negotiations of the peace treaties, however, show that the old rivalry between the adherents of the nationalistic theory and those who believed that the time was ripe for a new conception of foreign policy was still awake. And the last ten years further demonstrated that modern diplomacy has almost daily to face the same problem. The question arises, to put it plainly, whether modern diplomacy will be able to find a compromise between the national interests of the different people, races, and countries on the one hand and the increasing necessity for establishing the basis of a commonwealth of nations on the other hand, in a world in which technical and cultural progress and economic reasons call more and more for co-operation. There are many sceptics who want to do away with this problem by



saying ironically that history repeats itself and that it would be useless to hope for changes which cannot be attained. It may be true that optimism is of just as little help as pessimism in such matters. However, you will agree with me that scepticism is still worse. I have said before that international relations and international problems have much in common with national problems in our modern times. Take for example the national history of our own people, the history of the United States and that of Germany. It is certainly true of both our countries that we have still to face the difficulties arising from the interpretations of federal and state rights. However, whereas such difficulties in former days led to civil wars and armed clashes, they are nowadays submitted to the supreme courts. Instead of radical solutions by force, the way of peaceful and gradual solutions by law has happily been entered upon. Why should this not be possible in international affairs? After all, even in the international field, issues which in former times seemed constant threats to peace, such as the religious issue, which plunged Europe into the biggest war it ever saw, nowadays do not constitute any danger.

I think we have very clear evidence that modern diplomacy has recognized the importance of the problems confronting us and is endeavoring gradually to pave the way toward a universal revision of the principles of foreign policy. If the period previous to the last war were to be called the period of the proclamation of the principles of arbitration, conciliation and peace, the post-war period ought to bring about their application. The peaceful settlement of different international disputes during recent years promises in my opinion brighter prospects for international achievements.

The trend we have noticed in the Western Hemisphere in the pre-war period has become intensified. Allow me to refer to the importance of the Gondra Convention of 1923 and the great success of the Sixth Pan American Conference which was manifested by the results of the Special Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration held in Washington the end of last year. If the proposed terms for a general Pan-American treaty of arbitration and conciliation are to be ratified, the American nations will give the world a new and splendid proof of their earnest desire for peace and their belief in the creed of modern diplomacy that international justice can be maintained and developed safely and definitely by pacific methods.

In Europe, peace has been organized on a world-wide basis through the foundation of the League of Nations. You may or

may not be in favor of the Geneva institution; you will, however, concede that very helpful work has been done by drafting general arbitration and conciliation treaties, by recommending peaceful solutions of disputes, and by calling important conferences. The fact alone that the foreign ministers meet personally at the sessions in Geneva is invaluable for the adjustment of differences and the maintenance of peace. The Locarno treaties and the experts' conference for drafting the new Reparation Plan are among the results of these meetings.

The great difficulty is that Europe, unlike America, is a continent where there are still unsolved problems as a consequence of the war. To come to Pan-European agreements is difficult because not one problem but dozens of problems are involved. It is all the more important, therefore, that these different problems are approached in a spirit of loyal co-operation and fair dealing. The main European problem of the last years was that of the final settlement of reparations. After many fruitless attempts to solve the reparations problem in a unilateral manner, the conviction gradually gained ground that also this question was only to be settled permanently by the voluntary co-operation of all parties concerned, on the basis of economic possibilities. In view of the economic interdependence of all the countries of the world, one began to realize that a country which is too heavily charged is due to fall behind in the general economic development of the other countries and will in the long run also endanger their stability. The adoption of the so-called Young Plan marks an important step toward a definite liquidation of the war. The moment is not far when the termination of the occupation of the Rhineland will do away with the last military relic of the World War.

Apart from the problems arising from the World War, there is a multitude of questions of political economy, upon the proper solution of which depends to a great extent the outlook for the further development of peaceful relations among the nations of the world.

Also, in this respect, foreign policy and diplomacy are confronted with the task of giving due considerations to the respective national needs, and of furthering and making effective general agreements with a view to adjusting the economic conditions throughout the world in the interest of all the nations.

The major conferences of recent years have unanimously recognized the existing need for remedial efforts to improve the general economic condition of the world in the interest of world

peace. The careful studies of these complicated issues by the governmental as well as by the delegates of scientific bodies and individual private business organizations have, fortunately enough, by the adoption of numerous resolutions resulted in the formulation of a world opinion on a great variety of important present-day economic problems. On the basis of principles thus established, it will again be the task of diplomacy to bring about the drafting and signing by the different powers of conventions and treaties. Only a new and stable economic order of the world will eliminate the past and present dangerous causes of economic jealousy and distrust between nations.

Among the most important results of these economic conferences, I shall only mention the International Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions which was signed in Geneva in 1927.

Much credit for what has already been accomplished in this respect and what may be expected in the future is due to business men of all nations who lend their assistance in the formulation of those principles by the various economic conferences.

Another big problem modern diplomacy has to face is the question of disarmament on land and sea. Disarmament has been called a prerequisite of security by some and a consequence of security by others. It may readily be admitted that disarmament is not only a technical problem, but also a question of mentality. However, a solution of the difficult questions of disarmament will not be achieved by hair-splitting. It seems to me that only through practical agreements concerning gradual disarmament can progress be obtained. The efforts made and the results obtained at the recent London Conference will, I hope, soon be followed by universal agreements on still broader lines. As long as a surplus of armament exists in the world, this surplus will oppress the atmosphere of international peace just as heavily as any surplus production of material depresses the international economic market. Reflections of this kind must have prevailed during the Peace Conference in Paris when M. Clemenceau, in the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the observations of the German delegation on the conditions of peace, wrote that the requirements in regard to German disarmament were "the first steps toward that general reduction and limitation of armaments which the Allied and Associated Powers seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

The Kellogg Pact has laid the foundation for a change of the methods applied hitherto by foreign policy, by establishing the principle that war is no longer an instrument of national policy, and by solemnly declaring that the settlement of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, shall never be sought except by pacific means. Modern diplomacy could be given no better basis today. We must, however, recall the warning which M. Briand gave in his speech on Aug. 27, 1928, when signing the pact: "Peace is proclaimed. That is much; but it still remains necessary to organize it. In the solution of difficulties right and not might must prevail. That is to be the work of tomorrow."

Germany has repeatedly declared her readiness to co-operate in this work of organizing peace. She fully agrees with M. Briand that right and not might should decide. In organizing peace we must, however, carefully bear in mind the necessity for simple and clear construction. Let us not only admire the ideal contents of the Kellogg Treaty, but may its simple and comprehensible wording also be imitated in future general agreements. We shall succeed only if we eliminate the causes of war. This aim can only be reached if modern diplomacy works constantly for a synthesis of national interests and international duties. An international mentality cannot be founded on the love for peace alone, it needs as a necessary corollary a sense of justice and the conviction that the respect of one's neighbors' interest will always be morally and practically the best guaranty for being respected by others.

The summary of the problems of modern diplomacy, I have tried to give you, is certainly not complete, nor do I claim to have said anything new or original. However, I hope to have expressed thoughts which are not only shared by my colleagues in our international profession but also by the majority of the people in all countries. If I have succeeded in rightly interpreting these thoughts, I am satisfied. In concluding I may express the hope that the wishes of the people will everywhere find the leaders who will carry into effect the words of President Hoover in his inaugural address: "Surely civilization is old enough, surely mankind is mature enough so that we ought in our own lifetime to find a way to permanent peace."

## THE PRESS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Address of DR. FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON PRITZWITZ UND GAFFRON at the  
*Journalism Week Banquet*

It was not without hesitation that I agreed to speak before this audience on the subject, "The Press in International Relations." The problem has, I am certain, been exhaustively discussed in this alma mater of journalism, so that it seems a rather difficult undertaking to contribute anything of interest to its debates. The field it covers is so vast that it seems rather audacious to approach the subject in an after-dinner speech. I hope, however, that you do not expect a finished historical lecture but rather a few comments on what modern diplomacy thinks about the subject.

In the course of history, diplomacy and the press have always been closely related. Both originated in ancient Rome. The Roman "Annales" and "Diaria" or "Diurnalia" were the precursors of modern newspapers and reviews, just as those emissaries who were sent by the Roman Senate to the enemy to conclude treaties of peace after hostilities had ceased were the forefathers of today's diplomats. As often happens, the two children born in the same surroundings underwent a different development. As they grew older and became stronger, they very often used their strength to fight each other. For centuries diplomacy had the upper hand and succeeded in using the press for its own purpose. Diplomacy itself, in former days merely a servant of state egoism, considered the press an instrument to promote specific political aims. This was carried out by the work of the censor and by the printing of articles justifying the governmental policy. The press naturally reacted to this tutelage and finally succeeded in strengthening its own position. The time came when the press took its revenge on diplomacy and very often used its independence to oppose the wishes of foreign policy. The famous saying of Bismarck that every country must pay in the long run for the windows its press broke in other countries shows that until recent times the relations between press and diplomacy remained somewhat strained. Both saw each other mostly as rivals. The World War brought about an alliance between press and diplomacy in all countries. The newspapers everywhere became an army of volunteers who, through their propaganda, backed army and navy in their fight with the enemy. The press did not hesitate to reproduce news without



verifying the facts, and many a newspaper thought it its duty to publish editorials which intensified antagonism and even hatred between the nations who were at war. Whatever standpoint one may take toward the advisability of such a proceeding, there cannot be any disagreement about the fact that the war has clearly demonstrated the tremendous power and influence of the press on public opinion. If the responsibility of the press was great in time of war, it is none the less so in time of peace. In his address to the last Pan-American Congress, former President Coolidge said: "In this great work of furthering inter-American understanding, a large responsibility rests upon the press of all countries. In our present stage of civilization, knowledge of foreign peoples is almost wholly supplied from that source. By misinterpreting facts or by carelessness in presenting them in their true light, much damage can be done." What is true of inter-American understanding is true of international understanding all over the world. The responsibility of the press as one of the chief sources for the formation of public opinion, has been considerably increased in view of the important role given public opinion in connection with the Kellogg Pact. The United States has been foremost in advocating the theory that not sanctions and military measures but the condemnation of any violation of world peace by public opinion is the best guaranty for the maintenance of peaceful relations between all countries. Public opinion, therefore, has received an international legal standing. Any statesman and public orator certainly shares this responsibility with the press. Many examples could be quoted where an impassioned speech has moved an audience to adopt a resolution of far-reaching importance. In the long run it will, however, always be the printed word which will frame the mind of the peoples and mold their general conceptions.

The fact of the responsibility of the press in international relations can no longer be questioned. The extent of this responsibility, however, is widely disputed. There is one school of newspaper publishers whose recollections of censorship are so vivid that they even try to avoid anything which would seem like self-imposed censorship. They print whatever the correspondents send to the editorial staff. In choosing the headlines and in distributing the news in their columns, they have chiefly in mind local interests and the curiosity of their readers. There may exist some exaggerations in this respect, but the fact remains that a great many publishers do not consider influencing the reader, but think that it is up to the reader to select what he

wants. I remember having read a most interesting debate on the subject, which took place in New York sometime ago. A well-known authority on American newspaper life upheld this theory and invited those who advocate extension of the responsibility of the press in international affairs, to promote in schools and universities a course which would develop in the growing generation a greater interest in international problems. This authority pointed out very conclusively that newspapers after all need a wide circulation in order to live and can achieve success only by printing in their news-columns the news of the day and in their editorial columns the sermons extracted therefrom.

The other school of newspaper men is represented by those who think that the editor and especially the correspondent should print, respectively, comment on the news after having made a careful selection. These publishers wish to use the force and power which the press has shown during the war in separating the peoples of the world, in order to bring them closer together after the war. They, therefore, advocate a selection of the news and not only consider it the duty of the press to avoid the distribution of inaccurate news but also insist upon the omission of news which might create ill feeling toward other countries.

As far as I know, no diplomat was present at the debate of which I speak. The point of view of modern diplomacy might, however, be worth while analyzing. In the interest of international peace, diplomacy very highly appreciates the efforts of all those who remind the press of their power and their responsibility in international affairs. It is obviously preferable not to have an alarming article published or disquieting news cabled. No matter how much may be said against sensationalism or how much the idealistic motives of the second school of newspaper men may be approved, it must not be forgotten that neither creating illusions nor sensationalism is a satisfactory basis for international relations. The foremost aim of any news service or any newspaper should be the endeavor to give the public the true facts. This would seem one of the essentials of democratic institutions. The rhythm of modern life and the reader's eagerness for news have increased the news columns in all newspapers. As a result, the editorial writer lost ground and the responsibility of the correspondent was increased. No one would mind if a correspondent, in describing an earthquake or a funeral, would give as much local or personal color to his story as he thought fit, if his newspaper could afford to pay for the additional length of his cable. The question becomes a very different one, however, when

he adds local or personal color to political and economic news. If the publisher feels entitled to shift part of his responsibility to his readers, he must give them a fair chance to judge any arising situation on the basis of unbiased facts. Let me remind you again of the important role given to public opinion through the Kellogg Pact. Any jury which has to pronounce a verdict first receives a summary of the facts and advice from the judge. The same system should be applied to the national jury which ultimately has to pronounce its verdict on vital national and international issues. The press can give the public a summary of the facts in the news columns, and the editorial writer might, according to his knowledge and his own views, advise the reader how to decide the case. Only if the two things are kept apart will the reader be able to judge independently. The days of the old type of newspaper, very distinctly classified according to news and editorials, may be over and new types may be developing. A clear distinction between these two lines will nevertheless remain of vital importance.

As far as the news columns are concerned, the responsibility of a paper is limited to the reproduction of facts and eventually of the source of the news reproduced, the latter especially when the truth cannot be determined. The responsibility of the editorial writer on the other hand is much more extensive and less defined. There are in all countries a great number of people who are not willing to go to the length of forming their own opinions on political or economic matters, and are ready to adopt or at least to be largely influenced by an opinion served to them by their newspapers at the breakfast table. The views of the editor and his general attitude toward world problems are therefore of paramount importance.

Any big newspaper is to a certain extent a sort of foreign office which has its representatives abroad. Owing to the similarity of their organizations, diplomats and journalists consider each other as colleagues. The same analogy applies to their duties. What are the duties of diplomacy, briefly summarized? Apart from the diplomatic routine work they consist mainly in

1. Contributing to further development of international law, and
2. Developing international understanding.

In both respects, diplomacy sees in the press its main ally. The times when diplomacy considered the press an instrument or a rival belong, I hope, to the past. The relations between the

press and diplomacy should be based on loyal co-operation only. Such co-operation will not only lead to practical results on specific occasions such as, let us say, international conferences or meetings, but will also bring about in the world an international mentality. By this I do not mean a mentality without national consciousness. On the contrary, I think that our civilization is mature enough to realize that, without international intercourse and without international mutual respect, a human being lacks the spirit of humanity. The general attitude of the press, therefore, is a factor in international relations which cannot be overestimated. It must be admitted that, notwithstanding the tremendous development of means of communication in recent years, the knowledge of the political aims, the economic conditions and, last but not least, the general mentality of foreign nations is to many people in all countries still an enigma. The closer press and diplomacy work together for international co-operation, the better it will be. The responsibility of the press is perhaps even greater than that of diplomacy, inasmuch as it reaches larger circles.

The attitude taken by the American press in recent years is very elating and gratifying. I may mention only the fairness and justice with which the American press has contributed to reconciliation of the German and American peoples. If Germany after the war has been able to overcome the torpor of the first post-war period, it is not only due to the material help received from this continent but also to the human attitude of America's public opinion and the American press. The gradual liquidation of the past which is under way inspires us with new hopes. In this School of Journalism, a young generation studies the history of journalism and is prepared for life. Let me express to you one wish. A thorough knowledge of the past is an essential prerequisite for the understanding of the present situation in the world. Let it, however, be your guiding motto when one day you are called to be leaders of press institutions, publishers of papers, or members of political bodies, that the remembrance of the past is not always the best method of overcoming present-day difficulties. It is not essential to agree about past events; it is, however, essential not to disagree about the future ones. Show the people the points of contact between the nations, enlarge the basis for co-operation in all fields, and fix your eyes on the common goal of improving world conditions.





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