

6. North America: Prohibition and Beyond

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These last five chapters have traced hemp's history, showing its uses for clothing, food, oil, textiles and paper. In the twentieth century, it was discovered that even hemp's waste parts, had a value, and a very lucrative one, in cellulose. This realization took place in the United States, which had both the land well suited for growing hemp and the technologies for further processing. Knowledge of hemp abounded in North America; the U.S. government was a major proponent of hemp, from the nation's first president in the eighteenth century to the Department of Agriculture in the twentieth century.

How then can hemp be persecuted, vilified and prohibited in the United States? To provide an answer to such a question, let's start by examining the characters involved. Recently an article in *The Economist*¹ stated that it was in the interests of Andrew Mellon, the Hearst newspaper syndicate and the Du Pont corporation to put a stop to the use of hemp. The article in question noted they helped discourage the cultivation of hemp through Mellon's nephew-in-law, Harry J. Anslinger. *The Times* of London expressed this same line of thought, writing, "Industrialists such as Hearst and Du Pont backed the 1937 *Marijuana Tax Act* that basically got hemp shot down in America."² This idea echoes what many hemp advocates have written; Jack Herer (1985)³, Chris Conrad (1994)⁴, Ed Rosenthal (1994)⁵, John C. Lupien (1995)⁶, Dave West (1999)⁷ and Samuel Heslop (2000)⁸ are very vocal in these assertions, which are part of the current hemp literature and understanding of the hemp industry.

By discouraging the use of hemp, Mellon (1855–1937), who is to many the epitome of respectability, did long-term damage to the American economy. Mellon's money came from Texas oil, and where his treasure was to be found, so was his heart. Secretary of the Treasury from 1921 to 1932, Mellon was able to influence tax rebates for oil interests that would lead ultimately to congressional investigations, the most famous of which was the Teapot Dome Scandal. Mellon particularly discouraged production of safer and better fuels, such as diesel and alcohol, which could compete with fossil fuels. One move that gave him an advantage at this game was loaning money to Du Pont, financing its acquisition of General Motors (GM). Thus, while Ford Motors set up a successful biomass fuel facility at Iron Mountain, Michigan, Mellon⁹ supported environmentally damaging concepts that would undermine the ecology and the health of the population. As powerful as he was, he was able to convince many people, but not all. When

FIGURE 17. WILD HEMP. U.S. GOVERNMENT PAMPHLET. (1970's)

CAUTION

Before spraying, note the directions and precautions on the 2,4-D container label to avoid injury to nearby desirable plants, as well as possible harm to humans, livestock, fish, and wildlife. Store the chemical in its original container under lock and key—out of the reach of children and animals—and away from food and feed.

Do not clean spray equipment or dump excess spray material near ponds, streams, or wells. Because it is difficult to remove all traces of herbicides—such as 2,4-D—from equipment, do not use the same equipment for insecticides or fungicides that you use for herbicides.

WILD HEMP

(Marijuana)

HOW TO CONTROL IT



Use Pesticides Safely
FOLLOW THE LABEL
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

PA-959

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
—EXTENSION SERVICE
in Cooperation with
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
BUREAU OF NARCOTICS
AND DANGEROUS DRUGS.

July 1970



the Great Depression came, President Herbert Hoover summed up his attitude by saying, “Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmer, liquidate real estate ... People will work harder, live a more moral life. Values will be adjusted and enterprising people will pick up the wrecks from less competent people.”¹⁰

Mellon appointed his nephew-in-law, Anslinger, to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, which answered not to any police authority, but to the Treasury. In such a position, Anslinger was able to berate drugs users with one hand, while he supplied morphine to Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin with the other.¹¹ Anslinger, a raging hempophobe, launched tirades against any use of drugs and classed marijuana in with narcotics. He was a dogmatic and hysterical bigot who is noted for remarking, “Musicians. And I’m not speaking about good musicians ... but the jazz type,”¹² in response to a question about who was breaking the marijuana laws. On one occasion, he had to be held back from rounding up all the jazz musicians in the country in a “crackdown.”¹³ Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Edward H. Foley, Jr. overruled this bizarre plan with a note simply stating “Foley disapproves.”¹⁴ President John F. Kennedy also disapproved and fired Anslinger. Ironically, Anslinger was part of the investigation into Kennedy’s death, an instrumental contributor to the Warren Report.

William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951) is perhaps best remembered as “Citizen Kane.” Hearst attended Harvard, but was expelled. He ran for mayor of New York City and governor of New York, but was unsuccessful. He owned newspapers, known for “yellow journalism,” which fuelled the Spanish-American War. Ever willing to profit, his most despicable, but not well-publicized, act was the sale of his newspapers’ editorial opinions to the Nazis. This he did in person, meeting Adolph Hitler who paid him \$400,000 a year.¹⁵ Hearst’s relationship with Hitler did not start there—Hitler used to work for Hearst as a columnist, but was unable to meet deadlines and so was let go.

Some will remember the pro-Nazi sentiments expressed in Hearst’s newspapers, while others will recall the anti-Latin tone, especially in regards to what Hearst called “reefer madness,” a campaign to stir up public hatred of marijuana. Dying alone, a pathetic figure, he left the world darkened by the shadow of Xanadu, racism and deforestation of the Pacific Northwest.

Last and not least is the Du Pont corporation. Today one of the biggest companies in the world, it dominates the skyline of Wilmington, Delaware, but its influence is clearly felt in nearby Washington. Its history goes quite a way back and is of some interest to examine.

Shortly after the War for American Independence, France was experiencing political turmoil of its own. The excesses of the monarchy and its supporters had enraged the nation, and the cry for change was heard in every town. Among the supporters of the old regime was one prosperous family—the du Ponts (originally spelled as Dupont and now spelled as du Pont by family members). Two members of this clan, Pierre and Irénée, were thrown into prison. Pleading senility and agreeing to leave the country, they were granted release and on October 1, 1799, set sail for America. Ninety days later, after an unpleasant journey spent guarding their wealth from the American crew, they arrived. A relief both to them and their crew, their arrival was marked by an ominous event—the du Ponts broke into a

house while the owners were at church and ate their meal.¹⁷

They settled first in New Jersey, finding a mansion to buy at Bergen's Point, and acquired slaves and set up offices at 61 Pearl Street and later at 91 Liberty Street in New York City. Pierre tried to launch a private empire, "Pontiania," which included gold smuggling and land speculation. These, and other plans, were at best pipe dreams, with the notion of land speculation especially ill advised, as Thomas Jefferson pointed out to them.¹⁸ Finally one thing did work for them: gunpowder. This was a dangerous business, especially for those working directly with chemicals, but lucrative to investors. Early settlers were in constant need of gunpowder. Soon other explosives were also added to the product line.

Wars were the most prosperous of times for this business. Even the Civil War, with its losses due to a divided market, brought fortune to Du Pont, despite the increase of accidents in the yards. Eleven explosions took place, killing dozens of workers¹⁹ from 1861 to 1865.

After the war, the du Ponts had to endure the depression, as bitterness ravaged a whole country. They not only endured, but prospered. Led by Lamot du Pont, they started a cartel with major powder manufacturers, cutting prices and levying



FIGURE 17. FROM APRIL, 1938
ISSUE OF *TRUE*

severe penalties against anyone who undersold them, undercutting them badly enough to bankrupt them. Their Eleutherian Mills would "pick up the pieces of the industry for pennies."²⁰ American Ordnance, New York Powder Company, United States Dynamite Company and the American Textile Powder Manufacturing Company were but a few of the smaller companies put out of business, bought out or controlled by Du Pont.²¹ "The policy pursued was one of ruthless elimination," wrote M.C. Engelbrecht and F.C. Hanighen in *Merchants of Death*.²²

While the du Ponts of Delaware were growing richer during the 1890s, most Americans were growing poorer. A public outcry rose against the control of the



nations' industries by a few private corporations. Eventually the *Sherman Anti-Trust Act* was passed, which was to have some effect in dealing with the du Ponts.

Not only were the du Ponts growing more powerful economically, but they also had entered the political arena as well. In 1895, Henry du Pont, having inherited his father's political power, shocked the nation with his dishonesty.²³ Du Pont, in a power struggle with John "Gas" Addicks over the senate seat in the state of Delaware, kept a stalemate going for 10 years in which his state had no senator; his attitude was "me or nobody."

By 1906, the du Ponts had taken on perhaps more than they could handle. They continued to expand monopolistically, and one of their victims, Buckeye Powder, fought back. Robert S. Waddell, the president of Buckeye, published an open letter to the president of the United States in which he wrote, "Here is an absolute and exclusive monopoly, superior to the government ... it is not safe to entrust ... nor is it right to rob the people to fatten millionaires.... The welfare of the nation is in balance against the Du Pont Trust."²⁴

The government reacted in 1907 with an anti-trust suit against Du Pont.²⁵ Waddell heaped evidence on the desks of the Justice Department, including Du



Pont's collaboration with German interests to keep tight control over the world market.²⁶ The government was able to use this information as well as overwhelming evidence from other sources. In 1910 Du Pont was found guilty, against a backdrop of national furor.²⁷ However, the new companies spun off from Du Pont, including Hercules Powder and Atlas Powder, were headed by former Du Pont executives.

An anti-trust suit was not the du Ponts' only legal woe of that year; Henry du Pont's political moves were again the focus of national attention. Publicly accused by Willard Salisbury of buying votes, Henry "broke into a cold sweat"²⁸ as a senate subcommittee investigated. In later years, forced to submit to a vote of the people under the newly enacted seventeenth amendment,

Henry's forces were noted for "stuffing ballot boxes, shipping repeats, and intimidating voters." Nonetheless, he lost the election in 1916, "swamped by a tidal wave of rejection."²⁹

Despite public outcry and court rulings, Du Pont's power waxed yet bolder, bold enough for Alfred du Pont to bluff President Taft into submission by threatening to throw people out of work. As Taft put it: "Do you mean to threaten the U.S. government?"³⁰ Unfortunately, Washington had let a monopoly gain the upper hand for too long and Taft was at a loss; Du Pont had won. With this kind of clout, there was little that could be done to stop the company. If a newspaper, for instance, ran an article criticizing Du Pont, it was bought up. This was the fate

of *Every Evening* in 1911,³¹ and it was not long before Du Pont “controlled every daily in Delaware.”

In 1917, the tide of events once more turned toward U.S. involvement in war, and with it the tide of Du Pont profits rose from a yearly average of \$6,092,000 to \$58,076,000.³² Atlas Powder and Hercules Powder similarly experienced increased profits, rising 480 percent and 575 percent respectively. Ten days after the United States entered World War I, another court case involving du Ponts came to a conclusion; this time with a du Pont as both defendant and plaintiff. Pierre du Pont was the loser, a man whom the court called “without principle, money grabbing, greedy, underhanded...”³³ It was in this war that they earned the accolade “merchants of death.”³⁴

Perhaps this originated with their workers, who were fired en masse—37,000 at Christmas 1918, and 70,000 more by the end of the year.³⁵ Protest was met with little sympathy. “Du Pont Company lives on, growing bigger and bigger and grander and grander with each day of existence,” boasted Du Pont executive Colonel Buckner.³⁶

Bigger and bigger was certainly true, over the deaths of soldiers and workers, Du Pont rolled on. Charges of holding back on wages and cheating employees out of their belongings began to emerge, as well as charges of cheating the U.S. government. These latter charges were investigated by the Graham Committee, which exposed massive fraud at the taxpayer’s expense.³⁷ Such facts came to light during yet another depression in the United States, which Du Pont weathered in part by slashing workers pay by 10 percent and voting against a minimum wage law. The du Ponts also exercised their power in the realm of foreign language newspapers, insisting that all advertising be placed through an organization owned by T. Coleman du Pont in such a way they were able to restrict stories about strikes in immigrant workers’ home countries.³⁸

At times control of the press was crucial, as in the tetraethyl lead death cover-up of 1923. Workers who handled this substance developed strange symptoms and then died horrible deaths. The building in which they worked was dubbed “the House of Butterflies,” in reference to workers snatching at air and drawing insects on the walls. Since profits were expected to be good on this new chemical, silence prevailed. Du Pont-owned newspapers in Delaware did not report the workers’ deaths.³⁹ But in October of 1924, the country heard the cry of alarm in other papers. Subsequent investigations showed that the Bureau of Mines, which had certified tetraethyl lead, was financed by General Motors. It was also revealed that no coroner’s inquests were held in Delaware, that death certificates were improperly handled or missing, and that poisoned workers were “sent back to the poorly ventilated plant to be poisoned again and again.”⁴⁰ The public wanted the law to be applied to those responsible, and by standards at that time this was a case for wholesale manslaughter, if not murder. However, those investigating had no desire to bite the hand that had forked over \$34,000 in campaign contributions. No charges were pressed and tetraethyl lead was given the thumbs up. Deepwater, the problem plant, was re-opened. Irénée du Pont gave \$37,500 to the Republican Party the next year.

November 11, 1930, was a day on which a shadow crossed the Du Pont

“The rich got richer, the poor got polluted and lied to”.
—Paul Benhaim, 1999.^d



empire; T. Coleman du Pont, the “general,” passed away. His fall, wrote Gerald Zilg in his 1974 exposé, “foreshadowed a dark decade ahead, indeed the darkest, most dangerous years of the family’s history, years through which the Barons of Brandywine would try every legal and illegal means possible to preserve their new empire and keep millions of hungry, jobless Americans from sharing their fabulous wealth.”⁴¹

However harsh the mistreatment of Du Pont workers was in America, it was unspeakably worse in Europe. In the 1930s, an ambitious young character was coming into the political stage, and he needed not only moral support, but also tangible support. The first he was able to stir up for himself by means of high-pitched speeches and inflammatory writing, which attracted the likes of Madie du Pont and her sons, who dedicated their lives to “the Führer.”⁴² She had snapshots of her offspring, smartly dressed in Nazi uniforms, proud of them and the leader who could “rid the nation of its rotten elements.” For material support, Hitler was in a bind, as the Treaty of Versailles forbade him the arms and poisons he so wanted. He needed a secret weapons dealer, which he found in several du Ponts, who were willing to break laws and help him build the Third Reich.

In January 1926, Du Pont executives signed a deal with Dynamit Aktion Gesellschaft and Köln Rottweiler, both of which were to be part of I.G. Farben.⁴³ The deal was mainly for explosives, with patents and secret inventions being made available to the Nazis. By 1933, Du Pont had decided to plunge into smuggling arms to Germany.⁴⁴ In February, A. Felix du Pont, Sr. had a secret meeting with two top agents, naming one of them, Jongo Giera (aka Peter Brenner, a World War I German spy), as Du Pont’s sole agent to the Republic of Germany.⁴⁵ With the prospect of war and future sales in mind, Du Pont was diligent in its dealings, inviting Farben officials to the home of Lammot du Pont in Wilmington. In October 1935, this invitation was accepted by no less than Dr. Fritzler Meer and Georg von Schnitzler, Farben’s leading officers. Even then Du Pont knew and expressed that all was not quite right; government evidence in a 1945 trial included a letter from a Mr. Haas of Philadelphia to a Dr. Röhm of Darmstadt, Germany, written in 1936, which stated, “A matter like this cannot be put into the contract because it would be against the law. We have to rely on our verbal assurance and our experiences with duPont (sic) during the last fifteen years has proven that they can be relied upon to live up to an arrangement of this kind.”⁴⁶

Du Pont-Nazi agreements had by that time reached a level of great complexity, which would result in numerous indictments against Du Pont and their Axis partners in the 1940s. One such indictment was for no less a conspiracy:⁴⁷ it appeared that Du Pont and other supposedly “patriotic” companies were acting as warmongers. Some parties were actually trying to create a long protracted war to increase their own profits. Senator Prescott Bush, for instance had his share in a pro-nazi company confiscated by the U.S. government under the 1942 “Trading with the Enemy Act”.⁴⁸ In 1939, when the United Kingdom was buying arms from Du Pont, one clause that Du Pont and its affiliates saw fit to honor was the one limiting what they could send to the allies. Thus Remington supplied the British army with an inferior priming agent for cartridges, putting British ground troops in a critically weakened position on the battlefield.⁴⁹

As Du Pont's relationship with the Nazis grew tight, both sides looked to the future, realizing the difficulties that a war could impose. Senator Homer T. Bone, chairman of the Senate Patent's Committee, exposed these arrangements, specifically citing a letter dated February 9, 1940, in which Du Pont expressed the intention to have Farben participation in Duperial, a Du Pont-Imperial Chemicals joint venture in South America. This, however, was against the wishes of Imperial in the United Kingdom,⁵⁰ who felt betrayed by Du Pont's willingness to aid their enemy.

In 1941, another customer would also find itself doing business with Du Pont—the U.S. military. Lamot du Pont expressed the company's sentiments when this happened: "They want what we've got. Good. Make them pay the right price for it."⁵¹

While this had one meaning for Du Pont and its clients, it had another for Du Pont's workforce in America. Du Pont, financed by the Mellon Bank, had acquired GM, which was then placed under Irénée du Pont's control. As chairman, he led GM to new strengths, not only by his charismatic speeches about a "race of supermen,"⁵² but in reaching new sales, many to the Nazi war machine.

The workers, however, were not included in many of Irénée's ideas. Rather, they came under attack, were spied upon, beaten, tortured and killed. Obsessed by Hitler's principles,⁵³ he turned them on Americans, and such organizations as the American Liberty League, the Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) were to play a hand in suppressing labor.

For the American Liberty League, veteran's bonuses were an extravagance, while taxes for pensions and the unemployed were attacked. Roosevelt was to clash with Du Pont over this organization, stating that it "ganged up against people's liberties."⁵⁴ Irénée had founded the league with Lamot and Pierre du Pont, and other anti-African-American and anti-Semitic organizations were to follow. Irénée also paid \$1 million for gas-equipped storm troops to sweep through plants and beat up those not in line.⁵⁵ This was all part of the company whose board kept personal links to Hitler, some signing an agreement of total commitment to the Nazis' cause, and strove to stamp out Jewish influence in America. When the Nazis invaded France, James D. Mooney, GM's chief of European operations, went to New York to celebrate, renting a suite in the Waldorf-Astoria on Park Avenue especially for the occasion.⁵⁶

GM factories were filled with pro-Nazi sentiment led by the notorious Black Legion. This group, attired in black-hooded robes sporting the skull and cross bones, was divided into special squads—arson, bombing, execution and membership, which recruited Ku Klux Klansmen. If one can imagine an organization one step below the KKK, this was it. Its members murdered for thrill as well as political advantage, regarding all "aliens, Negroes, Jews, cults, and creeds believing in racial equality" as enemies. Several of their murders stirred public rage, even the wealth of the du Ponts could not pacify the country. So the federal government stepped in, as local and state officials were overwhelmed by these atrocities. George H. Earle, then governor of Pennsylvania, saw it clearly and spoke out on June 8, 1936: "I charge that this organization is the direct result of the subversive propaganda subsidized by the Grand Dukes of the Duchy of Delaware, the du Ponts, and the munitions' policies of the American Liberty League."⁵⁷

Irénée was openly contemptuous of America and its people:

"The country, the people, the locations are all worthless".

—Gerard Colby Zilg, 1974.^a



So out of hand was the American Liberty League that it even tried to mount an armed rebellion against Roosevelt, trying to use General Samuel Butler, but failing when he exposed this scheme. (An in-depth book on this subject, *The Plot to Seize the White House*, by Jules Archer, gives the whole surprising story.) By 1936, the league had become a total failure and a hated name throughout America. Although these fascist organizations were a failure for the du Ponts, World War II was a financial boom. They emerged as the richest clan in America and laid claim to a new social status usually held by older, more patriotic families.

After the war, one battle facing Du Pont was the anti-trust suit brought against the company for its stake in GM. At first, Du Pont won, which set off another round of buying shares in GM. However, the government appealed and ultimately won. Such gloating by the company executives should have been kept private, as author Leonard Mosley notes: “there was no one present with enough common sense to urge them to keep their mouths shut...”⁵⁸

Du Pont today is one of the most powerful companies in the world and still makes products for war, including nuclear war heads, which they began developing in the 1940s. “Fat Man” and “Little Boy” were the company’s babies, developed under the auspices of one of its most brilliant scientists and directors, Crawford Greenewalt, an MIT graduate who had married into the family.

Well respected in social and scientific circles, this newcomer gave a better feel to this gargantuan corporation. For many, Greenewalt is best remembered for his photography of birds, a passion that he shared with John E. du Pont, known for his studies of birds in the Philippines and the Pacific. (Currently, John E. du Pont is in jail for the murder of one of his houseguests.) Both men traveled extensively and wrote lasting works on exotic avifauna. Most notable was *Hummingbirds* by Greenewalt, published in 1960.⁵⁹ Greenewalt’s direction and that of his successors differed much from that of the earlier organization run only by du Ponts; a greater percentage of Du Pont’s products today are geared toward peacetime use. Perhaps these differences have changed everything for the better; it’s not difficult to imagine the benevolent scene of a large company peacefully producing energy while its directors wax poetic over endangered species and give back to the public a part of what they take.

Alas, such a scenario does not seem to be the case. Jack Frazier listed Du Pont, along with IBM and EXXON, as “huge monsters that crush and mutilate everything and everyone that crosses their path or stands in their way.”⁶⁰ Ralph Nader’s words are equally descriptive: “a political and corrupt plantation.”⁶¹ Gerard Colby [Zilg] (1984, 2nd edition) listed a number of problems, including crimes committed by the then governor of Delaware, Pierre S. du Pont IV. This author was himself a first-hand witness to such acts, as Du Pont suppressed his 1974 publication of *Du Pont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*.⁶² In the decade between that first title and his second in 1984, he was to record even more of Du Pont’s disregard for the environment and the people of the United States.

Their influence extends today to almost every country, and the problems continue, such as the sale of Valpirone, or dipyrone, a drug that the American



FIGURE 20. CANNABIS LEAF.
FROM APRIL 1938 ISSUE OF
TRUE.

“Just outside the nation’s capital, for some sixty miles along the Potomac River, on both banks, marijuana was growing in profusion, it had been planted there originally by early settlers who made their own hemp and cloth. The workers cleaned out tremendous riverbank crops, destroying plants, seeds and roots. All through the Midwest also, W.P.A. workers were used for this clean-up job. The wild hemp was rooted out of America.”

—Harry J. Anslinger and Will Oursler, 1962.^b

Medical Association evaluated as “a last resort.” *No problema*. Du Pont sells the drug through its subsidiary Endo Laboratories in Latin America, where the public is not aware that this is a dangerous product.⁶³

In Puerto Rico, pollution in the Monati River caused by Du Pont destroyed the livelihood of fishermen and farmers, turning the waters black. This led to an ugly scene with Du Pont threatening to close down and throw hundreds of people out of work,⁶⁴ as well as trying to have the island removed from the protection of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).⁶⁵

On the mainland, Du Pont challenged the authority of the EPA over reductions of lead content in gasoline and that of the Food and Drug Administration over the banning of fluorocarbons. Many Americans have become alarmed at the power and purposes of this company and the hundred or more it controls. Rightly so, but what can be done?

For an answer, let’s return to the topic at hand—hemp. Hemp was getting attention and public investment in the 1920s and 1930s as more informed legislators, seeing a use for farm wastes, took an interest in using this plant for its cellulose content. However, this meant competition for a number of businesses, among them a huge paper concern, the International Paper and Power Company. This outfit had interests in wood pulp and went about negotiations with its largest customer, the Hearst media syndicate, to monopolize the market. Recognizing the problem, Senator Thomas Schull of Minnesota called for the Federal Trade Commission to investigate, causing International to back off.⁶⁶ In 1929, Blair Coan, a Washington reporter, uncovered evidence that the Department of Agriculture had chosen to suppress information on paper production from farm wastes.⁶⁷

One government figure who took an interest in the use of farm wastes for cellulose and paper was none other than Anslinger, who began requesting information on hemp in the 1930s. By 1935, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics actively gathered information on the new hemp industry, even though it possessed no real authority to do so; the file of requests received that year is missing.

The following year, one project that caught Anslinger’s attention was a series of articles about hemp cultivation sponsored by the *Chicago Tribune*.⁶⁸ He dispatched an agent to gather information, with specific instructions to report on the machinery involved and the demand for hemp. She sent back her reports, satisfying his need for such sensitive information, but advised against his plans to restrict cultivation.⁶⁹

MARIJUANA TAX ACTA


All of this poking around by the narcotics bureau was not able to put a stop to hemp growing, especially as its potential use as a source of cellulose was being discovered. More effective measures would be necessary to stop hemp cultivation—measures that demonized and outlawed all cannabis.

Hearst accomplished much by vilifying all cannabis in his papers, telling blatant, racist lies, evoking fears and prejudice among the ignorant. Anslinger kept a



file of this propaganda, calling it the "gore file." In it were stories of fifteen-year-olds murdering their parents after one high, and cross-racial rapes, the latter especially meant to incite tensions. John C. Lupien summed this situation up in his 1995 Pepperdine University thesis: "From 1935 on, the Bureau actively re-wrote the history of hemp by demonising marijuana ... triggered by monopolistic greed and economic insecurity of a few financially threatened industries."⁷⁰

The bureau got support for its vilification of hemp not just from Hearst, but also from other off-the-wall sensationalists. Anslinger especially liked the propa-



TREASURY DEPARTMENT ORIGINAL
One Two 1/2 Cents

UNITED STATES INTERNAL REVENUE

**ORDER FORM FOR MARIHUANA, OR COMPOUNDS,
MANUFACTURES, SALTS, DERIVATIVES, MIXTURES,
OR PREPARATIONS UNDER THE MARIHUANA TAX ACT OF 1937.**

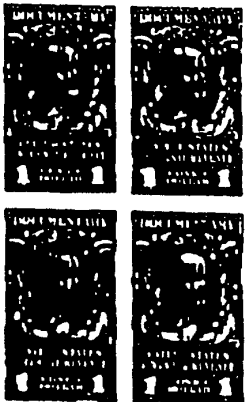
MARIHUANA ORDER FORM NUMBER	DATE ISSUED BY COLLECTOR: _____
------------------------------------	--

TO: _____

Sir:

Application having been presented and transfer tax in the amount of \$ _____ having been paid, as evidenced by transfer tax stamps affixed to the original hereof in accordance with the provisions of the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 and regulations issued thereunder, you are authorized, in so far as the provisions of that Act and the regulations issued thereunder are concerned, to transfer to _____ to be delivered to him in person or consigned to him at _____, a quantity of marihuana not to exceed _____ ounces in the form of the following products:

ITEM	NAME OF PRODUCT OR PREPARATION	QUANTITY
1		
2		
3		
4		



Signed: _____, Collector,

By _____

NOTE: Not valid to authorize a transfer of marihuana unless signed by the collector and the full amount of transfer stamps indicated above are affixed to the original copy.

FIGURE 27 . TAX FORM. U.S. GOV. CA. 1937.

TO BE RETAINED BY THE TRANSFEROR FOR A PERIOD OF TWO YEARS

ganda of Dr. Jules Bouquet, who claimed to be the world's foremost expert on cannabis drugs. One of Dr. Bouquet's diatribes ran as follows:

The basis of Moslem character is indolence; these people love idleness and day-dreaming, and to the majority of them work is the most unpleasant of all necessities. Inordinately vain glorious, thirsting for every pleasure, they are manifestly unable to realise more than a small fraction of their desires: their unrestrained imagination supplies the rest. Hemp, which enhances the imagination, is the narcotic best adapted to their mentality. When the period of intoxication is over and he is again forced with the realities of his normal shabby life, his one desire is to find a corner where he may sleep....⁷¹

He also claimed cannabis to be typical of the "poorer classes in urban communities: artisans, small traders, and workmen." Bouquet failed to produce any credible evidence to support his findings, yet the bureau still presented this erroneous rhetoric before Congress.

Not everyone, even then, accepted the statements of these hemp opponents. Dr. Woodward of the American Medical Association especially opposed them. In 1937, when Anslinger and Du Pont allies were preparing the final version of their anti-hemp bill, Woodward protested before Congress, "We cannot understand yet, Mr. Chairman, why this bill should have been prepared in secret for two years without any intimation, even to the profession, that it was being prepared."⁷²

There was at this time some momentum building behind the scare stories about cannabis over the border in Canada where Judge Emily Murphy picked up on the Anslinger hype and advocated "public whippings and deportations"⁷³ for people caught using marijuana. Anslinger's campaign caused local police to single out minorities, blaming "Mexicans, Spaniards, Latin-Americans, Greeks, and Negroes" as perpetrators of violent crimes due to the habit of marijuana smoking.⁷⁴ All of this added fuel to the senseless debate, and the bureau waited for the right moment to take advantage of the misinformation campaign.

Prior to the 1937 attempt at creating an anti-hemp act, two had also been unsuccessfully initiated in 1935; but eventually Anslinger prevailed by using more secrecy and researching a route that would avoid intelligent debate. General Counsel Herman Oliphant convinced the anti-hemp fanatics to introduce a bill to the House Ways and Means Committee, where discussion could be kept at a minimum. Plus, the committee was presided over by a Du Pont ally, Robert L. Doughton.⁷⁵

Several details reveal the craftiness with which this was done, most notably the fact the bill was called a "marijuana" bill. It was not disclosed that this referred to hemp, and since marijuana was not yet a term in the public vocabulary, many parties who had interests at stake simply did not know what marijuana was. Even today, there are people who do not consider marijuana as being hemp. Such concern was in fact voiced by a representative from Chempco, Incorporated, who stated in 1937, "I do not think the use of the word 'marijuana' belongs in this measure, because that is the word that came up from Mexico and attached to these cigarettes. I see no use in it. This is hemp being grown, not marijuana ... we



Hemp for Victory, 1942.⁶ Long ago when these ancient Grecian temples were new, hemp was already old in the service of mankind. For thousands of years, even then, this plant had been grown for cordage and cloth in China and elsewhere in the East. For centuries prior to about 1850 all the ships that sailed the western seas were rigged with hempen rope and sails. For the sailor, no less than the hangman, hemp was indispensable. A 44-gun frigate like our cherished Old Ironsides took over 60 tons of hemp for rigging, including an anchor cable 25 inches in circumference. The Conestoga wagons and prairie schooners of pioneer days were covered with hemp canvas. Indeed the very word canvas comes from the Arabic word for hemp. In those days hemp was an important crop in Kentucky and Missouri. Then came cheaper imported fibers for cordage, like jute, sisal and Manila hemp, and the culture of hemp in America declined. But now with Philippine and East Indian sources of hemp in the hands of the Japanese, and shipment of jute from India curtailed, American hemp must meet the needs of our Army and Navy as well as of our industry. In 1942, patriotic farmers at the government's request planted 36,000 acres of seed hemp, an increase of several thousand percent. The goal for 1943 is 50,000 acres of seed hemp.

In Kentucky much of the seed hemp acreage is on river bottom land such as this. Some of these fields are inaccessible except by boat. Thus plans are afoot for a great expansion of a hemp industry as a part of the war program. This film is designed to tell farmers how to handle this ancient crop now little known outside Kentucky and Wisconsin.

This is hemp seed. Be careful how you use it. For to grow hemp legally you must have a federal registration and tax stamp. This is provided for in your contract. Ask your county agent about it. Don't forget. Hemp demands a rich, well-drained soil such as is found here in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky or in central Wisconsin. It must be loose and rich in organic matter. Poor soils won't do. Soil that will grow good corn will usually grow hemp. Hemp is not hard on the soil. In Kentucky it has been grown for several years on the same ground, though this practice is not recommended. A dense and shady crop, hemp tends to choke out weeds. Here's a Canada thistle that couldn't stand the competition, dead as a dodo. Thus hemp leaves the ground in good condition for the following crop. For fiber, hemp should be sown closely, the closer the rows, the better. These rows are spaced about four

inches. This hemp has been broadcast. Either way it should be sown thick enough to grow a slender stalk. Here's an ideal stand; the right height to be harvested easily, thick enough to grow slender stalks that are easy to cut and process. Stalks like these here on the left yield the most fiber and are the best. Those on the right are too coarse and woody. For see, hemp is planted in hills like corn. Sometimes by hand.

Hemp is a dioecious plant. The female flower is inconspicuous. But the male flower is easily spotted. In seed production after the pollen has been shed, these male plants are cut out. These are the seeds on a female plant. Hemp for fiber is ready to harvest when the pollen is shedding and the leaves are falling. In Kentucky, hemp harvest comes in August. Here the old standby has been the self-rake reaper, which has been used for a generation or more.

Hemp grows so luxuriantly in Kentucky that harvesting is some-

times difficult, which may account for the popularity of the self-rake with its lateral stroke. A modified rice binder has been used to some extent. This machine works well on average hemp. Recently, the improved hemp harvester, used for many years in Wisconsin, has been introduced in Kentucky. This machine spreads the hemp in a continuous

swath. It is a far cry from this fast and efficient modern harvester, that doesn't stall in the heaviest hemp. In Kentucky, hand cutting is practised in opening fields for the machine. In Kentucky, hemp is shucked as soon as safe, after cutting, to be spread out for retting later in the fall. In Wisconsin, hemp is harvested in September. Here the hemp harvester with automatic spreader is standard equipment. Note how smoothly the rotation apron lays the swaths preparatory to retting. Here it is a common and essential practice to leave headlands around hemp fields. These strips may be planted with other crops, preferably small grain. Thus the harvester has room to make its first round without preparatory hand cutting. The other machine is running over corn stubble. When the cutter bar is much shorter than the hemp is tall, overlapping occurs. Not so good for retting. The standard cut is eight to nine feet. The length of time hemp is left on the ground to ret depends on the weather. The swaths must be turned to get a uniform ret. When the woody core breaks away readily like this, the hemp is about ready to pick up and bind into bundles. Well-retted hemp is light to dark grey. The fiber tends to pull away from the stalks. The presence of stalks



in the bough-string stage indicates that retting is well underway. When hemp is short or tangled or when the ground is too wet for machines, it's bound by hand. A wooden bucket is used. Twine will do for tying, but the hemp itself makes a good band. When conditions are favorable, the pickup binder is commonly used. The swaths should lie smooth and even with the stalks parallel. The picker won't work well in tangled hemp.

After binding, hemp is shucked as soon as possible to stop further retting. In 1942, 14,000 acres of fiber hemp were harvested in the United States. The goal for the old standby cordage fiber, is staging a strong comeback. This is Kentucky hemp going into the dryer over mill at Versailles. In the old days braking was done by hand. One of the hardest jobs known to man. Now the power braker makes quick work of it. Spinning American hemp into rope yarn or twine in the old Kentucky river mill at Frankfort, Kentucky. Another pioneer plant that has been making cordage for more than a century.

All such plants will presently be turning out products spun from American-grown hemp: twine of various kinds for tying and upholsters work; rope for marine rigging and lowing; for hay forks, derricks, and heavy duty tackle; light duty firehose; thread for shoes for millions of American soldiers; and parachute webbing for our paratroopers.

As for the United States Navy, every battleship requires 34,000 feet of rope. Here in the Boston Navy Yard, where cables for frigates were made long ago, crews are now working night and day making cordage for the fleet. In the old days rope yarn was spun by hand. The rope yarn deeds through holes in an iron plate. This is Manila hemp form the Navy's rapidly dwindling reserves. When it is gone, American hemp will go on duty again; hemp for mooring ships; hemp for towlines; hemp for tackle and gear; hemp for countless naval uses both on ship

and shore. Just as in the days when Old Ironsides sailed the seas victorious with her hempen shrouds and hempen sails. **Hemp for Victory.**

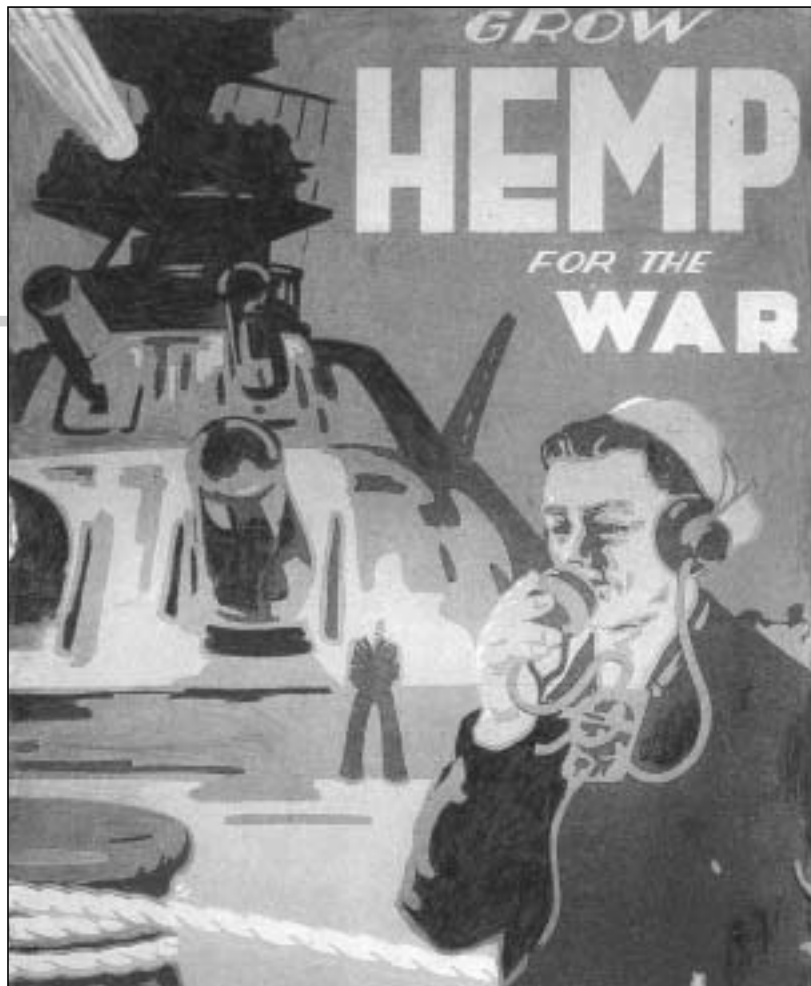


FIGURE 22. HEMP FOR VICTORY POSTER (1943)



might lose an industry purely by the phraseology of the measure.”⁷⁶

Technically, the bill that was introduced was not completely prohibitive; it was a tax. This was a second underhanded aspect to the whole thing, based on both a longstanding precedent and very recent action. The precedent of using a tax to prohibit an activity can be traced back to the reign of Charles I of England, who wanted to close all the coffee houses. However, this was contrary to the freedom and the rights of the British people, so he tried to circumvent the Magna Carta by enacting a prohibitive tax that proved burdensome to that industry in the hopes that he could limit public assembly and free speech.

A more current precedent is the *National Firearms Act*, which had been approved as constitutional in the United States on March 29, 1937. It was openly enacted for the purpose of curtailing machine guns, an effort to restrict weapons without violating the fourth amendment—the right to bear arms. The bureau, losing no time, unveiled the Marijuana Tax Act on April 15 of that year. It passed on August 2 and received final ratification on December 11, 1937. It is of interest to mention that Congress asked if the American Medical Association had been consulted, to which Representative Vinson, answering for the Ways and Means Committee replied, “yes, we have. A Dr. Wharton and the AMA are in complete agreement.”⁷⁷

Du Pont, in its 1937 annual report, issued a statement that many hemp advocates see as a reflection of these moves. It read: “radical changes from the revenue raising power of government would be converted into instruments for forcing acceptance of sudden new ideas of industrial and social reorganisation.” American citizens were facing a tax that would “force acceptance of sudden new ideas.” Whose ideas? Du Pont’s?

This really didn’t matter, however; the *Marijuana Tax Act* passed, a fait accompli that U.S. farmers and businesses were forced to accept. A week after passing, Samuel Caldwell of Colorado was the first person tried under the new law; he was given four years of hard labor at Leavenworth.⁷⁸ Columnist Frank Ridgway on October 11, 1937, wrote in the *Chicago Tribune*, “that the prospective complications the new law would create” made it more advisable to “just burn the crops than to try to preserve through the regulatory measures.”⁷⁹

HEMP SUPPORT

Several farmers affected by these new rules and unable to cope with them alone hired attorney Ojai A. Lende to sort out the difficulties. Lende was himself baffled by the situation and ultimately asked the government to compensate the farmers. In 1938, Lende wrote, “there was a market for this hemp in processed form but the passage of the Tax Act completely destroyed the market and virtually confiscated this hemp for the growers ... the bureau hampered the conduct of legitimate business by strictly enforcing the stipulations of the transfer tax.”⁸⁰

Anslinger responded in an apathetic and guarded way, and Lende sent off another letter, this one more vitriolic:

If I can find a market for the hemp I have in mind to dispose of that hemp and tell Mr. Anslinger that he can go to the region below and let him present the country

with a spectacle of arresting half a thousand farmers in Minnesota for selling an agricultural crop grown off from their farms which were grown long before Congress ever thought of the *Marijuana Act*.⁸¹

One stipulation that was especially cumbersome was the removal of all foliage. This was burdensome to the farmers, if not nearly impossible, and it was not necessary since the foliage decomposed naturally during the retting process. There was also the bureaucracy involved, and many farmers simply could not get the necessary paperwork done. Illinois and Minnesota growers were particularly impeded by the new regulations, but Wisconsin farmers were able to continue to grow and harvest their crops; their hemp went to the U.S. navy, and a *laissez-faire* policy prevailed in that state.

By 1943, however, all U.S. hemp growers had the government behind them. A film titled *Hemp for Victory* was released that year, promoting cannabis growth and offering all growers the necessary permits. This greatly increased planting to 158,000 acres (63,200 ha) by 1943, but fell to 5,000 acres (2,000 ha) just after the war, as the permits were once again an issue. 4-H Clubs encouraged school children to plant hemp patches that would “give 4-H Club members a real opportunity to serve their country in war time.”⁸²

Not everyone welcomed the patriotism of the hemp growers. The managing director of the Flax and Fibre Institute of America, Howard D. Salins, wrote in a letter dated March 30, 1943:

New Deal Bureaucrats ... offering Hemp Marijuana (dope) narcotic to the American people instead of increased food production ... the corrupters of American Life are now engaged in the promoting of 350,000 acres [140,000 ha], erecting 100 buildings and building a large volume of equipment and machinery in a number of mid-Western States for production of this narcotic (dope) plant product ... Do you want this (dope) narcotic in your community? You are lined up for it.⁸³

The government wisely ignored this diatribe and continued its support for hemp when needed. Sadly, however, the position was reversed after the war. One group of farmers tried to start a business using an abandoned hemp mill, but Anslinger shut them down. The anti-hemp policy resumed, and as an added dimension, “weed eradication” programs were implemented. These programs basically spent a lot of taxes on chemicals such as 2,4-D (which contains dioxin and was part of Agent Orange) and paraquat, adding to the wealth of chemical companies and destruction of the environment. Hunting groups were keen to notice the relationship between cannabis and game birds; James Vance’s 1970 article, “Marijuana is for the Birds,” published in *Outdoor Life*, speaks out against the loss of quarry due to such ignorant programs.

Until the mid-1980s, hunters were just about the only group in the United States that took notice of hemp in a positive way. President John F. Kennedy had expressed some interest at one point, just one week before his assassination. The anti-cannabis band played on, though; one leader to emerge from its ranks was Lyndon La Rouche. His “War on Drugs” sustained the hysteria, with raving accu-



sations that the Queen of England and Lord Rees-Mogg, editor of the London Times, were at the center of an international drug dealing conspiracy, and that the World Wildlife Fund was a crime front. La Rouche's rallies contained not only such conspiracy theories, but a campaign against John Lennon, asking attendees to sign a petition in 1981 to designate Mark Chapman, Lennon's assassin, an American hero and to support new drug laws that would make the public playing of rock, disco or jazz a criminal act, punishable by imprisonment.⁸⁴

In 1985, Herer published a book titled *The Emperor Wears No Clothes*. It was a rallying point for both environmentalists and pot smokers; Herer not only chronicled the history and uses of hemp, but also called for the legalization of marijuana. The book was not to be ignored; it contained a great deal of documentation, for the most part photocopies of government publications. Since then, there have been a number of other books written in North America, such as Chris Conrad's *Hemp: Lifeline to the Future*, and Ed Rosenthal's *Hemp Today*. The latter rebuts some of Herer's claims, differing not on the major parts of his premise, but on some of the more scientific details.

By the mid-1990s, hemp movements were gaining ground. Actor Woody Harrelson planted hemp seeds in his home state of Kentucky, a symbolic act that led to his arrest. A poll conducted in that state by the Kentucky Hemp Museum showed that 77 percent of respondents favored the growing of hemp: other tobacco states have similar support for hemp.

California is the center of the U.S. hemp industry, with such companies as Green Field Paper Company and MinaWear Hemp Clothing. In California, not only popular support, but also political support is evident; pro-hemp bills have not only had an 80 percent endorsement rate by the Democratic Party, but also have support from a majority of Republicans, according to California activist Sam H. Clauser, who campaigns to farmers and young Republicans.

James Woolsey is another name in California hemp circles; this former director of the CIA believes hemp to be a sensible and patriotic direction. The fact that natural energy sources, produced on America's farms, would not only employ Americans, but would put the whole country in a much safer position financially and strategically, is causing everyone to take a hard look at the future of hemp. Sadly, there are still those parties who benefit from keeping the United States dependent on fossil fuels. These people in many ways betray the trust of their fellow citizens. They continue to cloud the issue, using the argument about hemp as a drug to their personal advantage.

Much of the debate in California revolves around the perception of cannabis—is it hemp or is it dope? This controversy was played out recently when Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.) reacted against the use of the cannabis leaf at bus stops in an advertising campaign for Alterna Shampoo. This ignorance, though not still widespread, does exist and can be used by unscrupulous interests to continue the suppression of hemp.⁸⁵

The mayor of Santa Barbara, Harriet Miller, summed up the situation: "The industrial hemp strain is different from the marijuana strain, so a public education

"The growth of American hemp, which had all but disappeared, was revived. Seeds were produced and distributed by the Department of Agriculture, subsidies were paid to farmers for growing American hemp, and numerous small mills were built to break the fibre out of the stalks and clean it. The actual crop in 1973 was less than half what had been expected, but the American hemp project did produce some sixty million pounds of fibre at a time when it was badly needed."

—Samuel Eliot Morison, 1950.^c

program is necessary.”⁸⁶ Her sentiments are those of many legislators, who are fighting cannabis suppression elsewhere. Most noted of such politicians is Jesse Ventura, governor of Minnesota. A fighter, who beat both major parties and wears Rolling Stone logos at press conferences, he is not afraid to tackle the hemp issue on behalf of Minnesota citizens, who have for years watched as their neighbors in Canada make profits on what used to be a birthright in their own state.

Canada legalized hemp in 1998 after research of this nation’s history and studies of cannabis cultivation had shown how valuable this plant could be. Not grown since 1938, this move was welcomed not only for the novelty, but also for the fundamental economics. In Brandon, a town near Winnipeg, Manitoba, it was expected that 1,200 jobs would be created, and local governments expressed their support by providing \$500,000 in roads and infrastructure.

Many other locations in Canada have followed this lead and have been able to sell much of their hemp profitably south of the border. However, some difficulties have appeared, most notably the confiscation of a truckload of Canadian hemp seeds by U.S. officials, leading to diplomatic tensions. Another discouraging event was the breakup of Consolidated Growers and Processors, which was a U.S. company that did not move in tandem with the hemp industry; this left many farmers stranded with unfulfilled contracts.

Currently, Kenex of Canada is the largest hemp company in North America, and while it has persevered and shown incredible business growth, it has had to deal with obstacles thrown up by U.S. officials. One such obstacle has been the attempt to make any food containing hemp nuts and oil illegal in the United States, despite the obvious lack of any evidence showing that they are dangerous. Ironically, while one can buy poppy seeds, grow poppy flowers and transport poppy products, known to contain trace amounts of a narcotic, hemp is singled out. This attitude has caused much debate among Americans, and on January 13, 2002, *The Washington Post* ran an article on the topic, demonstrating the irony and describing the range of foods containing hemp, such as hemp pretzels and hemp tofu. As any criminalization barring hemp products would affect Kenex’s sales, it has reacted by filing a \$20 million lawsuit, alleging that this would be a violation of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Those setbacks have not discouraged this fledgling industry, and currently work is being undertaken to develop machinery that will process hemp more effectively for oil, cellulose and fiber.

North America may in fact lead the world in future hemp production. Presently, roadblocks exist and can be expected from those interests that have acted dishonestly in the past. While this is a cause for some pessimism, there is a realistic expectation that these obstacles will be overcome. Already Hawaii and California have legalized cannabis, but the federal government continues to disapprove, although this is considered to be a violation of states’ rights. With public support, honest officials can be effective in reversing the damage the greedy individuals have done to their country, even if they have to take on high-ranking officials. Ultimately, the wisdom of the founding fathers is expected to prevail, as the public is given the facts of this part of their heritage.

Singer Willie Nelson summed this up aptly in 1994 when he said, “Hemp is



intertwined with American history. We grew it to rig the great New England sailing ships, travelled west in Conestoga wagons covered in hemp, dressed in homespun hemp cloth when we got there and wound up wearing hemp jeans. We tied our cargo with hemp rope and fed the poultry with hemp seed. We used hemp to help develop this country.”⁸⁷

Americans are realizing they have the right to grow hemp and are not content to let their elected officials throw out their votes⁸⁸ (see Chapter 10) and deny them the progress that other nations are quite sensibly enjoying. Some of this is taking a more urgent tone, as the realization that certain groups have pushed oil and other products on the public, to the point of causing a recession.

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33. Duke. p.290.
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