AHA 2019:

The Joy of Motoring



Volume 3

Proceedings of Automotive Historians Australia Inc.



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Edited by Harriet Edquist

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Ye Old Hot Rod Shopp. Life Magazine November 5, 1945
←
Street Rod Centre of Australia sign 2015

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Foreword

The theme of the 4th annual conference of Automotive Historians Australia Inc. was 'The Joy of Motoring'. It was inspired by one of the twentieth- century's most celebrated motorists, Mr Toad of *Wind in the Willows*, whose uninhibited and reckless enthusiasm for motoring at high speed not only identified him as a prototype of the Futurist but also encapsulated the century's addiction to automobility.

In previous conferences we have explored issues to do with automotive historiography; the future of the industry; the relationship between the automobile and the city and many other topics presented within an academic conference framework.

For this conference we decided on a less formal approach and invited both formal academic papers and less formal presentations in any format which reflected generally on motoring and automotive culture. In particular, we were seeking contributions that derived from the experience of owning, racing, designing, restoring or building an automobile (or motorcycle), experiences that often rely on tacit knowledge accrued over a long period of time. This rich body of knowledge which represents enormous cultural capital for Australia for the most part remains hidden and is never recorded. Similarly, experiences of rallying, time trials, long-distance road trips, the open road also constitute an extraordinarily valuable aspect of Australian cultural history but one which is generally known only to the participants although it has a great deal to tell us about post-war Australia. Bringing this knowledge to the fore was an ambition of the conference. The experiences and knowledge of women in this space were particularly encouraged.

The 16 conference papers delivered over a two-day programme reflected our aspirations. Nearly half the presenters were women all of whom spoke about women - either

historical figures or their personal experiences in some aspect of the motor industry. The papers took a variety of formats, some more formal than the others. Andrew Moore, Larry O'Toole, David Mackenzie, Jenny Fawbert took our challenge about recording their rallying and racing experiences while Michelle Mantsio focused on historical women drivers and Mark Bissett on Brabham racing engines. Kaja Antlej, Manca Orgizek and Nathan Pharoah offered insights from the museum and collecting sector while Norm Darwin, Fiona Lane and Daryl Meek demonstrated how archives are a valuable resource for historical research. David Burrell, John Field, Ted and Jill Powell and Rhonda Hamilton revealed aspects of the industry which engage the public directly from global advertising to local salesmanship and design. We enjoyed an informal discussion between Tony Lupton and Colin Russell formerly a key figure in Ford's Lot 6 team.

Finally, we were honoured to welcome Don Capps back to Melbourne to deliver the keynote address. Don delivered a paper at our 2018 conference and in the interim was elected president of the Society of Automotive Historians in the United States. He has been a great supporter of our organisation and of automotive research.

Given the informal nature of many presentations, only a selection is presented here in the Proceedings. However, a video of the entire conference is available on the AHA website.

Harriet Edquist Simon Lockrey Conveners

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Papers

David Burrell and John Field

Design to Driveway

Norm Darwin

Hartnett's Car – Passion or Folly?

Jenny Fawbert

Only venturesome drivers are prepared to take valuable cars over wretched tracks – the 1905 Dunlop Reliability Motor Contests

Jenny Fawbert

On being a vintage car driver, and a woman

Rhonda Hamilton

A good deal more for a good deal less

Larry O'Toole

Why is Castlemaine the Hot Rod Centre of the Universe?

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Don Capps

The 1934 Eifel Race and Neubauer's Dilemma (Das Eifelrennen 1934 und Neubauers Dilemma) & The "Birth of the Silver Arrows": A Consideration of Alternative Facts and Motor Sport History

Abstract

The racing cars of Mercedes-Benz have been known as the "Silver Arrows" (Silberpfeile) since the 1930s in the years immediately preceding the Second World War. Along with the racing cars of the Auto Union company, the silvery-liveried German machines of the two companies dominated Grand Prix racing from 1934 to 1939. After the Second World War, Mercedes-Benz once again returned to racing with a new generation of Silver Arrows in 1954 and 1955. In recent years, the Mercedes Formula 1 team has won six world championships in a row, from 2014 to 2019, also using a livery that is basically silver.

How and why the Silver Arrows of the 1930s came into being has often been attributed to an incident that occurred during the weigh-in for the Eifelrennen (Eifel Race) at the Nürburgring in June 1934. For many years, the account given by the manager of the Mercedes-Benz racing team, Alfred Neubauer, was accepted at face value and repeated in books and magazines. However, in recent years there have been those challenging this account. The Mercedes-Benz Heritage Information Center became aware of the various challenges to the tale attributed to Alfred Neubauer and in July 2007 held a symposium at the Mercedes-Benz Classic Center in Fellbach, Germany to discuss this issue.

Using materials provided by Mercedes-Benz from its own archives this paper presents a number of photographs that challenges the contention that Alfred Neubauer faced a dilemma at the Eifelrennen in June 1934 and met that problem by having the white paint of the Mercedes-Benz racing cars removed – white being the international racing color of Germany – and racing the cars, now shorn of the paint, in their metallic silver-gray livery. However, Mercedes-Benz continues to tout the dilemma that Neubauer faced in June 1934 at the Eifelrennen as the source for the cars becoming known as the Silver Arrows.

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Introduction

The following is the description accompanying the exhibit of the W25 racing car at the Mercedes-Benz Museum in Stuttgart, Germany:

The W25 was the original Silver Arrow.

Originally painted white, it arrived at the Nürburgring for its first race one kilogram too heavy for the 750-kg (1,650-pound) formula. The mechanics sanded down the paintwork in order to reduce its weight, exposing the bare, shining silver colour of its body. Suitably relieved, the team was able to line up at the start with the W25. The car went on to win the race and later picked up its nickname Silver Arrow.¹

When the new Mercedes GP Petronas Formula One Team (formerly Brawn Grand Prix during the 2009 season) was officially presented to the public on 25 January 2010, this statement found its way into more than a few reports regarding the event:

In a nod to history the race numbers on the nose of the new W01 are red on a white background. The main livery hints at the birth of the Silver Arrows legend at the Nürburgring in 1934, when the white paint of Germany was allegedly scraped off the W25 to reduce weight, revealing the silver aluminium below. On the current version carbon-fibre black is revealed beneath the silver.²

For the 2019 Formula 1 Mercedes-Benz Grosser Preis Von Deutschland held at the Hockenheimring on 28 July 2019, the Mercedes AMG Petronas Motorsport team decided to field the cars with a livery that referred back to the Nürburgring event of 85 years before. The following appeared on Motor Sport magazine Web site:

The white paint at the front of the car commemorates the traditional colour for German racing cars, which Mercedes originally raced with. Further back, the paint appears to have been scraped away to reveal silver metal underneath - a nod to the legend behind the creation of the 'Silver Arrows'." However, there then follows this statement: "As the (fictional) story goes, the team switched to silver for its W25 car at the Eifelrennen in June 1934 because it was struggling to get the car under a maximum weight limit. The solution was to scrape off its white paint to make it lighter, leaving only the bare metal beneath. Traditional red numbers, plus a vintage badge and script also appear on the car.³

Here, we have three statements regarding the origins of the Silver Arrows (die Silberpfeilen) racing cars of Mercedes-Benz. One of them suggests that the story regarding the paint-scraping is fictional. Yet, the description of the exhibit of the Mercedes-Benz W25 on display at the Mercedes-Benz Museum presents this act as being factual. The launch of the Mercedes-Benz Grand Prix team in January 2010, which, incidentally, took place at the Mercedes-Benz Museum, incorporates the tale of the birth of the Silver Arrows at the 1934 Nürburgring race into the livery of the new racing cars. When Mercedes-Benz attempts to do the same with the livery for the 2019 German Grand Prix, there is the suggestion that the story is "fictional." This paper will present a discussion on what can be seen as a relatively minor issue, how Mercedes-Benz may have, first, adopted silver as the livery for its racing teams, and second, whether one of the origin stories regarding that adoption may or may not have happened.

"Just the facts, Ma'am," Friday's Admonition and Framing Historical Analysis and Interpretation

Dragnet, a crime drama that first appeared on American television in the mid-1950s and then once again in the late-1960s, was set in the city of Los Angeles, California. Each episode

opened with the following statement from the series' announcer: "Ladies and gentlemen, the story you are about to see is true. The names have been changed to protect the innocent."

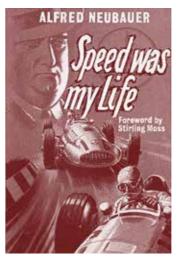
You would then watch Sergeant Joe Friday (portrayed by actor Jack Webb) and his partner go about the business of solving the crime. This meant assembling the necessary facts of a case, a task that was often shown to be a slow, often painstaking process. This inevitably meant interviewing witnesses and suspects. Whenever a witness or a suspect might begin to stray from the focal point of an interview – or perhaps even evade providing an answer, Sergeant Friday would remind that person of the following: "Just the facts, ma'am."

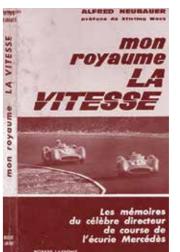
As historians, whether automotive or otherwise. it is certainly our obligation to echo Sergeant Joe Friday's admonition of, "Just the facts, ma'am," in our work. This is often easier said than done, of course. In some cases, the sorting of facts from the often-accepted "alternative facts" and then challenging them with a new or revised interpretation can be a challenge, one fraught with charges of being "pedantic" or an "elitist" or, if possible, something even worse, being a "revisionist" of the past. It is with this notion in mind, that there are times when the facts and the alternative facts manage to tangle, that we come to the interesting and perhaps rather unusual tale of the Eifel Race of June 1934 and the possible dilemma that the manager of the Mercedes-Benz racing team (Rennabteilung), Herr Alfred Neubauer⁴, may or may not have

faced. For many, this tale first came to light with the publication of his *Speed Was My Life* in 1960.⁵ This was the English translation of his book, *Männer, Frauen & Motoren*⁶, that was published in Germany two years earlier in 1958. *Männer, Frauen & Motoren | Speed Was My Life* was based upon a series of weekly installments of stories created as the result of the interviews with Neubauer by the journalist Harvey T. Rowe that appeared in the German magazine, *Quick*. The stories were then collected to form the basis of the book.

Of the various stories or tales that appeared in the book, two of them, the first being his tale of the Grand Prix of Tripoli of 1933 - "the race that was rigged,"7 and the second, that of the creation of the "Silver Arrows" at the Eifel Race of 1934 thanks to a decision made by Neubauer, have entered motor racing lore. Although it appears that the two tales, at least initially, were accepted with relatively little question or issues raised regarding their possible veracity, as time has passed both have come under serious scrutiny. That Daimler Benz, the corporate owner of Mercedes-Benz, appears to have accepted at some level at least the essence of the story as told by Neubauer is one of the reasons that this topic is of interest to historians, especially automotive historians.









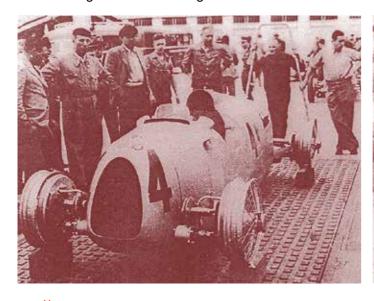
A collection of the dust jackets of Neubauer's book

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The New Formule Internationale and the Mercedes-Benz Type W25

On 12 October 1932, the Commission Sportive Internationale (CSI) of the Association Internationale des Automobile Clubs Reconnus (AIACR) met in Geneva to decide the specifications of the next Formule Internationale. The CSI, with an awareness of the increasing speeds that the contemporary racing machines were beginning to achieve on the tracks of Europe, chose to approach that issue by mandating a maximum weight for those machines competing in those events using the new formula. The CSI set the maximum weight of the racing machines at 750 kilograms. This weight was to be achieved

with the chassis and wheels being weighed without the tires mounted on the wheels or fuel, lubricating oil, and coolant onboard. There was also a minimum opening required at the cockpit, 85 centimeters as measured from the bottom of the steering wheel, as well as minimum height at the opening of 25 centimeters. The new regulations would take effect on 1 January 1934 and be replaced after 21 December 1936. It was also stipulated that events run to the *Formule Internationale* would cover a minimum distance of 500 kilometers.





A Mercedes-Benz W25 on the left and an Auto-Union Typ 1936 ("Type C") on the right as configured for weighing prior to events held under the International Formula (750 kilograms) in effect from 1934 to 1937. The W25 shown (105194) was used by Hanns Geier at the 1934 German Grand Prix at the Nürburgring. The Auto Union was that used by Bernd Rosemeyer in the 1936 German Grand Prix.⁹

The new *Formule Internationale* was created to address, first, and foremost the issue of the speeds that the contemporary racing machines were achieving on the circuits then in use in Europe which were primarily public roads closed for the occasion rather than purpose-built for racing. There was also an intention to shift the development of the racing machines from that focused on the engines to the chassis and suspension. In general, the parameters of the new formula were based around those of the racing machines then in use, such as the Bugatti Types 51, 51A, and 54; the Alfa Romeo 8C-2300 Monza, and the Tipo A and Tipo B, the Maserati Tipo 8C-2800 and V5.¹⁰

In March 1933, Mercedes-Benz opted to begin the design of a racing machine that would conform to the new Formule Internationale. A new German automotive company, Auto Union, which was formed by the combination of four automakers – Audi, DKW (Das Kleine Wunder), Horch, and Wanderer, also decided to design and build a machine to compete in the events being run to the new formula. The W25 was the product of a design team led by former racing driver Max Sailer, head of the Central Design Department for Mercedes-Benz. Members of the design team that Sailer appointed to design the new racing car were engineers Dr. Hans Nibel, the chief of team, and his assistant, Max

Wagner. Both men had worked for Benz before the merger with Daimler in 1926. Nibel was responsible for the "Blitzen Benz" that appeared in 1909 and Wagner had designed the rear-engined Benz of 1922. Although the team initially considered a rear-engined car - which the newly formed Auto Union did decide upon, utilizing a design (its assigned project number being the 22nd of those undertaken) by Ferdinand Porsche's design team - thanks to Wagner's earlier experience wi th the rear-engined Benz, they decided to use a conventional front-design instead. The team decided to use independent suspension for both the front and rear of the car and designed a chassis that carried streamlined bodywork as narrow as possible under the regulations. The chassis design would also incorporate the use of many lightweight materials for its components to keep the car within the weight allowance.11

On 24 July 2007, the Mercedes-Benz Heritage Information Center hosted a one-day symposium at the Mercedes-Benz Classic Center located in Fellbach, Germany, just on the outskirts of Stuttgart. The symposium was convened to discuss the so-called "Neubauers Dilemma" so as to confront or at least rebut questions being raised regarding the tale. Among these was an article in a 1994 issue of the German magazine, Motor Klassik entitled, "Auf zum fröhlichen Jagen." The author, Mike Riedner, noted that there appear to be no photographs of the new Mercedes-Benz W25 cars in white at the Eifelrennen in June 1934, all of the photographs showing the cars in an aluminum-colored livery. He also noted that there were photographs on the W25 in the Alfred Neubauer book (Männer, Frauen & Motoren) showing the cars already in silver-aluminum livery.¹² Other questions were raised by Eberhard Reuss in his 1999 television documentary that aired on the regional German public broadcasting network SWR (Südwestrundfunk or South-West Broadcasting): Die Helden der Rennschlacht - Der Nationalsozialismus und die Silberpfeile (The Battle Heroes of the Race Track - Nazism and the Silver Arrows). Along with its discussion of the close relationship of the National Socialist regime and the Mercedes-Benz motor racing program, Reuss raised a

question regarding the Eifelrennen and the Neubauer tale regarding the weight issue and the cars having their white paint removed. Apparently, the discussion that Reuss raised regarding these two particular topics was not much appreciated by Mercedes-Benz. The documentary served as the basis for a book written by Reuss, *Hitlers Rennschlachten: Die Silberpfeile unterm Hakenkreuz*¹³, that appeared in 2006; it was selected as the German "Motor Book of 2007" and Mercedes-Benz was probably not amused. An English edition of the Reuss book appeared after the symposium in 2008.

Other questions were raised in a thread discussing this topic on the internet forum, The Nostalgia Forum, part of what was then Atlas F1. Entitled, "Mercedes and Paint-stripping,"14 it was begun by Michael Muller on 27 January 2002. At some point, the discussion on the thread caught the attention of those at Mercedes-Benz who took an interest as can be seen by the inclusion of a lengthy posting by Tony Kaye on the topic supporting Neubauer, "The Nostalgia Forum Versus Alfred Neubauer and the Paint Stripping Incident," that appeared on 24 November 2006. Indeed, the case laid out by Kaye seems to have played a significant role in the discussion with those leading the Mercedes-Benz defense of Alfred Neubauer. Although Tony Kaye's defense of Neubauer was used by those supporting the case for the paint-stripping at the Eifelrennen, much of the discussion on the forum thread "Mercedes and Paint-stripping" cast serious doubts as to whether the incident ever occurred. As a result, the discussion generated research by a number of participants, much of which tended to indicate that the new Mercedes-Benz W25 cars were already silver prior to the Eifelrennen in June 1934.

The moderator of the Fellbach symposium was Dr. Josef Ernest who, with the director of the Mercedes-Benz Heritage Information Center, Dr. Harry Niemann, led much of the discussion supporting the case for Alfred Neubauer. Noted author Karl Ludvigsen also spoke in defense of Neubauer. These three were joined by journalist Harvey T. Rowe, who wrote the magazine articles for the German magazine *Quick* which became the basis for *Männer, Frauen & Motorenl*

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Speed Was My Life. Rowe discussed his interviews with Neubauer that became the Quick articles, mentioning that the book based on the articles was originally published without his or Neibauer's knowledge although he was given co-authorship credit in later editions. He was also acknowledged in the book that appeared the following year, Herr Über 1000 PS. Those leading the argument against the paint-stripping incident were author Doug Nye, journalist Eberhard Reuss and myself.

The participants at the symposium were each provided with a binder of research materials assembled by the Mercedes-Benz Heritage Information Center from its archives as well as other sources of information that were mentioned by Eberhard Reuss or during the discussion on the thread, "Mercedes and Paintstripping". While there were certainly aspects of the material that were intended to bolster its case supporting Alfred Neubauer to its credit Mercedes-Benz also included archival material, especially in the form of photographs, that may not have necessarily bolstered its case.

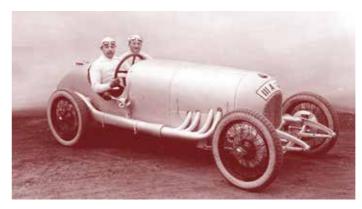
Given the exhibit information regarding the W25 on display at the Mercedes-Benz Museum and the story related during the launch of the Mercedes-Benz Formula 1 team in 2010 what exactly is the story that Neubauer told in Männer, Frauen & Motoren and Speed Was My Life? And how was it retold by others? Here is the paint-scraping tale as it originally appeared in Männer, Frauen & Motoren in 1958, and Speed Was My Life in 1960:

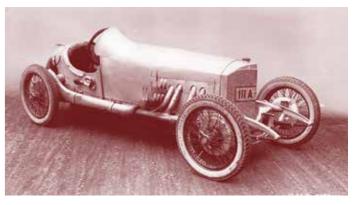
Then on the eve of the race I received a second shock. When our cars were weighed they were found to be too heavy. No more than one kilo over the prescribed 750, but that was enough. And even to reduce weight by one kilo seemed impossible, for there was nothing on the car that could be dispensed with. But a chance remark by von Brauchitsch gave me my inspiration. The whole night was spent removing the glossy white paint from the Silver Arrows. Next morning they turned the scales at 750 kilos exactly.¹⁶

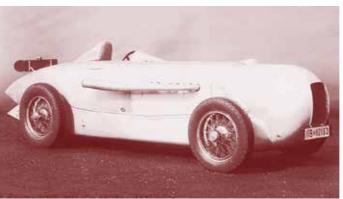
This story was repeated by historians Karl Ludvigsen in 1971,17 Beverly Rae Kimes in 1986,18 Chris Nixon in 1986, 19 Karl Ludvigsen in 1995 and 2009, 20 Michael Riedner in 1986/1990, 21 and Louis Sugahara in 2004.²² Their accounts can be seen as so authoritative and factual that it makes it easy to understand why someone would accept them with few if any questions. It would certainly appear that there is compelling evidence to substantiate the actions of Neubauer and the Mercedes-Benz team on the eve of the Eifelrennen at the Nürburgring in early June 1934. The absence of the paint-scraping in contemporary sources is mentioned almost in passing by Ludvigsen. Nor does the incident appear to attract much attention until the appearance of the Neubauer book. That is, assuming that one does not have access to the photographs of the Mercedes-Benz W25 cars prior to the Eifelrennen.

With the exceptions of figures 1 and 3, all the photographs shown in this essay are those provided by the Mercedes-Benz Heritage Information Center to the participants for their research into this issue. Therefore, I will use this photographic material to address whether the paint-stripping incident described by Alfred Neubauer occurred.

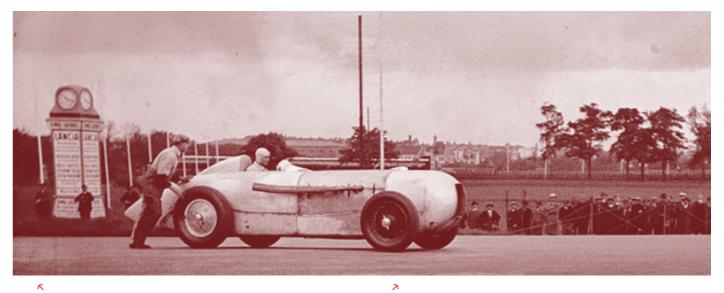
The Silver Arrows/Silberpfeilen Prior to the W25











Note the silver livery on this rebodied 1923 Mercedes Indianapolis car at the 1924 Prague hill climb.
(Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 3144)

The Mercedes-Benz SSKL with the aerodynamic bodywork fitted for the 1932 AVUSrennen. The livery of the car is silver rather than the white that might otherwise be expected. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 13600)

One of the Mercedes cars built for the 1923 Indianapolis race. Note the contrast with the registration number on the grill with the bodywork. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 3150)

A frontal view of the Mercedes-Benz SSKL streamliner built for the 1932 AVUSrennen clearly showing the silver livery in contrast to the registration plate. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 13602)

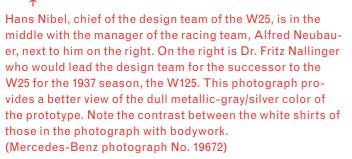
The Mercedes-Benz SSKL with Manfred von Brauchitsch at the wheel as it appeared at the 1932 AVUSrennen. It was during this race that a radio reporter, Paul Leven, referred to the silvery-gray liveried SSKL as the "silberner Pfeil" – "silver arrow" – during its duel for the lead with the white Alfa Romeo Monza of Rudolf Caracciola. Despite trailing Caracciola entering the lap, von Brauchitsch managed to not only catch Caracciola, but passed him for the lead and then win the race. ²³ (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. A49017)

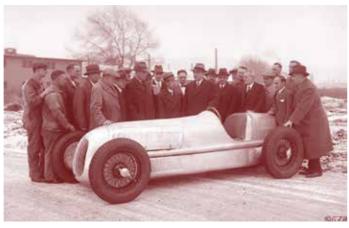
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The Roll Out of the W25 Prototype in December 1933

The basic construction of the prototype W25 (86120) was completed in late November 1933. After the final assembly of the chassis and its components, then the installation of the M25A engine, the prototype was ready for being rolled out for its initial presentation to the world. The photographs show the prototype W25 in its bare aluminum bodywork. The light color of the W25 appears to be the result of the film and the processing being used, the effect of the very cold temperature on the bare aluminum bodywork, and the possibly the lighting of the overcast day, all factors that may affect the image.







Hans Nibel is the figure with his hand at the steering wheel with Alfred Neubauer on the right of the photograph. (Mercedes-Benz photograph)

The W25 at the Berlin Motor Show in January 1934

Within weeks of the roll out of the W25 prototype, it was displayed by Mercedes-Benz at the Berlin Motor Show which began on 4 January 1934. The photographs of the W25 prototype taken at the Motor Show²⁴ suggest the livery is clearly a metallic silver-gray.

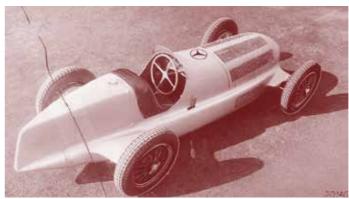


The prototype W25 (86120) on display at the Berlin Motor Show being inspected by Chancellor Adolf Hitler, with Alfred Neubauer looking on from the left. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 21036)

The Presentation to the Press of the W25

The formal presentation of the W25 to the German automotive press took place on 1 March 1934. The following are photographs produced by Mercedes-Benz for use in the press articles on the W25. All appear to clearly indicate that the W25 had a silver livery. None depict the W25 in white livery.







A retouched photograph of the prototype Mercedes-Benz W25 (86120) as provided to the press in early March 1934. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 20145)

Compare this very obviously retouched photograph of the Mercedes-Benz W25 to the unretouched one below. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 20146)

In this unretouched photograph of the Mercedes-Benz W25 prototype, the silver livery of the bodywork is clearly visible in contract to the country rondel and the registration information. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 19790)



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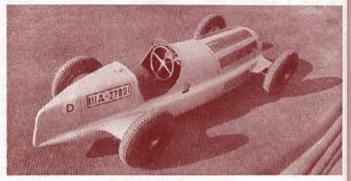
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Der neue Mercedes-Benz-Kennwagen 1934.

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Offizielles Organ des Oesterreichischen Automobil-Clubs und der ihm im Verband angeschlossenen Vereinigungen

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Wien, April 1934

Der Mercedes-Benz-Rennwagen 1934.

bout und hat daher ein Gewicht von nur 750 kg, sowie die vorgeschriebenen Grössenabmessungen. Dei der Durchbildung geiner oinsitzigen Leichtmotallkarosserie in Atromlinienform war man auf Susserste Verringerung des Luftwiderstandes bedacht. Aus demselben Grunde wurde auch das Vollschwingachs-Fahrgestell sorgfältig nach aerodynamischen Grundsätzen verkleidet. Durch weitgehende Verwendung hochwertiger Leichtmetall-Legierungen konnte das Fahrgestell eine wesentliche Cowichtsverminderung erfahren.

Der hochtourige Achtzylinder Reihenmotor von etwa 3 Litern Mubraum ist mit Kompressor ausgerüstet und im Vorderteil dos Wagens eingebaut. Seine hängenden Ventile werden durch zwei obenliegende Nockenwellen betätigt. Für rasche Wärmeabfuhr sorgen viele Schlitze in der Motorhaube und das auf der rechten Längsseite dem Pahrwind ausgesetzte, wuchtige Auspuffrehr.

Die Kardanwelle läuft in einem Tunnel und treibt mit ihrem hinteren Ende das om Rohmon befestigte Vierganggetriebe an. Darüber ist der Brennstoffbehülter angeordust. Auffallend gross sind die in die Drahtspeichenrüder eingebauten, mit Kühlrippen verschenen Bremsshocken der Geldruck-Vierradbromse.

Durch sehr tiefe Schwerpunktlage, günstige Cowichteverteilung, die unabhängig gefederten Rider und eine geteilte Lenkung wird eine aussergesöhnlich gute Strassenhaftung und Kurvenlage erzielt.

Da die neue Rennformel in jeder Hinsight unerhört schwere Aufgaben stellt, deren Lösungen bis zu ihror Prüfung in den Rennen geheimbleiben müssen, können zurzeit noch wine näheren technischen Einzelheiten bekanntgegeben werden. Immerhin darf aber vorraten werden, dass die sehr gründlichen Probefahrten zur vollsten Zufriedenheit verlaufen sind und zu den besten Hoffnungen berechtigen. Wer den schlanken Wagen wie einen silbernen Pfeil in voller Fahrt gosehen hat, gewinnt den Bindruck, dass der naue Mercedes-Denz-Remwagen aussergewöhnlich schnoll ist und absolut sicher in der Mand seiner bewährten Fahrer liegt.



Pages from the March and April issues of Allgemeine Automobil-Zeitung from 1934 showing photographs of the W25 with both displaying a contrast between the registration information and the livery. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)

Press release issued by Mercedes-Benz on 1 March 1934 regarding the new racing car being built to the new International Racing Formula requiring a maximum weight of 750 kiograms. Note that the underlined section on the second page refers to the "silbernan Pfeil" - silvery arrow. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)

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The W25 during testing sessions at Monza and the Nürburgring

Beginning in February 1934, the W25 prototypes were used in testing sessions at Monza, the Italian motordrome near Milano, and at the Nürburgring. Additional testing session were also carried at the AVUS in Berlin.



The prototype W25 (86120) being loaded on its transport during testing in March 1934 at the Monza autodrome in Italy. Note the contrast of the registration information with the livery of the car as well as with the exhaust on the bodywork. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. R16605)



Manfred von Brauchitsch in the cockpit of a W25 during testing on the Nürburgring in April 1934. Note the contrast between his driving uniform and the livery of the car. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. R10368)



An article from the 27 April 1934 issue of *Motorwelt* on the Mercedes-Benz W25 training sessions at the Nürburgring. Note that the illustrations depict the W25 as being in a silver livery. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)

The W25 at the AVUSrennen in May 1934

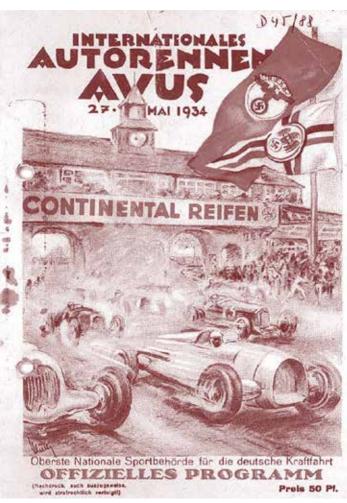
The inaugural event planned for the Mercedes-Benz W25's first race was the *Internationales Autorennen AVUS* on 27 May. Although the Mercedes-Benz and Auto Union entries are listed as being cars for the 750-kilogram formula, the race was run as a Formula Libre event, open to all cars with engines of over 1,500 cubic centimeters displacement. During practice sessions prior to the race, the Mercedes-Benz W25s encountered fuel feed problems that would lead to their being withdrawn. This was also the first time that Rudolf Caracciola, still recovering from injuries sustained during the 1933 season, would drive the W25. Although he was able to achieve several quick laps of the AVUS circuit, he would not have participated even had the cars not been withdrawn thanks to their mechanical issues.

Existing photographic evidence shows that the Mercedes-Benz W25s that appeared at the AVUS were already in silver-gray livery, and not white.



Rudolf Caracciola in a Mercedes-Benz W25 preparing to do several laps of the AVUS circuit in Berlin. This was first experience with the new racing machine. Alfred Neubauer is on the right. Note the contrast between the white helmet of Caracciola and the livery of the W25, indicating the machine is already silver. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. R1447)

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The program for the *Internationales Autorennen AVUS* held in Berlin on 27 May 1934 and the entry list for the race. Although the entry list shows the Auto-Union and Mercedes-Benz cars as 750-kilogram cars, the race was a Formula Libre event for cars with engines of over 1,500 cubic centimeters in displacement. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)

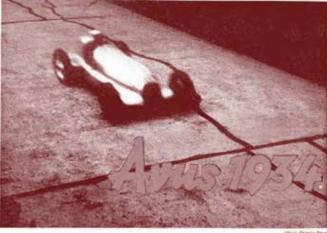
STARTERLISTE

Rennen II. Klasse A-E. Rennwagen über 1500 ccm Zyl-inhalt. 15 Runden à 19,573 km + 831 m = 294,426 km. Start etwa 15 Minuten nach Beendigung des Rennens

Ne.	Rewerber u. Fahrer	Nation	Wagenmark	zyt lah
42	Auto-Union AG.*) Fahrer: Hans Stuck	Deutschland	Auto-Union	der len
44	Auto-Union AG. Fahrer: Hermann Prinz zu Leiningen	Deutschland	Auto-Union	750 kg stsprechend nternational Rennforme
46	Auto-Union AG. Fahrer: August Momberger	Deutschland	Auto-Union	inte
48	Earl Howe	England	Maserati	3000
50	Tazio Nuvolari	Italien	Maserati	3000
52	Scuderia Siena Fahrer: Eugenio Siena	Italien	Maserati	3000
54	Daimler-Benz AG.*) Fahrer: Manfred v. Brauchitsch	Deutschland	Mercedes- Benz	end der onalen rmel
56	Daimler-Benz AG. Fabrer: Luigi Fagioli	Deutschland	Mercedes- Benz	750 kg sprechenc ernations Rennform
58	Daimler-Benz AG. Fahrer: X	Deutschland	Mercedes- Benz	entsp inter
60	Scuderia Ferrari*) Fahrer: Achille Varzi	Italien	Alfa Romeo	2700
62	Scuderia Ferrari Fahrer: Louis Chiron	Italien	Alfa Romeo	2700
64	Scuderia Ferrari Fahrer: Moll	Italien	Alfa Romeo	2700
66	Peter de Paolo	Amerika	Miller	5200
68	Paul Pietsch	Deutschland	Alfa Romeo	2630
70	Hans Ruesch	Schweiz	Maserati	3000

¹ Diese Bewerber können die von ihnen gemeldeten Fahrer und Ersatzlahrer nach ihrer Wahl auf den von ihnen gemeldeten Fahrzeugen austauschen.



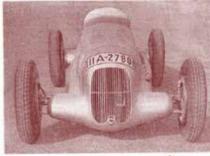


INHALTSANGABE

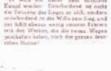
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Der Kampf —











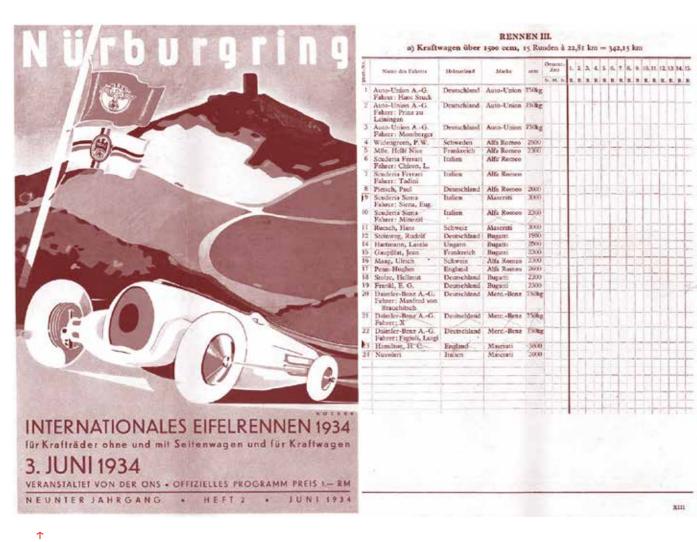
"The War Begins," an article on the AVUSrennen in the 27 May 1934 issue of Motor und Sport. That the new racing cars from Auto Union and Mercedes-Benz are in silver livery is not commented upon. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)

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3 June 1934: The Silver Arrows (Silberpfeilen) and the Eifelrennen

After the withdrawal of the W25 machines from the AVUS race held on 27 May, there was only one week until the Eifelrennen at the Nürburgring. During this interval, the issue regarding the fuel feed problems that occurred at the AVUS events were found and rectified. As at the AVUS race, while the W25 cars of Mercedes-Benz were listed as being 750-kilogram cars in the column that listed the engine displacements of the entries, there was no requirement that the cars meeting the weight requirement of the International Formula since the event was being held for racing cars of over 1,500 cubic centimeters, in other words, it was a Formula Libre race.

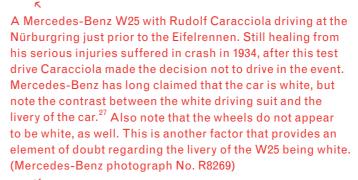
It is notable that in the after action report²⁵ written the day after Eifelrennen, there is nothing suggesting that the cars encountered any difficulty during a weight-in. This is in stark contrast to the after action reports following the AVUSrennen where the fuel feed problems leading to the cars being withdrawn made for what had to be unpleasant reading by the management. Likewise, there is nothing in the contemporary automotive journals or newspapers regarding the change of the car's livery from white to silver literally overnight, if Neubauer's decision to solve his dilemma of being overweight necessitated stripping the white paint from the cars, leaving them now silver-gray, something quite likely to go unnoticed.²⁶



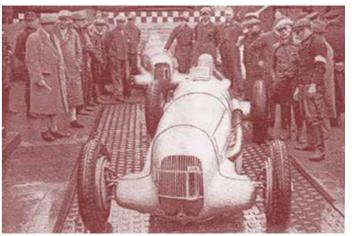
The cover of the program of the 1934 Eifelrennen and the entry list for Race III, for racing cars over 1,500 cubic centimeters. Although the Auto Union and Mercedes-Benz cars are listed as being 750-kilogram cars under the column for listing the displacement of the entrants, it was a Formula Libre event and not run to the International Formula. Note that other than the entries for the Mercedes-Benz and Auto Union cars that the engine displacement is listed. (From the Mercedes-Benz Archives)







Manfred von Brauchitsch on the starting grid of the Eifelrennen in his Mercedes-Benz W25 (105194).
(Mercedes-Benz photograph)





This is a photograph of the Mercedes-Benz W25 cars on the weighbridge at the Nürburgring that appears in the issue of the German automotive magazine *Motor und Sport* that carries the report on the Eifelrennen in June 1934. Compare this with Figure No. 3, noting the differences between how the cars appear for a weight check. In this instance, the cars are clearly not configured for a weigh-in that would conform to that mandated by the stipulations of the regulations in the International Formula. Note also that the two W25s clearly appear to be silver-gray and not white.

Manfred von Brauchitsch exchanging salutes with Obergruppenführer Adolf Hühnlein, Korpsführer of the NSKK (Nationalsozialistische Kraftfahrkorps), the National Socialist Motor Corps, whose duties also included being the Präsidenten of the ONS (Oberste Nationale Sportkommission für den Automobilsport in Deutschland), the governing body of German motor sport. It was mandatory that all German drivers competing in motor sport events during the Third Reich were members of the NSKK. (Mercedes-Benz photograph No. 20220)

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Closing Thoughts

"We are all capable of believing things which we know to be untrue, and then, when we are finally proved wrong, impudently twisting the facts so as to show that we were right. Intellectually, it is possible to carry on this process for an indefinite time: the only check on it is that sooner or later a false belief bumps up against solid reality, usually on a battlefield."

↑ George Orwell

In Front of Your Nose, Letter to the Tribune,
22 March 1946

In the wake of the symposium convened by Mercedes-Benz at Fellbach in July 2007, along with several of the other participants I began to study the contents of the binders that we were provided. Given that the binders were about four centimeters thick and most of the material was in German, this was a fairly slow process, especially given that my German skills had atrophied thanks to relatively little use in recent years (this was especially the case when it came to reading materials using the typeface known as "Fraktur," which can be daunting at times even for native German speakers). Also, additional materials were being promised as well. Nor had any conclusions been formally announced regarding the symposium.

In a short report on the Fellbach symposium in the SAH Journal, I noted that, "Although no firm conclusions were reached by those assembled in Fellbach, the discussion brought many materials to light from the DCAG [DaimlerChrysler AG] archives which, along with the other sources now being made available, now provide a better understanding of the events leading up to and surrounding the Eifelrennen. Additional research and further discussions in the wake of the symposium have provided yet more materials for review on this topic."²⁹

Some many weeks after the symposium, Mercedes-Benz released its conclusions regarding the discussions that had taken place in a letter sent to a number of the participants. The letter noted that while at first sight it might appear to be eclectic topic to discuss, the appearance of the 1994 article in Motor Klassik challenging the paint-stripping at the 1934 Eifelrennen and then subsequent discussion on the internet, had "since turned out to affect the claim to authenticity and trust of the Mercedes-Benz brand in subliminal fashion."

The letter from Mercedes-Benz stated there were two lessons that were learned as the result of the July symposium:

1 "The often and easily drawn connection between the alleged stripping of white paint off two Mercedes-Benz W25 race cars in order to confirm with weight regulations has nothing to do with the "birth of the silver arrows."

"The company never officially claimed the historic deduction of the term "silver arrow" and the protagonists of the era always offered much more detailed explanations of where it derived from. To our knowledge it was first used in derivative form ('silberner Pfeil') by radio reporter Paul Leven in 1932 commenting on Manfred von Brauchitsch's winning the German GP in his Mercedes-Benz SSKL with a silver streamlined body.

"Although many attempts to somehow label the new class of 750-kg race cars after they were introduced in 1934 have to be recognized the term 'Silberpfeil' ('silver arrow') was not widely used until 1938.

2 "The paint stripping incident is a very good story which took on a life of its own soon after it was first communicated in 1955. The public as well as our company 'jumped on it.'

There are good reasons to doubt the story – or part of it – as it has been transmitted through the decades as well as there are good arguments in its or in part of its support. We therefore want to all it legendary until further notice.

"For Mercedes-Benz, however, the 1934 Eifel

race is most important as the beginning of a historic series of motor sport victories which continues until 1939 and was revived from 1952 to 1955."

The letter end with this statement: "Mercedes-Benz encourages and supports the ongoing debate openly and without reserve." But, how did others view the lessons of the symposium? What were some of the responses to what was presented? Soon after the symposium, Tony Dron tackled the topic in his column in the October 2007 issue of Octane. 31 After providing a brief synopsis of the case for supporting Neubauer, Dron then suggests that things might be as presented by Neubauer. The symposium that Mercedes-Benz held in July is mentioned by Dron and he displays a familiarity with the discussions that took place at Fellbach. Although Dron mentions that the mechanic Eugen Reichle stated that the W25s were never white at the Eifelrennen, along with the curious lack of any photographs of the cars being white at the event, in the end he concedes that there might have been a weight issue and that meant embarrassment for the company, an especially egregious sin under the Third Reich. While not entirely assured that the Neubauer dilemma existed, Dron does express a sense of doubt along with the suggestion that historical research might eventually resolve this question.

In another article appearing not long after the symposium, in *The Telegraph*, Doug Nye,³² provides his comments, analysis, and interpretation of the material and discussion presented at the symposium. Unlike Dron in *Octane*, Nye does not equivocate in his having serious doubts regarding the Eifelrennen paint-stripping story:

Mercedes' trawl through its archives had produced crucial documents but nary a mention of paint removal. Critically, as early as March 1 1934, the company's original press release for the new W25 GP car described it as 'ein silberne Pfeil' – a silvered arrow. Even more stunning was a radio commentary covering the 1932 AvusRennen in which Paul Laven, Germany's Murray Walker, described Brauchitsch's Mercedes-Benz bursting into sight: 'Hier kommt der silberne Pfeil.'

Meanwhile, posts on *Autosport* magazine's online 'Nostalgia Forum' pointed out that the EifelRennen race was not run to the 750kg formula at all, but a free formula that rendered weight irrelevant. However, it was still argued that Mercedes knew weight would be critical in that year's major grands prix, and so in rehearsal at the Nürburgring the 750kg target still had to be met. Other posts cite precedents for last-minute paint-scraping as early as 1904, suggesting perhaps that Neubauer had either confused events or made himself the hero of an old anecdote.

The Stuttgart symposium's review of contemporary factory photographs finally proved compelling. Photos since used as evidence that early W25s were painted white proved to have been heavily retouched, and the original negatives yield plain evidence of a silver finish. If the cars were ever stripped, it was of silver paint – and the heavy leaded filler beneath it – not white. And not, it appears, at the Nürburgring.

In his 2006 book, *Die Helden der Rennschlacht – Der Nationalsozialismus und die Silberpfeile*, (*Hitler's Motor Racing Battles: The Silver Arrows Under the Swastika*) Eberhard Reuss notes that when the new Mercedes-Benz W25, "...was first presented to the public its stylish unpainted aluminium bodywork shimmered like silver." Reuss publishes a photograph supplied by Mercedes-Benz (see Fig 22) showing a W25 at the Berlin Motor Show being inspected by Adolf Hitler that appears to be silver. He also notes that at the AVUS there was photographic evidence that both the Auto Union cars and the Mercedes-Benz cars were silver:

In view of the legend of the Silver Arrows that spread later, we have to be quite precise at this point and look at other black-and-white photographs published at that time. For these also lead one to conclude that, at AVUS race, not only the Saxon machines [i.e., the Auto Union cars] but also the W25s were in gleaming silver livery. Built from bare aluminium polished to a high shine, or possibly coated with clear varnish or even with silver paint, the generation of racing cars from Untertürkheim gleamed resplendently, even if in the case of the W25 driven by von Brauchitsch the two rear

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wire-spoked wheel rims appeared to be painted white, whereas those on Fagioli's car can be clearly identified as silver.³⁵

Reuss notes that the silvery livery of the new Germany racing cars, the Auto Union Typ 1934s (formerly the P-Wagen and later as the Type A) and the Mercedes-Benz W25 was rarely mentioned in the contemporary press, although the accepted international racing color for Germany was white. That silver had been used in the past by German racing cars, such as the streamlined Mercedes-Benz SSKL driven by von Brauchitsch at the 1932 AVUSrennen, may have been a factor, but it also doubtful that such decisions would have been made without the knowledge and approval of the ONS (Oberste Nationale Sportkommission für den Automobilsport in Deutschland), the governing body of German motor sport.³⁶ Reuss relates that even within the archives of Mercedes-Benz itself, as he and others suggested at the symposium, there is dearth - if not an absence - of any mention of such an issue at the race, whether in the race reports of any internal documents. Nor could the archivists at Mercedes-Benz produce a single photograph of a white W25 at the 1934 Eifelrennen at the July 2007 symposium. Reuss quotes Peter Kirchberg, a noted expert on the Auto Union racing team, that there were other, easier ways to resolve any possible weight issues with the cars. He also publishes a photograph taken by Mercedes-Benz mechanic Eugen Reichle showing all three of the W25s at the track being posed in front of the garages and all three in silver livery - on the Wednesday prior to the Eifelrennen. All in all, Reuss presents a spirited rebuttal to those supporting the Neubauer version of events.³⁷

The photographic evidence indicates that the Mercedes-Benz W25 racing cars were quite clearly not white, but already in a silver-gray livery months prior to the Eifelrennen. In addition, the photograph taken by Mercedes-Benz mechanic Eugen Reichle of the W25s shows the car in silver on the Wednesday prior to the supposed weighing-in on Saturday when the cars were found to be one kilogram over the allowable maximum of 750 kilograms. There is also the photograph of the W25s on the weighbridge at the Eifelrennen already in silver-gray livery and clearly not configured for a weigh-in that would conform with the regulations of the International Formula. That the W25s had little trouble meeting the weight limit for the Grand Prix de l'Automobile Club de France on 1 July, 38 should suggest that either the engineers at Mercedes-Benz performed a weight-reducing miracle or that there may not have been a problem in the first place.

Endnotes

- 1 "Mercedes-Benz W 25 750-kg racing car," Mercedes-Benz Museum, *Mercedes-Benz.com*, https://www.mercedes-benz.com/en/classic/museum/mercedes-benz-w-25-750-kg/, accessed 10 August 2019.
- Adam Cooper, "Schuey Excited by Silver Arrows,"

 Motor Sport, March 2010, 12. Here is another example,
 from Joe Saward, "Mercedes launches Mercedes
 GP," JoeblogsF1, 25 January 2010, accessed 10 August
 2019: "The legacy of the Silver Arrows goes back to
 the 1934 Eifelrennen when, on the evening before the
 event, the white paint was sanded off the Mercedes
 W25 race cars to meet the weight regulations of 750kg
 formula and the silver colour of the aluminium surface
 of the car appeared. This season, with the return of
 the Silver Arrows, the MGP W01 will shine in silver
 combined with a flow of iridescent silver shading. On
 the nose and on other parts of the car traces of black
 carbon fibre visible are visible."
- 3 Graham Keilloh, "Mercedes unveils special white F1 livery to commemorative 125 years of motor sport," Motor Sport, 25 July 2019, https://www.motorsportmagazine.com/news/f1/mercedes-unveils-special-white-f1-livery-commemorative-125-years-motor-sport, accessed 11 August 2019.
- Alfred Neubauer, 1891-1980, was born in Neutitschein, now Nový Jiöín, Moravia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire and now the Czech Republic, and died in Stuttgart, Germany. Neubauer served as manager (Rennleiter) of the Mercedes-Benz racing team (Rennabteilung) from 1926 to 1955. Neubauer was an employee of Austro-Daimler, serving as a test driver working for Ferdinand Porsche. Prior to managing the Mercedes-Benz racing team, Neubauer did compete as a driver for the Daimler team, to include the 1924 Targa Florio, but met with little success as a racing driver. Beginning with the Solituderennen in September 1926, held on the Solitude circuit near Stuttgart, Neubauer employed a system using flags and signal boards to communicate with drivers during an event. Neubauer also recognized the importance of logistics and pit work, both being important factors in assisting Rudolf Caracciola earn the victory in the 1931 Mille Miglia. This organizational skill was also instrumental in the 1952 victories of Mercedes-Benz at the Le Mans 24 hour race and the Carrera Panamericana. After leading the Mercedes-Benz team during its successful return to racing during the 1954 and 1955 seasons, with the driver winning the world championship in each season, Juan Manuel Fangio, driving for the team, Neubauer retired from his position leading the team when the company withdrew from racing. He served as a consultant and an ambassador for Daimler Benz until shortly before his death in 1980.
- Alfred Neubauer, ed. and trans. By Stewart Thomson and Charles Meisl, *Speed Was My Life* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960).

- Alfred Neubauer, Männer, Frauen & Motoren (München: Th. Martens & Co. Verlag, 1958; and, Hamburg: Hans Dulk Verlag, 1958). Latest edition of the reprint as: Alfred Neubauer und Harvey T. Rowe, Manner, Frauen & Motoren: Die Erinnerungen des Mercedes-Rennleiters Alfred Neubauer (Stuttgart: Motorbuch Verlag, 2011). The 1958 edition was a compilation of a series of articles that appeared in the German magazine Quick over a period of 52 weeks. The articles were the result of the magazine purchasing the rights to publish Neubauer's memoirs for DM 50,000. Rowe met with Neubauer at his home in Untertürkheim, using a tape recorder to capture the interview sessions. According to Rowe, the articles were then sold without the knowledge of either himself or Neubauer to be published in book form. Rowe was not given credit as the author and neither he nor Neubauer received any royalties from the sale of the book. Not until the book was first reprinted in 1970 did Rowe receive credit for his role as the co-author. Afterwards, both Neubauer and Rowe received royalties from the sale of the book. After the appearance of the book in 1958, Neubauer and Rowe used material from the interviews as the source for what was essentially a conventional biography rather the tales or stories told by Neubauer that formed the basis of the earlier book. The book, Herr über 1000 PS (Hamburg: Hans Dulk, 1959) was published in 1959, with Rowe being credited as the co-author with Neubauer. Neubauer also co-authored a previous book concerned with motor racing: Horst Eiermann und Alfred Neubauer, Die Große Probe (Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1951).
- Given the relevance of the 1933 Gran Premio di Tripoli to any discussion regarding the role and veracity of Alfred Neubauer regarding tales of the "birth of the Silver Arrows," this would suggest that it warrants at least a brief historiographical survey. The reference to the story regarding the 1933 Tripoli Grand Prix can be found in Speed Was My Life, pages, 44-49; it told almost verbatim by Dennis David, "The Race That Was Rigged," History of Formula 1, http://www.grandprixhistory.org/trip1933.htm. Among the earlier uses of the Neubauer version of the Tripoli race is an article by Brock Yates, "Tripoli's Golden Years of Racing," Car and Driver, May 1965, 86-89, 112. There is a good discussion of the 1933 edition of the "race that was rigged" in the fifth chapter, "Honour Among 'Thieves' - Tripoli 1933," by Christopher Hilton, Nuvolari (London: Breedon Books Publishing, 2003), 75-87, 227-230. The recent revision of the Neubauer tale regarding the Tripoli race may be traced to a comment at the end of the section on the 1933 season, "The Race of Millions." written by Betty Sheldon which appeared in, Paul Sheldon and Duncan Rabagliati, A Record of Grand Prix and Voiturette Racing, Volume 3 1932-1936 (Shipley, Est Yorkshire, UK: St. Leonard's Press, 1992), 129-130, and, later as an appendix to the section on the 1933 season entitled, "Background to The Lottery," in, Paul Sheldon, Richard Page,

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and Duncan Rabagliati, A Record of Grand Prix and Voiturette Racing, Volume 3 1932-1936, Second Edition (Shipley, Est Yorkshire, UK: St. Leonard's Press, 2012), 141-142. A discussion of the 1933 Tripoli race appears as a chapter, "Taking a Fall: Did Varzi and Nuvolari Rig the Race?" in, Preston Lerner and Matt Stone, History's Greatest Automotive Mysteries, Myths and Rumors Revealed (Minneapolis: Motorbooks, 2012), 92-101. The race is mentioned in the English magazine, Motor Sport, beginning in 1933 with the latest being in 2012. The first time it appears is the race report for the Tripoli race, "Varzi Wins the Second Round," Motor Sport, June 1933, 362, which makes no mention nor any suggestion of there being any collusion regarding the outcome of the race. Then, there is this consideration of the Tripoli race: Bill Boddy, "The Lottery Grand Prix," Motor Sport, September 1969, 970-971. Roughly a decade after the appearance of the Neubauer book and its tale of the Tripoli race, Boddy, the editor of the magazine, questions the tale as spun by Neubauer, perhaps the first time that this notion is considered. Mark Hughes, "The Great Grand Prix Swindle," Motor Sport, January 2000, 73-75, 77, represents an example of the tale offered by Neubauer as being retold by another. Doug Nye, "The Tangled Tale of Tripoli," Motor Sport, July 2012, 140-142, is a correction to the Hughes article, based in large part on material that I provided. In addition, there are several places on the internet where there are articles regarding the 1933 Tripoli race: Leif Snellman, 18 Chris Nixon, Racing the Silver Arrows. Mercedes-Benz The Golden Age of Grand Prix Racing, H. Donald Capps, "VII" Gran Premio di Tripoli, I" Lotteria di Tripoli - Corsa dei Milioni," http://www.kolumbus.fi/ leif.snellman/gp3305.htm#12, accessed 3 December 2019; Don Capps, Rear View Mirror, AtlasF1, "Setting The Record Straight: The Corsa dei Milioni, the 1933 Gran Premio di Tripoli - the Race that was Rigged?," http://www.atlasf1.com/99/ger/mirror.html, accessed 3 December 2019; and, The Nostalgia Forum, Autosport 21 Michael Riedner, trans. Raymond Kaye, Mercedes-Benz Forums, "1933 Lottery Grand Prix of Tripoli," https:// forums.autosport.com/topic/11800-1933-lotterygrand-prix-of-tripoli/, accessed 3 September 2019.

- 8 As it turned out, the formula was extended for a year and not replaced until a new Formule Internationale replaced it on 1 January 1938.
- 9 The photographs are from: Mike Reidner, "Auf zum fröhlichen Jagen," Motor Klassic, 2/1994, 168 and 169. They are credited to Eugen Reichle and Archiv Kirchberg/ Archiv Auto Union GmbH. The Auto-Union photograph as appears in: Michael Eichhammer, Silberpfeile und Kannon: 24 There are two additional photographs taken at the Die Geschichte der Auto Union Rennwagen und ihrer Fahrer (Bruckmühl, Germany: Wieland Verlag, 2004), 77.
- 10 George Monkhouse, Motor Racing with Mercedes-Benz (London: George Newnes, 1938), 14; Rodney Walkerley 25 "Rundschreiben Nr. 38, an alle Verkaufstellen, and Robert Fellowes, Grands Prix 1934-1939, Rev. ed. (London: Motor Racing Publications, 1950), 12; Cecil Clutton, Cyril Posthumus, and Denis Jenkinson, The Racing Car: Development & Design (London: B.T. Batsford, 1956), 171-174; Rex Hays, The Vanishing Litres: 50 Years of Grand Prix Racing (New York: The Macmillan

- Company, 1957), 114-116; Adriano Cimarosti, ed. David McKinney, trans. David Bateman, Ltd., The Complete History of Grand Prix Motor Racing (New York: Crescent Books, 1990), 95-97.
- 11 Monkhouse, Racing with Mercedes-Benz, 18-27. Monkhouse provides a useful look at the factors affecting the design of the W25 and its successor in 1937, the W125.
- 12 Mike Riedner, "Auf zum fröhlichen Jagen," Motor Klassik, 2/1994, 162, 164.
- 13 Eberhard Reuss, Hitlers Rennschlachten: Die Silberpfeile unterm Hakenkreuz (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 2006).
- 14 Michael Muller, "Mercedes and Paint-stripping," The Nostalgia Forum, Atlas F1 (now Autosport.com), 27 January 2002, https://forums.autosport.com/topic/155023-mercedes-and-paint-stripping/, accessed 2 September 2019.
- 15 Alfred Neubauer and Harvey T. Rowe, Herr Über 1000 PS (Hamburg: Hans Dulk, 1959).
- 16 Neubauer, Speed, 55.
- 17 Ludvigsen, Mercedes-Benz Racing Cars, 121.
- versus Auto Union 1934-1939 (England: Osprev1986) 13.
- 19 Nixon, Silver Arrows, 13
- **20** Karl Ludvigsen, Mercedes Benz Quicksilver Century (Isleworth, Middlesex, United Kingdom: Transport Bookman Publications, 1995), 144-146.
- W196: Last of the Silver Arrows (Yeovil, Somerset, United Kingdom: Haynes Publishing, 1990), 26.
- 22 Louis Sugahara, trans. Hajime Saburi, Mercedes-Benz Grand Prix Race Cars 1934-1955 (Fredericksburg, Texas: Mercedes-Benz Classique Car Library, 2004), 30.
- 23 Hans Etzrodt, "Manfred von Brauchitsch surprised at the international Avusrennen in Berlin," The Golden Age of Grand Prix Racing, http://www.kolumbus.fi/leif. snellman/gp3206.htm, accessed 2 September 2019.
- Berlin Motor Show with Chancellor Hitler and the W25 prototype that appear in, Neubauer, Männer, Frauen (1958), 160-161.
- Vertretungen und Verriestelen im In- und Ausland, Betr. 12. Eifel – Rennen auf dem Nürburgring," 4 June
- 26 Among the newspapers and periodicals that were reviewed are the following: Rheinisch-Westfälische

Zeitung, for 4 June 1934; Verbo Tagblatt, for 4 June 1934; BZ am Mittag, 4 June 1934; Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt| Morgeausgabe and Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt| Abendausgabe, for 5 June 1934; Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt/ Morgenausgabe, for 6 June 1934; "Die großen deutschen Rennen," Allgemeine Automobil-Zeitung, June 1934, 7-14; "Sieg für Deutschland in der Eifel!" Motor und Sport, Issue 1934//22, 12-16; and, "The New Mercedes Shows Its Mettle," Motor Sport, July 1934, 429, 431.

- 27 Malte Jürgen, "Glass-klarer Beweis," Motor Klassik, 2/2010, 40-43,
- 28 "Seig für Deutschland," Motor und Sport, 14.
- 29 Don Capps, "Mercedes Symposium," SAH Journal, Issue 230 (September-October 2007), 13.
- 30 The letter was undated and included in a packet with a CD-ROM of the material contained in the binder issued at the symposium, along with some additional information as a result of exchanges between Dr. Josef Ernst, Karl Ludvigsen, Doug Nye, Michael Muller (a German motor sport historian who was invited to the symposium, but unable to attend), and the author of this essay. The letter in the possession of the
- 31 Tony Dron, Octane, October 2007.
- 32 Doug Nye, "The History of the Silver Arrows," The Telegraph, 27 October 2007, https://www.telegraph. co.uk/motoring/motorsport/2749203/The-history-ofthe-Silver-Arrows.html, accessed 5 August 2019.
- 33 Eberhard Reuss, trans. Angus McGeoch, Hitler's Motor Racing Battles: The Silver Arrows Under the Swastika (Sparkford, Yeovil, Somerset, United Kingdom, 2008), 128.
- 34 Reuss, Hitler's Motor Racing Battles, 128.
- 35 Reuss, Hitler's Motor Racing Battles, 139-140.
- 36 Reuss, Hitler's Motor Racing Battles, 141-142.
- 37 Reuss, Hitler's Motor Racing Battles, 152-158.
- 38 "The French Grand Pix," Motor Sport, August 1934, 457. Weights for the cars competing in the event were reported as being as follows: Alfa Romeo, Chiron 720.5 kg, Trossi 721.5 kg, and Varzi 730 kg; Auto Union, Stuck 740.5 kg, Momberger 738.5 kg; Mercedes, Caracciola 739.5 kg, Brauchitsch 737 kg, Fagioli 739 kg; Bugatti, Nuvolari 747 kg, Benoist 747 kg, Dreyfus 749.5 kg; Maserati, Etancelin 748.5 kg, Zehender 735 kg.

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Biography

H. Donald Capps is the president of the Society of Automotive Historians. He holds graduate degrees from the University of South Carolina, George Mason University, and the U.S. Army Command & General Staff College. He has held positions on the faculties of The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina, and the Department of Defense Model & Simulation University, as well as advisory positions at the University of Central Florida and the New Jersey Institute of Technology. He is a retired colonel, serving in the U.S. Army for 33 years, being an original member of the Army's 75th Ranger

Regiment (Airborne) when it was formed in Viet-Nam. Military assignments include the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, and commanding the U.S. Army Training & Training Technology Battle Laboratory. He has owned, among others, an MG-TF, a Porsche Speedster, an MGA Twin Cam, several Healey 3000's, and an Oldsmobile 442, not to mention commanding Sheridan M551, Patton M60A1 & M60A3, and Abrams M1A1 tanks, and Bradley M2A2 Fighting Vehicles.

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over two days and the committee members of the AHA for their support. It was with great pleasure that we welcomed Don Capps back to Melbourne to deliver the keynote address, and we thank him for his enthusiastic support of the conference and of the aims of AHA.

Harriet Edquist and Simon Lockrey, Convenors



Founding Patron: The late Ron Tauranac AO

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About

Following the highly successful *Shifting Gear* exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria, Automotive Historians Australia was founded in Melbourne in 2015, to promote the understanding and enjoyment of automotive history through scholarly research, discussion and events. As such, the Automotive Historians Australia Inc. vision is:

To promote research, education, archival collection and dissemination of knowledge about the history of the Australian automotive industry, and to involve members, industry and others in this history through publications, events, meetings and conferences.

Therefore, Automotive Historians Australia aims to:

- → Create communication and facilitate discussion, criticism and debate between people active in automotive history and archiving in Australia
- → Promote research in the subject of automotive history
- → Hold a regular conference and other related events
- → Produce a scholarly journal
- → Encourage student participation activities
- → Support the teaching of automotive in history

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Laurence J Hartnett mock-up at the Comeng plant





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