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THE ALLEGED CONTRIBUTIONS OF PEDRO E. PAULET TO LIQUID-PROPELLANT ROCKETRY⁺

FREDERICK I. ORDWAY III (USA) ++

Not infrequently, the name Pedro E. Paulet appears in chronologies, articles, and books dealing with the specific subject of liquid-propellant rockets and the larger areas of rocketry and astronautics. Paulet (Figure 1), a Peruvian, is recognized largely because of a letter he wrote from Rome in 1927 to a Lima newspaper. In that letter he claimed to have engaged in liquid-propellant-rocket experiments while a student in Paris three decades earlier. Paulet's letter subsequently came to the attention of a Russian rocket and space flight popularizer who quoted extracts in a book published in German in 1929. The purpose of this paper is to review the background and examine the available evidence concerning the only known claim to liquid propellant rocket engine experiments in the nineteenth century.

References to the alleged work of Paulet are fairly widespread. Albert Hausenstein, for example, wrote in 1940:¹ "We should not fail to mention Pedro Paulet who carried out, in 1895, experiments with a liquid propellant rocket characterized by a surprizing performance. During the period 1900-1918, no successful progress was made in the field of liquid propellant rockets based on Paulet's discoveries." After World War II, George P. Sutton described the Peruvian's work in these terms:²

It is not yet certain when the first liquid propellant rocket motor was invented. The first practical working rocket motor is claimed by Pedro E. Paulet, a South American engineer from Peru (1895). He operated a conical motor, 10 centimeters in diameter, using nitrogen peroxide and gasoline as propellants and measuring thrust up to 90 kilograms. He apparently used spark ignition and intermittent propellant injection. The test device which he used contained elements of later test stands, such as a spring thrust-measuring device. He did not publish his work until twenty-five years later.

[†]Presented at the Third History Symposium of the International Academy of Astronautics, Mar del Plata, Argentina, October 1969.

⁺⁺Professor and Head, Science and Technology Applications Dept., Research Institute and School of Graduate Programs and Research, The University of Alabama in Huntsville, Huntsville, Alabama. At present, Office of the Administrator, U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 1 Pedro E. Paulet c 1905

Sutton published in both editions of his <u>Rocket Propulsion Elements</u> a diagram (Figure 2) of the motor based on Paulet's written description. In the first (1949) edition, no direct reference is noted, but in the second edition he assigned Ref. No. 2.111: "P.E. Paulet, <u>Liquid Propellant Rocket</u>, El Cormercio, Lima, Peru, 1920" [sic: 1927].



Thrust Chamber

In December 1946, a few years before Sutton's book appeared, the liquid-propellant rocket engineer, James H. Wyld, presented a survey paper, "The Liquid-Propellant Rocket Motor," to the Oil and Gas Power Division of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in New York.³ Wyld touched on Paulet's claim, and offered a schematic diagram not only of the thrust chamber but of the thrust-measuring spring dynamometer, timer, and propellant tanks (Figure 3). Sutton, who cited Wyld in his book apparently took no steps to check the authenticity of Paulet's claim.



Fig. 3 James E. Wyld's Representation of Paulet's Liquid-Propellant Rocket

Nor did Wyld. But more cautiously, he asserted that the original source of the liquid-propellant rocket concept remained "quite uncertain," although "there is some evidence that the earliest practical working motor of this type was constructed in 1895 by Pedro E. Paulet, a young engineer of Peru, South America." Noting that Paulet did not publish an account of his work until 1927 in the Lima newspaper <u>El Commercio</u> (whose spelling, incidentally, is <u>El Commercio</u>), Wyld reiterated that "the validity of his claim may be rather doubtful."

Wyld, unlike Sutton, cited S.B. Scherschevsky's 1929 book <u>Die Rakete für Fahrt</u> <u>un Flug</u> as the source of information on Paulet's claim. Wyld simply translated from German into English Scherschevsky's own translation into German of extracts from the Spanish language letter in <u>El Comercio</u>. In a section entitled "First Practical Experiments," Scherschevsky stated categorically that liquid-propellant rocket motors were first tested by Paulet between 1895 and 1897. Notwithstanding the interval of three decades between the time of the alleged work and the time he got around to writing about it, Scherschevsky declared:

At that time one could have experimented with rocket motors operating on liquid propellants. And one could have worked with imperfect propellants and materials. This must be said to the doubters and skeptics.

Doubters and skeptics there have been ever since. One of the first, Willy Ley, expressed strong reservations in his 1932 booklet, <u>Grundriss einer Geschichte der Rakete</u>.⁵ He allotted Paulet's claim slightly over four lines, concluding: "The doubts are obviously correct." Ley never thought much of Scherschevsky, either. In the first edition of <u>Rockets</u>,⁶ whose title was to expand over the years,⁷ Ley complained:

There are many legends connected with that early period which unfortunately acquired some permanence because a German-writing Russian by the name of Aleksander Borissovitch Sherschevsky (sic) uncritically put hearsay into some of his articles, and into his one and only book.

Scherschevsky, it appears, had gone to Germany to study gliders. But he overs'ayed his time and dared not return to his homeland. "Lazy by nature (and very proud of it), he earned just enough money for room and board by writing for professional journals," wrote Ley. "He could have done better if he had written about Russia but he didn't; he felt that what could be said at that time would not be considered too favorable by the Western mind, and he was genuinely in favor of the Soviet government. He was a refugee by accident." Between 1944 and his death 1969, y would not change his opinion about Scherschevsky, nor give further credence to Paulet's claims of experimenting with liquidpropellant rocket engines.

One who did believe in Paulet was the German, Max Valier. In 1930 he wrote that a liquid-propellant rocket motor of "astonishing power" had been developed by the Peruvian.⁸ Valier seemed most pleased that "the 19th century did not close without a promising beginning to the technical development of rocket "notors." He also felt that "the work of the Peruvian Paulet is most important for present projects leading to rocket ships, for it proved for the first time—in contrast to powder rockets burning only a few seconds—that by using liquid propellants, the construction of a rocket motor functioning for periods of hours would be feasible."

Paulet's claim has continued to arise intermittently. Following Ley's precedent, however, neither Pendray,⁹ Ananoff¹⁰ nor Williams and Epstein¹¹ credit the Peruvian in their books, although all refer to Scherschevsky in one context or another and certainly

knew of his writing.⁴ Ordway and Wakeford, in their <u>International Missile and Spacecraft</u> <u>Guide</u>,¹² simply state that Paulet "reportedly" tested a liquid-propellant rocket motor; Ordway and his coauthors ignored him completely in their two-volume survey of astronautics, as did Shirley Thomas in her eight-volume <u>Men of Space</u>,¹⁴ and Eugene Emme in his <u>History</u> <u>of Space Flight</u>.¹⁵ Brage in <u>Bocket Engines</u>¹⁶ and Glasstone in his NASA-sponsored <u>Sourcebook of the Space Sciences</u>¹⁷ only mention the claim. Fritz, however, in <u>Start in Die</u> <u>Dritte Dimension</u>¹⁸ accepts the claim at face value. Prior to Goddard, he wrote, the liquid-propellant rocket motor was tested only once:

Between 1895 and 1897, Pedro E. Paulet, an engineer, constructed in Lima an apparatus whose combustion was not uniform, but rather consisted in a series of 300 explosions per minute. Pressure oscillated in accordance with this rhythm, which caused the motor's performance to diminish appreciably. Notwithstanding this difficulty, a thrust of 90 kilograms was produced.

Whether mentioned or ignored, no serious efforts were made to try to establish the validity of Paulet's claim, or even to search out primary documentation, until the mid 1960s. In 1966, von Braun and Ordway published some preliminary comments¹⁹ after locating Paulet's 1927 article--which turned out to be a 2 1/2-column letter written in Rome and published in the October 7 issue of <u>El Comercio</u> (Figure 4). After drawing attention to the plans he was reading about in Jurope for airplanes and spaceships, Paulet wrote that he, himself, had conceived of these ideas "THIRTY YEARS AGO [sic] when [I] was a student at the Institute of Applied Chemistry at the University of Paris." He also expressed the fear that his claims would not be believed, and called upon his former student friends in the Latin Quarter to tell the world of his experiments, which were, nevertheless, "made, truly, without witnesses."²⁰ In 1968, von Braun and Ordway published additional information on Paulet in their <u>Histoire Mondiale de l'Astronautique</u>.²² They included a picture of Paulet and a schematic (Figure 5) he had allegedly drawn of a rocket-powered airplane, though it was not published until 1965,²³ long after his death. Another drawing, made in 1902 with captions in English, appears in Figures 6 and 7.

Correspondence and personal discussions with Peruvian scientific and cultural officials in Washington and London, with a member of Paulet's family in Peru, and with the editor of <u>El Comercio</u>, have since yielded further information about Pedro Eleodoro Paulet Mostajo's life and activities. He was born on July 4, 1875 in Arequipa, Peru. His father died three years later, and, under the care of his mother, he attended school in Arequipa (Figure 8) and later graduated from the local university. In 1895, the youthful Paulet left for Europe, entered the Institute of Applied Chemistry at the Sorbonne (University of Paris) in 1898, and received an industrial engineering degree in 1901.⁺ The next year he

⁺If he did not start experimenting with rockets until after he entered the university, the 1895-1897 dates given earlier are incorrect. However, Paulet does mention, in other notes and letters, carrying out independent work beginning in 1895.

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FIG. 5



Fig. 6 Avion-Torpedo System Paulet (1902)

was named Peruvian Counsel in Antwerp, where he remained for a few years. Returning to Peru in 1905, he served as the first director of the Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios in Lima, and became active in a construction enterprise. In 1910 he returned to Europe, married Louise Wilquet of Brussels, and started a publishing firm. Later, he served in Peruvian consular posts in Norway, Holland, Japan, and Argentina. He died on January 30, 1945. Whatever experimental rocket work Paulet accomplished, therefore, had to have been undertaken during his early 20s.



F_6. 7 Avion-Torpedo System Paulet (1902)

On March 10, 1965, possibly as a result of the inquiries in connection with the writing of references 19 and 21, <u>El Comercio</u> published an article, "A Feruvian Engineer is the World Forerunner of Jet Propulsion Aircraft,"²² that included the design of the "first rocket-airplane," already referred to. The article stated that Paulet worked out the theory of rocket propulsion and conducted some early experiments in Paris, adopting the final design of his craft in 1902--when he had moved to Belgium. According to the



Fig. 8 Pedro Eleodoro Paulet Mostajo b. Arequipa, Peru, 1874 Picture Made in Arequipa, 1883

description, the Paulet vehicle as to travel with equal ease out to the stratosphere or down into the depths of the sea. The batteries of rocket motors are clearly marked "baterias de chohetes," Figure 5).

Next day, on March 11, <u>El Comercio</u> published²³ what it considered proof of the authenticity of the airplane, reproducing several artist's interpretations of the invention. The article first explained that many foreigners had written to <u>El Comercio</u> requesting details of Paulet's ideas and experiments, then summarized an interview given by the Peruvian in Buenos Aires in 1944 in which he had explained that his rocket airplane would fly at 600 miles per hour in the rarefied outer atmosphere; or, at much lower speeds, "travel like a submarine" under the ocean. He also related that:

In my native city, Arequipa, built over lava from a neighboring volcane, we have no fear of fire. For this reason, rockets are the obliged entertainment in our celebrations. During my childhood, I learned how to make them, occasionally tieing to their "tails" nets with objects attached to them. Later, in Europe, while studying in the Institute of Applied C emistry at the Sorbonne in Paris, I was seduced by the work of the great chemist Marcelin Berthelot on the power of explosive materials.

Early in this century, there was great interest in the question of mechanical motors.

At the Institute, we were taught that steam motors with performance less than 10 percent and which stood little chance of significant improvement, were impotent in the face of progress. The electric motor was not transportable except by generating power from heavy batteries. And the new internal combustion engine used in automobiles was relatively heavy and complicated for the new field of aviation, which was then such a novelty. It seemed to me then, as it does now, that the problem would be solved by utilizing explosive forces not in enclosed cylinders pushing a piston . . . but rather by rockets with constant injection of the explosive material and of simple design.

Unfortunately, neither of these references shed light on the supposed 1895 liquid-propellant rucket engine tests, the principal item of interest and the pedestal on which Paulet's fame rests. It is one thing to sketch a concept without supporting technical details and quite another to develop workable hardware. Efforts to obtain documentation on this from Faulet's son proved unsuccessful.

On December 12, 1965, another article²⁴ (Figure 9) in <u>El Comercio</u> stated that an American document proved Faulet to have been the world forerunner of astronautics. The evidence given to the newspaper by Dr. Manuel del Castillo, rresident of the Organismo Nacional de Investigacions Espaciales, consisted primarily of James H. Wyld's June 1947 article. But all Wyld had done, <u>El Comercio</u> had to admit, was to report what Scherschevsky had said. <u>El Comercio</u> did not quote or reproduce Paulet's 1927 letter from which Scherschevsky derived his information about Paulet.

It is perhaps ironical that the <u>El Comercio</u> article attached a "certified opy" of a short note p pearing in an unidentified issue of the <u>Journal of the American Rocket</u> <u>Society</u> which says, "Paulet uid not publish an account of his work until 1927, in an obscure news article in Lima, Peru, '<u>El Commercio</u>' [sic], so that the validity of his claim. may be rather doubtful, but it is interesting nevertheless to quote Paulet's description of his motor, as abstracted in A.B. Scherschevsky's book <u>The Rocket for Transport Flight</u> (see encircled upper left portion of Figure 7).

Living in Europe in the 1920s, Faulet certainly had an opportunity to become acquainted with the work and writings of German and French rocket and astronautical innovators. Just how many of his ideas were original and how many derived from these sources it is impossible to determine. Based on information available in October 1969, his claim of having experimented with liquid-propellant rocket motors in Paris in the late 1890s cannot be proved. To date, no actual witnesses have been located, nor any solid evidence uncovered as to the possible existence of the rocket motor. 450 12 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1966

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nstructed about 1895 by Podro E. Peolot, a young ongineer of Peru. South Amorica. (See Fig. 1) Paulot did not publish an account of his work until 1927, in an obscure nows article in the. Lima, Pens, "El Commercie", so that e validity of his claim may be rather ability but it is interesting accertheless, to quote Paulet's description of his eter, as abstracted in A. B. Scherry, cheveky's beek "The Bocket for Transport and Flight":

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APPENDIX

Translation by the author of Paulet's letter written from Rome on 23 August 1927 and published in the Lima, Peru, newspaper <u>El Comercio</u> on 7 October 1927.

To the Director of "El Comercio"

In the issue of last 24 July of your esteemed newspaper, I have just seen a long, illustrated article which reveals an aerial navigation system invented by Max Vallier (sic), a German. He calls it the "rocket ship" and said that it would be able to reach a velocity such that New York would be less than two hours away from Berlin.

The rocket airplane system is already known in Europe, having been used in various "aerial torpedos" during the World War. A number of projects have been published in this regard—especially in France—during the last fifteen years. The rocket ship is, therefore, only one of many conceptions recently advanced—some accurate, some not so accurate. The author himself recognizes this by referring to the early pioneers Goddard, Oberth, and von Hoeftt.

I have been prompted to write the present letter to bring to your attention the fact that the rocket airplane project was conceived and studied by the undersigned THIRTY YEARS AGO when he was a student at the Institute of Applied Chemistry at the University of Paris. This project, therefore, antidates the construction of modern airplares because the first timid flight of the Wright Brothers at the Auvours Field only took place in 1908.¹

My most definitive experiments were conducted with rockets made of vanadium steel, then a novelty, and with panklastite that had just been invented by Turpin, discoverer of melinite. The interior of the metallic rocket was conical and measured 10 centimeters high by 10 centimeters at the open base (mouth). The propellants were introduced through the upper part of the chamber through opposing ducts provided with spring loaded valves. The nitrogen peroxide entered through one side and the benzine through the other. Ignition was effected by an electric spark from a spark plug, similar to those used in automobiles, which was placed halfway up the rocket chamber.

On the other hand, in order to undertake the preliminary experiments the rocket was provided with outside rings made of long flexible tubes which connected the above mentioned ducts to the nitrogen peroxide and benzine tanks and to a lead from the spark plug to the electric mains. The rocket would ascend between the two taut parallel and vertical wires, between whose upper part was installed a strong, spring thrust measuring device supporting the pressure of the firing rocket. The dynamometer could give an approximate measurement of the lifting forces.

The results of these experiments were very satisfactory. The 2-1/2 kilo rocket motor underwent 300 explosions each minute and was not only able to maintain its thrust

against this thrust measuring device but was able to develop 90 kilograms of thrust. Moreover, it functioned without any noticeable deformations of its structure for nearly an hour. Under such conditions, it was possible to venture to foresee a craft provided with two batteries of 1,000 rockets each (one battery would rest while the other functioned) lifting several tons.

The impossibility of continuing these experiments with explosives, such as the nitrogen peroxide, whose handling was so risky, and other personal activities, have made it necessary for me to postpone my work on this interesting invention from 1897 to the present time. Moreover, because these experiments were known by several of my European student compatriots and by the few Peruvians (who at the time were very rare in Paris) living in the Latin Quarter, I hope that if one of them is now in Peru he will confirm the echo of these experiments which were made, truly, without witnesses but about which I talked to anyone who would listen to me.

Even though I do not have news of anyone who had concerned himself before me with rocket airplanes, I don't pretend to regain possession of my fathership of this invention because, as in all projects, it is not valid except as a consequence of its realization. The inventor of the rocket airplane will be the first one to fly in an apparatus powered by rockets. Therefore, it is not enough to say that the project of the German Vallier has been preceded thirty years earlier, and even perhaps by the more conclusive experiments performed by the Peruvian, who would like to call to the attention of the technicians and inventors of our country this important matter which has led me to write the present article. In effect that which, but for unhappy circumstances, I have not been able to achieve can be accomplished (for the advantage and good of Peru) by some other compatriot who is better prepared than I. It is necessary that he lay out carefully the problem and that he adequately use the elements offered by a continually improving modern technology.

A perfect airplane should: (1) rise up vertically; (2) maintain itself at any point in the atmosphere; (3) fly at an altitude of more than 20,000 meters; (4) possess an exterior which would not be deformed by atmospheric agents and whose interior would be suitable for a large number of passengers and a heavy load of merchandise; and (5) could descend vertically.

It is clear that modern airplanes are no more than "automotive comets" whose propellers give low performance, whose parts are almost completely uncovered, and which it is impossible to maintain motionless in space. These do not satisfy any of the earlier mentioned conditions and should be considered in aerial navigation as forerunners---somewhat as, in maritime navigation, sailing ships earlier crossed the oceans. Helicopters, for their part, can go up and down vertically but, because of their complexity, have up to now not been able to undertake effective flights. Finally, the dirigibles or "lighter than air craft," outside of their enormous cost, are also restricted because of the "law of the cube of the velocity. w^2 They are nevertheless the craft that have been used to carry the greatest number of passengers and are the first to have crossed the Atlantic between Germany and the United States.

We noted, on the other hand, that Vallier's rocket airplane, like the one represented in the figure published in "El Comercio," satisfies neither of the conditions we have seen above. If its projectile form permits it to go straight up, one does not see how it changes to the horizontal direction without subjecting its passengers to acrobatic maneuvers. Even less do we see how it can go down vertically. Well, the first advantage of the application of rocket motors consists in that they form an outside force to the apparatus that is manageable from the inside, which permits it to have whatever form may be desired, i.e. that which is the most appropriate. This becomes in my judgement----in order to slide through a variable, stirred up, and "fecund in stress" fluid as the atmosphere----the lenticular form with convexity such that it is almost equal to that of an ovoid, such as our planet incorporating, thus, lower and horizontal batteries of rockets whose angle of firing could be varied. It would be possible to direct oneself vertically, longitudinally, and obliquely, resisting any contrary forces that the ambient fluid might produce, remain in space, and then descend to the ground.

With such advantages, one can ask why rocket airplanes have not been made, even more, why rockets have not been placed tangentially on a wheel which would form the most simple and most potent of industrial forces; and why rocket projectiles haven't eliminated the costly use of cannons in war, etc., etc. Well, as a result of my own experience, I can reveal why: it is because of the great difficulty that a civilian has, especially in Europe, to obtain information on, and experiment with, explosives. Moreover, because the convenient explosives are of "juxtaposition" type and not solid, but rather liquid or gaseous, they are not sold commercially due to their uncertain and dangerous composition.

But, during the last fifteen years, the science of explosives has progressed from a practical point of view, and explosives are not now monopolized by the military. Explosives today are now to the engineers what the ax was to the woodcutter, the pick was to the miner. Internal combustion motors are replacing steam engines; pyrotechnics is no longer an art; and chemistry manufactures a series of explosives as varied as coloring compounds and perfumes. And this progress is going to advance into formidable studies of radioactive forces. For example, M. Esnaut (sic) Pelterie has calculated that a rocket ship, weighing 1,000 kilograms with a motor fed by the disintegration products of 2 decigrams of radium, would produce a force of 40,000 hp over a period of 1/2 hour, sufficient to be able to go to the Moon in 24 minutes, 9 seconds and return from this satellite in 3 minutes, 46 seconds. It is true that even now we do not know how to utilize the mechanical energy of radium as we do that of petroleum. But, we don't need so much to travel modestly from Europe to Lima in a couple of hours.

Your humble and obedient servant, Pedro E. Paulet Chemical Engineer

- (1) Nevertheless, it must be said that an airplane project, completely like those actually existing with its wings, body, and airship motors—even though it did not involve any explosions and propellers, was described by Sir John Cayley in 1809.
- (2) The necessary force to transmit increasing velocities to a dirigible would proportionally increase as the cube of the velocity desired. This offers an advantage to the large globes; but, then air resistance goes up considerably, in accordance with the formula R KSV, where R is the resistance, S the surface in square meters, V the velocity in meters per second, and K a constant (0.08 to 0.16).

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