

personnel and the forces that are going to be qualified to handle all of the phases, whether it includes finance, it includes problems with contractors, it includes personnel and administration of the facilities that you need if the personnel are going to do the job.

That's particularly so in the engineers because he doesn't stay in a specific assignment area for life. He's maybe here three years, four years, transferred, then here he has an entirely new responsibility, a new area, and he has to utilize the forces here, organize the forces there for whatever this new problem or new situation calls for.

American Forces in Germany

Q: We were talking about your trip to Europe in 1919. Who else went with you to France?

A: Well, our class—I mean, our West Point engineer class—and all of the engineers in the class following ours. I guess about 50 or 60. I can't even remember who some of the personnel were that were in charge of it. I think it was Colonel Virgil Peterson [USMA, 1908]. I was trying to think of his name before as the commandant of the Engineer School. He was a tough commander.

I think Bud Miller also went along as one of the heads of it. They took us on a tour through the battlefields and also gave us lectures and so on about what you might say was the engineers' responsibility in the Service of Supply. This covered the depots that they built, the railroads, the problems on roads and maintenance of roads in combat, which was a very difficult problem with the heavy rains they had and so on. Of course, at that time they didn't have the heavy engineer equipment that we had during World War II and you just feel, in looking back, that it took them a long time to do relatively little, you know, compared to what was accomplished during World War H, with the equipment and forces that we had.

Q: Were there any important results on your career from that tour?

A: I would say none other than what might have happened. You know Occidental Petroleum? You know that's on the big board, and who's the head of it?

Q: Armand Hammer?

A: Yes, Hammer. He later on had his art gallery and other manifold activity. Well, he was, if I remember correctly, if he was the same one. I don't know whether we had gotten to Paris or someplace on this tour when I came across him. He was under orders to go up into Poland and Russia on a relief expedition because they had a severe typhus epidemic. They were assembling a staff when I talked to him. I wasn't married at that time, so I thought this would be a wonderful adventure. So I volunteered to go along with him and their group.

So I contacted whoever was our engineer in charge, and he said no. I had to go back with our group to the States. But if I had joined him, my life might have been a different story. I don't know what would have happened later if I had been associated with him then. He saw that the people were all illiterate and therefore they were all going to need pencils, so he got a concession on making pencils and selling them there. At that time, a ruble was worth nothing, so he was going to take compensation in caviar, fur, and works of art. So he got those and set up his art gallery in New York. Then, of course, he later on got into petroleum, cattle breeding, and also into distilled spirits. He built up the Dant Distillery operation, which Schenley later bought. Everything he touched ended up in gold. Possibly if I had gone with him, maybe being an engineer or complementary to whatever the situation was, I might have ended up a millionaire of Occidental Petroleum or in some other phase of his later activities.

Q: What were your impressions of the American Expeditionary Forces in France when you were there?

A: Of course the war was over and they were going through the process of demobilization and sending the forces home. But as you looked back, there were some gallant actions performed by the various forces. But you wonder why they did it the way they did and why it couldn't have been done otherwise.

When we got into it, the war had been going on under British and French control, and so there was very little that this upstart American group could do. I mean, they looked down on the Americans when they first came in. They figured they were untrained, they were inexperienced, and so on. And here they (our allies) had been fighting through the mud for years.

So the Americans didn't really have an opportunity to go in and upset the applecart and get into a new form of operations. They did approach it in connection with getting into a war of movement toward the end. But there was more effort expended and more lives lost on all sides in connection with the war as it was fought than the results that were accomplished.

At the end, you had the same situation as in World War II. It's a tragic thing when certain issues arise between two countries that cause them to engage in war; for their resolutions they go to war. Now either you win or you lose. If you lose, that's bad because the enemy can then enforce whatever they want on you. If you win, why then you're in the fortunate position to resolve whatever the issues were over which you went to war.

You had to resort to combat to resolve these conflicting issues. At the termination of hostilities, if you've won, it's the most important part of the whole damn war. But unfortunately in the United States we expend great effort and resources, separation of families, and loss of life; but the day that the war is over and we've won, we hoopla and hurrah as though that's the end. And yet that's the most important time for the resolution of whatever it was that got you into this conflict.

At that time our American public loses interest. We want Johnny home and we want Billy home and we want so and so; we want to cut down the armed forces; we want to get back to business as usual. And in the meantime, other opportunists are over there resolving these things in their favor at this most vital period. We did it in World War I and we did it in World War II. And we'll do it in World War III if we get into one. Unfortunately, we just can't seem to learn from past experience as to the importance of the immediate postwar period.

Q: What was Paris like in 1919?

A: I don't have any real recollection of Paris. We were there such a short time. We knew that Paris was sort of an active place, they had the Follies Bergere and so and so; but we were there such a short time that we had no opportunity really to know this town or that town.

Q: What about the rest of France?

A: Well, the principal part that we saw was where they'd had devastation and bombing. We went up to the front lines where there had been extensive bombing and artillery fire damage. You did not have any of the physical destruction in the back areas that you had later on in World War II.

They had no terribly long-range artillery. They had no major bombing force. They didn't have the capacity to throw destruction all over the country in the rear of the battlelines. The battle destruction was mainly just along the front where they had been engaged in combat over a long time. The rest of the country was peaceful, other than being disrupted by having to apply their efforts primarily toward the conduct of the war. But the farms, the agriculture and so on, of course, they had to neglect as well as the improvement of utilities or roads or other things in the rear, but there was no material destruction compared to World War H.

When you went to Japan at the end of World War II, or to Europe, you saw overall destruction where there had been extensive bombing and heavy artillery and long-range artillery. In Japan, for example, instead of using heavy explosive power in our bombing, much of our destruction there was by the use of incendiary bombs. Japan was a prime target for that. They had vast communities with wooden houses and rice paper partitions and so on, so that if you dropped a lot of incendiary bombs, everything took fire.

So when we went in there later, the only thing you could see would be some clay tile roofs which had fallen in and just ashes here and there. There was an occasional chimney, because very few houses had fireplaces and chimneys, but in those that had the chimneys could at least withstand fire, so they stood.

And the other thing you could see were safes. You could see a small safe, a medium safe, rusted and whatnot, here and there. Due to the earthquake and resultant fire that they had had in Yokohama in 1923, some enterprising

safe salesman had gone around after that and said, "Now look, we're subject to earthquake and fire. You'd better buy our X2-3 safe." So a lot of people had gotten safes. So when the incendiaries hit, why everything was destroyed except these safes that you'd still see and an occasional chimney.

But their job of rehabilitation, as a result, was a little bit easier. We didn't have to remove much in the way of debris before we could start some form of reconstruction. Whereas over in Europe-I was there in January '46, shortly after the war-you could see block after block where the structures were still there but everything inside had been destroyed, and in order to start rebuilding you had to go in and dismantle and remove them and take thousands, tens of thousands, of tons of debris out before you could even start to rebuild. So their problem, with heavy structures demolished by percussion and heavy explosives, was a much more difficult one than in Japan.

Q: Did you ever get to Germany while you were therein 1919, or did your tour specifically stay in France?

A: We did have a short visit to Koblenz, headquarters of the Army of Occupation.

Q: Now after your trip to France in 1919, you returned to Camp Humphreys and were there until early 1920. What were your duties while at Camp Humphreys?

A: As I said previously, that was when we went to school. They had the Engineer School going at that time, and that was where they were teaching electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, and whatnot. That school continued through June 1920. At the end of that course, the general who was the commanding general of Camp Humphreys at that time [Brigadier General C.A.F. Flagler] wanted me to be his aide. He had played football at West Point and always wore a little silver football dangling from his pocket. It should not be part of a uniform, but he was so proud of having played football, he always wore it.

Pierre Agnew (later Colonel Agnew), a classmate of mine, was then under orders to go to Europe. Agnew was very much in love with a gal in

Washington, and he just hated to think of leaving her and going to Europe. So he and I went up to the Chief's Office and we got our orders changed, so I didn't remain on as the general's aide but got orders to proceed to Europe in his place with the Army of Occupation in Koblenz.

Q: What were your duties at Koblenz?

A: They were having some difficulty with the commander of Company A of the 1st Engineers. He had married a German girl, and they thought there were some problems in the company, so in his place I was made commanding officer of Company A of the 1st Engineers.

I commanded the company for two years from then on. We carried on normal engineer training: building ponton bridges over the Moselle River, drill and rifle practice, and fortification exercises. I recall one occasion when we were ordered to prepare a defense position before General [Henry T.] Allen, commanding general of the US occupation forces [American Forces in Germany] and his staff. We were to set up different flags indicating where the defense positions would be, showing trench layout, machine gun locations, and whatnot. I can still remember to this day General Allen addressing the officers and saying that was the "finest defense position that I have seen in my service." He extolled us quite a bit.

But our company was a very good one. We were number one in marksmanship, discipline, and I think in overall engineer troop training. We also had a football team, the 1st Engineers. We had only one battalion, Companies A, B, and D. We didn't have Company C. And we organized a football team of which I was captain and quarterback. Even though the 8th Infantry Regiment was much larger and the other combat units also were very large, our small football team tied with the 8th Infantry for the championship.

I might mention one little incident. We were teaching demolitions, fortifications, and so on. One day we prepared a so-called two-line crater charge. We also had prepared some fortifications and trenches around there where we had a number of filled sandbags. As the time for dismissal was getting late, when we were covering up the explosive charge, we took some of the filled sandbags and put those on the top in order to save time in covering it. When everything was ready and we released the charge, we got

the two-line crater all right, but the sandbags went up intact in the air. The 8th Infantry had their barracks in the near vicinity and one or two of the sandbags came down and landed on the roof of their vegetable shed in the rear. It smashed through the roof and covered all the vegetables with dirt, whereupon the 8th Infantry called and said, "Please don't do that again."

Q: What was occupation duty like? Was it pretty routine?

A: Yes, very routine. We'd go out to the shooting range at Ransbach for target practice. Our company was billeted there. Late one night they had a large fire in the sawmill and lumber yard, so I organized our company and got them out and put out the fire. It was a big lumber mill that had caught on fire and it was quite extensive. We had our whole company go down, and we were the ones that extinguished it. We received the thanks of the *burgermeister* and his group for the wonderful work that we, enemy troops in occupation, had done to salvage and save his little community.

Q: What was Koblenz like?

A: Koblenz was a beautiful town. It had a very nice former German officers club that our officer personnel had access to. After World War I there was no war damage such as we had in World War II, so that Koblenz was relatively untouched, except for down at the corner of the confluence of the Moselle and Rhine rivers. There had been a statue of Kaiser Wilhelm there. When the forward units of the American forces came through initially, they decided that wasn't the place for it, so they just tore the statue down and destroyed it. There was the mount where the statue had been, but the statue had been removed and destroyed.

Living conditions there were very pleasant. General Allen was in command. Inflation had set in at the time we were there, with the mark about fifty to the dollar as compared to four to the dollar which it had been. As time went on the mark depreciated further, and in 1922, when we were leaving, the rate was about 300-320 marks to the dollar. That made it possible for the enlisted personnel to live high, even though the salary for a private then was about \$21 a month or so plus 10 percent for foreign service. However, converted to marks it gave them salaries equivalent to some of the bank presidents. All the civic personnel in the town of Koblenz were getting less

money than the ordinary private. As a result, the enlisted ranks were living high. In the mess halls they'd hire German girls and servants to do the cooking and other service work. So the GIs, as well as the officers and their wives, were living very comfortably due to the favorable exchange. This is just the reverse of the situation now where our troops in Germany are adversely affected by the high value of the mark and the depreciated value of the dollar.

Q: Who was your commander of the 1st Engineers?

A: Colonel [Bernard August] Miller, Bud Miller, then Lieutenant Colonel, was the engineer for the occupation, and as such acted as our commander, too.

Q: What other engineer officers, or non-engineers, did you get to know while at Koblenz?

A: Captain W. N. Thomas [William N. Thomas, Jr.], later a colonel, was initially an assistant in my company and then got to be a company commander.

Bud Iry, Captain [Clarence N.] Iry, commanded another company. General Dinty [Cecil R.] Moore, then a captain, was there at that time, but he was with the railway battalion in command of a company. He was not located in Koblenz, but in one of the outlying towns. We did get to see each other frequently. There was a Captain Pegram [Edward S. Pegram, Jr.]. I can't think of the names of some of the others.

Q: Did you get to see much of the rest of Germany outside the area of occupation while you were there?

A: I took occasion to go down on leave to Oberammergau to see the Passion Play. We also used to make fairly frequent trips out of Koblenz down to Wiesbaden and generally in that surrounding area.

Q: Were you fluent in German at that time?

A: Moderately so. I'd had three years of German in high school, and in the occupation you had the opportunity to increase your knowledge or further utilize your conversation with German servants and other civilians.

Q: Did you have any contacts with the German engineering profession while assigned to the Army of Occupation?

A: Virtually none; certainly little as compared later in the Philippines, where we had great contact with the engineer fraternity of the Philippines. But we had no real contact or association with the German engineering group at that time. Of course, in my later service as a Freeman fellow in Berlin in 1933-35, I had a great deal of contact with the German engineering profession.

Q: Did you happen to meet or talk to any former German Army engineers?

A: No, not at all.

Q: Do you remember anything about the politics of Germany at this time?

A: Well, at that time we saw a Germany that was down and out. The people had formerly been one of the leading powers of the world, and here it was crushed and its economy in ruin. The German people were fighting hard for an existence with shortages of many things, including fuel. Germany, with imports cut off during the war, had had to resort to synthetic fuel for their war machines. They provided synthetic materials for many other things that were needed because their sources of supply had been cut off by the Allies.

Morale among the people was low, as I said. I had the opportunity to serve in Germany later in '33-'35, and then I saw an entirely different picture. Then we saw a Germany on the rise. Hitler had just come into power, and everything was being done to build up morale and the military. But at the time we were in Koblenz, we saw a Germany that was defeated and down with a relatively hopeless outlook, particularly considering the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which incidentally were almost impossible to maintain.

The Allies had told Germany that they had to get along with an army of less than 100,000. They could have no major battleships, nothing over 10,000 tons. They could never have an air force. These conditions were not for two years or five years or ten years, but supposedly from then on out Germany was prohibited from anything in the form of any defense force or military force of any size or means.

As I say, you could sense that in the feeling of the people, as compared to what you saw later right after Hitler's succession to power, when we saw the German military and the people rise as against a Germany that had suffered defeat in 1918.

Q: Do you recall anything about the French policies in the occupied areas?

A: We had different zones. The Americans had our zone in Koblenz, the French had theirs in Wiesbaden, and the British had theirs in the Cologne area. We did sense that the attitude of the French was much more harsh and severe than that of the British and the Americans. You could still sense a sort of intense feeling of hostility and hatred between the two countries. Each one had been subject to war and invasion by the other, and it was more natural that there would be a greater enmity develop between those two powers as compared to the attitude between Great Britain and the United States versus Germany.

Q: Did you get to travel much outside Germany while you were there?

A: Not at that time as compared to later. In 1922 I was married in Koblenz to Dorothy Miller, the daughter of Colonel R. B. Miller, the chief surgeon of the American forces there. On our honeymoon we made a trip down to south Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. It might be interesting to know that we were on a ten-day honeymoon, and I told Dorothy that this was going to be an all-out operation, with no limit on expense. So we traveled first class, and after ten days, with a wonderful coverage of the best hotels, wines, and whatnot, I think I had a few pennies left of a \$50 bill that the whole trip had cost. That is indicative of the terrific inflation that they had in Germany and Austria at that time.

Q: How did you meet your wife?

A: She was one of the four or five, you might say, eligible girls there. So there was quite a bit of competition with the large number of bachelor officers that we had. We would meet at the officers club, at horse shows, sports events, and similar activities. I was the successful one of several suitors and won my bride, the prize of the lot.

Incidentally, Joe Collins [J. Lawton Collins] was also married over there. He was married to the daughter of the chaplain of the American forces, Colonel Easterbrook. The weddings were something quite splendid. Both Joe in his marriage and we in our marriage were married in the kaiser's palace chapel. The kaiser had a palace and beautiful grounds there. So we were married in the kaiser's palace chapel, and after that had a beautiful reception on the grounds surrounding the palace.

University of Kansas and the Engineer Rifle Team

Q: You returned from Germany in May 1922 and were assigned to the ROTC unit at the University of Kansas. Was that mandatory assignment or did you request that?

A: I did not request it, but Colonel Perley F. Walker, who was the dean of the Engineering School at Kansas University, specifically requested my assignment because he was not satisfied with the officer who had been in charge of the engineer ROTC unit there. I had served under him in the 219th Engineers, so that was how he knew me and probably the reason he had specifically requested my services. It is not the type of, at least at that time, it was not the type of detail that I would have particularly requested or liked.

Q: Do you think it may have harmed your career at all at that time?

A: No. I think that probably using those four years in certain other activities might have been better insofar as I individually was concerned, in connection with professional advancement. But it was an interesting assignment and we