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Interview with Harold C. Deutsch

**Interviewed by Professor Clarke A. Chambers
University of Minnesota**

**Interviewed on August 19, 1983
Interviewed at the Home of Clarke A. Chambers
St. Paul, Minnesota**

Harold Deutsch - HD
Clarke A. Chambers - CAC

CAC: This is Clarke Chambers with Harold C. Deutsch, who came to the University of Minnesota in 1929 and retired in 1972. He is here in Minneapolis visiting. The recording is being made in my home in St. Paul. The date is August 19, 1983.

Harold, it's nice to have you here as an old friend and colleague. I would like to start our conversation by looking at your career as a young man, your undergraduate work, what really attracted you to history as a field, how you got to Harvard, and how you got from Harvard to Minnesota . . . questions of that sort; so, you just take off.

HD: It may not interest people particularly as far as the start is concerned because of the fact that it was so early. It wasn't any particular precocity on my part. I had an aunt who was always reading history stories to me as a youngster. I became so concerned about history that long before I finished grade school, I could, for example, give you the names of all of Napoleon's marshals, most of the medieval emperors, and any number of other major figures from ancient times down. At that time, I already was thinking in terms of eventually becoming an historian. My father, though he was businessman, was on the whole quite a cultivated person and had a considerable library which contained a number of history books which I devoured; and so far as they weren't actual histories, they were historical novels and at that, they were at least equally instructive on the level of a youngster of that type. In high school, I took the history course. It was specifically called that and I started as a freshman along that line. I only went three years to high school, the reason being that when I had had the first two years, I fell greatly in love, and I wanted to be able to marry at an early as possible date, and so speeded up things, and I was able to graduate at the end of three years. At that time, I hadn't, as yet, decided I was going into history. I spent a year at Milwaukee Normal. The first few months were business but that bored me so much that I went to history, my first love, and from there went to the University

of Wisconsin for my second and third year. I also speeded things up in college and did that in three years.

CAC: Did you have any idea that Wisconsin was a great department then or is it just because it was your state university?

HD: I'm glad you mentioned that because I knew a good deal about it. My elder brother was an historian, though of a very degenerate type, American history.

CAC: [laughter]

HD: He had his degree from Wisconsin and I also had an elder sister who was a graduate but not in history itself. From my brother, I heard a great deal about various members of that department, especially [Mikhail] Rostovtzeff, the famous specialist in the Hellenistic Age. When I got to Wisconsin, I immediately devoted myself mainly to history. I took all of Rostovtzeff's work except the seminar because I didn't know either Greek or Latin. If I'd known Greek or Latin, I would have gone into ancient history. It still is my major love and it's the only area where I allow myself the luxury of reading extensively and building up a very considerable library, aside of my own Twentieth Century.

CAC: Were you ever able to teach—we're jumping ahead but we'll jump back—ancient history?

HD: That's what saved my life. I had come here at Minnesota and at the age of twenty-four, I had two youngsters. I had very considerable debts, over \$1500.

CAC: That was a lot of money in those days.

HD: To give you a notion of what that meant in those days . . . when I went to Europe on the principle Harvard fellowship and lived the whole year with my wife there, including the transportation, ocean-wise both ways, my fellowship was exactly \$1500. When you figure, for example—if I recall correctly—the man who was hired after me in 1935, Professor [Tom B.] Jones, was hired at \$1600, you get some notion of what that meant. I came here to substitute for Professor [Lawrence] Steefel who was on a sabbatical leave; but, I was told from the start that if things went well—which meant of course, if they liked me—and if they could get the money, they would want to expand. My major area at that was Napoleon as well as the Twentieth Century to which I was being shoved. Then, came the stock market collapse. I, of course, knew that morning what my fate was going to be; and a few days later, I was called in by Guy Stanton Ford, who was both the dean of the Graduate School and chairman of the department, and was told, "Harold, I don't see any chance at all that we'll get the money to keep you here." Then, came the most fantastic piece of luck. A man named McDonald who was teaching Ancient History went away to Ohio State and Ford, knowing that I'd had a field in Greek history at Harvard, asked me to take over; so, for five years, I taught all of the Ancient History taught at the University of Minnesota.

CAC: This was a secondary field at Harvard?

HD: Not even a secondary one. It was down the line. It was just, again, an area which I loved so much that I wanted to include it.

CAC: Good sign of your versatility. Whom had you worked with at Harvard?

HD: At Harvard, my principle advisor was Wilbur Cortes Abbott, known to the graduate students as "Lazy" Abbott. An illustration of the rather lackadaisical way in which he did things is my own dissertation. I had, first of all, a five minute talk with him deciding on the dissertation. Then, before I left for Europe, I had a fifteen minute talk with him about what I was going to do. That was it.

CAC: [laughter]

HD: The entire student/teacher relationship was that. The man whom I particularly admired was Archibald Cary Coolidge, who was the principle recent history man there. He died while I was his assistant; so, I was his last assistant then. William Langer took over; so, I was William Langer's first assistant. I was extraordinarily fortunate to have two such men. In Ancient History, I had Professor [William Scott] Ferguson. I didn't take any Ancient History. I just [unclear] it. I don't know how I did things in those days in order to make ends meet. I had seven different types of work in my last year there. I was a full time [assistant] in the second semester and a half time assistant also because Pearsal Pribram of the University of Vienna, one of the world's greatest scholars in history generally, you might say, came over and wanted an assistant who would understand German so that I was assigned to him also. I had Langer full time because the class had grown so much under Langer. Coolidge was not a great lecturer and Langer very much was so and attracted an enormously larger number of students than Coolidge had.

CAC: How were you recruited to come here?

HD: It was just luck. Langer met Guy Stanton Ford at the American Historical Association convention and Ford said that we want such and such a man who can replace Steefel because that was essentially the French Revolution, Napoleon, Nineteenth Century. Langer was kind enough to say, "I know the right man. He's getting his degree this year. He's in Europe now and is coming back in June." That was the start. Ford wrote me a letter of inquiry as to whether I was interested and so on. I replied with appropriate enthusiasm; and so, I was hired for just that year to replace Steefel. One particular piece of luck . . . because I was hired for just one year supposedly, I got the salary of \$2700, which was certainly around \$1000 more than I probably would have gotten otherwise or at least \$500 or \$600, I would say.

CAC: That kind of confirms the legend that Guy Stanton Ford was, indeed, engaged in recruitment of that sort not only in History but in other fields as well. Did you have that sense? You get to know him very well.

HD: He was not at all, what you'd call, dictatorial; but, he tended to do things by himself. Those were the days of, what we called, heads of departments, who really dominated things and quite differently from the days you and I know where we voted on every major decision that the department would be concerned with.

CAC: The department you came into in 1929, as I was checking out its membership, was a well-established and very renowned department. I'm curious to know whether a young apprentice scholar as yourself at age twenty-four had a sense of the authority that that department had.

HD: I got it very soon. First of all, the History Department was enormously well-regarded throughout the university. It was noted especially for loyalty and good feeling among its fellows and many times Marie [Mrs. Harold Deutsch] and I would have somebody say to us, "You historians, whenever we mention some other member of the department in your presence, you bow three times to the east." It's, of course, a marvelous example of what a department can achieve in the way of morale if you have that kind of spirit . . . I think due in a large part to Professor Ford, who not only was a great scholar, great administrator in many ways, but also a very kindly man, a very helpful man. We came here with two young girls, at that time five and four years of age, and we were here four years before we had our third and last child. It turned out that Marie had a very difficult delivery because she had a case of toxemia. She was very much swollen and the doctor was completely surprised to find there were two babies.

CAC: Oh, my.

HD: I was present at the birth and he said, "There's another one!" He was a very famous doctor associated, in part, with the university. We had paid off our debts now but were still very much strapped. It looked to Ford as a situation that might be tough; so, when he came to our house—he didn't come to the hospital—after the baby was brought home, together with Mrs. Ford . . . just before he went, he said, "Take this. You may need this." He handed me a \$200 check.

CAC: Heavens!

HD: This was obviously a loan and we repaid it to him quite quickly; but, it's something I've never forgotten and, of course, it was enormously appreciated.

CAC: Do you think that congeniality survived in the History Department, and for how long, and what held it together? Ford began turning more and more to university affairs in the early 1930s.

HD: His successor was Lester B. Shippee, who was also a genial, and pleasant, and helpful person. I think things continued very well under him especially as the department underwent a

little change. The only person added to it in the late 1930s was Don Beatty. I don't recall that Rodney Loehr already was brought in at that time. It wasn't until getting into the 1940s that you had A.L. Burt. You had largely the same membership and the same spirit of loyalty. Then, A.C. Krey was the next one. A.C., I think, had some weaknesses as administrator and didn't entirely enjoy the support of everybody in the department; though, I don't know of any particular clash. Then, came Herbert Heaton. Herbert Heaton was a foreigner. I don't think his British background made any difference to us; but, he was just a little different himself. My relations with him were always excellent; but, there were one or two, especially Ernest Osgood, who resented him in one way or another and relations toughened considerably in the late to mid 1950s.

CAC: That was a department that had grown old together over a thirty, thirty-five year period.

HD: That's correct, yes. If you counted up the people who retired by 1950 in the department that we had there in 1928, I think there weren't more than . . . there was A.B. White. At the moment, I can't think of anybody else. If you look at the list there, I think you'd find that they were all still there in 1950.

CAC: [Faith] Thompson, [David] Willson, Heaton, Osgood, [Alice Felt] Tyler, [Theodore] Blegen . . .

HD: I'm glad you mentioned Blegen because I certainly would not wish to complete our discussion before I say some things about him. He was one, perhaps, of the two closest friends that I had here at the university . . . the other being E.W. ["Easy"] Ziebarth. Ted Blegen, and George Stephenson, and I were a kind of trio. George was a wonderful person and a fine scholar; but, as he confessed from time to time to me and others, he just couldn't get rid of his Swedish reserve. It took him a long time when the department came to the first name basis. When I came everybody, with one or two exceptions, was "Mister" to everybody else. He confessed how hard it was to call me Harold, at [unclear] especially, because I was a good deal younger than he. He was a man with a very big heart and a wonderful wife. We were a kind of trio, as I say, together because of the fact that we were, I think, the only three with a Teutonic background of some kind. [laughter] That's completely immaterial; but, it's an interesting coincidence.

Ted Blegen was a man not only of sterling character and of wonderful geniality but a person of tremendous competence, absolute integrity, a kind of person who inspired confidence in everybody who ever knew him. I confess, I was at first startled because Ted was much older than I. Ted, incidentally, was a history teacher at the high school where Marie and I graduated.

CAC: And was there when you were there?

HD: Yes, but neither of us took his classes. He was very musical. He had composed the high school football song. [laughter] I can still sing it; but, I won't shock anybody with my voice

here. We immediately knew him and I was particularly [unclear] to him because of the fact that we were already were acquainted. I remember how he said, "Harold, I found my old *Mercury*"—the *Mercury* was the annual—"and I looked back and there in the sub-freshman class was your name!" Ted plays a special role in my memory because of the fact that a number of us engaged in a conspiracy to make him president of this university. Lotus Delta Coffman had died. Guy Stanton Ford was filling in and it was thought that he would be there for only a year or so. We, of course, had the highest regard for Ford; but, it never occurred to us that he could continue for very long. One day, Oliver Field, of Political Science, who was a born manipulator, conspirator in the nice sense, came to my house. He lived just a half a block away. In fact, he lived in a house one or two away from the first house that you had. He said, "Harold, you may be surprised but I think I have in mind just the right man to be president . . . Blegen." I was startled at first; but then, the moment I really gave it thought, I thought what a wonderful idea. I'm trying to recall the name of the well-known Minneapolis attorney, perhaps, the best known at the time, who had been appointed as a liberal candidate . . .

CAC: This wouldn't be Loevinger?

HD: Oh, no. He was well-known to Field. I had met him a number of times and Field went to talk to him. We thought for a time that we had, if not the snowball a-rolling, at least we were gaining some support; but, it didn't work out because Ford, to the surprise of this particular region, appeared to be really interested in staying on—as he then did. That wrecked the Blegen candidacy.

CAC: That's a good observation on how informal things were in, let us say, 1940 and 1941 and how very formal they came to be in 1960s when the search was for other presidents.

HD: Yes.

CAC: Maybe it's a good time to say something about Ted's role as dean of the Graduate School. He was there for twenty years.

HD: Ted, without any doubt on my part, was one of the very outstanding Graduate [School] deans that we had . . . in some respects, I think, better than Ford, more accessible, less confident that his own approach was the correct one. Ford, as I said, was not dictatorial; but, Ford, as I saw him, was a person who, if he once had a strong idea, was very hard to divert from that and had kind of an awesome presence that it was difficult for anybody who appreciated that he had such an idea to even try to counter it. Ted Blegen was extraordinarily accessible and was, I think, all across the board one of the really outstanding persons whom I've met at this university and who I think would have done well as president of the university. I know that there are some who would differ from me on this for one reason or another; but, I pretty much kept to that viewpoint all the way through.

CAC: Do you have any sense of his relationship with President [James Lewis] Morrill? Blegen was dean from 1940 to 1960 and Morrill from 1945 to 1960 as president.

HD: No, I don't.

CAC: He wouldn't have shared those things with you?

HD: No, he wouldn't. We didn't deal with him as much as we had in the past because, for one thing, he wasn't around the department. This old story of the importance of proximity very much applies in this case. I saw him socially very often and [unclear] things to do. There was a period toward 1960 especially when I was going abroad on various research projects and graduate school support, of course, was very important to me.

CAC: You spoke earlier of the congeniality and the mutual respect within the department. Yet, I believe it's true that as the war gathered at the end of the 1930s, 1937, 1939, 1940, that there were very strong feelings on the war issue within the department, as within the university.

HD: No, I don't believe so. There were some who looked a little askance at me because of my name and dramatic background, Milwaukee, three-quarters German, and so on. The fact that I went then onto the radio, and very obviously from the start, to show that I was very strongly pro-Ally and very critical of the Nazi regime, in fact more so than I was permitted at first; that is, I was sponsored by the First National Bank group and they were terribly nervous about offending some of the clientele. They wouldn't have wanted me to either be an America Firster nor a member of the Committee to Defend America by aiding the Allies. They were leery about any kind of rather definite leaning; but, as America got closer to it, that vanished and then we got into the war. I began in the spring of 1940 and I think almost my first appearance there was [unclear] of the Invasion of Norway; so, I think that the main department ceased to have any question, "Is Harold [unclear]?" because I was so violently anti-Nazi and always had been. After a year of work in Nazi Germany, essentially studying the Nazi system in 1935 and 1936, in all my speeches after I came back there was no question about my orientation. For one thing, I don't believe there were any either America Firsters or an adherence of that committee . . .

CAC: I thought George Stephenson, because of his Scandinavian background, was not antagonistic toward others but felt the war very deeply from another point of view.

HD: He felt the war deeply but I don't recall any clash between him and anybody else. There may have been something of which I never heard. I, of course, can't claim to know all the currents in the departments, even though many of struck me sufficiently, made me thoroughly of their existence.

CAC: Why don't you say a bit more about how you got into the radio. That was rather a rare community outreach in the 1930s for someone at the university.

HD: I think I was almost the first university faculty member. Later on, in various areas, there were a number who did get into it. First of all, I must say a thing about how I got in the Twentieth Century.

CAC: Please, do.

HD: It was just arbitrarily told the first year I was here, "We want to have a course on Europe since 1914." That was fifteen years of this century. The period before 1914 was thought of as being a part of the Nineteenth Century. I gave that course, first of all, as a one-semester course, and then a two-semester course, and then a three-semester course. A part of that was that they abolished the course on the French Revolution and Napoleon, which was my baby. My Harvard degree reads "Doctorate in French History," specifically. France was my major interest though I was naturally interested in Germany, too, and all of Europe. When we came to the Twentieth Century, we obviously found Germany at the center of things at all times; so, I was pushed more into German history for that particular period. I still regard myself as really a Napoleonist who has been unreformed and hopes someday to still write the definitive biography of Napoleon.

CAC: But before that Athens and Sparta.

HD: That course then expanded into a course on Twentieth Century Europe. I think by 1935, it had that title. It was a three-quarter course. As we got closer to the war and as things got really hot internationally, as the eve of war became ever more threatening, the course gained so much interest with, first of all, so many students and a certain notoriety within the college, that KUOM asked me to let them broadcast it. So, for a couple of years, in that period 1938 to 1940, that course was broadcast and, of course, acquired a certain clientele all through the state but most of them were from the Twin Cities.

CAC: This was broadcast live right from the classroom?

HD: That's right. They decided at WCCO and the First National Banks that they'd like something in the way of a news program, war news in particular. I was the only obvious person. There was nobody else who was doing that. There was also Elmo Wilson, who was very much interested in that kind of thing. To begin with, he and I were supposed to give the course again. Elmo Wilson was in Journalism and was very interested in broadcasting. Then, suddenly he left. I think he was engaged by the Roper Poll. That left me alone in charge of that particular program which was three times a week. Right after the famous Cedric Adams reading of the news, I would analyze the news.

CAC: Do you have any idea what kind of spill over of audience you had following Cedric? I know that he was the hero.

HD: No doubt there was a spill over. I'm trying to recall the name of, at that time, by far the most famous announcer. The bank insisted on having him and it was immediately, "What's

behind the news from Europe." That was the start of it. Then, "Dr. Deutsch . . ." and so on and I analyzed the news. A lot of people who might have been reaching out to turn off their radios and go to sleep would just listen for awhile and then be caught enough to listen to the rest of it. This certainly was a major feature also in my going into war service. The most important feature is certainly the fact that I was analyzing not only war news but the background of the war and so on. Without a doubt at that particular moment, I was the principle lecturer on the world situation in the state. When the Board of Economic Warfare was looking of someone to head its section on the European Axis—incidentally, the man who headed the Pacific Axis or the Asian side of it was Paul Johnson, who had been a student of mine before who especially pushed my name—I was asked to come to down, in the fall of 1942, to analyze economic situations. I was doing this every other week for three days. How I lived at that time—it was pressure—I don't know. I had these six programs. I couldn't start putting together my program until about six o'clock at night when I could call the station and they'd give me the latest news of the day. It had to be very much up to the minute. It would have been very bad if there had been some important news that I didn't include.

CAC: Sure.

HD: That was something . . . tremendous pressure. I would usually spend from six to nine [o'clock] to prepare that, run down to the station at nine for a rehearsal.

CAC: In the meantime, you had lots of children at home?

HD: Only three . . . that's not lots considering that I have sixteen grandchildren. They asked me then, after being there three days every other week, to come down permanently as head of this section. But, within three months, William Langer and other friends at Harvard, hearing that I was already in Washington and needing someone to head the political subdivision for Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, invited me to come over there. This was far too tempting. I had the same rating over at the Board of Economic Warfare but there were so many of my friends . . . Richard Hartshorn had been my colleague here at the university and several of my Harvard friends.

CAC: This took you overseas during the war?

HD: Only in the last year and a half. The first year and a half I was in Washington and then, I went overseas. I was there from January 1943 and ended my war service just after Christmas of 1945.

CAC: Maybe we should back up and look at your sabbatical year in Germany in 1938 or was it 1937?

[End of Tape 1, Side 1]

[Tape 1, Side 2]

HD: No, the sabbatical year was 1935 and 1936. That was just to study the Nazi regime. I had to have a fellowship to go over. The Social Science Research Council, at that time, had a rule that they never gave you a fellowship in your own area. They only gave fellowships to people to fill gaps in related areas; so, I had to take a political science topic. I took the topic of Changes in Local Government under the Nazis, which allowed me to study the whole Nazi regime and to stick my own nose into everything, the public schools, the public services, the political organizations, the police, whatever you had.

CAC: Were you able to do that as visiting scholar?

HD: Yes, [unclear] I was studying local government and . . .

CAC: And the local Nazis didn't get on your tail?

HD: They did at the end; but I think, that's too complicated a story. I later found out that an order for my arrest had been issued [unclear] out of Germany in August of 1936.

CAC: This trip prepared you then for the interviewing of the leaders during the World War One. Did that come later?

HD: That's what I had wanted to do in 1935 and 1936; but, they didn't grant me a fellowship on that basis. During 1935 and 1936, whenever I got closely acquainted with people and I'd tell them I really wished I could have worked in World War I, they would say, "There's old Ambassador . . ." so and so. "He lives in the next block. He's a good friend of mine. I'll introduce you." I found these people so eager to talk. This was especially true in Germany because in Germany there had been a clean sweep of everybody, military, civilian, diplomatic, whatever they were. All the old leadership had been swept out; so, they were just decided to be reminded how important they had once been. I did then get a fellowship, Oberlander Trust, in the summer of 1938. I went over for four months and talked to almost 100 figures. I went over with 200 names. There was 100 I never got to see. I came back with 300 names.

CAC: Did you take notes by hand of these conversations? You weren't using a tape as we are here?

HD: There were no tapes available then . . . unfortunately.

CAC: How did you preserve these notes?

HD: I have them all. They are quite a stack; it's about a foot long. I have promised the National War College Military History Institute that, either before I leave or right after I leave, I'll sit down for a couple of months and dictate these notes. They wouldn't be of any use to

anybody else . . . the abbreviations, often simple records. It would take a couple months to do this.

CAC: After nearly forty years, you can piece those things together?

HD: As best I could. Obviously, I don't remember nearly what I would like to; but, I find myself in that situation of older folks that I often remember things farther back better. I'm amazed sometimes at how well I remember things during that particular summer of 1938, better than I would remember things of the last summer here.

CAC: Sure. Let's move up a little bit. Before you came back to the University of Minnesota, you were attached with the State Department doing background interviewing for the Nuremberg Trials?

HD: No, that wasn't quite that way. The State Department decided that they were going to find out why Hitler's foreign policy was made. They asked Ambassador Dewitt Poole, who had headed one of the branches of OSS [Office of Strategic Services], to take over a mission which would do this. I think there were eleven specialists. I remember one specialist on Latin America, whom I last met when he was counsel general in Frankfurt some years ago. As I had had this experience talking with European figures, especially Germans, in 1938, they naturally felt that I would be ideal for this mission; so, they asked OSS to lend me to them. I learned a lot more than that because anybody who knows anything about that period of German history, knows that the role of German military in German foreign policy was about as close to nil as it possibly could be; so that in a few minutes, I could have [unclear]. Right at the start, Ambassador Poole had said, "Harold, you have dealt with a lot of German generals in this other activity. Your job will be to take the military." So, I had all the military in the places where we did our interrogating. Then, I could talk to them all day about the military side of things because they knew nothing about the political side. It was a three month job.

CAC: Then, you returned to the university in 1945 or 1946?

HD: Yes. I'll never forget how I sat at my telephone for three hours trying to decide and the call I had to make to A.C. Krey whether I would come back or stay in Washington.

CAC: You would have stayed in government service?

HD: Yes. I was getting about twice the salary that I would get coming back here. I hope this doesn't sound like boasting . . . I had seven different offers, including the chief historianship of the State Department. Some of them were very attractive. Three of them would have been in Europe. Ambassador [Robert D.] Murphy offered me one. John McClure, who headed intelligence, had offered me another one. But, my decision was for Minnesota and I finally called "Auggie."

CAC: What entered into that? Why would you choose with all these other temptations, knowing how engaged you are in understanding and . . .

HD: First of all, I have tremendous affection for this state. My family and I have been extraordinarily happy here. I love the people of this state. They're Americans like others; but, they're, for me, a special kind of Americans. The university had been very good to me and I had enjoyed my teaching. I think the teaching side is what decided things and none of these positions was in teaching.

CAC: Let's talk about the teaching for a minute. I know that you won teaching awards, as well you might. Your course was listed for a long time as the most popular non-required course, elective course, being taught in the college. I think that was true for many years. Would you like to comment about the kind of students you had in the 1930s and then in the 1940s and 1950s?

HD: In the 1930s, they already tended, like later on in the 1940s, and 1950s, and 1960s, to come, to a considerable degree, from other colleges. This enormously accentuated as my chief course became World War II. There were many students in nursing, and agriculture, and medicine, and law, and so on who felt they could take only one history course. Their father, ten years before, had come back from the war . . . or their uncle. They felt they knew something about this. Also, I hope I don't again sound immodest, it was a course that had acquired a considerable kudos in the college largely because of the fact that whether I was dealing with World War I or World War II, I had talked to so many figures. There was no other historian in the world who had had this wonderful experience. In every lecture that I gave, I almost always could weave in my experience with some of these figures and what they had to offer in the way of evidence or viewpoints. That helped a great deal to get a particular interest in students.

CAC: More traditional and conservative historians wouldn't have that access to living records.

HD: Or the younger ones. A large part of the story is just surviving long enough that you had these experiences. How would you find [unclear] in the world that had been around in 1938? There would be very few. If you found ten of them, I'd be surprised.

CAC: At what point did you develop a special course in World War II? Was that immediately on coming back?

HD: That's particularly interesting. You really, Clarke, should have seen the faces of the department when in January of 1946—I'd just come back—I suggested at a department meeting that I be allowed the following year to offer a one-quarter course in World War II. I was a newly fledged full professor. They couldn't very well attack this all along the line. They said, "You won't get any students, Harold."

CAC: [laughter]

HD: I said, "Let me try it out just for one single quarter." I immediately had between 200 and 300 students, the biggest course in the department aside from the freshman courses. Within a year, it was a two-quarter course and within two years, it was a three-quarter course, and it ended finally as a four-quarter course in late 1970. There was one course on the background and one course on the specific period of 1939 to 1945 . . . three quarters for that.

CAC: Was any of the quarter a spin-off for what happened after V-J and V-E? Did you carry it chronologically into the consequences of the second world war?

HD: No, I didn't. I always ended with the end of war, usually with Yalta and the immediate last phases of the war itself. I often wished to do that. I do now in the course that I offer at the Army War College. The last of twelve three-hour sessions is on war crimes and war crimes trials; but, I never even mention the Nuremberg, that period.

CAC: I know that this combination of academic and practical experience and contact opened you very substantially to elements in the community beyond the university, which was part of your life and much less so with most scholars.

HD: I've always felt that community contacts were enormously valuable, that even in a big university in a big city, there was a certain tendency toward academic provincialism, in some cases even snobbery among some of my colleagues. I enjoyed very much . . . Ted Blegen, for example, introduced me into the Informal Club in St. Paul, which is a rather exclusive group meeting every other Monday during the late fall, winter, and early spring months, which involved almost of them except for Ted and I who went to what was the St. Paul group. I found that enormously stimulating and interesting. Then, of course, I developed many contacts through the addresses, (1), which I made throughout the state and, (2), through the fact that in the period after the beginning of the war, I offered evening classes in the same topic. These often involved person in their thirties, forties, and fifties, sometimes even in their sixties who were citizens of some standing; and they usually developed friendships which Marie and I cherished very much. I think this was very helpful to us to keep our general community viewpoint rather than become isolated in the academic area.

CAC: Was it in that kind of contact that you first met Hubert Humphrey?

HD: No. I met him in another way; that is, I met him at a poker table. [laughter]

CAC: [laughter]

HD: All through the 1930s, there was a group—with one exception, they were all members of the university young faculty—called the Southeast Improvement Association. This included Asher Christianson, True Pettingill, who was at that time a [university] recorder, and a number of others of whom the most important certainly, in many respects, was Evron ["Kirk"] Kirkpatrick of Political Science. Evron is, of course, the man who is regarded as the man who discovered

Humphrey, who had picked him out among students as the man with real promise for political prominence, and encouraged him to go into politics, and smoothed the way for him in many different ways. One night, we were playing at his house. It was always the privilege of the host if he had some friend or some other outsider to invite him in assuming we didn't have more than the traditional seven. He invited Hubert Humphrey. I remember we played that night until six thirty in the morning and Hubert was the big loser. This was a ten cent limit game. Big loser means about sixteen, seventeen dollars but that was money in those days. Then, he played with us once or twice more—I got to know him a little bit then, but especially when he became mayor of Minneapolis—again, sometimes at Kirk's and sometimes at Ben Lippincott's, who was infinitely closer to him at that time than I was. Then, when he became senator, occasionally when I was in Washington, I went to call on him and occasionally he would ask me about some international relations projects. When, in the early 1960s, I was in Germany on one occasion, and was going to spend some time in Berlin, he wrote a letter to Willy Brandt, which I still I have because I never delivered it. Brandt was away all the time whenever I was in Berlin. It's about me . . . in which he said I was his foreign policy advisor. I wished that had been true. It was only occasionally that there was anything remotely like a suggestion of advice given to him. We began more and more friendly after he was a senator. Then, he knew the fact that I had been very active in the collecting side of the party here, that I had been more or less the university representative from the standpoint of raising money for him, that I had raised money for him in Wisconsin in 1960 . . . in particular in Wisconsin. I was able to go outside sometimes. I knew a Jewish businessman whose business depended upon appearing conservative. I knew about this and how painful it was to him to have to contribute to the Republican Party. He said to me on one occasion, "I'll be glad to give you people everything that I give to the Republicans." So, whenever I needed a couple of hundred dollars—I think even once five hundred dollars—I went to him. I think you probably know who it was. He would never refuse to shell out. As you know, faculty contributions are likely to be ten, fifteen, twenty and this helped to sweeten the pot. That time I got to know our [unclear] who aspired unto the presidency, that is, Mondale. Walter Mondale was, on several occasions, the finance chairman of the party in the state. He would come over to the university and meet with two or three of us and discuss the financing..

CAC: It was in this context that you met with labor leaders also then?

HD: Not really along that way. Sander Jenness is another friend at poker and I got to know "Easy" Ziebarth best in poker. I got to know "Easy" very well in the 1930s. He several times gave me advice in connection with my speaking over the radio. He is infinitely more smooth than I am and an absolutely superb judge in this kind of activity. When I found out that he was an enthusiastic poker player, we established a group about 1952 or so which has continued to exist almost to the present time. This was the last year. We've lost four members by death. I may have to wait until I get back before I can revive it. The most interesting members of that group were "Easy" and especially also [Harold] Hal Chase. Another one was Sander Jenness. Sander Jenness and I met for the first time up at Itasca. There was a conference of a whole week at Itasca, and we played poker every night, and Sander was in that group. He and I hit it off real

well. I told him them about the group we had that met regularly at the Athletic Club, and he joined us, and has been a member right down to the present time.

CAC: In your public field as well, you were active on foreign policy issues apart from politics . . . in the Minnesota Committee Against the Bricker Amendment, for example, in the 1950s.

HD: Yes. That committee was essentially the creation of three of us, that is, Professor [Charles] McLaughlin, and I, and Barbara Stuhler. McLaughlin and I had the original thought and then Barbara Stuhler was a great support and acted as treasurer, if I remember rightly, at the end. I was the chairman and McLaughlin was the deputy chairman. We were able to collect a large number of the most prominent names in the state. We had about 100 members in that committee. It included such people as one of the editors of the, then, *Journal*. He was a very good friend of mine who died, unfortunately, of cancer. In fact, he called me to the hospital—I was deeply moved—and said, "I feel that this is something where I have to help" and he gave me a \$100 check. We raised a fair amount of money, some thousands of dollars, and were able to, in particular, bring enough pressure on Senator [Edward J.] Thye that he changed his vote. He was one of the original members of the group that sponsored the amendment. He told me "This was entirely the result of my being button-holed by Senator Bricker just leaving the senate floor. Bricker said, 'I have an amendment . . . ' There were sixty-two of them, I think, a majority who had given him their names; so, I gave him my name, too." But, he changed his vote and that just defeated the amendment by one vote.

CAC: What do you think influence Mr. Thye? Was it a stirring up of citizen letters or was it the authority that the group had?

HD: It was the letters and telegrams that we were able to pour on his desk.

CAC: Did you talk with him directly?

HD: Not until after awhile; but, some of these people did. These were almost all prominent businessmen—there were probably not more than seven or eight from the university community—and from the regular group of those who support the United Nations and such efforts in international affairs. They included prominent people in Cargill and so on who were deeply interested in this matter, who felt that it would affect their business [unclear] things, who began to really hack away at the president's authority. I have not the slightest doubt—in fact, Thye practically told me this—that it was this mobilization of opinions that changed his vote.

CAC: It's remarkable as you talk to think of the investment you were making in your teaching, and in your scholarly pursuits, and back on radio again in the 1950s and early 1960s, and the poker playing . . .

HD: That's only one day every two or three weeks.

CAC: [laughter] I understand.

HD: There's much more of it at the Army War College.

CAC: You were a very busy person and you still had time to do a lot of department, and college, and university business as well, serving on many committees.

HD: One thing along the line you mentioned. I had for about four or five years, a program for the Foreign Policy Association. That was on Saturdays. It was a half hour program and it involved interviews of people who came through, like for instance Air Marshal Schlessler of the British World War II Royal Air Force. I can think of any number of others who were interviewed by me at that time. I also had, for about a year, a television program analyzing the news on Sundays in the early 1960s.

CAC: You were very busy and, yet, even before you were chairman in 1960-1966, you were doing a lot of work in the college and university as well. Would you like to recapture some of that work internal to the university?

HD: I tended to be called upon for quite a few committees, especially within the college but also university-wide as a member of the Consultative Committee. I was a member of the Consultative Committee for one or two terms. I forget how long but for three or four years. The Consultative Committee, of course, was supposed to be active in advising the senate and the administration representing the faculty.

CAC: Who was president in those days?

HD: Al Nier was our chairman at the time. I have forgotten a very interesting experience of the 1930s. That was when Lotus Delta Coffman was still our president. Coffman had strong dictatorial tendencies and many of the faculty were quite unhappy about this. I was a very active member even then—this would be as far back as about 1934—of the American Association of University Professors. The chapter appointed a committee under Roland Bale at the Business School—I was a member of that committee—to prepare a proposal for the reorganization of the university and of the constitution for the university. We worked for months, very hard, indeed. This is quite completely apart from liberal or conservative sentiments. The group tended to be rather strong in democratizing the university. We were very eager, among other things, to see to it that the administrators kept up their teaching, that everybody from the dean of the Graduate School down kept at least one course. Ted Blegen, for example, agreed entirely with this and intended to do it; but, that didn't last long. The pressures were too great; but, he agreed entirely in principle with respect to this. That was going to be compulsory that they should keep a course at all times, keep their hand in teaching, get the flavor of the problems at that particular level. There were not curving of the powers of the president and deans but at least consultative arrangements that we were proposing to make.

CAC: You were doing this through the AAUP?

HD: The AAUP. We made our report and Roland Bale carried it to President Coffman. Roland Bale was a heck of a nice guy; but, I would not regard him as an outstanding hero from the standpoint of civil courage. Coffman simply talked him down and Roland Bale didn't even report this. I quit the AAUP and never joined again.

CAC: That was the end of that story?

HD: That was the end of that story as far as I was concerned. I don't recall if others quit, too. We were outraged that he had allowed the president just to, by a mere conversation they'd had, to scotch the whole business. He didn't come back to the committee. He didn't come back to the AAUP chair.

CAC: You worked through what kinds of groups then in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s . . . through formal channels rather than the AAUP?

HD: Yes, mostly . . . except for things like I mentioned in connection with hoping to make Blegen president. I was appointed formally, elected to the consultative committee, and so on.

CAC: Let's look at some of the chief administrators when you were active in college and university affairs. I think there were three deans of the Arts College: [T.R.] McConnell, [Errett W.] McDiarmid, and Ziebarth. Both McDiarmid and Ziebarth were deans when you were in the chair. Would you like to comment on the administrative style of these different persons?

HD: McConnell, I did not know well enough really. He was very nice to me. When I went into the war—here's again, a matter of academic courage—I was an associate professor and the question was, was I going to go off for two or three years, and cease functioning in an academic way, and then come back just where I was? I discussed this with Lester B. Shippee and he asked me to go and see McConnell. McConnell had a great admiration for the program that I had had [unclear], like Ford also had, the WCCO commentary on the war news. He said that he would see to it that I got a full professorship when I returned. In fact, I would be promoted now on the period between and that wouldn't be proposed after I get back. I'd be one when I got back. Somehow, somewhere around 1945 or so, rather late in the war, some of the colleagues heard of this. Two of them, Larry Steefel and Ernest Osgood, who were both very unproductive, you might say, in connection with research and publication—as I had been; in 1948, I had a book but then, it was a long time before the next one came—were very angry and they raised Cain with Shippee. Shippee didn't have the courage or, perhaps, had forgotten that he was the one who had asked me to do this. The impression they had got was that I had on my own gone to McConnell and made my own deal with him. I went to both of them and told them. First of all, I had to go to—Shippee had now died—Auggie Krey; he had taken over. He was the one who told me that this is what had happened and I told him what really had happened. Then, I went to both Larry and Osgood who had been the big protestors; but, they had both naturally

been promoted. Larry had been here for six or seven years before I even had appeared on the campus. Larry had really written one book by the time. That was his doctoral dissertation . . . derived from it. That was now twenty years. Osgood had written *The Day of the Cattleman*. That was also, I think, his dissertation.

CAC: Right.

HD: Neither of them was particularly active in reviews or articles, and almost never read papers anywhere, and so on.

[End of Tape 1, Side 2]

[Tape 2, Side 1]

HD: That was one experience that I had that was not very pleasant. I think I ended up just right by going to the parties concerned and explaining it. Whether all of them believed that for real or not, I just can't say.

CAC: Your more detailed working with the college came when McDiarmid and Ziebarth then were deans?

HD: Yes, McDiarmid, of course, was the man who appointed me. He was thoroughly aware, after he had talked to all of the people in the department or at least all of the full professors, that he was going to have some trouble because Stuart Hoyt was very eager to be chairman and Tom Jones was very much in his favor. When Tom Jones heard that I was being considered, I think even before I heard it, he came to my office and he said that was very foolish. I wouldn't have departmental support. I said, "I've been asked by so many of my colleagues to accept it if I'm offered it. It was a practically a majority at least of the more senior members. He said, " All right, if you want to do that." I forget just how he put it . . . something to the effect that if you want to take chances, go ahead.

[break in the interview]

HD: . . . Stuart at the top of the steps and Stuart said, "Have you accepted?" I said, "Yes, I have." I don't recall the exact words but it was something like, "Oh, you're making a mistake." He turned around huffily and went off. Now, the queer feature is that Stuart and Tom later on became completely satisfied with me.

CAC: Sure.

HD: The second time that I was asked to head the department, the procedure followed by McDiarmid was to call in the senior professors and ask them. As far as I know, they were unanimous in saying they were satisfied and wanted me to stay. Then, came the question of a

third one. I was rather reluctant, I must say, as I'd been kept away from research. You know what I've been doing since once I got rid of this.

CAC: Right.

HD: There was a sense that I was reluctant to be appointed again and "Easy," first of all, strongly urged me to take it and begged me almost to agree to do it. Then, of the ten full professors in the department, eight came to me on their own account. I didn't ask them to come in. They came in and urged me to be willing to take it for a third time. At this point, I made a mistake. At the next department meeting, this whole question was up and I said, "The dean had asked me to do this and that I had been approached by"—I don't know if I said eight out of—"most of the full professors. So, I am willing to consider it." Now, this time it was going to be a vote and Charles McLaughlin was supposed to be the man who would count the ballots. Of the eight who came to me, the most enthusiastic was Jones, almost equally so was Hoyt. Then Hoyt sensed, or heard, or found out that the younger men in various ways were unhappy. Whether they were already unhappy with my chairmanship or were bothered by the fact that I had mentioned the dean, I don't know. If any event, Hoyt then began to electioneer. They also came to Jones and asked him to support Hoyt. According, not to what Jones has told me but somebody who is close to Jones said, "What do you take me for? I've gone to Harold and asked him to be ready to accept it for a third term and now you want me to vote against him."

CAC: This must have been the first time we had a vote.

HD: I know one other person—I'd better not mention names here—who also was among those ten who was brought over to the other side. The first time we had the vote—I have no idea what the vote was—it was in favor of Hoyt and Hoyt became chairman, for which I am infinitely grateful. If it hadn't been for that, I wouldn't have developed a really significant research and publication program. That has been my joy ever since.

CAC: Let's come back to the chair of 1960 to 1966. By my count—it may be incomplete—the Department of History hired ten people during those six years. Do you remember who they were . . . ?

HD: Should I go over them?

CAC: Maybe you could talk about recruitment. This is a period in the 1960s of really . . . these are all new positions, I think, except one. I think [Theofanis] Stavrou came to replace George Anderson. I think apart from that, most of them are new positions. It's the sense of expanding a faculty in the 1960s that might be interesting to talk about.

HD: Yes, I think that is true that they were essentially new positions. This was, of course, a period when it was very much a seller's market. The good people from the Ivy League, for

example, had a choice. They would be very hard to get, even for a good Big Ten school. I had to naturally canvas the situation, get suggestions from the department and outside the department. I wrote to the various colleges and said that we wanted such and such a man or sometimes a man in one field or another; for example, I was very eager to introduce military history. I often had wanted to do it myself; but, my program never allowed it. The department, after being very reluctant for awhile, said, "Okay, here's military history." I don't recall whether one or two other histories were mentioned. "We will look at candidates in these two or three areas and we'll take the guy we want most." The man they had very much selected was Jay Lewis of Allegheny College who is now my colleague at the War College. Jay had [unclear] a great hit. He was, at that time, close to his, what amounts to, memoirs, and diaries, and letters of General [Robert L.] Eichelberger, published under the title *Dear Miss Em*. He called his wife, Miss Em, after the southern fashion. But, his father, who was chairman of the music department at Allegheny, fell very ill and he didn't want to leave Allegheny where he was able to keep close touch with the situation; so, we never had a military historian. The other man was taken. This started out fairly simply about 1961 when we got Stavrou and [Hy] Berman; but, it became very complicated as the seller's market accentuated. I would again and again have to invite two or three people and the department would decide among one of them. Then, that party would turn down our offer having meanwhile received one from Stanford or from some other very desirable place. Sometimes, we took the second person of the three. Sometimes, we liked only this one man; then, I had to go out and find two or three more and bring them here. Marie, I thought, was an angel the way she'd entertain these people again, and again, and again. Sometimes several times a week, we'd have these people here. It became a situation where, in many instances, we went into the second or third drawer rather than the first. I don't think our recruitment in the 1960s was anything like as successful as it had been before. Of course, you can't expect that. When you recruit so many people, you're bound to have the average somewhat lower than if you are highly selective, have only one or two vacancies, and plenty of candidates to consider for them.

CAC: How was Ziebarth setting priorities within the college among different departments who would have authentic and legitimate requests?

HD: He always was kind to History; but, I don't think that he in any sense favored us. I never had a basis of comparison. I know there are some people at the university who go around, and sniffle, and try to find out exactly what other departments are getting or what other people in their department are getting and that kind of thing. I had no basis for comparison, except that I had a general feeling that our requests were always considered with great sympathy and fairness and that we certainly were not worse off than any other department in the college.

CAC: There were no college committees setting priorities?

HD: None at all.

CAC: "Easy" was doing this himself?

HD: Entirely himself . . . as always had been the case of the deans. Speaking about him and about McDiarmid, [unclear] together with "Easy," we were members of a particular social group but McDiarmid was, of course, a librarian. He did not particularly have experience in the hurly-burly of academic politics and sometimes, I think, that he was somewhat at sea as to situations that had developed. Also, he is very much of an introvert, I would say, and that is not helpful. "Easy" is not only genial but actually one of the most outgoing people I know in a very dignified way and one of the most dignified people I've ever met in my life. He is within that particular personal discipline, I would say, very outgoing, and a hearty person, and a highly sincere person, and one who is always helpful. I always loved the way in which I would tell about a situation and he would say, "Now, how can I be helpful, Harold?" Not only do I admire that; but, I've adopted it. I think that my own manner of dealing with people and affairs is greatly improved by using that particular term and trying to actually have it represent my spirit rather than just the phraseology.

CAC: You were speaking . . . that was what Mr. Ford represented, too, that same kind of eagerness to be of assistance beyond a formal way.

HD: Yes, but a different way. "Easy" is . . . "How can I help, boys?" Ford would be rather restrained. Ford was something of an introvert, too, within certain limitations. I don't know if I should use that term at all about him.

CAC: Were you active at all in the selection of Ziebarth as dean in 1963?

HD: No, I had nothing to do with it; but, if I had been, you can be sure that I would have been as active as good taste would permit me to be. But, I didn't have anything to do with it.

CAC: Do you have reflections on the presidents? I suppose that as chairman, really you had more perception of Met [O. Meredith] Wilson than of Morrill, for example?

HD: For me, Met Wilson was the choice of the lot of all those I knew. After Coffman, there was Ford. Then, there was the dean of the College of Agriculture, [Walter Castella] Coffey. Then, after Coffey came Morrill. Morrill was very introverted. He did much better than was expected. This might be a comment that is of interest here. When Morrill came, I was abroad or was busy somewhere. I wasn't even here during the month or so in which he was selected. When I came back, I found great discontent in the faculty. The faculty had not been consulted at all. The particular consultation when Wilson came in, I think, is a result of the regents having received so many brick bats on that particular procedure. So, Morrill started with several strikes against him. He was, as I say, a rather introverted person, anything but enormously eloquent, though he's certainly articulate enough in speech and went at everything with a seriousness which was rather devoid of, what you might call, academic elan. But, the faculty was very much reconciled to him, in my opinion. I'm speaking, of course, from my own experience and somebody from another college, or other department, or other disposition might give you a very different story.

CAC: Sure.

HD: My own feeling was that Morrill was able to overcome the prejudice against him, which had resulted from this inexcusable ignoring of the faculty in this whole question, and was regarded essentially as a fair, decent, competent president.

Met Wilson was a man of sparkling personality. He was a fine looking person, had a very fine looking and delightful wife, and I think, was in general, a very popular president. Again, somebody else coming to you might give you a completely different view depending upon his background. That's my feeling. Was I already chairman at that time? I think not.

CAC: He came in July 1960 and you were chair in June 1960.

HD: Just a moment before. I didn't have much to do with him as chairman; but, there were various other things in the university. He called me into consultation—nobody else has ever called me into consultation . . . maybe [Malcolm] Moos did once. He certainly, at least on a dozen occasions, called me in to tell me something that he wanted to do or to ask my . . . not so much opinion but to get him information on something somewhere.

CAC: On what range of issue would those have been?

HD: For example, there was the question of Tim Smith. Tim Smith was a member who had joined the department—I see his name is not down here because he didn't stay on—about 1962, something like that. He was a very attractive man and had a very pleasant manner; but, he was a man devoted to increasing his own prestige and standing at all times. One had the feeling he was always out for the main chance after you got to know him. Some members of the department, like [Philip] Jordan, detested him from the first day and were eagerly trying to oppose his acceptance by the department, I think as it belonged to those who had an initial very good opinion of him. He did so many things which were offensive to the members of the department and indicated selfishness, self-promotion, and sometimes, it was claimed, indicated lack of academic integrity that most of us changed our attitude toward him. I remember somehow something of this got to Wilson and Wilson asked me to come over and talk about it. Remember, Wilson was a Mormon . . . I don't think really a Mormon but an ex-Mormon or externally a Mormon but not entirely inside. That's [unclear] the Mormons. He said, "I've grown up in a . . . " He certainly didn't use the words *odd ball religion* or anything like that but he meant a religion which is rather looked on askance by many others and which separates you from the community in a number of ways, partly because you tend to regard things inwardly and partly from how the outsiders react against you, not necessarily with hostility but with a feeling of strangeness. He said, "Tim, like me, has belonged to such a . . . " I forget what particular group it was.

CAC: He was a Nazarene.

HD: "... group and that can affect one's attitudes and perceptions in the way in which you deal with your fellows. I can understand this somewhat." I don't think it involved, at that time, any kind of action on Tim. Of course, the department is enormously pleased when Johns Hopkins appointed him. There was a terrific row there about him, which resulted, I think, in a court case in court . . . which I remember only in part. He had as much trouble there as he potentially had here. Sooner or later, I think there would have been an explosion here, either within the department or the university.

CAC: He consumed a lot of your energy and time when you were chair.

HD: I had more trouble actually not directly with him but in connection with him, especially trying to keep the antagonism to him within some kinds of bounds as all other members of the department were concerned [unclear].

CAC: We're moving into the mid and late 1960s. I know that you were concerned as a good teacher with a changing complexion of the student body and their turn toward activism.

HD: Yes.

CAC: Even through the AAUP or other groups, weren't you active in the late 1960s on the student issue?

HD: I was no longer with the AAUP. I had quit the AAUP.

CAC: What group were you working with . . . with Al Nier?

HD: That's in connection with the Consultative Committee.

CAC: I see. Maybe you could remember some of that.

HD: As you know, some of our colleagues had a lot of trouble, curiously enough, with even our friend, the man who retired last year, the lovable Mulford Sibley. I'm told they heckled him.

CAC: The students did.

HD: The students actually heckled him. Interesting is the fact, that they never tried very seriously to heckle Hal Chase.

CAC: [laughter]

HD: Hal Chase was a Colonel in the [Marine] Reserve, then a Brigadier General, then a Major General in the Reserve, and volunteered for Vietnam. It's interesting how that came about. Maybe I should tell this story about Hubert Humphrey.

CAC: Please, do.

HD: Hubert Humphrey had been in the Far East with the President [Lyndon B. Johnson]. The president had come back from Manilla. Hubert Humphrey had gone on to visit Vietnam, to visit India, to visit Malaya and so on. I think it was three or four weeks that he was out there. Right during that period, there developed here, right in our second ward, right within an area of great support for him in the past, antagonism because he was being tied in with the Johnson policy on Vietnam.

CAC: Sure.

HD: Hubert comes back and he gets the report of how his own turning against him, not only here but elsewhere, but especially here. He was deeply affected. I was, at that time, I think still a member of the conference board [unclear] societies that selected the Fulbright fellows. It may have been something else but I think it was that which brought me to Washington. I had a class on Wednesday evenings. Bill Connell, who was at that time, Humphrey's principal aide, called up Marie Ensert and she told him I was in class. He said, "The vice-president wants to know if there is any chance of Harold being in Washington tomorrow night." At that time we still had night flights. Marie said, "Harold will be on the plane to Washington within two hours. I know that he'll be there tomorrow night and he will be free because he wants to stay on and do something the next day. I don't think he has any kind of commitment as yet. I'll have him call you the moment he gets back," which I did. I said, "Sure, I'll be there." This was at the nice home of a wealthy lady who put the home at Humphrey's disposal. The vice-president didn't have elaborate diggings in those days. [laughter] There were, if I remember rightly, twelve of us. Joe Rauh, who had the article in the *Washington Post*, yesterday, was one of them. Max Kampelman was another. I'm sure I can think of two or three or more that I either knew or knew about. Hubert, at dinner, laid out this situation and some of the reports he'd received. At a number of points, his voice broke and tears poured out of eyes. He was deeply affected. I felt so sympathetic to him. When he said that he had been told by, for example, this very well-known Malayan man, "If you people had not renewed bombing, I'd be finished here by now." Indira Gandhi had actually . . .

CAC: They said this to him but not publicly.

HD: Not publicly. To him, they had implied that they did believe in the Domino Theory. They were all scared to death what would happen if China backed up North Vietnam. Of course, nobody could, at that time, guess that Vietnam and North China were going to fall out. So, we had a long evening there of this discussion of what could be done to get, especially, his own people, his own beloved people, to feel more kindly toward him at least. I said I was going to go back and I was going to accept some of the offers I got. Harold and I made a number of speeches . . .

CAC: Harold Chase?

HD: Harold Chase, yes . . . not enthusiastic about Vietnam but at least trying to explain it as fairly as we could. Hal, in spite of that fact, as I say, never had any trouble in his classes. The kids just didn't know what to make of him. Here was a tough Marine. There never was as tough a one as Hal and at the same time, Ivory Tower . . . a specialist in federal judges.

CAC: Right.

HD: He never had any real trouble. He just brushed them off. And I never had any real trouble. As I was saying, Hal came to me and he said, "You know Harold,"—at that time, I wasn't called Hal; that's developed at, first, the national and, then, the Army War College—"if I'm going to make this kind of presentation of our situation, I've got to take the responsibility." So he volunteered for a year . . . as a matter of fact, in a job which didn't involve great peril to himself.

CAC: But, he was in Vietnam?

HD: He was in Vietnam a year and I'm sure he didn't know that he was going to get essentially a job in pacification. He could just as well have been sent to a very dangerous post. I never had any trouble. I never had a single case of a student heckling me. Of course, I was dealing with the World War II period; but, there were many situations which arose there which could have given somebody . . . I'd give them an opportunity every single class session to raise questions if they'd differ from me. I'd always try to encourage them as much as I could to argue with me and said that history was not an exact science; and as long as they had a well thought out reason, whether they agreed or not, made no difference. In fact, I'd enjoy it much more if they would give me the opportunity to look at things from both sides. I think partly that was because the course was popular and partly because they respected my white hair, or gray hair at that time, and knew I was only going to be here for a couple of more years; so, I didn't have a single experience of that kind.

CAC: Hal Chase became acting vice-president after you had retired?

HD: That's right, yes.

CAC: I was going through department minutes the other day, which is not the most lively kind of research to do, and I was interested to see that it was you who had made the resolution in the department, in an emergency meeting in May 1972, protesting the coming of police and the National Guard on campus.

HD: I had supported that?

CAC: You proposed it.

HD: I'm rather surprised that I went that far.

CAC: It didn't have to do with the war. It had to do with the presence of force on campus.

HD: As long as I was a member of the department, they didn't pass these resolutions. Later on, I'm told, they passed all kinds of resolutions.

CAC: The 1970s got quite tumultuous.

HD: Yes. I was the old man of the group and around so long and my words carried enough weight that they didn't do that [unclear]. I know two or three times they voted in my favor against sending some resolution to the Congress or the American Historical Association. I just felt it wasn't our business to mingle our historical programs of political resolutions. There are 1,000 organs in the university that could do that legitimately.

CAC: You traveled a good deal in Europe apart from your German trips. Weren't you with Mr. Ziebarth in Czechoslovakia and Poland?

HD: That's right. It was fantastic.

CAC: And other people as well? Maybe you could say something about that trip?

HD: If I start on that . . .

CAC: [laughter] We still have tape left.

HD: The university had the wonderful idea to select all those persons—there turned out to be eleven—who taught some Soviet matters, like I taught both the Twentieth Century Europe course and the World War II course, and send us to Europe for six weeks . . . two weeks in Eastern Europe. We could go anywhere we wanted to individually there. Then, we were to assemble as a team at Leningrad and would have a month there together. Four of us decided to go, first of all, to Czechoslovakia, and secondly to Poland. "Easy," and [Robert] Holloway, and I forget who else went to Prague first where I knew the ambassador very well, [unclear], who later on became ambassador to Moscow. I remember everybody there thinking it was [unclear] not going to come in.

CAC: This is 1968?

HD: I'm thinking of our people. This is August 1968. I wish I could [unclear] especially Holloway, a walk we took one night. We came into a vast public square in which there were, perhaps, twelve groups of anywhere from fifteen to seventy-five or one hundred standing chest to chest in the middle, four of five of them violently arguing and the rest listening. We were naturally puzzled by this. This sort of well-dressed gentleman smiled and in good English, he said, "This is our Hyde Park." Then, he took us around into these groups. The first one was discussing, should there be a militia connected with the factories? The second one referred to

the policy toward Germany. The third one referred—I remember only these three very specifically—should they quit the Warsaw Pact? Then, we went on to Poland. There, everybody was sure in the embassy . . . Ambassador Downe . . . that the thing was over. The Russians had decided not to go in. Then, we arrived, first, in Leningrad and two days later in Moscow on the August 20. I have a note from the famous Llewellyn Thompson, who is regarded by some as our greatest diplomatic specialist in the Embassy. I was, at that time, a consultant with the Department of State, Bureau of European Affairs; so, I knew a lot of the ropes and I had arranged these briefings for our group in Prague, Warsaw, and Moscow. The note from Thompson said, "Dear Professor: I'm so sorry I won't be here for the briefing. As you know, we've had a very tough time. Now, that things have relaxed, I'm taking a vacation in Switzerland."

CAC: [laughter]

[End of Tape 2, Side 1]

[Tape 2, Side 2]

HD: "But my able staff will, I'm sure, do full justice to what you people want to know." So we met with the head political officer, at least one of the military . . . either the defense attaché or the army man, the economic officer and a fourth one. There were four guys there as I remember. They're all sure that nothing is going to happen—that night it happened. You should have seen the red faces the next day in that embassy. [laughter]

CAC: What was the spin-off for the university and for your teaching from that trip?

HD: We wrote articles. We had a meeting for the whole college, the three or four of us, in which anybody who wanted to come . . . the whole university. We went out and talked to audiences wherever it was desired. We had a session at the public radio station, the one over on Hennepin [Avenue]. We did a great deal otherwise but mostly individually in the way of giving speeches at the time.

The thing I'm glad I thought of is in the 1966, I was chairman of a group of five who went over for one year. It was right after I was finishing up a chairmanship. [unclear] to be chairman, I probably couldn't have done that. We went off for a year of study of developments in Europe and that was John Turnbull, Robert Beck, Phil Raup . . . not Adams. There were five of us who went over. We had headquarters in Paris and in Brussels. That developed into a book, and speeches, and a general forum like the other one. We had, at that time, a fantastic support. This was when the Rockefeller money—or was it Ford?—that the university had had for International Affairs. Each of us got his full salary plus full expenses.

CAC: You were at the Free University of Berlin just about that time, too?

HD: Yes. I was visiting professor there in the spring/summer semester in 1963. That was just when [President John F.] Kennedy was there. That was a most thrilling experience. The Americans were still enormously popular. Marie and I were in that square where the famous speech was made, "I am a Berliner." Then, a little later came the speech at the university and as a visiting professor, Marie and I were in the second row right almost under his nose. That was very interesting, too. The most thrilling was before he got to the square, and went up into the city hall, and talked from the balcony. He was coming along the great big—it was fourteen lanes, I think—Berlin East/West Access with thousands of students running next to him, "Kennedy, Kennedy," right next to the car. Within two years, that was largely gone and within four years, it was completely gone because of Vietnam. I think the whole history of American status and relations in Europe was deeply and disastrously affected by the Vietnam business.

[break in the interview]

CAC: This has been a very exciting hour and a half for me and I'm sure for all those who are listening to it. Maybe you could kind of conclude on a note of the commitment that so many persons of your generation made to the University of Minnesota and to the state of Minnesota.

HD: I think Hal Chase is a good example of that. As you know, Hal Chase took the very important position of deputy assistant, Secretary of Defense for Reserves, which is, of course, one of the four or five top positions in the Defense Department. I saw him fairly often down in Washington at that time. One night, Marie and I had him and Bernice [Mrs. Hal Chase] to a dinner dance at Bolling Field, together with four or five other couples who were friends of ours. He came up to our college and delivered the graduation address for the special group that takes the correspondence course and then has a couple of weeks of finishing off on our campus, on which occasion, incidentally, twice he played cards with me at my house and was the big winner, especially one night. Hal, at all times, was thinking of coming back here. I don't know specifically . . . I can't say, but I think that he had both in the government and elsewhere a number of opportunities. Of course, on the government side, the new administration had been elected and, in a sense, it was lucky for him that he had decided to leave that position before the election outcome was clear so that people couldn't say, "Only for that, he is coming back to Minnesota," . . . completely apart from the fact that a new administration would certainly appoint someone else. I think that Hal's commitment to Minnesota plays a considerable role, at that time, in his decision as to what he was going to do. After having held a position of that importance, I think that industry, and the various think tanks around Washington, and in other positions probably could have commanded his salary a couple of times at what he got here.

CAC: I'm sure you and I could think of other persons who would demonstrate the same quality; but, it is relevant to a history of the university that so many persons like Charles McLaughlin, Ted Blegen, people whose names you've mentioned, are involved in public affairs broadly but also this what I perceive as a rather intense loyalty to the institution of the university. In your case, it found expression in going to all those football games and all those hockey games . . . or maybe something else was operating at those?

HD: I'd like to think it has such high-minded motives as you indicate.

CAC: [laughter]

HD: I happen to be a great enthusiast of athletics. I didn't miss a single football game in all the forty-three years I was except here when I was out of the city. I didn't get to as many hockey games as I wanted but certainly to quite a few as well as basketball. I even would go and see the gymnastics team on occasion but I just didn't have time for the number of games that I would like to have gone to. I can't say that's university loyalty. I wish it were something I could boast about in that form.

On the other hand, my feeling in coming back to Minnesota . . . I mentioned especially that three hours—I mean three hours, not two and a half—that I sat at the telephone in the evening. I think it was from eight o'clock to eleven o'clock. Of course, we were an hour ahead of you there so here it would only be ten o'clock . . . not to be discourteous in calling a person late. That was essentially Minnesota but broadly conceived . . . all our friends here. Marie and I are rather sentimental about our friends. I'm more sentimental generally than she is; but, she certainly has strong feelings here, too. It's been the thing that's been so tough for her in being outside of the state for these, now, nine years where we are and two more years before. We've been gone now for eleven years. Of course, we're back every year for something like a month in the summer and a week or two at Christmas time. We very continuously are aware of the fact that this is our home because we always come back.

CAC: When are you going to come back and settle for good?

HD: I just can't say. I guess if it had been a couple of months ago I would have said, "Almost certainly at the end of this year." The college has now appointed me to a fifth position.

CAC: Oh, my!

HD: They have to shift me around. There was only once that I was in a position for four years. That was until last month when I was contracted through the University of Minnesota after they had persuaded the university to "recall me to duty" as the phrase goes and "Easy," incidentally, smoothed that very greatly though he was no longer dean at the time. There is, for one thing, a possibility of renewal of this for one more year and then, I'm sure, they'll have run out of possibilities even if they wanted to keep me. The National Security Agency . . . the historical department there has, for years, been after me to be willing to accept an appointment as consultant to set up a history of American Intelligence in World War II. They've been wanting to do that for a long time. You may know about the British four-volume—two volumes are now out—history of their intelligence in World War II. It has made them the more eager. It has now come to the point where they have been assured of the money for this. Whether they can persuade the people up high to appoint a man of seventy-nine or more . . . it will be more because it couldn't be before a year. I might conceivably go there for a couple of years.

CAC: We'd be happy to have you back.

HD: It might be four years before I get back here.

CAC: Thank you very much for this. I know it will be a record for many people to cherish. Thank you very much, Harold.

HD: Not at all.

[End of Tape 2, Side 2]

[End of the Interview]

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