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Interview with Mr. Robert Matteson By Rhoda Lewin January 8, 1987

Jewish Community Relations Council, Anti-Defamation League of Minnesota and the Dakotas

HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY TAPING PROJECT

- Q: Mr. Matteson, I'd like you to start out by spelling your name and then telling us when and where you were born, who your parents were, where you went to school, a little background on you personally.
- A: All right. I was born in St. Paul on September 13, 1914. My parents were Charles Matteson and Adelaide Hickocks Matteson. My father was born in Decorah, Iowa, and my mother in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. I went to public schools in St. Paul, and then to St. Paul Academy in 1928, and I graduated there in 1933, went to Carleton College 'til 1937, and then was nominated for a Rhodes Scholarship which I didn't win, and instead got a Rockefeller Internship to the National Institute of Public Affairs in Washington, D.C., where I had an internship with a Minnesota senator and a Wisconsin congressman. Then I went on a scholarship to the Harvard Littauer School -- today it's the Kennedy School of Government -- and got an M.A., and passed the orals for the Ph.D. and everything except the thesis. And then I went to Carleton Collage on my first job, to teach political science, international relations, under Dr. Donald J. Cowling, who was the president at that time, and then I was married to Jane Paetzold of St. Paul, who lived about three blocks from me all during my growing up period. Her father was secretary-treasurer of the Great Northern Railroad. We were married on June 21, 1940, and about a year and a half later we had a child, while I was teaching at Carleton, and the war was on, and I was deferred and life was a little too inactive being in the backwaters of Northfield, Minnesota, and so because of the people I had gotten to know at Harvard and in Washington when I went there before, I was asked to take a job as a desk Officer in the Latin American -- they called it a Division at that time -- in the State Department. So we went down there and spent about seven months, but I still, you know, sitting behind the desk, was too inactive, so I asked my draft board to induct me and I was inducted as a private and went off to Camp Callan, anti-aircraft training, at first. I cut my leg climbing a cliff and so was hospitalized, and my unit had shipped out, so I was sent to desert maneuvers in Yuma as a private in the infantry. Then I went from there with the 80th Infantry Division to England and we were there and then went in to Normandy about, I think, 30 days after the initial invasion. But they were still holed up in the peninsula of Normandy. We

started racing across France with Patton, and finally, as you know, ran out of gas and couldn't go any further, and finally were halted by the Moselle River in eastern France. Then we were there for a while, a couple of months, and couldn't move until people caught up with us. And then came the Battle of the Bulge in early 1945, up in Luxemburg, and we were alerted and went up on a 24-hour march, and were out in front of Luxemburg City and -- the 80th is part of the Third Army still -- we finally broke through there and got across the Rhine and went up to Kassel in Germany and then went east to meet the Russians in Czechoslovakia, and from there we were told that we couldn't go into Prague because that had been agreed was Russian area, and so we swung south toward the National Redoubt area, toward Austria. And Austria, we had heard from our intelligence -by this time, I had transferred from being just an infantryman, went to G2 of the division, and then somebody was killed in the counterintelligence corps and they didn't have time to send back for another body, and so I was put into that, in charge of the counterintelligence corps detachment in the 319th regiment of the 80th infantry division.

- Q: Did they also give you a promotion? You weren't still a private.
- A: No, we were allowed to be promoted every thirty days. You had to be in one rank thirty days. I went from a private to private first class to corporal. And then there are four grades of sergeant. You had to go through each one of those, and I think at the time that I finally got what they called a "battlefield commission," I got that when I was a tech sergeant. But my other title was Special Agent in charge of CIC detachment of the 319th regiment of the 80th infantry division of the Third Army. And we met up with the Russians in Stier on the Uns River in Austria about the end of April, 1945, and pulled back then into a town where the 80th Division had it's headquarters -- I can't remember the name now, it may have been Borchdorf, it was in that area -- and we started, as we had to, to clean up the Nazis, and our principal targets were the Gestapo and the Kripo -- the Kriminal Pilitzei -- and the SD, which was the Sichereits Dienst, and stay-behind agents that were members of the Einzatskommandos.
- Q: How did you identify them? Were they identified for you, were they still in uniform and they hadn't gone into hiding yet? How did you know who you were looking for?
- A: Well, we always would set up when we got into a village, a local intelligence net and we'd have names from a master list compiled in higher headquarters, of people in our area that they knew you could contact, that would be good sources of information. And when we got to a village or a city, we would contact that person or persons, and then expand the net that they had, of people that they knew, and tell them where they could contact us. It was a pretty effective system. Even though we were moving fast, we had the names of people ahead of time of places that we were coming to.

- Q: So this was sort of an underground network.
- A: Yeah. Some of them were Communists, and some of the Communists had some of the best information on who the Nazis were, and in fact it was a member of the Communist party who was from Austria, and fought in the Spanish Civil War in the '30s against Franco, that led me to the name and whereabouts of Kaltenbrunner. The name we knew, but we had no information at that point on where he was.

I had with me Sidney Bruskin, who's still alive. He's living in New Haven, Connecticut. He went to Yale, but I think he's just about to retire. He sold bicycles in New Haven, that was his job, and rented them. He was, I think, born in Germany, but whether he was born there or not, he knew German. He was my interpreter. And he and I would go into a lot of these towns in a jeep together. And he and I started off going south toward the National Redoubt area about May 4 or 5. And we came into the town of Gmunden, which was along Gmunden "See" -- lake -- and there we arrested Oberts Grupenleider, who was the Nazi party leader for the city or town of Gmunden. And we got information from our local liaison there that our Gauleiter and a member of Hitler's leadership group, the labor leader, Robert Ley, who was one of the major Nazi criminals -- he was at the Nuremberg trial, too -- that he had gone south and had gone to the village, I think it was a day before we got there. And so we started out in hot pursuit of him, and we got to the town of Bad Ischl, which had the summer home of the Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria, and had also been the home of Franz Lehar who, as you know, has written many famous musicals, The Merry Widow, Land of Smiles, and a lot of others. And there we got in touch again with our local information man, and his name was Zeb Pleisseis. And he was the one, he was this Communist that had fought in the Spanish Civil War, the man that said he had information that Kaltenbrunner had gone to Strobl, a little town west of Bad Ischl, about 14 kilometers. So I radioed and got permission to move out, because it was out of our division area, and follow the lead, and they gave me a car, and one of the relatives of the Hapsburgs was along. I don't know how he got mixed up in it, but it was the first and last time I saw him. We went west to the town of Strobl and we had to thread our way through the Nazi SS Panzer division headed by General Zeb Dietrich, who was a famous Nazi general during that period. They were retreating in front of the Russians and they didn't care about us, they wanted to get out of the way of the Russians. They would have their heads cut off if they got caught

- Q: You mean literally or figuratively?
- A: Well, I don't know. They'd probably shoot them with a pistol. But we got to the town of Strobl and contacted the Nazi burgomeister. He was frightened and he was trembling and he was caught. I asked him where Kaltenbrunner was and he said he's in a villa outside of the town. I asked him if he would show it to me and

he said, "I'll come part way, I'll point it out to you, and then I'll leave.' So he did, and we went up to this villa that had a driveway up, but the road was blocked, and there was a wall around, a small garden wall, not a high wall. And I walked up to the door, the entrance to the villa. As I walked up, people came out of the woods, and I assumed that they were security people. It was the first indication that this lead was really true, that it was a good lead, because they wouldn't have this just around for anybody. They came up behind me, but they didn't do anything. And I knocked on the door and a large blonde lady who was about 38 came to the door, and I said I wanted to come in and talk to her. She said I couldn't come in. And I said, "Is General Kaltenbrunner here?" and she said, "No he isn't here now. He was here.' And I said, "Who are you?" and she said, "I'm his wife." So I went inside and she ran upstairs, and I didn't know what she was going to do, but I looked around the living room and I saw for the first time a photograph of this man --nobody had a photograph of him -- General Kaltenbrunner. I took the photograph, and she came down and I said, "You're under arrest, and you'll have to come with me." She said, "I have three small children.' And I said, "Well you'll have to leave them with your hausfrau, because we need to interrogate you back at division headquarters." And so she came along, and as we walked down to the car, these security people came up around me and they said, "We are the Dienstellar Kaltenbrunner, but we have just been ordered by General Eisenhower to cease our resistance and turn over our weapons to the Americans.' They said they weren't going to put up any resistance. The war, in effect was coming to an end. So I took her back to division headquarters and as I went back through Bad Ischl I saw this man Zeb Pleisseis again and he said he'd had later information that Kaltenbrunner had left Strobl a couple of days before, and had gone up into the little town of Alt Aussee, Austria, which is up in the mountains, and part of the National Redoubt area. It was the place where -- rather than Berchtesgaden, we found out later -- Hitler wanted to come and to have his headquarters, and they were going to have sort of a Wagnerian last stand in the mountains, with rockets shooting down like in a Wagner opera, and the whole place was going to go up in flames. So I got permission from the division to follow the lead again with Sidney Bruskin, the interpreter, and we set off the next morning. But in the meantime we had learned from a message that had come into division headquarters that most of the great art treasures of Europe were in a salt mine outside of Alt Aussee. And so the division commander assigned a man who was a military government officer to go up with, I think, it was a couple of companies of soldiers to safeguard the art treasures so that they wouldn't be blown up. And we were to meet them in Badhauszee, which was a little town below Alt Aussee, about 4 kilometers, that next day. And so we took off, Sid and I, in a jeep, at 4 o'clock in the morning, and climbed up this mountain road into the town of Alt Aussee. We didn't see the Americans anywhere. And when we got in there, as we came into this village, on the street -- they had a haupstrasse, main street, that ran at sort of an angle around the lake -- the mountains were all up here, the lake was there, and it was beautiful, it was a beautiful setting. And the first man, by accident, that we ran into, who was out for his morning walk and inspecting one of his buildings was Prince

Chlodwig Hohenlohe Schoenfurst, whose grandfather had been the chancellor of Germany in the 1890s. And this was his hunting lodge, that this Prince Chlodwig, the grandson, had taken over. And in the hunting lodge, one of the outbuildings of the lodge, as we found a couple of days after we'd been there, was the mistress of Kaltenbrunner, Countess Gisela von Westaur, who had given birth to twins March 15, 1945, just a month and a half before we got there, named Ursula and Wolfgang, in what used to be the south building, a cowshed. She had told people that her children by Kaltenbrunner were born in a cowshed, and she was very proud of that. And with her, there were two other women. One was Uris Scheidler, whose husband was the adjutant to Kaltenbrunner, and another named Mitze Dumm, who had a store in Vienna. They were coming out of Vienna, had come up to the mountains where the last stand was going to be made, because they all had these Nazi connections.

I asked Prince Hohenlohe if there were a place to stay there, and he said, "Well, I own a lot of these buildings, and I have an interest in the hotel which is right next to where I live, and I'll see that you can have a room there." So we got a room in this hotel and then started to contact the people who were known to be the resistance people, and the deputy burgomeister was one of them. And after we'd been there three or four days, I got word through the deputy burgomeister that Kaltenbrunner, he wasn't there, that he had gone up near the Bodensee Hute, which was a cabin on top of the Todesgeberg mountains, which are the mountains surrounding the lake. And so I got permission again to go up. But I had to contact this officer who was in command of the area who'd been sent down to take charge of the Nazi art loot in the salt mine. He was a man who wanted me to tell him everything, and I knew that if I told him everything, our plan to get Kaltenbrunner might be blown, so I didn't tell him everything.. He said he was responsible for the security of all American personnel in this area, because he was the commanding officer by direction of Horace McBride, who was commanding general of the 80th Infantry, so I said, "you're in command, I know. You have a responsibility for our security. But I have a mission that is different from yours, and I'll make a compromise with you." He wanted to send, if I went off up the mountain, a squad of soldiers to provide fire support in case we ran into anybody that was going to fire on us.

- Q: Whose soldiers?
- A: A squad of our soldiers would be sent up.
- Q: Because it struck me that you were dealing with a lot of Germans here, in German territory, where the war was not over yet.
- A: And so we started off that night. Because of the contact with the deputy burgomeister and because the information leaked like a sieve, the word got around this little village fast enough that we were there and what we were there for, that we were looking for SS General Kaltenbrunner. So into our office,

before we took off, came the mistress of Kaltenbrunner by whom these twins were born, and she wanted to know what we knew, and we wanted to know what she knew. All she would say was that Kaltenbrunner was here in the cowshed. Really, it was no longer a cowshed, it was converted into s very nice little bungalow. And the wife of the adjutant, Uri Scheidler, came in with her. She said, "If you're going anywhere I want to go with you to make sure that there's no firing. I don't want my husband to get killed. And I'm sure you don't want to get killed." She was going to be the intermediary. And I said, "No way are either of you going." She was about to have a baby and the other one had just produced twins, so I told them neither one were going. But they wouldn't give me the information on where he was, so I got together with the local leader of the resistance, and he got four Austrians who came from that village, who knew the mountains and skied through the mountains and hunted in the mountains, knew everybody and knew every part well. They'd been in the Wehrmacht and two of them had deserted and one of them had been wounded. One of them had shot himself in the hand so he wouldn't have to continue to fight for the Germans against the Allies, because they were for the Allies. And so we met at midnight, or about 11:30 in the home of one of them. They gave me Austrian clothes. And the plan was for me, with them, to go ahead of this squad of American soldiers with whom we'd had no contact. American soldiers were a little leery of this plan, because they didn't know who these Germans were that were going up. They knew they'd been in the Wehrmacht, and they thought it might be a trap, and that they'd all get killed, if we went into a trap. But they finally went along with the understanding that they would stay behind at least two or three hundred yards, and that the five of us, the four Austrians and I, would go up 'til we got within telescope sight of the cabin.

And so finally -- it took us from about midnight to about six in the morning, and the sun was beginning to show in the east -- and we got up to a point where we could see the "bildenzee" hut. There was no smoke coming out of the chimney, and all the shutters were shut, and it looked like it might be a dead lead. And the idea was for me, when we got up there, to leave the four Austrians about 250 yards down the slope, and to go up and find out who was in there, because I would act as a passer-by. If I carried a weapon I would attract fire. And they, with their rifles with telescopic sights, would form a ring about 250 yards down behind large rocks.

As I walked toward the cabin I could hear this whistle. I thought it was a signal, and it was not a signal, it was just a bird, flying through this area, and I felt about as lonely as the bird did. I got up on the porch and knocked on the door and there wasn't any response. It was a cabin that had three rooms, one off to the right with the shutters, and two off to the left, and a woodshed. It was a single story cabin with a porch in front that was covered. And there was no response to my knock on the door. But then I could hear heavy breathing coming through the shutters off to the left of the door and I knew somebody was there. I went over and knocked on the shutters and somebody got out of bed and came across the room,

and they opened the shutters and it was a German that wasn't Kaltenbrunner. I had this description of Kaltenbrunner, had his picture, and I knew also from the people that I talked to. I guess it was the mistress and the wife of the adjutant, that he was six foot three and weighed 220 pounds, was forty-three years old, and he had dueling scars on each side of his face. This guy didn't fit that description. So, I said to him in very American-sounding German, asked him if I could come in. I was cold. I said the transportation's been knocked out, and I was going from one valley to the other. I don't know what he thought, but he said, "You can't come in." So then I took out of my pocket a note that I'd gotten from the mistress. She said, "If you come across Kaltenbrunner, hand this note to him, and it'll identify you, and I'll show him that you've been in contact with me, and it's a plea for him to come down with the bearer of this note." Because we were right then on the dividing line between the Russian zone and the American zone, and she didn't want him to fall into the hands of the Russians, if he got caught, because they thought it would be the end of him right away. So he took this note, and it took him, it seemed, like an hour to read it, but it was just a couple of minutes. He was thinking as he was reading it. Then he looked down over my shoulder and I looked around and these four Austrians with rifles came out behind the rocks. When he saw them, he walked across the room to get a revolver out of the trousers that were hanging beside the bed. When I saw the revolver I got off the porch and went over to the blind side of the cabin, and he slammed the shutters shut, and then when the Austrians saw this, they gave a signal to the American squad that was further down, and they came up. They all joined in a semi-circle around the cabin -- the back of it was against a rock, there wasn't any way out of the rear -- and after ten minutes of calling for them to come out, and no response -- they opened the door once, and they looked at what they were facing, and they went back in -- we went up on the porch and started knocking down the door. Four men came out with their hands over their heads, and one of them we could see right away was Kaltenbrunner. But he was dressed, not in an SS general uniform, he was dressed in the medical doctor's uniform of the Wehrmacht. He had the scars and he was six foot three and there was no mistaking who he was, but we didn't let him know that we knew who he was. And with him was his adjutant and two SS guards. One of them was the driver of his car, as we found out later. We put them in one room, and I started to search the other two rooms. In the ash receptacle of the stove, I found Gestapo badge number 2, and the Kripo badge number 2. One was silver and one was bronze, Himmler had had number 1, in each case, but his were destroyed by him, so these were the highest Gestapo and Kripo badges in existence. And in the same place, I found the last message that Kaltenbrunner had radioed back to Hitler, saying that the headquarters had been set up and that he was in the process of ordering Stuka dive bombers to bomb the concentration camps and wipe them off the face of the earth, so that the Allies, when they came in, would find no evidence of what they all knew they'd done. So we packed all of this stuff into knapsacks on their backs, and started down into the village. We got down to the village at 11:30 in the morning. And the first person that we ran into again was Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, who was out in the street behind his building. And he stopped and he

said, "I see you've got your man." And I said, "Which one is he?" He knew who he was, he pointed to him. Because his mistress was in one of Hohenlohe's buildings, he, Kaltenbrunner had been there too. So then a crowd began to gather, and about two hours later after that, the deputy commanding general of the division arrived, my boss, Captain Thomas McMillan, came in, and we interrogated Kaltenbrunner and sent him back to Third Army headquarters in Bad Tos, which is south of Munich. Kaltenbrunner was held there, and then sent to 12th Army Group Headquarters, and then he and only he was sent over to Camp 0-2-0 interrogation center near Richmond, northeast of London. And Trevor Roper, who's written a book called The Last Days of Hitler, was one of the ones that. along with another man who's at Oxford University now, took him to Camp 0-2-0 and they did part of the interrogation. And as I learned from different sources, Kaltenbrunner was put under a hot spotlight with no clothes on and very little food and water, and they tried to force out of him confessions as to what he did. But he said his main area of responsibility was intelligence, it wasn't Gestapo. It wasn't the Kripo, it wasn't the concentration camps it wasn't the Einzatskommandos, the extermination squads. Purely intelligence. He then told about how he wanted to turn over his Intelligence Service and the net to the Allies in this final war against the Soviet Union. Kaltenbrunner then went to a collecting point in Luxemburg and sometime in the fall, September or October of 1945, he was taken to Nuremberg for the Nuremberg Trial which was going to commence. I think it was on November 16. In the meantime, after I'd stayed there a month, after Kaltenbrunner had left, I had arrested 150 people. It was an amazing collection of people, the puppet governors of states to the east, and "kreisleuters,' and four gauleiters who had their summer homes in this area, a lot of people from Vienna, a lot of artists, a lot of musicians -- they all gathered in this little town of Alt Aussee.

I was then sent to southern Germany to be in charge. In the meantime I was given the Silver Star for this, and was given a battlefield commission. But then, because I had found Kaltenbrunner and had known more about him by the time I got through than others had, they sent me to the Nuremberg Trial. And I went there in early November, I think it was, and I worked with Whitney Harris, who was in charge of the Kaltenbrunner case, but I was also put in charge of personnel and CIC security. This meant having responsibility for the security of the judges and the prosecutors, and the persons of high rank -- visitors -- who came to witness the trials. The security was lousy, because the Nazis were in the catacombs underneath Nuremberg, and they'd come out at night and shoot at cars. One night -- there was only one hotel that was left standing, and I set up a headquarters in there, and I had a room there -- one night as I was standing in the lobby of the hotel, a Russian came in, a Russian lieutenant. He'd been shot and he fell at my feet in a pool of blood, and I was ordered out by the Soviet general who was there, who commanded the Russian troops, to explain why security was so bad. And I told him -- I went out to his villa to see him -- I told him there was no way of making the place secure at night, or even during the daytime, because these people were hidden out in the catacombs that went for miles in all directions at

different levels under Nuremberg, no way of knowing where they were, and you didn't have the personnel or the time to root them all out.

- Q: This is six, seven months after the war ended.
- A: Yep. They were there. There were stay-behind bombs that were left, that were timed to go off much later. So he said -- well, just then out in the driveway, a car backfired, and it sounded like a shot, and some of the Russians standing on this ground floor of this villa, where the Russian general was staying, jumped out of the windows, they thought the place was being attacked -- but then he called up Moscow from there, and they sent a division down from Berlin to provide the Russian personnel with security.

I stayed on at the Nuremberg trial -- I had enough points by this time to go home - and Kaltenbrunner had a cerebral hemorrhage, and he was sent to the hospital and he wasn't there on the opening day of the trial. He came back into the trial in December, I think it was December 10, and I went up to talk to him, and he recognized me. He didn't care about his wife or his children by his wife, but he cared about his mistress, where was she, and how were those two children that had been born to her by him. I said, "A note has been given to me to give to you from her, telling you that she's all right." And I was about to hand it to him when the defense counsel for Nuremberg intercepted it, and I told him I couldn't hand it to him, he had to see it. He was talking to a man named Daniel DeLuce who was an AP correspondent, and so there was a write up about that note being handed to him, that appeared, I think, in the American press.

But then I had enough points to go home, Kaltenbrunner was in the dock, the thing recessed for Christmas, and I came back in January of 1946. Came back to be discharged and get together with my family in St. Paul.

- Q: Now, <u>I've</u> done research, and <u>you</u> know who Kaltenbrunner is, but for the tape, will you tell us who Ernest Kaltenbrunner was? Why he was important for you to find?
- A: I should have mentioned that earlier. Kaltenbrunner was born in Austria. He went to school there. His father was a lawyer, a prominent lawyer in the Linz area of Austria. He went to the University of Graz. As many people did who were students in those days, he joined the dueling society, which became a forerunner of the Nazi groups in these universities. And he was known as a great swordsman. That's where he'd gotten his scars from dueling. He then, in 1933 I forget the date but it must have been around 1933 -- he became a member of the Nazi party. He then became connected with the Austrian Sicher Hiedienst. At the time of the Anschluss, Hitler came to Linz -- and he liked Linz better, he hated Vienna -- and he wanted to make Linz the capitol, to make Linz a big art center. I don't know if he wanted it to be the capitol for the greater Germany, or just for the Austrian part of it. Kaltenbrunner had impressed the Nazis by the ruthlessness

with which he carried out the security service function, so he was made the "little Himmler" of Austria. At first, he had that position for just Austria. In 1942, Reinhart Heydrich, who'd been in charge for Himmler of the Reich's Zicherheitzhauptdam, which was the Reich's main security office -- the Reich's main security office was the underpinning for the Nazi system, it had the Gestapo in it, the secret police, it had the criminal police, it had the internal intelligence service and the external, like our CIA and OSS -- it was all combined in this one office and it also had a responsibility for assigning people to the concentration camps, but not for running the concentration camps. Kaltenbrunner's signature had to appear on all of these orders that assigned people to the concentration camps. Kaltenbrunner then, with the assassination of Heydrich, wasn't immediately brought up from Vienna, but six months later, in January, 1943, he became the head of the Reich's Zicherheitzhauptdam. And he did his job again with great thoroughness, and at the time of the attempt on Hitler's life in July, 1944, Kaltenbrunner was assigned, as he would have been, to finding out who the people were behind the attempt on Hitler's life. He did this again with great thoroughness, and at the end, in the last three or four months of 1945, when Goering was in the south, out of favor with Hitler, when Himmler was out of favor in the north, Kaltenbrunner was the guy who was the closest, along with Bormann and Goebbels, closest to Hitler. And it was Kaltenbrunner that Hitler then told to go down and prepare the headquarters in the National Redoubt area, where the last stand was going to be made. And that's why he went south to this area in Austria. They both were Austrians. They were born in Austria, Hitler in Braunau, and Kaltenbrunner forty kilometers to the east and south of that. This was another factor which caused Hitler to be close to Kaltenbrunner, because they both came from the same area, came from the same country, Austria. And he liked the way that Kaltenbrunner performed his duties. The Reich's Zicherheitzhauptdam had an organization chart -- it actually came under Himmler -- but when Himmler fell out of favor and was sent off to command a division on the eastern front, Kaltenbrunner had more and more direct contact with Hitler.

- Q: You also said that he was responsible in large part for implementing the "final solution," so-called. Adolf Eichmann was one of his protégés..
- A: Exactly. I should have mentioned that, and that's an important part of the story. Eichmann was also living in the Linz area, and had gotten to know Kaltenbrunner during this period when Kaltenbrunner was the "little Himmler" of Austria. And at the end, Eichmann came down to be with Kaltenbrunner in Alt Aussee, but he came with a lot of gold and a lot of reichsmarks, and a lot of dollars. At that time, Eichmann's reputation among the Nazis was, he was known to be the hangman. And Kaltenbrunner, when he saw him appear on his doorstep, in this cowshed in Alt Aussee -- Eichmann came to see him, to see Kaltenbrunner -- the last man in the world that Kaltenbrunner wanted to see at this point was Eichmann, because of all these things that he, under Kaltenbrunner had been responsible for. So he told him, "Get lost. Get away from here. Go off some other place. I don't want to see you. Take your money, take the gold, take the reichsmarks, take the

dollars, and go off." So Eichmann went up onto the Blau Alm, which is up above where the Nazi art treasures were, stayed there for a few days, and then took off to the north and was picked up later. But they got mixed up on his name, and they didn't really know who he was. He just walked out one day and went up into northern Germany and worked with a forester, and it was later that he went to South America. But I met his wife there. She was living in the village there. And she lived, at first, in one of the buildings that Prince Hohenlohe had. So when more and more evidence came about Hohenlohe, I arrested him and we sent him off. They didn't keep him, I think, more than six months, and he came back. When I went back for my first visit back to Alt Aussee with my wife in Easter time in 1956, I saw him, and he knew that I'd arrested him. He wanted to see me, because he wanted my side of what had happened, and I wanted his side. He invited us in for tea, and we saw him then, and I saw him a couple of times later. The last time I saw him was in 1960, which was the year that Eichmann was picked up. In 1956 I was able to go back to Alt Aussee because I was in the disarmament negotiations in London with the Russians. And in 1960 I was allowed to go back because I'd been down at the Summit meeting in Paris with Eisenhower. When the U-2 was shot down and the Summit was broken off -- we were in negotiation in Geneva at that time, and the Russians walked out after the U-2 -- I took my family and went back to Alt Aussee. And who should be there but Prince Chlodwig. I ran into him walking around the lake, in one of these "inhalariums" -- pine boughs you stand under, and there's a vapor that's supposed to come from pine boughs that's supposed to improve your breathing. He was there, and he said, "Why are you here? You must be here because of the Eichmann case.' I said, "No, I'm not here, I'm just here with my family because the Summit and the negotiations have broken off.' And he knew that Frau Eichmann had been living in his building, and that Eichmann had been picked up, I think, by that point. Frau Eichmann had gone over to be with her husband. And then she'd come back at one time to Alt Aussee and then went back again.

But the other part of it was, in addition to Eichmann, the art treasures. They had all these famous paintings from the art galleries of France and Italy and every place. And the gauleiter wanted to blow up the art treasures, all of them, and he had dynamite placed in boxes at the entrance to the mine. But the salt miners who worked in the salt mine, the native Austrians, they didn't care much about the art treasures, but this is their occupation, so they removed the dynamite, unbeknownst to the gauleiter, and so when the time came to blow it up -- there was a recorded conversation between Kaltenbrunner from the cowshed to Eingruber, who was the gauleiter who wanted to blow them up, he was one of the four gauleiters that were in the Nazi system for Austria, and he had upper Austria -- there was this angry conversation. Eingruber's wife was in this town too, and he'd come back at the end of the war to be with her, and then take off into the mountains. And Kaltenbrunner ordered him not to blow up the art treasures -- not again, because of any love of art -- but because he was dependent upon these people who worked in the salt mine to be the guides to take him up to the cabin that he was going to hide out in. And it was two of these guides I tried to get,

who had guided him up, to guide me up. They were afraid that if Kaltenbrunner saw them, they would be shot, so they wouldn't go up, but they got me these four others, who also worked in the salt mine. I went back for the 40th anniversary in 1985, and I got together with three of the four that had gone up with me, and we had a reunion and a dinner in the Hotel Revive on the shores of Alt Aussee. That was the tenth time I'd been back to this idyllic, beautiful spot in the Austrian Alps. It's like a fairy tale, you know, except for these terrible people that were there at the end of the war.

- Q: And you had kept in touch with these people and each time you went back you contacted them.
- A: Oh, there were others there that I'd arrested, who'd been let out, Dr. Wilhelm Hottl, and a lot of others that were back there, and I'd see them and talk to them. And Austrian television came out one day because one of them had been working under Kaltenbrunner in the intelligence part and had charge of southern Europe. Dr. Wilhelm Hottl, who'd been a professor of history at the University of Vienna. And I'd arrested him, too, but he finally was let out. But he arranged for television to come down that time, and tell the story of the last days of the National Redoubt. And he would tell the Nazi side, and I would tell the Allied side, and that's what we did. This was then shown on Austrian T.V. in a series of programs that they had over a period of six weeks, I think it was.
- Q: How did you feel about all this? Did you have any doubts about whether you should be doing this?
- A: Which part?
- Q: That you were being used? You had been on opposite sides during World War II and now you're being friends. Or maybe I'm just looking at it from the vantage point now of having had this controversy over Kurt Waldheim. Did you have any thoughts about this?
- A: Oh, I didn't feel that they were friends, but I felt that I always wanted to see how people on the other side see the other side, from <u>their</u> vantage point. And I've been doing that with the Cubans these last two years.
- Q: How did you find they looked at what had happened, what they had done, how World War II had progressed? What were their feelings?
- A: Well, a lot of them claimed not to know anything, until very late in the game, about concentration camps or the Holocaust or any of that. They knew after the battle at Stalingrad that they were going to lose the war, and it was just a matter of time. So a lot of them were preparing their alibis, and some of them were leaving and a lot of them were going to Switzerland, and depositing money there, in Swiss bank accounts. But it's like Hohenlohe. He didn't have any love for me, because

I'd arrested him, and he said he'd been mistreated. And I didn't have any love for him, but we were both interested in seeing from the other person's vantage point how they saw the other.

- Q: One of the things I think William L. Shirer wrote about Kaltenbrunner was that in December '44, Himmler issued an order to destroy the gas chambers and stop the killing of the Jews and the other prisoners and Kaltenbrunner just defied the order, and he kept everything running.
- A: Right. That's true. Himmler, at that time, saw the sands were running out.
- Q: And then we should have for the record that Kaltenbrunner was convicted at Nuremberg and hanged.
- A: He was one of the eleven, I think, that was hung out of the twenty-one war criminals.
- Q: October 15, 1946. Let's back up a bit, and talk about concentration camps. You must have read about them in Stars and Stripes.
- A: I entered a couple of them at that time, too.
- Q: Could you tell me about that?
- A: Yeah, one of them was Ohrdruf, but the one that I really was the first at was outside the village of Ebensee. It was at the time that we'd left Borchdorf to go south into the National Redoubt after Robert Ley, and we were going from Gmunden to Bad Ischl. We found, again through the resistance people, that the concentration camp was four kilometers outside of this village. So we went out there, and it was surrounded by barbed wire and there were guard towers, but as we found out, the guards had all left about six or twelve hours before we got there. So the inmates were inside and there was a chain and a lock. We broke the lock and went in. They took me first to the hospital. And there on shelves, with rags over them, were huddled bodies that had lice on them, and they put out their hands for food, and we didn't have any food. We were just the interpreter and myself. And then they took me to the crematorium, which was close by, and there I remember the first sight was a room just piled high with bodies, that were stacked. They couldn't burn them fast enough. And out behind the crematorium was a chemical ditch into which they'd throw bodies that they didn't burn, so that they would decompose. And I then came out of this, and reported it back, and they sent men down -- I don't know how many of the military government people -- with supplies for them. But in 1985 when I went back to the university -- I went to Linz, to find Kaltenbrunner's son and to find his wife, his real wife -- and when they heard I was there they hung up the telephone and they wouldn't see me. His wife was still alive in Linz. And the son, who was a lawyer in Linz, wouldn't see me. But my wife, then, went up to his second floor office in the

town of Linz. We'd found out where he was, and found out that he was there, and she introduced herself to him, and he said, "My mother has told me never to see your husband. I won't see him." So I went up anyway, and I walked into the room (laughs) and he said, "You must be her husband.' I said, "Yes, I am." He said, "I'm not supposed to see you." And I said, "Well, we're just here for a day, and I wanted to ask you some questions." He said, well, if it's just briefly, because he was curious as to what I was there for, so we sat down and talked for about half an hour, and he told me his story, he told me how he'd been back to the hut where I'd found Kaltenbrunner. And we went down and got in our car, and our car had a flat tire, and he saw it out of the second story window, so he got one of these Austrian yellow cars that go along highways that help motorists. We went on out through this town where the concentration camp was. And I took my wife back to show her where it was, and who should be in the corner of this, because it was the 40th anniversary of all of this, but a Czech who was Jewish who'd been an inmate there, and who today, and then, was working in the Library of Congress. I can't remember his name. But I saw him over in the corner of this area that was part of the concentration camp. He had a notepad and a camera, and was taking down notes. He was the only other person there, so I walked over to him and I said, "Why do you have an interest in this place?" and he said, "I was an inmate here." He said, "I was only fifteen years old." And he said, 'When you came into the hospital, I was one of the ones in that hospital that was there." But he said, "The Americans didn't treat us very well." I said, "What did they do when they came in? They were supposed to come in, you know, with medicine and food." He said, "They gave us some food, and medics took a look at us, but then we were left here, for I don't know how many months, and we had to live off of the local supplies, you know, what you could get out of the fields or out of the village." He said it was a bad period. "We all thought, you know, that this was the end of the war and we'd be taken back to our homes and that everything would be fine." He said it was six months, I think he said, later that he was allowed to go back to Prague. And eventually I came to this country, I was working, and I saw him in Washington about two years ago. We started correspondence after this, and I told him things that I knew, he told me things that he knew. I haven't corresponded with him for about six or seven months, but he's a wonderful guy.

Then later, I went to Mauthausen, one of the sub-camps of Mauthausen, which was the major Austrian concentration camp.

- Q: I should know, but I can't think of the name.
- A: It begins with Ei, but I'm not sure. The only time I've done anything about writing this up is when Allen Dulles, when I was in CIA, and he'd been to Berne in charge of OSS, and trying to negotiate the surrender of the Nazis in northern Italy, and he'd been in touch with Troutner, and Dr. Hottl, this man that I'd arrested, had been in touch with Dulles in Berne. The only time I was asked to write this up is when I was on the Board of Estimates with the CIA. He told me

to write it up for <u>Studies in Intelligence</u>, which is an internal CIA document. And in order to get a copy of this, to take it <u>out</u> of the government, I could do it only by leaving my name off as the author, because you weren't supposed to be known to be in the CIA at that particular time. But I did write it up for him, and he had his people go over it, and they put notes and it was released within CIA, within the intelligence community. About the whole capture of Kaltenbrunner.

- Q: What about Mauthausen?
- A: I went back there but that was later, after the war, just to take a look at what it was like. There's a picture that I have of Himmler and Kaltenbrunner and the camp commandant, named Zeros. It was taken in the quarry of the Mauthausen concentration camp, and they had these steps that they made, the inmates carrying marble up these steps, and go down and get another load, down and up, until they dropped. And it was in the quarry that this picture was taken that I picked up from Heinrich Hofmann, who was Hitler's photographer, who was at the Nuremberg trial. He'd been arrested, and he was supposed to be identifying these people in these photographs. And he gave me that photograph of Kaltenbrunner and Himmler at Mauthausen, in the marble quarry with Zeros. God, I wish I could remember the name of that camp.
- Q: You still have the picture.
- A: It's on the wall in my study, and framed.
- Q: I'd appreciate the opportunity to look at your photo collection. How do you think this has affected you? Did it have a bearing on your choice of career, or what you did after the war? How do you look at people, at human nature?
- A: Well when the war came to an end, and I had a wife and a child, I could have stayed on in Europe. They offered me the job of being in charge of counterintelligence corps, for I don't know how large an area in Germany. It was a fascinating job, and it was cleaning up, what you hadn't been doing as you proceeded quickly through, following the military actions. There was a lot of work to still be done, so I was torn at that point. But my wife wanted me to come back and not stay over there, so I came back, and the first job that I wanted to get was in what had been the OSS under General Donovan, and if not that, to go into the State Department. And then, I came back to St. Paul, and a group of promising young people in this city that we're in, Jimmy Otis, who later was a Supreme Court judge in Minnesota, and Bob Leach, and Karl Rolvaag, and Ted Christensen, the son of a governor, all of whom I had known, wanted me to run for Congress in the fourth district. So I started to run, but Ed Devitt had been in before me. I had been very much impressed by Harold Stassen, who was a young governor in Minnesota, and his liberal international policy.
- Q: Of course, that's who was governor in '37 and '38.

- A: Yes. He was elected in '38, and stayed through part of his third term, and then left to go with Halsey in the Pacific. Devitt, who got in the race first, he'd been wounded in the Pacific in the marines, I think, he'd been an assistant attorney general, and he was a Democrat -- did they have Farmer -- Laborites Democrats at that point? I don't remember, but if they were, he was both -- but he came from an Irish Catholic working area of the city -- his father was a working man and he was Irish and Catholic and I wasn't -- and so I knew that he had the natural advantage and that we would split the same vote, and so I told these guys that he had been in first, and he'd pulled out because of the wounds he had, but they got sufficiently healed so he could come back in again, and I bowed out, much to the disappointment of these people who'd been working hard for me. And I walked into Harold Stassen's office the next day and said, "I'd like to work for you." He said, "Give me the names of five people that you know that I know and come back tomorrow and I'll tell you if you can." And I came back and gave him some of these names like Ted Christensen and Jimmy Otis and some of the others, and he said, 'You'll be able to work for me. What do you want to do?' I said that I wanted to be on the operating side. He said, "There are two jobs. One is to be the head of research staff and the other is to be on the operating side." And I said I'd been in research too much at Harvard College and I wanted to get away more into the field of action. He said, 'Well, go down to Chicago and spend a month there and travel the length and breadth of Tribune-Land, which is very conservative, and see what they think of me and my candidacy for president." So I did, and I came back and told him they were all against him, and I talked to everybody. He eventually made me the head of his research staff and then I went with him, through that, to the University of Pennsylvania, and then down to Washington. Then he was forced out of the government, really by a combination of Dulles, Clifford and Strauss. He wanted me to go with him to Pennsylvania, but I had five children by then, and there wasn't any certain job, and Sherman Adams asked me to stay on with him in the White House. Then Adams got forced out and then Allen Dulles asked me to go with him. Then Allen Dulles got forced out because of the Bay of Pigs, and John McClure came down when Kennedy came in, and McClure asked me to be the Director of his Arms Control Policy staff and he left after eight months, and so I had a succession of bosses there that were very shortlived. Foster took over and I had to choose between CIA and being on the Board of Estimates, which is more like being a professor at the university. I chose more the action thing, and became director of the program planning staff and the research council, two good titles.
- Q: I had asked you if, as a young man, seeing these concentration camps and tracking down some of these Nazis, did you do any philosophical thinking about it? You must have had some feelings about what had happened.
- A: I didn't know what had happened really, until my trip to Europe in 1937, my first trip after I'd graduated. All I knew was what I really read in the newspapers. I'll never forget going to Germany at that time and seeing how the trains were

running on time and the buses, and all of this, you know, and it impressed me favorably, as Hitler was really putting the country back on it's feet. Then I went from there to Prague, where there was a Czech named Ferdinand Hitek, who was in my class at Carleton College and he'd said, "Come and visit me in Prague.' And I told him my impressions of Germany, and he said, "Well, we need to have a long talk.' And so we went out for dinner and we talked 'til five o'clock the next morning. He said, "That isn't the real Germany. This is the real Germany." You know, he described it, and from then on I liked and respected his viewpoint and he knew,, he was living over there, and from then on my eyes were open and I became aware. Then came after that Sudetenland, the Anschluss, the Polish thing, the whole thing, and one thing after another, but it wasn't right away that you began to hear about concentration camps. Well, I think, in answer to the question, the more I learned, the more abhorrent the whole thing became, and the stronger my feelings were.

- Q: Another thing I wanted to ask you, you were after Kaltenbrunner, you had your list of the people you wanted. Was there a sort of cut-off? How did you decide which Nazis, which police people we won't bother with?
- A: You were given lists by higher headquarters of the gradations and who were the important people. So they were always at the top of your list. And of course the higher the rank in any one of these -- they all were ranked, the Gestapo had different ranks, the criminal police people had different ranks, the Sicherheiditz people had different ranks, the military and the political side had different ranks -the higher the ranks, the more important. But then more information came in, particularly from the British, who were pretty good on their intelligence service. You got more information about things they'd done, in addition to the position that they held. So you would combine these two, and if the person was of lower rank but was known for atrocities and doing bad things, he ranked high on your "automatic arrest" list. And the information we got from the French as we went into villages crossing France, and that we got from Germans through these networks that we'd set up -- that was the job of CIC to go with the regiment. I was with the 319th regiment -- to go in with their troops as they took a town, and immediately go to the people that you had on your list who were friendly to establishing an intelligence information net. And then after we'd found that out, to begin to pick up the people who were in these arrest categories and send them back.
- Q: While you were going along with the troops, you were fighting along with them. You were in the front lines, getting shot at.
- A: We were fired at, but we actually weren't doing the shooting. We'd have a sidearm, I guess we'd carry a rifle in the jeep, but we weren't out to kill soldiers. We were out to accompany them, and if we ran into a situation where you had to use a weapon, you'd use it. Or if you had to arrest somebody and they were putting up resistance you'd have to use it. But you'd go with them and you'd

experience what they experienced. Except that your job was to do this other thing, and not their thing.

- Q: Did you ever have to defend yourself with your gun?
- A: Nope.
- Q: Nobody resisted whom you arrested. If <u>you</u> were interviewing you, is there something I've forgotten to ask you?
- A: You've done well, very well. And if I had forgotten things which you've already brought up, there may be other things that I've forgotten but I can't think now what they might be. All I know is that it was a fabulous experience, and I, by luck -- you know, most things in life are by accident -- I happened to end up in Alt Aussee, which was where they were all coming to at the end of the war, It was like fishing in a stocked trout farm!

Another part that I forgot, was that Toplitzsee was nearby, and one day after we'd cleaned up most of the automatic arrests, towards the end of May, I'd gotten this message to go out to Toplitzsee: "This is where the Nazis have sunk all of their gold, in a lake that has no bottom, and this is where you'll find German scientists working." So this is the end of May. The war had ended, three weeks before. I went out there with, I guess, Kurt Motell, or somebody. There were always Jewish interpreters who'd come from Germany, and that's who I always had with me. And we got in touch with the resistance people in the area, and they led me out to this lake. You had to park your car in Gossl, and then you had to walk in for about a mile over this beautiful woodland trail. You came to this picture book lake called Toplitzsee, surrounded by mountains, with no roads, and the only building was this thing that I saw off to the right, and I went over to this building, and went inside, and there were twelve German scientists still working on the underwater rocket. And one was Dr. Detterman. We arrested them all, sent them back to army headquarters, and they, then, the leading German scientists, were brought over by our people and they helped us produce, later, the successors to the V-1, V-2 rockets. And these people were working on the underwater rocket. And they had a platform, it was really a raft, with cables underneath it, that went down with launching rafts. One of the stories that came to us from the natives was that there were "flying fish" at night. And these things would be shot from these underwater ramps against the cliffs that surrounded this lake, and that's what the resistance people were referring to. Also, we found out later, they had dumped Foreign Office gold, and these forged British pounds. Another operation that Kaltenbrunner was in charge of was forging money to finance abroad the Intelligence operations. They made perfect specimens of British pound notes, and a lot of these were supposed to be down at the bottom of this lake. A lot of these Kaltenbrunner had on his person when I arrested him. They were so good, the forgery that they passed the Swiss banks and they were being circulated in England! And there's a wonderful story called "Cicero" about the British

ambassador to Turkey and his valet, was a guy who was working for Kaltenbrunner in the SD, and he was giving the ambassador sleeping pills at night to make sure he would sleep, and then he'd go into his safe and take out all of these documents and send them back to Kaltenbrunner. He was paid off by Kaltenbrunner in these false British pound notes. And he didn't know that until later. His name was Moisesch.

But there'd been a lot of stories. What was her name -- that wonderful author -- she died, that wrote a book -- Helen McInnis. Remember that name? She wrote a wonderful book about this area and about the buried treasure in this bottomless lake in Toplitzsee. There was another British authoress who wrote about the Nuremberg trial.

- Q: Barbara Tuchman.
- A: No. There's another one who lived in England, north of London. I visited her there. She's now dead. She's a well-known name. You'd know it if I could remember it. That's another story. You know, when you get past seventy, you can't remember as well as you could before.
- Q: I know, I like to put it in computerese. You've programmed in so much information, it takes you time to retrieve it.
- A: (Laughs) Yeah. Well, there was a man called "the officer in the tower," a great British traitor, one of the three British traitors in World War II, and he'd been put into the London Tower, and he was communicating with a German girl who was a Nazi, who was the daughter of Countess Von Platten, and she, the countess, had a summer home in this Alt Aussee area, so I saw her there. But her daughter was in communication with Norman Bailey Stuart, this British officer of the C-Fourth Highlanders. And this woman wrote a book called The Officer in the Tower. And he was another guy that I'd arrested. And the way I arrested him in Alt Aussee was no big deal. He came in as an interpreter for a Dutchman who was telling us that there were B-3 weapons in the Russian territory, that had been developed by the Nazis, and that we should get them before the Russians got them. And this Norman Bailey Stuart came in the service as an interpreter, and I knew enough German to know that he was misinterpreting everything the Dutch journalist was telling me. So I took him off into another room and questioned him myself, because my interpreter wasn't there at this point. He spoke, of course, English, because he was an Englishman. And so he just told me his story, about he was in touch with this German girl that he was in love with, and sending British intelligence information to her. She was passing it on to the Reichszicherhaus Hauptdamm. He finally was let out of the Tower of London in 1938. The British didn't want him in England. So he decided to go over and find this girl again, and he went to Vienna and went into what he called a "sleeping partnership" with a couple of Jewish people to hide his identity and what he was up to, and he began to criticize the propaganda that Germany was beaming on

England. So they called him up and he started the "Lord Haw Haw" programs in Berlin. Remember those? Lord Haw Haw came in later, William Joyce, but this guy, Norman Bailey Stuart, started it. But he was sort of a strange guy and he made a lot of mistakes and so they began not to trust him and they turned it over to William Joyce. So at the end, instead of being drafted into the Volksturm, he goes up to be with his girlfriend in Alt Aussee, where her mother had this summer place, and that's where I talked to him and arrested him and sent him back. When he got back, going back through the chain, back to England, all the British correspondents from all over Europe came down and said, "How did you find him? We've been looking for him all over Europe! He's great British traitor." And I said, 'He walked into the office. It was easy. There was nothing to it."

So I saw the author of the book in 1956 at the time of the London disarmament negotiations on my way up to Oxford, and I had dinner with her and her husband and my wife, and spent four hours going over all of this. I told her the story because she hadn't known about it either. There were more people in that area that either were there when I was there, or came through and went some other place, and were picked up later. But I can't think of any other questions at the moment.

- Q: You certainly had a long and very distinguished career. I'd like to talk to you about Viet Nam, about some of the other things you've done, your conservation work, your new interest in Cuba. But I think we'll save that for another time.
- A: I'm getting right now into the Viet Nam thing. I've been writing these things up for the family, you know. I've finally gotten up to the year 1967, when I went over to Viet Nam. And I've been reading around that as background. When you relive it, you know, it's like a slow movie when you relive it. Then it was fast action. You didn't have time to do things. But now things are being put in place, and answers are coming that I didn't have at that time, and it's like having a whole new life. I was just reading at the public library this morning Westmoreland's report, "a Soldier Reports" by General Westmoreland, and he talks about things that I wondered about at the time, you know, about the pacification program and why they set up the set-up. He explains it all. It had never been given an explanation by anybody. But there are a lot of things like that that are in these books, like Maxwell Taylor's The Uncertain Trumpet.
- Q: Are you going to write your own book?
- A: Well that's what these are. What got me interested in it was my Uncle Sumner, and he was the one that led me to Cuba, the early photojournalist. And when I began to find out more about him -- my father and mother had been killed in this automobile accident in Florida in 1936, I didn't really know who I was -- so it wasn't until 40 years later, because of my uncle, I began to wonder who I was. And so I started with the tombstone in Oakland Cemetery, with my wife, and worked backwards from my father to Decorah, Iowa, where he was born, to East

Huntsville in New York near Watertown, to Dorset, Vermont, down to East Shaftesbury, and finally back to Prudence Island near Providence, in Rhode Island, where I found the first tombstone of my first ancestor who came to this country, and this was in 1666, Henry Matteson. On one of the tombstones I found a third generation from the Danish nation. It was the first time I really knew I came from Danish antecedents. So I've been back to Copenhagen, and I've looked in the city records there. And I couldn't find any record because it was "the son of" and they didn't use the whole name. Also for Copenhagen they had the records for the surrounding area but not the outlying districts, so I ran into a stone wall. But it led me to my uncle, and that led me to Mexico, and to Cuba, and that led me to this thing. Did I show you this?

- Q: Yes, the book about the Cuban.
- A: I see him tomorrow, I think; this is a picture my uncle took of General Maximilian Gomez's wife and his two daughters in 1904.
- Q: And your uncle's name was...
- A: Sumner Matteson.