

**INTERVIEWEE: THEODORE HERMAN**

**INTERVIEWER: Rose Horowitz**

**DATE: August 6, 1992**

**RH: This is Thursday, August 6, 1992. We are in the Liang household in Torrance, California. My name is Rose Horowitz, and, on behalf of the Old China Hands Oral History Project, I am interviewing Mr. Theodore Herman who spent many years in China. I'd like you to tell me, Ted, when and how you came to China, but a little bit about your life before then.**

**TH: I went to China in the late summer of 1936. I had just finished college and then graduate work at Teachers' College, Columbia University, and I was looking for a job.**

**RH: Ted, could you tell us a little about where you were born and what your preparatory schooling was before Columbia?**

**TH: I was born and raised in Philadelphia. I went to public high school and I went to Swarthmore College, graduated in 1935, and a year at Teachers' College for my master's degree in 1936. As I said, I was looking for a job and trying to get away from my father, and I heard there was an opening at the Shanghai American School and I applied and was accepted.**

**RH: Did you take ship then from the East Coast, or did you cross the country by rail to take ship from the West Coast?**

**TH: I crossed by rail and got on a Japanese freighter that took passengers, and it took about three weeks. We stopped at Yokohama, I had a few days in Japan, and then continued on to Shanghai.**

**RH: When you arrived in Shanghai, what was your first impression?**

**TH: It was, I recall, early in the evening, and it was so new and confusing, and delightful, to be met by the principal of the school.**

**RH: Do you remember his name?**

**TH: Henry Wells. I felt very warmly welcomed, and I was delighted to be taken to an apparent reproduction of a New England private school. That was the Shanghai American School on Avenue Petain in the French Concession.**

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RH: Could you describe it a little more? This is fascinating.

TH: The school, I am told, is modeled after a New England prep school--I don't recall precisely which one. It contained thirteen acres of precious land, red brick buildings with the appropriate white cupolas connected by brick arcades, with ample fields, the whole surrounded by a bamboo fence, and a very prestigious school.

RH: Do you remember any others of the faculty, and what exactly is it that you taught?

TH: Yes, I remember quite a few of the faculty. There were a number of us young people out of college one or two years, and then some of the older faculty. How much detail do you need about the faculty?

RH: Anything you deem important to say.

TH: Well, the faculty were all experienced teachers. Some of them had done two years at other American private schools around the world and it was the custom with some of them to move from one school to the other after two years. All of these schools at that time were supported privately. Today I understand the State Department and the military do give ample support to some of their private schools around the world. In those days, such was not the case. The Shanghai American School was supported by private funds, essentially for the children of American missionary people in China, American military and consulate people, and the large business community, especially in Shanghai.

I found when I got there--and I stayed only three years--that the level of interest was very, very high, and the youngsters were exceptionally able and interested. They spoke good English, they had good manners, and it was quite a contrast to the schooling that I had been familiar with in the United States. Incidentally, I still keep contact with a number of those students and go to their reunions, because I've found that they're delightful people.

RH: Was the student body totally American?

TH: Almost completely American. There were a few Chinese young kids who were expecting to go to the university in the United States. They came from families where English was a natural second language. There were a few non-American students, also; but inasmuch as Shanghai did have school facilities

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for a number of the other foreign families, the American School was not the kind of international school like the International School in Tokyo at the time.

RH: Where did you live? This was in the French Concession, I think you've said. Did you live in the French Concession, too, nearby?

TH: We teachers had quarters on campus, and dorm duty, of course, was part of our contract.

RH: This then assumes that some of the children were boarders, a boarding school.

TH: Yes, there were quite a few boarders, the students from outside Shanghai, of course.

RH: And can you tell us what you taught?

TH: Well, I began as a substitute for Peggy Lou Durdin, who was off for a year, and I taught English and social studies. When she came back, I was persuaded to work with the seventh and eighth grade in English and social studies and all the other jobs that one gets in a boarding school, coaching drama, coaching soccer, coaching debate, and so on and so forth.

RH: I'd like to pick up on the soccer. Soccer was prevalent in Shanghai. Did the American School play American football? Because having grown up in Shanghai, I was not familiar with it, except what we saw in the sports section of the early trailers and movies, in Movie-Tone News.

TH: Yes, soccer was much more important at the American School than American-style football. But I think once a year the American School scraped together a team and played a team from the U.S. Marine Corps, the Marines who were stationed there in Shanghai.

RH: What about Saint John's? Was there any connection there with the university?

TH: I don't recall that we had an athletic connection; of course, we had teachers and students from there.

RH: Right, that I'm aware of. So there was no athletics.

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TH: There may have been in basketball and track, occasionally, but I coached soccer because I played soccer in the United States and I played with a British team in Shanghai.

RH: Which team was that?

TH: The Football Club.

RH: And you lived there for three years right on the campus?

TH: Yes.

RH: Now, those three years were 1936 to 1939?

TH: That's right.

RH: Now, that would take in the 1937 Japanese invasion. What do you remember of that?

TH: Well, I remember that very clearly, because the fighting was right around Shanghai and the students and faculty were, of course, avid supporters of the Chinese. The school servants early got involved in helping refugees with feeding, and some of us teachers also got involved. One of the big problems was to keep the ambitious boys from running out to the battlefield and coming back with all kinds of weapons, including hand grenades, unexploded, and shells.

RH: Were any of them, or you, evacuated?

TH: Eventually, I think about 1940 they were evacuated.

RH: But not in 1937? You don't remember any then?

TH: No, because Shanghai was an island of safety in that war.

RH: I distinctly remember some families going to Manila. You have no recollection of that?

TH: They may have later on, but not in 1937 when the war started.

RH: Why and when did you leave?

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TH: I left quite suddenly at the end of the term in 1939.

RH: Why is that?

TH: The war started in 1937 around Beijing, of course, and then came down to Shanghai in August, I happened to be in Tokyo at an international educational conference. As the fighting continued around Shanghai, those of us from Shanghai were cut off because none of the passenger steamers would dare come back into Shanghai with the fighting going on. I, however, sneaked aboard a Japanese freighter carrying Japanese dock workers and supplies to Shanghai, and through the courtesy of this Japanese steward, got myself back to Shanghai. Shortly thereafter, I got involved in the anti-Japanese underground in Shanghai, working with the Chinese industrial cooperatives, known later as Gung Ho or Indusco, helping to raise money, technicians, and blueprints to send to unoccupied China in order to set up cooperative industries in order to help economic production. Also, part of my job was to get information from the interior that would cheer up the Chinese in the occupied areas and distribute it as best I could through an international underground network in Shanghai.

RH: Was this from Chungking? Was this from Chungking that the information came?

TH: No, the Chinese at that time were primarily still at Hankow; they hadn't quite moved up to Chungking.

RH: Yes, that was 1938 then.

TH: Our information came from our office in Hong Kong and through correspondence and travelers who came through the lines from the interior. It was sketchy at best, but the Chinese were hungry for any scrap of cheer that they could get from the interior.

RH: I remember that clearly. And now we come to why and how you went to Hong Kong.

TH: I went to Hong Kong because I was persuaded by my boss . . .

RH: Who was this?

TH: Ida Pruitt in Hong Kong, to come down and work openly with the office there for publicity and to raise funds from around the world.

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RH: And this was a paid position?

TH: Yes, this was paid.

RH: And you then moved to Hong Kong. Were you caught in Hong Kong at Pearl Harbor?

TH: No. I stayed in Hong Kong for less than a year and then I was told to move to the Gwan Cho-Wan area to set up some small-scale industrial cooperative with a small staff. Gwan Cho-Wan is that little appendix that sticks down toward Hainan Island. At that time, it was a French possession.

RH: Of Indochina?

TH: Well, it was under French administration, and I was told to set up industries just outside in the Chinese area that used the Gwan Cho-Wan leased territory to bring supplies in from Hong Kong.

RH: They shipped them through Yunnan to . . .

TH: It didn't go through Yunnan. The materials were supposed to come from Hong Kong over to the Gwan Cho-Wan leased territory, which is that little appendix that sticks down toward Hainan Island, and then we were supposed to smuggle the stuff into the interior, and that was part of . . .

RH: How successful were you?

TH: Not very. Not much stuff came, and there really wasn't enough money to bring in much equipment. I did bring in one load of iron bars, which I think were used for some kind of building purposes, and were also used to make rifles in a little old temple managed by a Chinese-American from Chicago. We were very primitive, living out in the fields.

RH: And your contacts then worked through Hong Kong rather than the interior of free China?

TH: They were both. We worked through the International Committee in Hong Kong, and also my office was under the supervision of the Chinese Industrial Cooperative's Southeast Headquarters, which was located in Gang Shen, in southern Kiangsi province, quite a distance away.

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RH: In Kiangsi province?

TH: Yes, Kiangsi. And the city was Gang Shen.

RH: I'll look those up on the map and make sure of the spelling. We sometimes use the old and we sometimes use the new. It's confusing, especially for someone like me who only remembers the old. Now, you were there . . . by now, we're talking . . . was it 1940 or 1941?

TH: That would be 1940.

RH: How long did you remain there?

TH: I remained there about six or seven months, and then I walked up to our headquarters in South Kiangsi. I left the job in the Gwan Cho-Wan area.

RH: And did you remain in South Kiangsi then?

TH: I remained there a few months. My future wife came through there and we were married there, and then she went back . . .

RH: Was she American, too?

TH: Chinese. She was working with the [American Friends Service Committee] Friends Center in Shanghai, which was staffed primarily by British Friends from London.

RH: Right, I remember that.

TH: Then she set up the first receiving home for children in China under the sponsorship of the Friends Center.

RH: And so you were married there?

TH: Yes.

RH: And did you both remain there?

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TH: No, she went back to her job in Shanghai, and a little later I came through the lines down into Canton and joined her in Shanghai, where I worked with the Quakers in Shanghai.

RH: Did this put you back in Shanghai by Pearl Harbor?

TH: I was in Shanghai before and after Pearl Harbor, right.

RH: And what is your recollection of that very day?

TH: Well, I had a very interesting connection with that day, because about ten days before I had been invited to speak to a group of Chinese and American businessmen and I had predicted that with the U.S. embargo on shipping petroleum products to Japan we would have a war very, very soon. Ten days later, Pearl Harbor occurred and my news of it came when I got a telephone call from a Chinese friend who told . . .

RH: What time was this, do you remember?

TH: That was about nine o'clock on the morning of . . . I guess it was the eighth [December 8, 1941], because the calendar, of course, was different. I told him thank you and not to say too much on the telephone. That's where my first news of it.

RH: Where were you staying? This was in Shanghai, in the settlement, French Town? Do you remember?

TH: I guess I was staying with our British Friends in French Town.

RH: They had not heard anything until you got that phone call. Then what happened?

TH: Well, I just went to work the next day. There was no problem. We foreign enemies of the Japanese people, as we were then branded, were allowed to roam pretty freely around Shanghai for a number of months because the Japanese just didn't have the plans or the personnel to do much about us.

RH: What was your feeling? Was there any change in the tempo of the city?

TH: Very much. One could sense very much the wholesale takeover, really, of the whole International Settlement and the French Concession by the Japanese at



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Pearl Harbor, but obviously they didn't have the troops or the staff to handle everything. What they did, of course, was arrest a number of the foreign, especially designated enemy people, spies and journalists and that kind of thing.

RH: Selective, yes. Were any people you knew picked out and picked up like that? Where were they taken? Do you know what happened to them?

TH: Yes, I knew some of them, but they were not in my particular network. I had always used an assumed name in anticipation of being picked up by the Japanese, so I was all right.

RH: Now, let's go back to this. You used your own name when you first came to Shanghai and taught at the American School. You used the assumed name after Hong Kong or in Hong Kong?

TH: I used my assumed name before I went to Hong Kong, when I was still teaching at the American School for the underground work I did. When I would speak at Chinese universities or write letters to the newspaper, I would use an assumed name.

RH: Which newspaper was it, the Chinese or the English language?

TH: English language newspapers.

RH: Which ones, do you remember? The *Evening Post* or the *Shanghai Times*?

TH: Yes, the *Evening Post*, Randall Gould.

RH: How about the *Shanghai Times*, *North China Daily News*?

TH: Well, they would pick up some of my letters, but they had to be careful, also.

RH: As to what they used?

TH: Sure.

RH: My specific question is the *Shanghai Times*, because somewhere between 1937 and 1941 the *Shanghai Times* was taken over by the Japanese. I'm trying to pinpoint the date and nobody seems to have a record of exactly that.

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TH: Before that it was a Kuomintang paper.

RH: All right, in that case it probably switched in 1938 itself when they brought in the Ta Taos. Did you have any contact with the Ta Taos?

TH: I did not know them.

RH: And you did not wish to. Okay. Let's go back to what happened to these people you knew who were picked up by the Japanese soon after Pearl Harbor.

TH: Well, I didn't meet them, I heard about them, that they were pretty brutally worked over by the Japanese.

RH: Do you know where they were taken?

TH: As far as I know, it was the Bridgehouse.

RH: And did you see any of them after they came out?

TH: No.

RH: So you weren't aware . . . It was all hearsay.

TH: Yes.

RH: You didn't have any specific person that you knew who had been in and came out and you saw them?

TH: Yes, I did know some, because I tried to lay out an escape route for some of my friends who did get picked up. But they were not the people that the Japanese were after . . .

RH: Do you know of the people who escaped? Because we have record of two Americans who did get out. Do you know any who did and how they got out?

TH: Not of Americans. I knew of an Austrian who got out, Dr. Landauer.

RH: Dr. Landauer?

TH: Yes.

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RH: And he was a medical doctor?

TH: Yes.

RH: And he was an old line China resident, or was he one of the more recent?

TH: He was one of the more recent.

RH: A Holocaust refugee?

TH: No, I think he came on a health mission from some international organization. He had a lovely Chinese wife, and that's how we got to know them. But I also knew some other very interesting people from Germany who were some of the early Communists who came out of Hitler's Germany and settled in Shanghai, very fine people.

RH: And so you were living in Shanghai with your wife, and conditions were very much changed. Then what happened to you? What did you live on? What source of funds did you have?

TH: Well, we were both employed by the Friends Center in Shanghai, so we lived on that.

RH: And you did get an income every month?

TH: Yes.

RH: Did you get any help from the American Residents' Association?

TH: Didn't ask for it.

RH: You didn't need it?

TH: No, didn't need it.

RH: Okay, how did you hear about internment? Because eventually there was internment of civilians.

TH: Well, we knew that people were being interned, and one day when I was at the office and my wife was at home, she had a telephone call that I should report at the Japanese gendarmerie office.

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RH: Were you expecting this, and can you give me an idea of about when that was? Was that in 1942, 1943?

TH: That was, I think, in July 1943.

RH: In other words, a lot of people had already been interned.

TH: Not many foreigners had been interned, just the ones on the top list of the Japanese.

RH: Then it must have been 1942, because by July 1943 most were interned. Internment was from February to about April 1943, where they cleaned out most of the enemy nationals with the red armbands. You did have to wear an armband, I take it?

TH: Yes. It may have been 1942, but we did roam around quite freely for awhile.

RH: Within the settlement? Or did you ever get across beyond the perimeter?

TH: I tried to lay out an escape route across the perimeter, and that's when I got arrested.

RH: Do you remember the date?

TH: No, I don't.

RH: Or roughly when it happened? Before you were called up, of course.

TH: Yes.

RH: And so after that you expected to be amongst the early pick-ups?

TH: I had no way of knowing, but Haiphong Road [Camp] was where a number of people on the Japanese list were interned.

RH: And as far as you can remember, this was before the Pootung internees were taken in?

TH: Yes, it was.

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RH: The Pootung internees were taken in in November of 1942--I remember that distinctly--so this must have been somewhere between July and November, if you don't mind my saying so.

TH: That's fine.

RH: What happened after that phone call?

TH: Well, my wife and I went with my bedding and other things to the gendarmerie office. And the big sergeant started giving my wife a lecture that she was married to an enemy alien, and in her usual manner, she yelled back at him, tiny little thing, and behind his back I noticed some of the Japanese privates giggling at the embarrassment of this big gendarmerie guy. But it didn't bother my wife very much. (chuckling).

RH: Do you remember which gendarmerie office this was?

TH: No. But then they took me over to the American School where I had to spend the night in one of the classrooms, much to my amusement. (chuckling)

RH: You were back where you had started in Shanghai!

TH: Much to my amusement.

RH: So, you spent that first night at the American School. Were there others with you? Do you remember any?

TH: No.

RH: Just you?

TH: Yes.

RH: What happened the next day?

TH: Well, I was then taken over to Haiphong Road.

RH: By bus, by car?

TH: By car. It was a Japanese military vehicle.

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RH: What was Haiphong Road [Camp] like, and who was there before you? And then tell us your impressions.

TH: Haiphong Road Camp was the former barracks of the U.S. Fourth Marines. They had converted a very large old-fashioned Chinese residence into their barracks. In the front, inside the main gate, was an open space with a large flagpole for the American flag. Behind was a Chinese-style residence, behind that, a small open court, and behind that another Chinese residence two stories high. There was a road leading from the main gate right straight back through the whole camp, the residence being on the left side as one entered. On the right side was a large outbuilding for cooking and for making hot water. To the right of that was an open playing field covered with cinders. Behind that work house was a small plot of land the men soon converted into vegetable gardens.

RH: It was only men in that camp?

TH: Only men, about 350.

RH: How many were there? Any idea?

TH: There may have been fifty or sixty British there before me.

RH: Were you the first American?

TH: I don't recall any other Americans, but there may have been. We were put in rooms with about a dozen people in each room. The Americans were together, the British were together, and a bunch of Greek seamen were together.

RH: Greek seamen?

TH: Yes, merchant seamen, with two Greek skippers. Some of the Dutch, there were some Dutch people there, but it was mostly people who had had commanding jobs of one sort or another in Shanghai, mostly in the business community, plus a number of retired American servicemen, and then of course some former British policemen in the International Settlement police force. There were no French.

RH: No French were ever interned in Shanghai that I know of, but have you any idea why they selected you? Because of the Quaker connection?

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TH: No.

RH: Or were they aware of anything else?

TH: I think I was selected because I had been picked up twice by the Japanese, and I was on one of the lists, I guess, of the Military Police.

RH: What was the second time?

TH: The second time I tried to open an escape route to smuggle some friends out, and they were caught and tortured, and, of course, they gave my name.

RH: They were Chinese?

TH: No, one was a friend, a young woman, a Jewish woman from Vienna.

RH: Do you remember her name?

TH: Karen Bernfeld.

RH: They tried to leave as a group?

TH: Yes, three of them.

RH: So you stood out, rather than singles? Because most of the ones that got out were singles.

TH: Well, I didn't try to escape because my wife was there.

RH: What happened to them? Were they also taken into custody?

TH: Yes, they were taken into custody and tortured. Karen Bernfeld when she got out found out that her boyfriend had been cheating, so she committed suicide by drinking Lysol.

RH: You now were in Haiphong Road [Camp]. Can you describe your camp life there and how your interaction was with the other inmates and with the guards?

TH: Haiphong Road Camp was organized in a very interesting way. The two leaders of the main communities--that is, of the British community and of the

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American community--were, in fact, the leaders of all those interned. The Japanese had a rather old and courtly colonel who was in charge of the whole works, and under him was a younger Japanese officer.

RH: Can you remember their names?

TH: I don't have them with me.

RH: Please go on.

TH: Those two men were army, Japanese Army, and then, of course, there was the Japanese Military Police, a very tough sergeant in the Military Police that we all cordially hated, but they didn't bother us very much. The Japanese worked through the two leaders of the foreign community and they had a few of the camp members who could do typing and whatnot as their secretarial staff.

RH: And they were all English-speaking, this Japanese group? Or did you have to deal with them in Japanese?

TH: The young army lieutenant, Lieutenant Honda, and the head of the Military Police spoke a little bit of English. One of the British policemen who was interned spoke pretty good Japanese, so occasionally they'd call on him.

RH: What was food like? Did you have assignments as to what one had to do?

TH: Food at first was not too bad. We were getting rice, I guess Red Cross rice, and later that turned into Red Cross cracked wheat, which was made up into porridge. The kitchen crew was mostly British ex-servicemen and policemen who worked up quite a fine esprit de corps. At first the cooking staff were Chinese, some of whom came from the Shanghai American School.

RH: So you knew them? Now, they were employed by the Japanese to cook at Haiphong Road Camp, which meant they went in and out?

TH: Right.

RH: Did you have any chance to slip messages back and forth?

TH: I tried, but they discouraged it; after all they were the ones who would be getting the punishment from the Japanese, and I appreciated that.



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RH: But did they relay messages to your wife at least that you were well?

TH: Oh yes, we could write letters out once a week and receive letters.

RH: Once a week? Oftener than the others. The other camps were limited to once a month, so this was a change.

TH: Well, it was a beginning. And then things deteriorated.

RH: Later on it deteriorated, like everything else.

TH: Yes. Our respective duties were entirely voluntary. We made up our own jobs.

RH: But everybody had to pitch in?

TH: Well, most people did.

RH: Were there any who didn't?

TH: Oh yes, sure.

RH: There really were?

TH: Sure.

RH: This was unusual. You see, this is totally different and it's good you're telling us about them. How much news did you get in while you were there? How much did you know of what was going on around you in Shanghai and in the rest of the world?

TH: We could receive the English language newspapers.

RH: The *Shanghai Times*?

TH: Yes. I don't recall that we had a radio. At one time, some American prisoners from Wake Island were brought in to do some yard work and . . .

RH: They brought men from Wake Island to Haiphong Road, too? They had most of them in a godown in Chapei.

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TH: That's right. Then one day some of them were brought over to Haiphong Road on a work detail. There was no continued contact.

RH: So you knew that Wake Island had fallen when these men were there.

TH: Oh, yes.

RH: What else did you know and how soon did you know it?

TH: Well, occasionally we would get intimations from some of the Japanese privates that things weren't going too well.

RH: Outside of the *Shanghai Times*, which one could read between the lines, you had no other source of news coming in? Most of the camps had some underground--or whatever you want to call it--method of getting up-to-date news. Yours didn't?

TH: We had no regular method, but when people would be taken out to a hospital, then occasionally they'd come back with some news.

RH: Were you ever taken out?

TH: No. Fortunately my number didn't come up, but there was always someone out for ninety days at the Bridgehouse being tortured.

RH: From Haiphong Road they took them into Bridgehouse and back?

TH: Ninety days.

RH: Ninety days? This is unusual, because others taken from Shanghai proper were anything from nine hours to coming out in a sealed coffin. But these all came back whole in one piece after a precise period of time?

TH: They all came back, no more than ninety days, some somewhat less. I knew this because I was one of the two orderlies in the sick bay, so we had to take care of them, and one man died when he got back to camp.

RH: Truly amazing. Was he American or British?

TH: A British policeman. He had a hot temper, and apparently he had struck out at some of the guards, and for two weeks he was denied water. So he

scratched messages on his skin. And as he was dying, I was attending him, along with the Japanese lieutenant and Episcopal Bishop Curtis, and one of our local doctors. But he's the only one that I know of that died.

RH: Did others die in camp of either natural causes or war-related causes?

TH: Yes, people did die of heart attack, the older men. They had been cut off from their liquor and their gay life, of course, and it was pretty hard on some of them. I was in very good condition because I'd been tramping around the interior for a long time.

RH: You were quite possibly younger than the average person there.

TH: Well, we varied in age.

RH: Were you there through to the end of the war? Were any of the Haiphong Road people sent home on the evacuation ships during the exchanges?

TH: Yes. I guess most of the Americans were exchanged. I was one of them, on the second [S.S.] *Gripsholm* exchange.

RH: You went on the *Gripsholm*? That was the second *Gripsholm*. In that case, what happened to your wife? She remained in Shanghai?

TH: We were given ten minutes together.

RH: Did you know much in advance that you were going?

TH: Yes.

RH: You had been advised that you would be leaving and that you would have this chance to see your wife for ten minutes? This is equivalent to the other Americans who were in the Chapei camp. Then when and how did you get to the ship, do you remember?

TH: Well, they loaded us on trucks and took us down to the ship.

RH: How many of you were there? What percentage of the Americans were moved out?

TH: I would say most of them. I think there maybe were eighty or ninety of us.

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RH: Very few were left in Haiphong Road through the end of the war?

TH: Very few Americans, if any.

RH: Most of those were the British. There was one British exchange ship.

TH: Some of us were given specific things to remember, so that when we got onto the other side we could help compile a report of conditions. I had to remember nutrition quantities and memorize a whole string of statistics. (chuckling)

RH: Yes, for the Red Cross. Were you, quote, debriefed? Where and when? Was it all the way to the States, or as soon as you had switched to the American ship? Where were you switched, Lourenco Marques?

TH: We were switched at Goa.

RH: Goa?

TH: We were debriefed right from there, and I was offered many jobs in intelligence to go back.

RH: Now where did you go from Goa? On an American ship? Was it in a convoy or sailing independently?

TH: [Our first port after Goa was] Port Elizabeth.

RH: In South Africa? From there you would have sailed up to the East Coast?

TH: We sailed to Rio.

RH: Then across the south Atlantic?

TH: To Rio, and then to New York.

RH: What happened to you when you arrived home?

TH: Well, when I arrived home I learned about some cartoon, a Daddy Warbucks cartoon making fun of the Japanese. (chuckling) So I sat down and wrote an indignant letter to the *New York Times*, which they published, about racial discrimination. (chuckling) I thought that was very appropriate.

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RH: Then what did you do? Because you did come back to China after the war, did you not?

TH: Yes.

RH: What did you do at home? Were you drafted?

TH: Just almost. I got reunited with my father for a few days; and then I had to go to Washington for intelligence debriefing, because I had picked up a lot of things in China. Then I was put in contact with the U. S. Office of War Information [OWI] with the recommendation that I should be sent back in charge of intelligence for the Japanese-occupied areas for economic and morale operations in China. So that's what happened.

RH: Were you averse to going back?

TH: Not in the least, because I had urged my wife to get to see her parents. Well, her parents happened to be in Chungking. So, with the help of a high Japanese friend who was bitterly anti-Japanese war, she came through the lines and we met eventually in Chungking.

RH: Oh, that was wonderful. Then did you remain in Chungking? Through the end of the war?

TH: Yes.

RH: Which means that you knew exactly what was going on. Did you get any messages in Chungking in your new capacity from people you knew in occupied China?

TH: Well, not really. I had a staff of thirty-five Chinese. We were working for the U.S. Office of War Information, which had the job of white propaganda, or honest propaganda. Our job was to screen newspapers and magazines, to monitor radio, especially the commercial broadcasts, to interview people who came through the lines. And possibly, if the Kuomintang [KMT, Nationalist Party] would permit it and the U.S. military would permit it, to interview a few prisoners. But we didn't do much of that.

RH: You knew that the war was winding down due to your position at Chungking.

TH: Sure, we were stationed in private military headquarters.

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RH: What was your reaction to the end of the war? What were your plans? What did you want to do as soon as the war was over?

TH: We wanted to come back to Shanghai and see what threads there were to be picked up. But when you have an experience like that, it's almost like a new lease on life. People look for something different. Or if they have a firm anchor in their past, then they try to pick up the threads. We really didn't have that. We had a son who had been born in Chungking and we were anxious to get back to Shanghai and see how many of our British Quaker friends were still there, which we did, and I was then given a job in Shanghai with UNRRA [United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation Administration]. I was on one of the first American planes to go back to Shanghai.

RH: Did you come in, by any chance, with another American who was a correspondent, when you came into Shanghai the third time?

RH: Israel Epstein.

TH: We're old friends.

RH: I will give him your love. He was at Vancouver, you know, at the reunion, and I didn't meet him there, but I expect to meet him at the Harvard symposium. I'm sorry I interrupted. Can you tell us what actually happened to you in Shanghai when you now came there? You were working for UNRRA, and you had a huge job on your hands because there were refugees, at least a million Chinese, and 25,000 to 50,000 Japanese?

TH: UNRRA was a very complicated operation. It was the largest of any of the UNRRA operations around the world, with a budget of \$57 million, which was a lot of money in those days. The operation in China was very, very complex. I worked along with the associate director Harry Price, and our job was to compile a history of UNRRA and to some extent of the Chinese sister organization CNRRA [China Relief & Rehabilitation Administration], which meant that we had to go through all the reports, interview all the foreign personnel before and after, and then later I set up the UNRRA center headquarters in Guangxi province.

RH: How long did you stay there?

TH: We left China in 1948. That's when UNRRA closed down.

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RH: Right, and IRO took over. The International Refugee Organization took over. At this point, where did you go?

TH: I went to the University of Washington in Seattle and started graduate work anew.

RH: Did you have to start from scratch, or a new field?

TH: Well, I thought I wanted to come back to China in economics, but when I got to the U.S. I found that Western-style quantitative economics didn't really apply to what I had done in China. So I got into geography and took my graduate degrees in geography at the University of Washington.

RH: Where did you teach after that?

TH: I taught at Utah State for two years in Logan. I got kicked out of there for being a Communist. (chuckling) I then went back to U of Washington and taught there for a bit, and then taught at Colgate University.

RH: Now, you hinted that there was a story you'd like to tell.

TH: In my underground operation days in Shanghai, one of my closest associates was a Chinese man named Yih. He had taught himself English as an accountant and clerk for an American import-export firm. He was also the head of the Chinese Boy Scouts. So, when we had to distribute material that would have displeased the Japanese, he had all the Chinese Boy Scouts in their uniforms carry these leaflets around through the Chinese police checkpoints, and, of course, they would never stop a Chinese Boy Scout in uniform. We became very good friends, of course, in our operation. When I went back to China several weeks ago, the first person I wanted to see in Shanghai was my friend Yih.

RH: This was your first trip back to China in all these years?

TH: Yes. I spent four days in Beijing seeing some of my former co-conspirators and four days in Shanghai, mostly with my friend Yih. And there he was--retired. It was wonderful to be with him again.

RH: You got to see them all? So you were very happy visiting. It must have been a wonderful experience for you.

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TH: It was, yes.

RH: What made you choose to go now rather than earlier?

TH: Well, you know, we're not getting any younger. (chuckling)

RH: That's true. So you made your home eventually in Pennsylvania, where you were born?

TH: Well, we stayed up at Colgate for twenty-seven years, and we are now down in Pennsylvania. We've been there for about ten years at a Methodist retirement community [Cornwall Manor, Cornwall, Pennsylvania].

RH: Do you like it there?

TH: Very much.

RH: Good. I thank you very, very much for taking the time and giving us your story.

END OF INTERVIEW