

1940 03 – 10 Liddell

### **KV.4/186 Liddell diary March – Oct 1940**

**March 1, 1940:** Bland has written from the Hague urging that something should be done about Best and Stevens in view of the threatened public trial, as the result of which they will probably both be shot. [*David Irving note: They weren't*]. VV asked me whether we had anybody whom we could put up for exchange or four counter-measures. Unfortunately there is nobody very suitable. It is also quite clear that the Government would not embark on a policy of reprisals.

**March 2, 1940:** There has been a letter from Hankey stating that he has looked into the affairs of SIS and that he has now been ordered by the Prime Minister to investigate the activities of MI5. He would like in the first instance to have a rough chart covering our various duties. ...

Lord Redesdale has asked whether he can have a permit for himself

and Lady R and Unity Mitford to reside on his island of Inchken-nith, which from March 15th onwards will be declared a protected place. The Admiralty are taking a rather strong line. They say that the island is not important in itself since it is not situated on any part of the ordinary highways, but that since Lord R has a motor-launch which can easily visit other places, they think it highly undesirable that Unity should be allowed to reside there. DSS has taken this matter up with the S of S for War who does not propose to let any of the family go to Inchkennith.

**March 3, 1940:** Special material [i.e. *decodes*]: The new Persian minister has told the Shah that he is extremely impressed with the calm and confidence which prevails in London. In this respect he draws a distinction between the situation in England and in France.

[...] There are certain indications that things may be working up to an offensive [by the Germans] in the west.

**March 4, 1940:** [...] Canning has received a letter from the Home Office asking him to submit a report about Communist finances. He thinks that we shall probably know more about this than he does.

**March 6, 1940:** Special material of the 29th February shows that the Finnish position is getting difficult. We appear to have promised the Finns 25,000 men by the end of the month and ultimately 50,000. Reyti [sic], talking to [Harri] Holma, Finnish Minister in Paris, said he could not hold out unless he got 200,000 men.

On the 2nd March, Halifax saw Gripenberg and was shocked by news of the serious plight of the Finns. He said that Finnish military experts had assured us that they could hold out at least an-

other three or four weeks even if Viipuri fell. Daladier has apparently spoken to Chamberlain and said that if Finland is not given help as planned he will resign. Holma, the Finnish Ambassador in Paris, reports that Tanner, Finnish Foreign Minister, is wavering. Holma is therefore sending all his wires to the Prime Minister Reyti.

At 9:15 p.m. on the 3rd march the Swedish and Norwegian ministers learned that a formal request had been made on the 2nd march that the British and French should be allowed to march through Norway and Sweden [to Finland]. Gripenberg had the impression that our forces of 12,000 men were to go through regardless so the views of either Norway or Sweden.

[... *much more of this sort.*]

**March 7, 1940:** Special material of today's date indicates rather doubtfully that Sweden would be prepared to allow an expeditionary force to pass through their country to Finland. Daladier appears to have sent a telegram through the Finnish Minister offering held if an appeal is received within a week. In the meantime preparations for an expeditionary force will continue. The Swedish Legation indicate that the Soviet government may have made known its peace terms to the Swedish Minister in Moscow with whom it has been in touch since the beginning of the war.

[...] Madame Maisky, using the alias Mrs Buck, has ordered from the Co-op shop a 16 ounce tin of 'Flit' [fly-killer aerosol]. She was anxious to know whether it killed fleas.

[...] SIS material from Italy indicates that the policy against the Jews has been relaxed. It was originally enforced in order to curry favour with the Moslems. Italy is still divided on the German ques-

tion. Mussolini, Parranaci and Starace are still inclined to stick to the Axis but with reservations. Those in favour of a break are Ciano, Grandi, Balbo and the King.

I dined with [John] Maude and [Victor] Rothschild last night. We had a long discussion about sabotage. He is quite ruthless where Germans are concerned, and would exterminate them by any and every means. He outlined our [anti-sabotage] problem as we saw it. [*Need to concentrate on defences against chemical sabotage weapons*]. ... Rothschild mentioned the existence of a rocket bomb known as the UP bomb [Unrotated Projectile]. I gather this is a somewhat epoch making invention but whether it has reached the production stage or not is not clear. ... We shall probably find that it is being made in a small tin shack in a corner of a field and that anybody can get inside with the aid of a tin opener.

[Gladwyn] Jebb rang me up last night to say that the Americans had heard that Sumner Welles' apartment at Claridges had been fixed up with microphones. [*Welles was touring Europe on a peace mission*]. Could anything be done to verify this?

**March 8, 1940:** I saw Herschel Johnson [US embassy] about Claridges. He had obtained his information from an ex-American diplomat formerly employed at Berne named Einstein. Einstein had married a Ralli and settled down in this country. Occasionally he spends a holiday in Italy where he met Count Sforza. Sforza had told him that some time ago the Italians had fitted Claridges up with microphones. I subsequently arranged with Maine for the inspection of the suite by a Post office expert. This was done through a friend of Maine's named Thornewill, who is a director of the Savoy, which also controls Claridges, the Berkeley, and the Meurice in Paris, etc. In his capacity as a director ++++++ asked for the master key and took the expert in. So

far as could be ascertained there was no microphone installation, but it might well have been built in and plastered over in such a manner as to make it undetectable unless the walls were pulled to pieces. I explained the situation to Herschel Johnson, who has spoken to the Ambassador [Joseph P Kennedy]. The latter thought that no chances should be taken and therefore decided to reserve rooms at the Dorchester. In the meantime ++++++++ is anxious to get rid of the manager at Claridges, a member of the Fascio. He is, in fact, prepared to sack the whole staff rather than lose American custom. Herschel Johnson bears no malice against Claridges and in fact does all of his entertaining there but he told me that on at least one occasion when Norman Davies had stayed there he was quite convinced that his papers had been gone through.

[...] U.35 is making another trip abroad.

**March 9, 1940:** [...] The telephone check on Rickatsan-Hatt, editor in chief of Reuters, shows that he is hard up, has many women friends, and that he talks indiscreetly on the telephone. Nothing has been disclosed so far as to his sources of information exception that he evidently did have a talk with [Noel] Mason-Macfarlane [military attaché, Berlin and then Moscow] who was not impressed by him and said so to the DMI.

**March 10, 1940:** Spent most of the day catching up on arrears of dictation. [Note: there are a very few phonetic errors indicating that this diary is dictated, not typed by Liddell himself.]

**March 11, 1940:** The BUF [British Union of Fascists] have a secret military organisation known as the Fellowship of the services. It is run by one F G Geary. The organisation was anti-communist in 1936, is now anti-Jewish and closely allied with the BUF. It is

also pro-Nazi. Each member is armed.

Lunched with ++++++++ [+++ Howlet?] today and discussed the case at Claridges. He is very anxious to get rid of the manager and to satisfy the Americans in any way he possibly can. I said I thought it would be best if he refrained from taking any action until Sumner Welles had left Europe. In the meantime, I promised to have a talk with the Americans and ascertain their reactions.

Special material [decodes]: The French had given assurances of support to Tannea [Tanner] the Finnish Foreign Minister, who expressed gratitude and satisfaction. He thinks the Finns will soon have to appeal [for aid] and wants the French Govt. to approach Norway and Sweden regarding the passage of troops. The French seem to have had considerable difficulty in bringing us up to the mark in the matter of sending an expeditionary force and Daladier has threatened to resign.

**March 12, 1940:** Special material: Holmar tells Gripenberg that the Finnish Foreign Minister has been collecting his telegrams and not showing them to the rest of the Cabinet,

At 9:30 a.m. the French received a wire saying that the Finnish Govt. had “accepted in principle”, presumably to make an appeal. Coulondre has heard from the French Minister in Norway that the Norwegians will not offer resistance and will put the railways at the disposal of the allies.

SIS reports: A report of March 5th gives the outline of Hitler’s peace proposals prepared for Sumner Welles. The document was produced by the German FO, and propounds the theory that Germany was attacked by the Western Powers, that she has the right

to Lebensraum in Central Europe, that others cannot object to the new order created by her in her sphere of influence and that she has a right to the return of her colonies. It appears that the Führer's demand for reparations was dropped, Germany's lebensraum includes the near and middle east, where she requires preferential trading rights. It is hoped that the president of the USA will acknowledge "this German moderation in war aims as a real basis for a fair and lasting peace." To counteract American protests much material has been prepared to justify the new decrees in the Protectorate and in Poland.

[...] We are trying to get Morz over here and intern him. At the moment he is in Holland. He will be a good bargaining counter for Best and Stevens.

**March 13, 1940:** A meeting was held today at the HO [Home office] which was attended by Roger [Hollis], to discuss policy with regard to the *Daily Worker*. It was decided to let SB [Special Branch] and ourselves obtain as much information as possible about the *DW* funds, and the channels through which they reach this country.

According to a French report the Germans are using a stuff they label "Purgen" as a secret ink, and Cutex liquid as the re-agent. They state that if these two substances are found in a man's kit, it is conclusive proof that he is a German agent. They have also had instances of documents concealed in hollow cigars.

[...] Sinclair has gone p to Glasgow in a vain endeavour to save the remnants of security in connection with our expeditionary force to Finland. It seems that in spite of the Finnish collapse we are to send a force.

**March 14, 1940:** [...] I have just had a telephone message from Sinclair saying that he understands that the Finnish venture has been postponed. I spoke to DMI, who told me that the order was to “mark time”. The telephone censorship people have orders to cut off any suspicious conversations to Eire.

**March 15, 1940:** [...] The Finnish business snow appears to be off and Sinclair has been ordered to come back from Glasgow.

[...] SUS are rather worried about a payment which has been made to Foley by a man called Zellner. Personally I do not think there is anything in it. Foley who was a friend of the family in Berlin, probably lent the money on account of exchange difficulties. [*D Irving notes: As passport control officer, i.e. MI6 agent, at the Berlin embassy, Foley had been in the business of providing forged exit visas to German Jews to enable them to escape; an olive grove [planted in Israel commemorates him].*]

On March 8th, when Kennedy saw Halifax and the question of peace proposals was discussed, Kennedy wondered whether there were not certain mechanical guarantees that could be given by Germany, since he realised that the signature of Hitler or any other member of the Nazi Party was quite valueless. Halifax said he did not see what guarantees the Germans could give and pointed out that the feeling of the British and French people, whatever differences of emphasis there might be, was one of set and solid determination not to let the state of affairs Herr Hitler had created in Europe continue. [...]

**March 16, 1940:** Dingli [sic] is apparently off to Italy again on some hush-hush mission for Downing Street. We started to interrogate him on his business at the War office but got a warning from Stewart Menzies [C], that we had better not probe too deeply. It

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seems entirely wrong that this kind of thing should be going on without our knowledge.

[*Next paragraph, ca 14 lines, blanked out*].

**March 18, 1940:** U.35 has been seeing Hammer, the German economic expert at Berne. H. is generally pessimistic about Ribbentrop's policy vis-à-vis Russia. He thinks Hitler is still looking east but that he will try and break our resistance through extensive air attacks on our ports, including London. He does not believe in an invasion of Holland, or Belgium, but thinks that had we intervened in Finland Germany would have gone into Scandinavia.

U.35 was very struck by the contrast between the German and British legations at Berne. .... At the British, he found Torr sitting well down in his chair, his head back and his finger tips together in clerical fashion. U.35 wished to see the Ambassador and for quarter or an hour Torr had tried to discussed him. Eventually pointing to the ceiling, he said, "The ambassador is up there. Perhaps you will excuse me from taking you up, but my left leg has gone to sleep." [...] U.35 tried to see Braun but couldn't find him. The address he had given in Berne appeared to be non-existent.

It seems at last that we are going to get the death penalty before very long. There has however been another hitch with the Assistance to the Enemy Act. The previous difficulty was that the Army Council said that they did not wish to carry out the execution of a man unless he had been tried under Court Martial. ... It was argued [buy the Home Secretary] that if it could be shown that a man had sold a pair of socks to the enemy the Judge would have no option but to sentence him to death. There was however always the safeguard that the Home Secretary could whittle down

the sentence to a fortnight's imprisonment if he so desired, and no prosecution could be instituted without the fiat of the Attorney-General.

[...] According to a wireless telephone conversation between Welles and Roosevelt, which took place at 6:50 p.m. on the 16th March, Musso was anxious for Welles to meet Hitler, in order that he might tell him that Musso's political basis [sic. bases?] for a peace settlement were not insoluble, but that security was the indispensable factor without which nothing real and permanent could be achieved. Roosevelt considers that progressive disarmament must be part of any settlement and that the economic world must be open if the distressed soldiers and workmen are to be provide for. Musso's settlement apparently involves the independence of Poland, though in what form was not stated. Welles thought that anything which could later be said would imply USA participation in the [Hitler–Mussolini] conversations at Brenner would be unfortunate. Roosevelt agreed. The meeting at the Brenner was apparently on Hitler's instigation. Roosevelt is convinced that neither France nor England want [sic. wants] to break up Germany and that all the French desire is to be sure that their sons will not have to fight Germany again.

**March 20, 1940:** [...] SUS reports: "On March 7th the Germans were trying to obtain guarantees of Belgian neutrality in the event of an invasion of Holland.

[...] SIS reports dated today: Hitler wants Musso to adhere to the German–Soviet alliance with a view to joint action in the near and Middle East. The King threatens to abdicate in such an eventuality. Musso seems to be in a very erratic state of mind and to be subject to frequent fits of ungovernable temper. 99% of the population in the north are said to be anti-German but not necessarily

pro-Ally.

[...] There was a meeting here today between Colonel Worledge, Commander Denniston, B.3, Mr Gill and other cypher experts. The messages which were being picked up coming from German stations and obviously intended for German agents abroad have been deciphered, and it was desired to come to some arrangement about comparing notes with the French. This has now been arranged both as regards the working out of the codes and the results obtained.

[...] John Booth came to see me this evening. He gave me an amusing account of his experiences as a corporal in the 5th Bn of the Scots Guards. Her described the various incidents from the time that he was approached in France [insert: to go to Finland or Norway as a skier] to the moment when he was disbanded on the Polish liner at Glasgow. [*Details follow of the complete breakdown of security and censorship.*]

**March 21, 1940:** BUF [membership] figures show an increase from about 7,800 in August 1938 to 11,000 in August 1939. From that date onwards the figures dropped steadily till January 1940 when they were at 8,600. By February they were standing at 8,776 for Scotland and England.

[...] I have had an extraordinary conversation with Newsam about communists and French travel. I explained to him that every communist must be regarded as an enemy agent or at least a potential one, and that therefore we were not anxious to see these people travelling abroad... The liaison between the two Intelligence services [handwritten insert: Russian and German] had existed since 1923 although it had perhaps been somewhat thin from 1935–1939. ... I told Newsam that in actual fact we had confirmation of the

present liaison from several sources. .... Although of course the Soviet Embassy bag, which we knew was being used, was a more convenient channel for communicating, there were certain cases where personal contact had to be made...

**March 27, 1940:** [...] I had a rather disappointing interview with Hankey. ... Lord Hankey then asked me about communist and Fascist organisations. I explained to him certain points about the penetration of the PPU [Peace Pledge Union] by the Nordic league and the BUF, and how it was that such organisations which in themselves were perfectly reputable, were made use of by extremist organisations of the Right or Left. He then said that he had to see a great many people and had no further questions to ask.

[...] [Lord] Rothschild called today. he has been ordered by Hankey to go to France in order that he may discuss with his opposite numbers questions relating to bacteriological warfare. He wanted to know whether he should take the opportunity of finding out what the French are doing generally with regard to sabotage. [...]

**March 29, 1940:** [...] A man called Dalmanin, a Maltese, has offered us the text of the Brenner Treaty between Musso and Hitler for the small sum of 5 million lira! He said that he had made the acquaintance of Edda Ciano and that she would be prepared to obtain this document for the above consideration, which was to be paid partly in jewellery and partly in Swiss francs. Curry interviewed Dalmanin at the WO [War office] he seemed to be a rather simple-minded sort of fellow, and when asked how he could expect us to part with such a large sum of money, to someone we knew nothing about, had no real answer. He has gone away to think again.

I lunched today with +++++++. He has evidently made up his

mind to get rid of the Italian manager of Claridges and he wants to know if we know anything against one Van Thuyne, a Belgian, whom he proposes to put in. I promised to let him know unofficially.

**March 30, 1940:** The night was made hideous for several members of the office staff through a disclosure that Copy No. 1 of the deliberations of the War Council was reported to have been lying for 36 hours under a cushion in the sitting room of General Gamelin's suite at the Hyde Park Hotel. Gamelin and his Staff had apparently gone out at 2:30 on Thursday afternoon leaving the document lying on the table. The chambermaid, seeing a large SECRET on it, placed it under a cushion and reported the fact to the floor-waiter. The floor-waiter, Mclean, told the head floor-waiter, who is an Italian, and according to McLean the Italian had locked it in a drawer. On the following evening at 8 o'clock the head floor-waiter took it to the manager and said that he had found it under the cushion. The manager immediately reported the facts to a French Staff Officer who was dining in the grill-room. He had got into touch with the WO and APM and at about 1.30 a.m. on Saturday Jasper was roused from his bed and went down to the Hyde Park Hotel. SB [Special branch] had been called in and were going to search the Italian's premises and try to get a coherent story.

Another major scare has been reported. Apparently when Gamelin and CIGS [Sir John Dill] were motoring from Aldershot the front wheel of their car began to make a rather odd noise. The chauffeur was jacking up the front wheels when one of them fell off. There is apparently some suspicion of sabotage.

**March 31, 1940:** Ld Hankey has been asked by the Cabinet to ex-

plain why so much is being heard about the sky menace. They argue that in the last war MI5 paralysed the whole German system by a number of quick arrests. Why had they not done so again? The basis of our answer will be that there is no analogy between the situation in 1914 and that in 1939. In 1914 we were dealing with a small highly specialised organisation whereas today we have against us the whole force of a totalitarian regime where every man, woman and child is harnessed into the service of the State.

[...] Mrs Plugge, wife of the MP [Member of Parliament], is going rather far with the Egyptian Ambassador. He is now trying to use her in order to get information about her husband's activities.

**April 1, 1940:** Sinclair tells me that the proposal to send an expeditionary Force to Norway is once more on the *tapis*. There is also another scheme which the French are to carry out for floating mines down the Rhine. [Operation ROYAL MARINE]. There is nothing definite about Baku [*plans for the Allies to bomb Baku*] but we may hear more when Simpson returns.

Sinclair is running three double-cross agents at the moment. [*Details follow, one paragraph*].

**April 2, 1940:** [...] Special material [decodes]: On March 30th the Nepalese say that the Russians are appearing in rather unusual numbers in Tibet. The Egyptian Minister is disappointing about the Moslem Union. He says the Russians are interfering. Scandinavian material shows that from the fourth month of the war between Russia and Finland negotiations were going on to obtain direct contact between the Finns and Russians through Swedish channels. On the 29th February the Russians agreed to negotiate with Ryti. Before that they had insisted on talking only through Kuusinen. The Polish ambassador in Paris takes the view that the

documents recently published by the Germans [*the papers of the Polish ambassador in Washington, Potocki*] which purport to show that the Americans were urging the Poles to fight are probably authentic. [*They were: carbon copies are in Potocki's papers at the Hoover Library*].

**April 2, 1940:** ... Dick [White] has got an interesting case. A German Jew lawyer named Alfred Kaufmann has obtained the services of Mrs A. ... Kaufmann asked P. to lunch and although he did not ask him any very pointed questions, the mere fact of his ringing up was interesting. Mrs A has also established that Kaufmann is in touch with another suspect. Indications are that Kaufmann is what the Czechs would call a Typarsch [*Abwehr scout for agents and contacts*].

Butler, Eadie's secretary, has rung up to say that two Town Councilors in Birmingham are complaining that an Italian called Piccioni, who is Italian Consular agent in Birmingham, is serving in the Birmingham ARP [Air Raid Precautions] Central Control and Report Centre. The centre gets all reports on bomb damage and transmits them to the HO. ... Later information is to the effect that he is a member of the Fascio.]

**April 4, 1940:** Discussed with Dick [White] and Roger [Hollis] their joint memo on the potentialities of British and foreign communists for espionage and sabotage, and the action suggested. We recommend internment of certain of the aliens now, interment of selected members of the CPGB in the event of war with Russia, close control of other alien communists and restriction of their movements, restriction of the movements of British communists wishing to proceed abroad or to Ireland and control of export of communist literature.

[...] The Norwegian party is once more standing by.

[...] Hankey has spoken to DSS about the policy of internment of aliens. ... The argument is also put forward that since nothing leaked out about the damage to the *Nelson* in the German press, the enemy alien population is not so dangerous as the public thinks. The answer is that you do not necessarily publish all the information you obtain.

[...] Wee still have no power to enter a house to look for illicit wireless. Matters have been brought to a head by some radio-therapy organisation called Hanovia, which has been broadcasting a colossal beam day and night. The discovery was made by Col. Worledge and his boys with the vans.

[...] On the introduction of Wood I saw General [Van] Oorschott [former Chief of Dutch General Staff?]. ... His original idea in coming here in November [1939] was to assist us in counter-espionage work and SIS in running people into occupied Holland. He is of opinion that the Germans have been bluffing all along.; early in November [1939] Sass [*sic.* Major (?) Sas, *Dutch military attaché in Berlin, in contact with Hans Oster and other traitors around Admiral Canaris*] came hot-foot from Berlin with a story that he had been approached by a German officer [Oster] who had been his intimate friend for many years. This officer had told him in strict confidence that Holland would be invaded in the early hours of November 12th. Sass was very excited and said he wished to see the Queen of Holland. Van Oorschott regarded this as merely a move by the Germans in the Nervenkrieg since he had had similar reports from his frontier police who had been in touch with the Germans. An old general was called in to give an independent opinion. He said that if a German officer gave away important information, it could be taken as a certainty that he

was acting under instruction. Van Oorschott said that the reports about the purchase of Belgian uniforms by German agents [*which was true*] was also part of the general bluff. It was ridiculous to suppose that these uniforms could not equally well have been purchased or made in Germany. Van Oorschott did not disclose in any way that he suspected the bona fides of Sass who of course was reported to us by ++ [*blanked out, name of two characters only*] before the war as a German agent who was in constant touch with the German legation at The Hague.

Van Oorschott is still used in a consultative capacity by the Dutch general Staff. His successor General Fabius seems to be more or less a figurehead.

Feeling in Holland and Belgium is very strongly anti-German. Van Oorschott is of opinion that if an attack is launched through Maastricht, the Dutch will fight and fall back on the Belgian positions, which are very strong. If Belgium is attacked without many violation of Dutch neutrality, it is estimated that 65% of the Dutch population would be in favour of giving assistance to the Belgians. There does not appear however to be any pre-arranged plan. Equally there does not seem to be any definite arrangement to cover the eventuality of Holland being attacked without violation of Belgian neutrality.

**April 6, 1940:** [...] The Norwegian party [i.e. *Churchill's invasion of northern Norway*] is still marking time. It seems now that we are not to go unless we get the approval of the Norwegians.

**April 7, 1940:** [...] SNOW [*a frequent character in these pages*] has picked up a crooked called CELERY [real name is ++++++++]. TAR [Robertson] has a long statement from CELERY who is wanted by the police. SNOW has told him among a heap of other things

that he is the key man in the British and German SS [*security services*]. TAR has called him severely to order.

The Germans want SNOW to recruit another agent who is to go over to Germany and do a course of sabotage. They have also spoken of a form of microphotography which enables a whole message to be put into the size of a pin's head. This information fits in with something that Sinclair has heard recently.

The Russian air attaché had bought large scale maps of Portsmouth, Nottingham, Plymouth and Birmingham. The Admiralty are moving the HO to issue an order prohibiting the sale of maps of six-inch scale or over.; I doubt whether this will be entirely watertight, unless maps are withdrawn from libraries, etc.

**April 8, 1940:** Sinclair tells me that there is a concentration of German ships up the Norwegian coast, that the British Expeditionary Force which was aboard our cruisers has been put [*back*] ashore [i.e. *on British soil*] and that the cruisers have moved out. The latest news is that a battle is in progress. I understand also that we have laid a considerable number of mines along the Norwegian coast.

**April 9–15, 1940:** Enforced leave wing to quarantine for chickenpox.

Special material read during that period:

1st April: According to Swedish and Norwegian diplomatic circles, twice the amount of iron ore shipped to Germany from Scandinavia goes to England.

Scandinavian circles here had heard rumours on 2nd April that we were contemplating some penetration of the Baltic in order to

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stop iron ore supplies going to Germany. Germany, working through Italy and Russia, is apparently trying to detach the Turks from the Allies.

SIS material of April 4, 1940: The following account has been given of the Brenner meeting between Hitler and Musso. The Duce is still hanging on to Germany but was non-committal. He was prepared to assist with shipping. The reason for his pro-German attitude was that he feared the collapse of his own regime if Germany were defeated. Hitler gave an assurance that he would control the Russians in the Balkans.

[...] Rothschild came to see me on his return from Paris. He had quite a clear picture of the general organisation in France for dealing with sabotage. [...]

**April 17, 1940:** [...] There was a meeting of the Bacteriological Committee in the afternoon which was attended by Harker. Lord Hankey was in the chair and about 30 other people were present. Lord Hankey evidently seemed to think that MI5 ought to be doing something more than they were, but no issue was raised as regards our responsibilities and no decision of any consequence seems to have been reached.

**April 18, 1940:** Jasper and I saw Rothschild this morning. He explained what the general attitude was towards MI5 in the Bacteriological Committee. He also said that various French officers would be coming over here shortly and would be pleased to discuss matters of organisation with us. Rothschild will have as much as five days a week free if we like to avail ourselves of his services. We told him that as soon as we could get a charter we should welcome his assistance.

[...] An SIS report dated April 3, 1940 indicates that Musso is pursuing a more forward policy and seems to be prepared to stand up to the King. On April 5, 1940 it was said that an important military mission was in Rome negotiating plans to hasten Italy's entry into the war.

**April 19, 1940:** Von Treschkow [sic. Tresckow?] is being allowed to appeal, I gather at the request of Walter Monkton [Monckton]. There are various movements going on from Admiralty sources to prevent the case being referred back to MI5.

**April 20, 1940:** Count Cigogna, an Italian Fascist and director of the Electric Power Co. in Lincolnshire, has been stopped at the port. He had previously submitted a map of a half-inch scale showing the whole layout of his electric organisation, and other papers, to the Travel Censorship Bureau, and had been told that he could not take the map away. The other documents were sealed up. Owing to certain markings on this map Cigogna was told that he could not go when he arrived at the port. This has caused a tremendous storm in the FO as they say that he is a friend of Ciano's and himself very pro-British.

[...] Everybody seems to be very concerned about Italy and we have prepared our telegrams in case we are called upon to effect arrests,

[...] The French illicit wireless section have intercepted one of SNOW's messages. We are telling them to lay off.

**April 21, 1940:** DSS told me that Hankey was very satisfied with his visit to MI5. ... He might be satisfied with us, but were we satisfied with ourselves? Personally, I felt that, largely owing to the circumstances in which we have been placed by Govt. policy, we

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were singularly ill-informed in a variety of directions. Of the 74,000 aliens at large in this country we really knew practically nothing. We might therefore quite easily be sitting on a volcano.

[...] SIS reports of 25th March: Ribbentrop's attempts to form a triple alliance between Germany, Italy and Russia are meeting with no success. Conditions in Russia are not good. It was reported on April 12 that Germany had asked Sweden to allow the passage of German troops but that the request had been refused. ...

[...] Dr Johan Conrad Meyer [sic], a Swiss, said to have been expelled ten days ago from Germany, has arrived with one G.H. ++++++, a doubtful agent of SIS. Meyer wants to speak to Winston [Churchill] who has agreed to see him on condition that he does not write to the press. Meyer looks like a plant. We are keeping him under observation.

SUS reports of April 13, 1940: The German minister in Belgrade is plotting to eliminate Prince Paul, who is considered to be too pro-English [*married to Princess Marina of Kent*]. No Russian advance in Scandinavia is expected. In such an eventuality it is thought that the Finns would resist. On April 9 the German Ambassador in Belgium approached Spaak the foreign minister. He said that England was preparing to attack Belgium and wanted to know the attitude of Belgium if as a counter measure Germany occupied the Frisian islands. Spaak's answer is not known. ... On April 3 Musso was reported to be rather out of hand [sic] since the Brenner meeting but not yet committed to any definite line. [... *more details*].

I spoke to DSS about Rothschild. He has agreed to take him on as a part time member of the staff. This also apparently has Hankey's approval.

**April 22, 1940:** {...] The FO are still fussing about Count Cigogna. [...] FO seem to think that a red carpet should be laid down for these people.

[...] The boat in Norwegian waters which had been wirelessly the position and movements of neutral ships bringing goods to this country has now been taken over by the Germans. The messages are still being sent out and are being decoded here, The information they contain is proving to be of great value and Winston has given orders that the boat is not to be interfered with.

[...] The Air Ministry say in general that attacks on shipping by aircraft are not successful and submarine attack is giving much better results.

**April 24, 1940:** I had lunch with Stewart [Menzies]. He told me that things in Norway were not going to well. The main difficult was that we had no real home, Namsos had been seriously damaged and we were forced to land troops at little fishing jetties under considerable difficulties. I gather that we had about three brigades in Norway and that the troops based at Namsos were being very hard pressed. An added difficulty is that we have no air bases and that our fighters cannot operate satisfactorily since they have not got a sufficient range. He told me that the French were by way of having gone into the Kattegat but that our air patrols had reported that they were nowhere near it. Apparently they got a pretty hot time.

Foley seems to have done extremely well. He was the only British official to join up with the Norwegian forces in the early stages of the campaign. He destroyed all his documents and one of his wire-

less sets. He took the other with him and joined the Norwegian HQ when C opened up communication with this country. Our MA who has since turned up reports that had it not been for Foley it is quite likely that the Norwegians would have given in. Foley was able to encourage them by promises of support from this country. Another wireless set has since been flown out to Foley, and the others are operating with the various British contingents. These have all been supplied by SIS since other apparatus of the kind seems singularly out of date. The sets I gather are designed by ++++++ and SIS have them operating from German territory and from all over the continent. Stewart believes that they are extremely difficult to pick up and doubts very much whether any monitoring system however widespread will be effective against them. If snow's set is a sample of the best the Germans can do, it would seem that we are fairly well ahead in this matter.

**April 25, 1940:** Rothschild came to see us today and was introduced to DSS. He is coming in next week for a week or ten days to try and get the hang of our files. He will then work out a plan of campaign and also give us the benefit of his advice and assistance for three days a week.

[Sir Robert] Craigie, our Ambassador in Tokyo, has made a suggestion that we should exchange military and political information with the Japs about Russia. We have said that there would be no practical advantage from our point of view in such an exchange, which would be bound to be rather one-sided, and that the political repercussions might be considerable since it was quite certain that the Russians are breaking Jap cyphers. The evidence of this was obtained some time ago when it became known that Maisky was communicating to the *News Chronicle* information relating to discussions going on between Berlin, Tokyo, and Rome

and about an extension of the anti-Comintern Pact on military lines. It must be taken therefore as almost a certainty that anything we might tell the Japs would reach not only the Russians but probably also the Germans and Italians.

[...] Air Ministry Intelligence reports state that the sale of papers in Italy has gone down considerably. Propaganda has evidently gone far beyond saturation point and in order to get at the truth people are buying Vatican papers, the sale of which has increased by 900 percent.

**April 26, 1940:** The Home Secretary [John Anderson] has submitted to the Home Policy Committee on April 22 certain amendments in the law. [... *internment of aliens*]. As regards anti-war propaganda, he says that the case against the PPU [Peace Pledge Union] is under consideration but that he does not think the existing laws are adequate. He is doubtful however whether any amendment can be made “without contravening the traditional principles of allowing free speech and free associations min political bodies even if these bodies are prejudicial to what the great majority of our people regard as the essential interests of the country.”

[...] We had a Board Meeting today ... The Board meeting also discussed a letter from Lord Hankey forwarding a copy of a letter from Eden and also one from Sir John Maffey [British Ambassador to Dublin]. The Irish have apparently complained to Maffey about an article which appeared in the [*Daily*] *Mirror* stating that spies in Eire are having a free hand, etc. Walshe, the [Eire] Foreign Minister, had said that in view of the close watch kept on the German Legation there could be no question of the Germans having any secret service organisation. He had gone on to say that if the British Government cared to post Intelligence agents of their

own to watch the German legation, no difficulty would be raised. Walshe had also spoken on the question of illicit wireless and expressed the view that he doubted whether anything of the kind was going on, although he did not deny the possibility. [Anthony] Eden [Secretary of War] suggests that we might take advantage of Walshe's offer, and Hankey wants our comments. Personally, I think it is quite out of the question to consider posting agents outside the German legation in Dublin. This would be insulting to Archer and would inevitably lead to trouble. As regards wireless, we have definite evidence that a station has been broadcasting within 25 miles of Dublin in official German diplomatic code to Nauen [Germany]. This station has been active on two occasions, but the Eire Govt. have failed to locate it. There may well be other stations working since they cannot even hear their own IRA stations. As far as we know they have no monitoring system. I intend to consult VV about the reply to Hankey and also to have a talk with Archer when he comes over to Droitwich.

VV in his Irish report mentions a man called Rickett who is the intermediary between the IRA and Germany. This man has been attending secret IRA meetings and seems to be in communication with German submarines off the west coast of Eire.

**April 27, 1940:** SIS reports April 21: Source in touch with the German embassy in Rome say that the King of Italy is strongly opposed war. On April 17 the policy of refraining from giving support to Holland if she alone were attacked was abandoned by the Belgian Cabinet and the King.

**April 28, 1940:** Came in for half a day, then went down to Wareham.

**April 29 – May 6, 1940:** Away on leave.

May 7, 1940: A good deal seems to have been going on while I was away. The most important matters is the paper submitted to us by the JIC on the internment of enemy aliens. [*More details.*]

[...] A cable has just been received from Canada to say that they have document evidence that one of the Italian Consuls in Canada has issued instructions to Italian Consuls in Canada has issued instructions to Italians to commit acts of sabotage in the event of Italy coming into the war, and that explosive for this purpose have been assembled. We are circulating this to the Dominions and Colonies and also to the Fighting Services and the HO.

Owing to the strained relations with Italy preparation has been made for the arrest of members of the Fascio here. HO however do not wish to intern anybody who is over the age of 60. This seems rather absurd as there are large numbers of individuals over 60 who are on the Directorate of the various Fasci. We are submitting these cases with details to the HO. We are also asking them to intern some 300 dual nationals who are members of the Fascio. We submitted these cases to them last July but have never had their views.

The work in B.19 is on the increase and it looks as if we want more people to listen in to telephone conversations.

Stopford ... also feels very strongly [that] in the case of a *Blitzkrieg* [German bombing campaign] it would be a desirable thing if our records were duplicated in the same was as has been done by business firms. It is possible to do this by photography without developing the films unless they are actually required. I should say that this is a tremendous problem which ought to be seriously considered.

[...] An underground [bank] account of the CPGD has been dis-

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covered at the National Provincial Bank. It is the executory account of one Stalker of the International Brigade who was killed in Spain. The account is manipulated by Miss Howard, who lives with Bill Rust. She has paid fairly large sums to Eva Reckett, Shand, and others. The account seems to be fed by Miss Howard. Further enquiries are being made.

May 8, 1940: We had a Board Meeting today. The problem of [future] Belgian and Dutch refugees was considered. I explained that we had made tentative arrangements both with the Dutch and Belgians, for a small staff and records to come over here. These arrangements could not be of a very concrete kind, owing to the delicate position in which the Belgians and Dutch found themselves. [...]

Allen mentioned that the JIC Committee would probably be asking for our views, particularly as to what we should be done with British subjects who were members of the Fifth Column. I said that I thought alien communists should be interned forthwith, that British communists could be left until a declaration of war with Russia, but that certain members of the BUF should be dealt with now.

[Theo] Turner who had been attending a meeting on the subject of legislation for dealing with communists or Fascists, gave us a very depressing account of the lack of progress made.

[...] Maxwell has replied to our memo about the suggested internment of alien communists and in certain eventualities British communists. His letter is very unsatisfactory from our point of view. He is obviously fighting a sort of rearguard action. He is at pains to point out that this and that cannot be done for one reason or another.

[...] I accompanied DSS to the High Commissioner for Eire's office today for a discussion with Walsh, the Eire Minister for External Affairs.

Walsh wanted to know whether we were satisfied with what his Government was doing and whether we had any suggestions to make which might assist in stopping any loopholes. I mentioned the question of ships, crews and passengers and explained that in the case of neutral ships we now had the NEP scheme in force, although it was not operating 100% owing to lack of guards. These regulations, however, were not applied to Eire ships. He appreciated the point and said he thought he could help us by enforcing something in the nature of NEP in Eire. This would at least prevent aliens from leaving their ships and getting jobs on cross-channel boats sailing under the Eire flag. We then discussed the question of wireless. I told him that we were trying to set up a monitoring system here on a 5-mile radius basis as this was the only method by which we could detect illicit wireless sets with any degree of accuracy. There is no such organisation in Eire and Walsh would be glad if we would discuss the whole question thoroughly with Archer. I said that I was not clear whether the Eire Government had received the necessary wireless equipment from this country. I thought it possible that this was not so as we ourselves had had great difficulty in obtaining wireless sets and vans. I mentioned the station which had been sending out German diplomatic code to Nauen. He was interested to hear that this station had come up twice. He had thought at first that it might have been a submarine, but he thinks that as it came up a second time on the same bearings it must definitely be an illicit station. He then mentioned the recent outrage in Dublin, where an attempt had been made by the IRA to capture Maffey's bag and the bag for the High Commissioner. De V [Valera] was definitely very

worried about the incident and had suggested that in future all communications should be in cypher. Walsh said this of course was quite impossible but they would have to consider very seriously whether the bag should not be accompanied at all stages by an armed guard. Alternatively he thought that they might perhaps use teleprinting if this was not too expensive. I said that I would make enquiries about teleprinting and let him know.

Walsh was extremely friendly and was very anxious that I should go over to Dublin as soon as it was convenient. He expressed his willingness to do anything he possibly could to help us in stopping up any loop-holes.

I discussed with Curry this question of Italian Consulates. Definite information has been received that the Italian Consul in Liverpool has been collecting data about our aerodromes. The police have got hold of a copy of a map which he left in his car, showing aerodromes in the vicinity marked on it. He is being kept under close observation. It seems highly desirable that similar action should be taken by CC's [Chief Constables] where Italian Consulates are established. A letter is being sent to them in this sense. We should I think also consider the question of telephone checks. ... We should really have had all these consulates under close observation since the beginning of the war. The principle difficulty has been the operation of telephone checks and the inadequacy of provincial police organisations for enquiries of this kind. Add to this we have all along been urged by the FO to do nothing which would irritate the Italians. We cannot afford to go on like this any longer in view of the documentary evidence that the Canadians have obtained which shows that one of the Consulates in Canada has definite instructions for sabotage activities in the event of Italy coming into the war.

[...] HO have written to Mr Scholl of the Postal Censorship regarding material obtained which relates to IRA activities. The instructions are that (a) in cases where suspicious activity is disclosed and it is not clear whether the activity refers to IRA, the original letter and in the case of telephone conversations a copy of the report on the conversation, should be sent to MI5. If the matter is of interest to the police MI5 will send a copy to SB. (2) All letters of purely IRA interest are to go in original to HO who after consulting SB will retain or send on the letter in question. (3) Telephone conversations or a purely IRA interest are to be sent direct to Sir Norman Kendal. Where they relate to serving members of the armed forces a copy should also be sent to MI5.

On April 30, a draft order in council was approved by His Majesty extending the scope of DR11 [Defence Regulation] so as to include the export in bulk of newspapers of undesirable character to be prohibited. The Minister of Information has been asked to prohibit the export under this order of the *Daily Worker* and of *Action* [published by British Union of Fascists] and to consider as a matter of urgency similar action in the case of other publications.

[...] HO have ruled that 18b cases can only communicate with personal friends or relations or their counsel. They may not communicate with MPs as has been the case in one or two instances.

The War Cabinet JIC reported on May 2 that an attack by [German] air [force] on limited objectives such as aerodromes, power stations etc. could not be ruled out. They considered that provide more stringent precautions were taken by the civil and military authorities in this country against sabotage and by local defence against landings by parachute and air-borne troops, an invasion by sea or air would be a hazardous undertaking [for the enemy]

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so long as our air force remained intact and we controlled the North Sea even with light forces.

**May 9, 1940:** According to the pres sand SISW the Dutch have arrested a number of important German agents. These include de Rantzow and a Commander, probably the two individuals who had been in direct contact with SNOW. Arrangements have been mad with the Dutch by which we shall see any papers obtained. It will be interesting to see what arrangements are now made for communicating with SNOW.

[...] Curry has raised the question of searching the headquarters of the Fascio and possibly consulates in the event of war with Italy. We are getting out a list of Fascio headquarters which we shall communicate to the police. As regards the consulates we shall have to take this question up with the FO. In the case of Germany they were reluctant to disturb consulates here owing to possible reciprocal action against our consulates. In the light of what we now know about one of the Italian Consuls in Canada, I think we shall have to consider the search of Italian consulates in a rather different light.

Godfrey has returned from Norway and gives rather a pitiful story of the expedition. He mentioned one instance where a large box was supposed to contain the necessary material for blowing up bridges. When opened it was found to contain some apparatus for touching off the charge, but no dynamite. I hope to have a talk with him and get more details.

DSS is writing to the HO regarding the note we are putting up to the JIC about the internment of aliens, etc. He is stating that in view of the altered circumstances he has had to revise his views of the urgency of this matter. He previously withdrew his memo since

in view of what Maxwell and Newsam had to say he thought it would be better to defer action until the new tribunals had done their work. Since however the Fighting Services now took a very grave view of the situation he did not think the action he had previously suggested should be any longer delayed.

Godfrey came in this evening. He gave a pitiful account of the Norwegian Expedition. After being kept in an internment camp for four days at Dumfermline he eventually embarked on the *Empress of Britain*. He remained at sea for roughly seven days before a decision was finally reached about a suitable landing-place. It seems that he went as far as Narvik and then came down to Namsos. On arrival at Namsos he got into touch with the local Norwegian police authorities but did not find them very effective. They spent most of their time in explaining that they had not fought a war for 120 years. He moved forward with Carton de Wiert's [sic. Wiart's] brigade to Steinkjer, and finally further south, to a place called Verdas. At Steinkjer he found that the local police had taken a certain amount of action and that a number of Quislings had been locked up. Having dealt with the situation there as best as he could, he virtually ceased his security activities and became attached to Carton de Wiert's staff. He seems to have been employed on almost every kind of job including that of attempting to blow up a bridge and driving a train. The troops behaved extremely well in very adverse circumstances. Casualties were few. Carton de Wiert pressed forward on the assumption that the Navy were going to deliver a smashing blow at Trondheim. This had been originally planned, but its abandonment had never been communicated to the land forces. The stores and equipment were deficient in all sorts of essentials. After 10 days and after the destruction of Namsos some AA guns arrived but without projectors. No man had more than 120 rounds and all companies were deficient by half the full complement of Brenn guns. There were

no skiers. Some guns were deficient in ammunition. The GOC had no staff for ten days. No reconnaissance by the RAF for landing grounds were carried out until two days before our troops left for Norway. Wireless communication had to be carried out from HM ships, mainly on account of the difficulty of transmitting in mountainous country.

I saw Arthur Pollen in the evening. He told me that Iceland was to be occupied tomorrow. There had also been strong indications that Holland was to have been invaded yesterday.

Mallet had telegraphed from Sweden to say that the Swedes are not giving iron ore to Germany at any rate for the time being. They are, however, prepared to fulfil our contracts.

Musso has the bit in his teeth. Lorraine has had quite a quick discussion with Ciano, who was non-committal about the date when Italy might alter her policy of neutrality. He virtually said "Today, tomorrow, sometime, never".

It seems that the move by the American Fleet in the Pacific which was given out as a precaution against an attack on the Netherlands. East Indies was taken at our special request.

**May 10, 1940:** At six a.m. the Night Duty Office rang me up to say that the eastern frontier of Holland had been invaded. The news reached him from the HO who had had it from the FO.

I spoke to [Felix] Cowgill [MI6] regarding the possibility of getting the Belgian and Dutch experts over here to help us with the refugee problem.

He said that he would try and get things moving. He did not advise us to press for Oorschott as he did not think that the latter would

be able to bring any documents with him, neither had SIS a very high opinion of his ability. Cowgill said that SIS had brought all the documents relating to the sabotage activities which had been found on Germans arrested and that they also had a copy of the Dutch Black List. I asked him to let us have the latter as soon as possible in order that we could circulate the names to ports. I suggested that the Dutch should be urged to transfer Moerz (believed to have been responsible for the Venlo Incident [*November 1939 kidnapping of Stevens and Best; and see entry for May 26*]), and certain other people arrested to this country. We could then interrogate them, at our leisure and also use them as bargaining counters. We cannot I am afraid get Schulzer Burnett as he is on the German Diplomatic Staff. I spoke to DSS and urged the necessity of pressing for immediate action on the basis of our memo to the JIC. ... I thought also that we should ask for the internment of the organisers of the BUF.

An anonymous letter believed to be from a German has been received by the HO. [*But see entry for May 26*]. It speaks of a plan for the invasion by air and sabotage on the S E Coast on Saturday night. The alleged German said that he had landed here some two months ago and he had been deputed to carry out certain acts at Lee-on-Solent. In view of this message we are recommending the interment of all enemy aliens in the East Coast area and the restriction of ordinary aliens who had entered these areas since the war. We are still trying to get HO to make a decision about dual nationals who are members of the Fascio. There are some 340 of these people who should all be interned in the event of war with Italy. Newsam has promised to speak to the Home Secretary and let me have an answer.

**May 11, 1940:** We had a Board Meeting today at which DDS gave an account of his meeting at the HO last night. He went over about

four

p.m. and started discussions with Newsam. Subsequently Dowson was called in and then [Osbert] Peake and Maxwell. Discussions were broken off for dinner and resumed afterwards. Meanwhile John Anderson [Home Secretary] was holding a conference with Cabinet Ministers, Under-Secretaries of State, etc. presumably about the reshuffle in the Cabinet. At half-past eleven Maxwell took his party, accompanied by DMI, a representative of DMO, and McLeod of AG3 into Anderson's room, and in front of the whole assembly gave Anderson details of the proposed [internment] action. At first Anderson seemed disinclined to act. He said that he did not think the present emergency warranted anything quite so drastic. It seemed that he was throwing a fly over his colleagues, a number of whom reacted very much in our favour. Walter Elliott and Colville took the lead. The former was very much in earnest and sitting on Anderson's table said, "Look here, John, you *must* intern these people." Anderson told him not to get excited. Some of the others chipped Anderson by suggesting to him that he would get a very good press in the Daily Mail. In the end Anderson decided to intern all male enemy aliens between the ages of 16–65 who were residing in any countries bordering the coast from north of Scotland to Hants [Hampshire] inclusive. Ordinary aliens were to be subject to restrictions similar to those imposed on enemy aliens under Cat B, and were to be instructed to reports to the police every 24 hours. If the conditions did not appeal to them they could go and live elsewhere.

There was a statement in the *Daily Mirror* today that we had bought all the ports and Govt. establishments from the Wire Govt. for fifty million pounds. We cannot get any confirmation of this from official sources.

[...] DSS has sent a letter to the Home office on the subject of in-

tering the district organisers of the BVUF and other important members of the Party. [Sir Oswald] Mosley is included. Other kindred organisations of the Right are to be dealt with in a similar manner as far as their organising staffs are concerned. It will be interesting to see if the Home office are prepared to swallow this pill.

Ruben Glucksmann, Austrian, is to be interned and Kate Rink, his British secretary of Polish origin, is to go in under 18b. Both these people are connected with the Eastern Trading Co. which was formerly run by Ehrenlieb, the Russian 4th Dept. agent.

Von Treschkow has been released by the Advisory Committee.

[...] The Death Penalty Bill has at last been put before the House of Commons.

SNOW is still in touch with his friends on the other side. He had told them he could obtain the services of a trawler for communication. He was asked what the range of this trawler was.

**May 12, 1940:** [...] SIS have given us a copy of the Dutch Black List which we are having photographed and circulated to ports.

DSS has been to see the FO regarding searching Italian Consulates in the event of war. [Gladwyn] Jebb [FO] has asked us to consult SIS about the possible repercussions. We are getting telephone checks on Italian consulates in London, Glasgow and Liverpool.

Orders went out last night at eight p.m. for the arrest of all enemy aliens in coastal districts. There have already been a number of complaints. An elephant keeper in Bertram Mills circus at Southampton is a German. They do not know what to do with

the elephants. He has been treated as a special case as he is moving shortly to Gloucester. ... The harem of some oriental potentate at Brighton has been roped in. One Loewy who has set up a factory at Bournemouth to cost about £10,000 for some contracts branch has himself been bodily removed.

DSS tells me that Maxwell has refused to consider our representations about the internment of 500 members of the BUF. Later I had a long conversation with Newsam. I told him that I was very concerned about our suggestion having been turned down. He pointed out that it was still open to us to put up cases where any association was shown. It was quite obvious from the general make up of the party, from its publications, etc. that it was actively assisting the enemy. If therefore we had not the necessary powers to deal with it we should get them. Newsam seemed to doubt whether any members of the BUF would assist the enemy if they were able to land in this country. I said that I had not the slightest doubt that they would, and that the remarks of the Commissioner on the subject were without foundation. I told Newsam that there were after all some quite intelligent people in this office who had given careful study to the matter and that that was their considered view.

**May 13, 1940:** In view of my depressing conversation with Newsam yesterday I have got Sneath and Dickson to prepare a case on the BUF in order to show that the whole organisation is a hostile association. When the case is prepared, DDS will see the Commissioner with Canning, Sneath and Knight. It is hoped then to re-submit the case to Maxwell.

I mentioned the HO attitude to DMI. He said that if we would submit the case to him he would put it before the JIC and press for action. I mentioned to him the case which had been reported

to us by the Eastern Command. Apparently some kind of jamming of our AA wireless in the vicinity of Chelmsford and Ballericay [sic. Billericay, Essex] has been going on for some time. GOC asked that all doubtful British subjects should be removed from the area and I have been obliged to explain to him that this was quite impossible. The matter was reported to MI8c who promised if necessary to send down a detecting van.

Roger [Hollis] and I went up to see Leggett. He told me that two days previously he had visited Maxwell at the request of his Minister in order to see what could be done about certain communists. ... Maxwell talked a great deal about the liberty of the subject and Leggett had to leave without having made any progress... Leggett also told me that Labour had made some very stringent conditions before joining the Govt. A *sine qua non* had been the removal of Sir Horace Wilson from the political sphere.

C-in-C Portsmouth was sent a signal about the distribution of communist leaflets in the town. He asks whether this damnable practice cannot be stopped in spite of the Home office.

[...] An SIS report mentions the establishment of a German submarine base near Vladivostock.

[...] Hitler told Musso at the end of April that he was going to make an offensive from the Swiss frontier (Basle) to Holland in about three weeks, and that he would defeat the French army in two weeks.

[..] The Dutch arrests of De Graaf von Arendhorst and Dr Otto Butting and Rost van Toningan [sic. Tonningen] show that widespread sabotage was contemplated.

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A report on Russia indicates that she desires to fan the flames of war by giving limited support to both sides and at the same time keeping out of hostilities.

**May 14, 1940:** Göring's nephew Van Rosen, a Swede, has arrived here. He was apparently in Germany two days before the invasion of Holland. He was a KML pilot and had fought against the Russians in Finland. On his return from there he had seen Göring who was interested in his technical experiences.

[...] One J E M Carvell of the FO is negotiating for a number of Belgian Surete officers to come over in order to assist us in sorting out the refugees.

Special material [i.e. decodes] for the 12th May shows that the French and Allied forces including Dutch and Belgians had up to that date accounted for 30 planes. The Dutch were thought to be resisting well at that moment and the British have apparently landed troops in Holland. I believe they were Guards and only stayed 36 hours. The Dutch are crying out for help, particular[ly] for aircraft, which they want to assist them in the recapture of Rotterdam.

**May 15, 1940:** Discussed with Curry the question of raiding Italian consulates. Decided that we should recommend this and the house detention of consular staff.

Left for Droitwich at midday. Lunched at Oxford with Tom Hutchinson, where we discussed the billeting of the staff. He undertook to get in touch with local authorities and see what was possible.

Arrived at Droitwich about 5 and found Archer at his clinic. ... Archer said that as far as he could see there was nothing to pre-

vent the Germans landing in Eire and he did not see how any resistance could be maintained for more than a week. ... he said that he thought he could persuade his ministers to lock up the Fifth Column in Eire. ... As regards organising for defence, some 30,000 men were called up in December last and half of them disbanded. ... The difficult was that they had no equipment. Orders had been placed in this country as much as 18 months ago, but it had not been possible owing to pressure of work for the firms to fulfil them. He mentioned to me quite privately that in some quarters in the [Irish] Government it was thought that these arms were being intentionally withheld owing to doubts about the use to which they might be put. ... I gather that the principle requirements are Bren guns, ammunition, trawlers, coastal patrols and aeroplane parts. ... We raised the question with Archer as to the possibility of some sort of staff talks in preparation for a possible German landing in the interim. We told him that in our view it was a thing which might happen any day. He said that he was a soldier and that this was more a matter for the politicians. ... Archer seemed to think that if the Germans landed in Eire, there would be general resentment and a certain amount of resistance but he thought there might be quite a number of people who would say, "Oh, well, they are here in force, we can't do anything about it," and be quite prepared to accept the situation. He was quite emphatic that Eire would be thinking about her independence and that many people would not mind Great Britain getting a licking. On the other hand, somebody who had expressed this view to him concluded by saying, "But what would happen to us if they did?"

**May 16, 1940:** It seems that the JIC have made some very strong recommendations about the internment of all enemy aliens and also of the Fascists and Communists. DSS has had a conversation with the Commissioner and the case against the BUF is being

worked up. Mosley's safe has been rifled and a document has been obtained showing the whole scheme for setting up wireless masts in Germany. [*Blue pencil "?" in left margin*]. We heard about this scheme more than a year ago.

[...] Cecil and I went to see Lord Hankey at 4:45. I gave him the information that we had obtained from Archer. He thought the whole matter was very important and sent us straight on to see Lord Caldicott, at the DO. We explained the situation to him. He said that [British Ambassador] Maffey was coming over [from Dublin] that night and that there was to be a meeting in the morning. Maffey had already discussed the situation with De V and the Eire Govt were extremely anxious to obtain arms. This aspect of the question was being considered by the Service Depts. There had I gather been doubts about the advisability of giving arms to Eire which might fall into the hands of the IRA. [...] Caldicott did not strike me as being very imaginative about the whole thing.

SNOW has received a message to say that Rantzow will meet him somewhere in the North Sea on May 22. SNOW is to go out in his trawler if he considers it safe...

**May 17, 1940:** I saw Cowgill [MI] at Broadway. He has made arrangements about the Dutch officers who are to assist us with her refugee problem. ... I had a few moments with Stewart [Menzies]. He told me that the situation had been very critical the day before yesterday. The French were shouting for troops and aircraft and were generally in a frightful flap. Winston had gone over yesterday to calm them down. They have put General Giraud in charge and he has undertaken to clean up the situation in the next few days. He is I gather a real tiger. The news is already batter and it seems that the advanced mechanised column directed on Rheims has been cut off. The 5ème Bureau were so worried about the

situation two days ago that they had already begun to destroy their papers. Every unit in the German Air Force has been identified on the Western Front. It seems therefore that the Germans are putting their last ounce into the battle at Sedan. Their casualties compared with ours have been about 3–1.

Stewart had some information, I gather of a reliable and very confidential kind, that Roosevelt was proposing to give us 10 destroyers, somewhat out of date but nevertheless useful. He also proposed to give us a portion of his first-line aircraft, provided we would replace them in due course with Spitfires. There is little doubt that Roosevelt would bring the whole country [USA] into the war now if he possibly could.

Holderness rang up to say that he had been advised by the S of S to prepare a memo on the BUF. Anderson's colleagues had been pressing for the internment of BUF members. I told Holderness that we had prepared a memo for the HO a week ago recommended the internment of 500 selected individuals but that our suggestion had been turned down. It was arranged that certain representatives from this office should go up and help Holderness in his task.

Cecil and I went to the DO [Dominions Office] to attend a meeting at which Sir John Maffey presided. [*more details.*]

[...] I lunched with Crocker. He is going very thoroughly into the question of leakage of information through insurance. He has already ascertained that considerable leakage through these channels did take place during the last war. The information passed through reinsurance companies to the enemy.

May 18, 1940: I saw Stewart [Menzies] again today. He told me that

the situation two days ago had been extremely critical. The trouble was that the French did not fight. They were overwhelmed by the intensity of the bombing and the tank attacks. It seems to have been more a question of the terrifying form of attack rather than the actual damage inflicted. The situation today seemed calmer and more reassuring. Then last night we bombed Bremerhaven, where very large oil storage depots are. We sent over 132 bombers and 132 returned. It is said that you could almost read a newspaper at the German frontier. The purpose of these bombings of the Ruhr etc is to draw the German bombers off the French and on to this country where they can be dealt with adequately by our fighters, particularly if they come at night. So far our bombing of German industrial areas has not had the desired effect. This may be an indication that they have not sufficient reserves to concentrate both on the French Army and on this country and that they are throwing their last ounce in the bulge on the Meuse. Stewart told me an amusing story which came up on the special material [decodes]. The Americans ordered 25 camp beds from Harrods but as these were described as cots" in American, 25 babies' costs arrived at the Embassy. A irate official told Harrods that he was talking from an Embassy and not from a crèche.

[...] Glucksmann, the 4th Dept. agent, has been arrested and his offices have been searched. He has a large amount of interesting correspondence and seems to have a large number of bearer cheques for large amounts. He has been questioned but appears to have been mostly in tears and frequently asked for water. Cookie is carrying out the interrogation as the man is an Austrian. There is no doubt that he is an important Soviet agent. All his answers to questions are completely unconvincing.

**May 19, 1940:** Maxwell has written a very stuffy letter about recommendations to the DMI which would be transmitted to the JIC

Committee. The JIC had drawn up a memo on certain steps that they thought desirable against Fifth Columnists. DMI had asked for our comments. We had recommended (a) interment of selected members of the BUF, (b) interment of Cat B women, (c) internment of non-refugees in Cat C and (d) internment of all Czech residents in Germany and Austria prior to 1933. [*Territorial disputes follow*].

[...] Knight has seen Herschel Johnson [of the US embassy] and Tyler [Gatewood] Kent, the employe [sic] of the American Embassy who is associated with Anna Wolkoff and has evidently been getting secret documents out of the Embassy. It seems likely that these documents may have been leaked to the Germans. Johnson was very perturbed since Tyler Kent has access to the Embassy cyphers and has previously been reported as being somewhat or-Nazi and associating with a woman of similar views. It has been decided to raid Tyler Kent and Anna Wolkoff tomorrow.

+++++, who was put in on SNOW in such a way as to preclude the possibility of SNOW realising that he was an agent of ours, has now made it clear that SNOW is double-crossing us. He has said as much to +++++. Personally I think snow just regards the whole business as a money-making concern and gives a little to both sides. Probably neither side really trusts him. He has not been in a position to give the Germans very much from this country, except information which we have planted on him. In view of this development it has been decided to let the North Sea meeting take place. SNOW and +++++ are to go out on the trawler and hang about the fishing ground until dusk. Instead of then going to the rendez-vous the captain will sail to some other point and bring the boat home. This will keep SNOW out of harm's way and ensure that he does not get wind of any impending action. Meanwhile a submarine will play about in the vicinity of the

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rendez-vous and if another submarine turns up it will be torpedoed, if a trawler it will be captured, we hope with Rantzow on board.

**May 20, 1940:** The Belgian and Dutch refugees are causing a lot of trouble. They are expected at the rate of about ten thousand a day, since we have undertaken to relieve the French of some 200 to 250,000.

[...] Stewart Menzies told me what I believe is an authentic story in connection with Winston's recent visit to the French. He found them in a terrible state about the possibility of tanks arriving in Paris. Winston said, "That's all right. They will have to get out to relieve themselves, and then you can shoot them."

**May 21, 1940:** DSS saw DMI yesterday and went with him to the S of S for War [Anthony Eden]. This was for the purpose of discussing our position vis-à-vis the HO. Eden said he did not want to have a half-hour lecture from John Anderson [Home Secretary] on the liberties of the subject, and urged DSS to come to some arrangement with him. DSS saw Maxwell and Anderson and it was agreed that we should keep the DMI informed. Later in the evening DSS accompanied by Stephens attended a meeting called by [Clement] Attlee and [Arthur] Greenwood. John Anderson and Maxwell were also present. The discussion was already in progress. Greenwood and Attlee [*both Labour Party ministers*], were pressing for some action to be taken against the BUF. Anderson was arguing on judicial lines saying that he had no evidence which would lead him to suppose that members of the BUF would actively assist the enemy if they landed in this country. Stephens was very outspoken both on the question of the BUF and on the question of all enemy aliens. Anderson and Maxwell were rather annoyed at his outburst but Greenwood and Attlee were evidently

eager to hear what he had to say.

At seven p.m. today I attended a meeting at the HO which lasted until 8:45. Anderson [Home Secretary], DSS, Maxwell, [Osbert] Peake, [Norman?] Brooke, myself, and M were present. Anderson had our original memo which was turned down about ten days ago, and wanted to have detailed information in support of the various statements made. M was extremely good and made all his points very quietly and forcible. I did not interfere at all except on on[e] or two occasions. Anderson began by saying that he found it difficult to believe that members of the BUF would assist the enemy. He had been studying the recent number of *Action*, where Mosley appeared to the patriotism of its members. M explained that this was merely an example of how insincere Mosley really was and how many of his supporters simply regarded utterances of that kind as a figure of speech. He then went on to describe something of the underground activities of the BUF and also of the recent cause against Tyler Kent involving [Captain] Maule Ramsey [a Member of Parliament]. Anderson agreed that the case against Ramsey was rather serious but he did not seem to think that it involved the BUF. M explained to him that Maule Ramsey and Mosley were in constant touch with one another and that many members of the Right Club were also members of the BUF. Other subjects dealt with were the somewhat sinister activities of John Beckett and other members of the BUF who appeared to be collecting arms.

Anderson said that he needed to be reasonably convinced that the BUF might assist the enemy and that unless she could get such evidence he thought it would be a mistake to imprison Mosley and his supporters who would be extremely bitter after the war when democracy would be going through its severest trials. I longed to say that if somebody did not get a move on there would

be no democracy, no England, and no Empire, and that this was almost a matter of days. I did strongly stress the urgency of the matter and said that surely, rather than argue the fine points of these various cases wasn't it possible to make up our minds whether the BUF was assisting the enemy and if we came to the conclusion that it was, wasn't it possible to find some means of dealing with it as an organisation, Anderson rather skated over this but he seemed to have a great aversion to locking up a British subject unless he had a very cast-iron case against him. He was however I think considerably shaken by the end of the meeting. He asked us for further evidence on certain points which he required for the Cabinet meeting which was to take place tomorrow evening. Either he is an extremely calm and cool-headed person or he has not the least idea of the present situation. The possibility of a serious invasion of this country would seem to be no more than a vague suggestion [pencilled addition: in Anderson's mind.]

**May 22, 1940:** Discussed last night's meeting and also the question of whether the PM should be informed through [Major Desmond] Morton. DSS thinks we should not do this but is himself going to have a talk with Van [Vansittart?].

A representative of the BBC came here this morning to say that in his opinion the *New British Broadcasting Station*, which is of course German one, was putting over information in code. He had made a careful study of broadcasting methods when the Germans took Poland and also when they took Holland. They had destroyed the Polish broadcasting stations and had taken their wavelengths. In the case of Holland they had left the stations standing and had taken them over. There were strong indications that in the event of an attack on this country the New British Broadcasting Station would try and monopolise the air and issue instructions and mis-

leading information to the public. Frost of the BBC thought that all information coming from this station should go to some central point and should be dealt with by the civil operations branch and the military operations branchy. We arranged for him to go and see Waterfield about this on the civil side and warned the DMI of the situation.

The last three days have been about the worst I every spent for some considerable time. The news has been so bad that it made me feel physically sick. I am much heartened today by the re-taking of Arras and the reported flank attack by the BEF. There was a rumour that [General] Gamelin has shot himself. The trouble on the Meuse was apparently due to the fact that the troops were mostly French Colonials who ran.

DSS has just seen the CIGS. He is just back from GHQ where he was bombed and somewhat shaken. He told DSS that the news was much better.

Lunched with Bland. He was full of his experiences at The Hague. He seems to have left a good deal of his kit behind, for which the Treasury will give him no compensation.

[...] We appear to have been to some degree successful in our mission to the HO yesterday. A selection of leading BUF members are [sic] to be interned, including Mosley, also other representatives of the Right, including Maule Ramsey, MP. All Cat B women are to be interned forthwith. All aliens are to be put on very close restrictions with a curfew. The cases of Czechs who resided in Germany and Austria up to 1933 and the cases of enemy aliens Cat C are to remain in abeyance for the moment.

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New powers are to be obtained for dealing with Fascist and Communists which will really mean restoring 18b to its original state.

SIS material: one report mentions the possibility of an attack by the Germans on the Faroes and Iceland. .... The Russians appear to be clearing the Bukovina frontier. Another report mentions a contemplated landing by the Germans in Eire. Two rather significant reports have reached us today. One concerns a Dutch company in Norfolk which acquired in 1938 a great deal of land. [*pencil in margin: East Anglia Real Estate*]. CC [Chief Constable] tells us that the hedges of a number of fields owned by this company have been removed and give the impression of preparations for a landing ground. All roofs of the farm buildings have recently been painted red. Orders are being given to arrest all members of this company. The other report is from CC Bucks [Buckinghamshire] who says that an Egyptian of Turkish origin who has recently arrived in his area [*pencil: Kurk*] has also had the roofs of his farm buildings painted red and is in possession of two dozen suits and 22 pairs of shoes which are stored in his barn. This has been verified. Orders are being given for this man to be pulled in as well.

**May 24, 1940:** A meeting was held last night at the offices of the Privy Council, with Neville Chamberlain [former prime minister] in the chair. Others present were Attlee, Greenwood, Hankey, DMI and Anderson [Home Secretary]. Chamberlain opened the discussion by saying that he understood that there had been a difference of opinion between the JIC and the HO on the question of internment. He asked the DMI to explain his views. DMI very briefly sketched the outline of Fifth Column activities in foreign countries, and on behalf of the JIC made the point that the wholesale internment of enemy aliens and the strictest control of all refugees was necessary from the military point of view.

John Anderson was asked to reply. To anyone who had not made a close study of the subject, his answer created an atmosphere of confidence in his policy. He took the view that he was entirely satisfied with the work of the tribunals, which had given the benefit of the doubt to the state and not to the alien. In this work the tribunals had acted in the closest co-operation with the police and the MI5. He was opposed to the wholesale internment and took the view that the right course was to break up hostile organisations by partial internment and strict control of the remainder. He thought that large-scale internment created a hot-bed of intrigue. He expressed grave doubts about the control of internees and prisoners of war by the military authorities and quoted examples. He visualised internment camps as organised Nazi parties controlled by the Gestapo, and continued in this strain, obviously making an impression on the Privy Council. He emphasised the strict control over entry into this country in the past, and concluded by saying that he had certain proposals which he explained. Logically and only logically he ought to proceed with the internment of women in Cat B and he had made arrangements with the Governor of the Isle of Man for their accommodation. He further proposed to exercise strict control on all aliens in this country whether neutral, allied or war refugees or Cat C enemy aliens. When asked by the Foreign Secretary what steps were being taken to deal with Cat C he replied that CCs were empowered to bring in suspicious cases before the tribunals for disposal. The impression left on the meeting, although there was some support for the military point of view, appeared to be that wholesale internment might be undesirable, until the military authorities had ensured absolute control of internment camps. Immediate steps were to be taken to enquire whether Canada could not take quota of internees. The DMI was then asked if he had anything to say and he expounded the view with some support from the Foreign Secretary. It was finally agreed

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that the Home Secretary should continue to act on his own proposals without prejudice to further consideration of the major problems in the light of future conditions.

It seems to me that the only really valid argument in the Home Secretary's defence was the inadequacy of the guarding of internment camps. His confidence in the work of the tribunals is entirely misplaced. We at any rate know that their work has to a large extent been farcical. Statements to the effect that these tribunals have acted in the closest co-operation with the police and MI5 are grossly misleading. Lastly his statement that strict control over the entry of enemy aliens into this country has taken place in the past has no foundation in fact. Control has been extremely lax, with the result that we are saddled with a large number of undesirables and others about whom very little is known.

Haylor has put forward a scheme for sorting out the Czechs in this country. We propose to make them fill in form DR.17. We can then find out the names of those who resided in Germany and Austria prior to 1933 and also the names of the Sudeten Germans. Both these categories should be interned and also the Communist officials of the Czech Trust Fund.

DDS discussed yesterday with Sir Alexander Maxwell and Sir Phillip Game at the HO the question of interning Cat C enemy refugees, males, and if possible, single or childless females. Maxwell raised no objection

In principal but promised to lay the matter before the Home Secretary as an urgent proposal. DDS also suggested opening negotiations with Canada to receive some of the internees for whom no accommodation is ready. DDS used as argument the rather serious despatch from our Minister in Spain. The head of a mission who was on intimate terms with the German Embassy in Madrid

said that the Germans regarded the 5th column as their new weapon and the basis of it was the Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria. It seems that they had been approached individually in Scandinavia and the Low Countries and told that if they would work for Germany they would be allowed to return after the war and their relatives in Germany would be released forthwith. Otherwise they would be put on the Black List.

The Police have interviewed Kurk, who has given a fairly plausible explanation about the purchase of property. It seemed difficult, however, to explain reasonably the purchase of 32 suits to his own measure. His red paint has been analysed but does not apparently contain any fluorescent material. [The] CC [Chief Constable] is keeping him under close observation.

The Dutchmen in the East Anglia Real Estate Co. have been arrested and their wives, and they are being interrogated.

I have been trying to formulate some plan of work in the event of our becoming a kind of active field force. It is difficult to visualise exactly how it will work. It may be that it would be advisable to have a certain proportion of our staff either with commands or regional commissioners.

**May 25, 1940:** We have received a telegram from the High Commissioner of Eire stating that the house of Michael Held has been raided as a result of information received about a parachutist from a German aeroplane. A parachute was found in the house, a German suit of clothes, \$20,000 and a wireless transmitting set. The papers today have the story but state that it is Stephen Carrol Held who has been arrested. We are taking steps to deal with Mrs. Costar who resides in Northumberland and who was in close touch with S C held,

[...] At 12 noon on the 23rd the Egyptian Minister who was in touch with Bastiani[ni], was certain that owing to pressure from the Royal Family and the Vatican, Italy would not fight. This does not altogether coincide with information received from SIS which indicates that the whole question is still in the air. The Soviet attitude towards Germany is stiffening. She does not want an outright German victory.

DSS told me this morning that he had had an interview with Neville [Chamberlain] who had questioned him on Fifth Columnists here. DSS told him he was worried about Czechs and also about other aliens. He then went on to see the PM. The latter was not available owing to a meeting, but Desmond Morton was there. It seems that the PM takes a strong view about the internment of all Fifth Columnists at this moment and that he has left the Home Secretary in no doubt about his views. What seems to have moved him more than anything was the Tyler Kent case. [*Tyler Kent had made copies of Churchill's secret cables to Roosevelt, feeling they were incriminating evidence*].

At about six o'clock Stephens had a telephone message asking that he and I should go up to the Privy Council to see Attlee and Greenwood. I could not understand how they had got hold of my name. Before going I rang up DSS to ask his permission. I told him that I proposed, if I were questioned about internment, to tell them exactly what I thought. He agreed. Attlee and Greenwood gave me the impression that they thought there was some political intrigue or graft in the HO [Home Office] which was holding things up. I told them quite frankly that I did not think this was the case. I went over the whole ground, explaining how enemy aliens had been let into this country freely for a period of five years, how the War Book contained directions for their probable internment in

categories immediately after the outbreak of war, and how Sir Samuel Hoare had reversed this policy early in September [1939] and had substituted the tribunal system. This had meant that the organisation of MI5 had been swamped and for the last six months had been engaged on work of relatively small importance which had largely been abortive. I said that in my view the reluctance of the HO to act came from an old-fashioned liberalism which seemed to prevail in all sections. The liberty of the subject, freedom of speech, etc. were all very well in peace time but were no use in fighting the Nazis. There seemed to be a complete failure to realise the power of the totalitarian state and the energy with which the Germans were fighting a total war. Both Greenwood and Attlee were ~~more or less~~ [*crossed out*] in agreement with our views, They said that they had been charged by the Prime Minister to enquire into this matter.

**May 26, 1940:** Dick [White] tells me that one of his Czech friends has actually seen Morz in London. We have circularised his photograph to the police and we are trying to get into touch with the girl who is known to be his mistress.

The man who sent in the anonymous report [*see entry for May 10*] which led to the internment of Cat C enemy aliens from the north of Scotland to Hants has been identified. He is a British subject and who [*sic. was?*] formerly employed in AG.4. He is a crook, but possibly he should not be dealt with too hardly as he has got the HO [Home Office] to do what we have been trying to get them to do for the last six months.

There was tremendous excitement about the East Anglian Real Estate Co. Both the Air Ministry and the Prime Minister have been making enquiries. I got on to the CC Norfolk and asked him to have a thorough search made of the remaining farms. He told me

that he had already searched two for [sic. of?] the farms and that there was nothing at all there and that the demeanour of the wives of the two Dutchmen was thoroughly satisfactory. The red roofs were of ordinary corrugated iron pattern and were received from the manufacturers in their present state. They had been not been painted by the company. In the meantime the Eastern Command are ploughing up the whole area and putting obstacles in the fields.

We have received the documents in the Held case. There is an elaborate questionnaire in good English but in German handwriting, which shows that preparations are being made for a landing in the north and also at Dingle Bay and Ventry Bay. We are interrogating a woman named Mrs Costar in the north who was a friend of Held.

We have had a report from Lincs [Lincolnshire] CC that the local organisation of the BUF is discussing plans for assisting parachute troops.

DSS is to see Neville Chamberlain tomorrow. I have put up a note stating what we think should be done to clear the ground for action here. First of all it is of paramount importance to get as many enemy aliens and internees and prisoners of war out of the country as possible. Canada is the suggested destination. Secondly, we want to put the Czechs in with the exception of some 50 specially vouched for. As soon as possible, the whole of the remainder of Cat C should be interned. BUF district organisers numbering some 500 persons, should be interned, if there is any indication of conspiratorial activities. The Dutch and Belgian refugees should be sent if possible to America.

May 27, 1940: I lunched with VV. He had some very cheering news

about our Air Force and the exhaustion of the Germans. He said that they had extremely reliable information that things behind the line were none too good, that the German Air Force had their tails right down and that they would not go up except in formation. The effect of our attacks on German communications had been devastating and the morale in the rear lines is said to be very bad.

DSS saw Neville Chamberlain. There is to be a Home Defence Committee on which DSS and anybody he likes to take with him will sit. [John] Colville [Churchill's private secretary] will be in the chair.

[...] Brigadier Hawes of the Eastern Command called late in the evening. GOC is apparently extremely worried about the Fifth Column activities in his area. He picked up a map which was given him by the Lincs police which seemed to indicate some plan for parachutists in the area of The Wash. GOC thinks it is of paramount importance the Fifth Column should be interned immediately. Brigadier Hawes wanted to know what support or advice we could give him. He himself is prepared to go to the Prime Minister if necessary. I said that I thought the best thing would be to get into touch with the DMI. I rang him up, told him that Haws was here and would like to speak to him. At the end of the conversation it was decided that DMI would speak to CIGS with a view to an ultimatum being given to the Govt.

**May 28, 1940:** The new British Broadcasting Co. Is throwing out hints to scare the public about an attack by gliders.

There have been some terrific battles in Calais and Boulogne and the BEF seems to be dribbling out.

The blow today is the order of the King of the Belgians to his army to surrender. I gather that this matter had been under consideration for 3–4 days and that the King came to his decision after hearing that the British Army intended to get out as best they could.

**May 28, 1940:** The Italian Consul in Malta is burning his documents and has orders to be ready to leave. In the meantime there are diplomatic discussions going on between ourselves and the Italians in Rome regarding the exchange of internees in the event of war. The cart seems to have got slightly before the horse I cannot think why we do not ask the Italians whether they are supposed to be making war against us or whether we are supposed to be making war against them. Having got that thrashed out, we might make a date for next Monday.

**May 28, 1940:** SIS reports state that Italy, if and when she does come in, will attack Egypt and Greece, She hopes to have Salonica in 48 hours. Another report suggests that Japan has designs on the Netherlands east Indies. This may be merely a blind to keep America occupied.

I have a long talk with Arthur last night. ... Reynaud seems generally more confident about the whole position. A report from Rome, said to come from the Italian FO and WO, indicates that the Germans are contemplating an attack on the French from the direction of Sedan. The idea is to drive down behind the Maginot Line.

The Italians are behaving in the most extraordinary way. Ciano plays gold with [Sir Percy] Lorraine [sic. Loraine?], and tells him he is sorry but he feels now that war between England and Italy is inevitable. He will do his best to let us have as much notice as pos-

sible. Musso has apparently torn up the contraband control agreement which had been signed a few days ago by Wilfred Greene. We are removing our contraband control people from Gib.

The general feeling is that nothing can stop Musso now from going to war. This is I believe also the opinion in Vatican circles.

**May 31, 1940:** The Anna Wolkoff – Maule Ramsey case is going to be interesting. Anna Wolkoff has come perilously near to high treason. She has obtained information of vital importance to this country from the American embassy through Tyler Kent. She has had documents photographed by a man called Smirnow, and there is some evidence to show that she had passed this information to the Duce del Monte in the Italian Embassy. She has moreover endeavoured to plant agents both in the censorship and MI5. There is little doubt that Maule Ramsey has been cognisant of her activities.

A number of reports have been coming through both from FO and SIS indicating that the large number of wounded drifting back into Germany is having a tremendous effect on the population. People seem to take little interest in the countries conquered, but are gravely concerned about the casualties.

**June 1, 1940:** We have 6,000 Norwegian whalers [seamen] here who are causing a certain amount of trouble owing to their slightly pro-Nazi tendencies and reluctance to work. [...] The Italian embassy is reported to be burning its papers.

[...] We sent out our stand-by Aritfas telegrams [Arrest Italian Fascio?] yesterday. Apparently one of the action telegrams went out as well with the result that one Italian was arrested. A query reached us from the CC and the man was released.

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An SIS report states that Germany is somewhat worried by the attitude of Soviet Russia toward Great Britain and Sweden. USSR is making trouble over delivery of goods to Germany.

**June 4, 1940:** Walker from GHQ Home defences came in to say that they had a number of reports from various counties about curious signs on telegraph posts etc. he is investigating the whole matter further. I am rather inclined to think it may be Boy Scouts or the local defence force.

[...] Spoke [with] VV about Ireland and his suggestion [*at the Home Defence Committee on May 29, not copied here*] that some effort should be made to bring the north and south together. His proposal has got to the ears of [General] Ismay [Chiefs of Staff], who apparently disapproved of the suggestion being made at the Home Defence Executive rather than through the CID [Committee for Imperial Defence]. Various Cabinet Ministers then weighed in with disapproval. The facts however have reached the PM through Desmond Morton and he is now busily engaged in knocking everybody's heads together. There is to be a meeting tonight at six to consider the whole question.

[...] The general opinion now appears to be that snow is once more on the straight and narrow path. Personally I doubt it, although he has given us certain information which has proved to be reliable. We have just heard that two bombs were found in the *City of Sydney* at Mauritius.

**June 6, 1940:** We are getting endless reports about marks and signs chalked up all over the country. Much of the information is obviously junk, but the remainder may well be done by disaffected Fascists who want to give everyone the jitters. Ferguson is go-

ing into the question and it looks like being a whole-time job.

There is a scare, the origin of which is obscure, about the German Embassy. Consent has been obtained from the Swiss Minister, and a party is to investigate this evening.

**June 6, 1940:** We seem to have won a definite victory at the Home Defence Executive meeting yesterday on the Czech question. The chairman took a very strong line and said that if something was not done there were obviously the makings of a public scandal. Generally speaking the HO were routed. The committee has recommended that the leading Czech communists are to be arrested and that the hostels are to be under the closest supervision had control of British subjects especially appointed.

**June 7, 1940:** We have taken on Anthony Blunt [later exposed as a Soviet agent.] He was in the FSP [Field Security Police?] at Boulogne. We are also trying to get young Comyns-Carr, who seems to have very brilliant qualifications.

[...] I saw Frost of the BBC and W/C Blackford at TAR [Robertson]'s house last night, Blackford seems to think that he has not only established that the new BBC broadcasts are the means of communicating between Germany and the Fifth Column here, but that he has solved the code. In the statistical information given towns are mentioned and in certain cases the name is spelt out, sometimes two or three times. He has been plotting these places on a map and says that they are generally given in groups of three. A projection through the apex of the triangle thus made shows the location of coastal raids which are to take place next day. He claims that he had prior knowledge of the places which were raided on the east coast 3 or 4 nights ago, TAR is not altogether convinced that he has solved the code, but all are more or less agreed

that the messages do contain some form of code, since otherwise they have little real meaning.

[...] Difficulties have arisen owing to the fact that MI8 are supposed to be responsible for plain language codes, and wish to impose a lot of soldiers on Frost to do the work. [...]

Our Capt. Bardwell has been feeling the heat and in a moment of exasperation broke several of his cell windows. Unfortunately the glass fell upon a representative of the Office of Works who happened to be on the premises. He was much concerned firstly by the falling glass and secondly about the damage to Govt. property. A rather acrimonious conversation ensued; ultimately the matter was smoothed over by Malcolm Cumming with his usual tact. It was explained to the representative of the Office of Works that the action was taken in the heat of the moment.

Downing St are worried about some land which is the property of a Dutchman in the vicinity of Chequers. It is said that he has ploughed up his fields all round Chequers and that the deposit thrown up is mainly chalk. Enquiries have been made and it has been found that the Dutchman was naturalized some time ago on the recommendation of Mr Neville Chamberlain and Mr Cleverley, the son-in-law of Sir Horace Wilson.

I understand that there is a considerable stir in the HO on the question of MacAlpine, who was discovered in the operations room of the Bomber Command and subsequently removed. Jane has once more placed on record his indiscretions which I think are being examined. Considerable colour has been given to them recently owing to investigations into the case of one Alexander who is taking a commission on certain services which he says he is rendering in connection with residence, naturalization, etc. I have

always found it rather hard to believe that MacAlpine was anything but an indiscreet fool very much under the thumb of his wife, but I am considerably shaken by the fact that two HO files contain letters on an alien's behalf from Alexander with a pencil note on them saying, "Official. To me" signed with MacAlpine's initials.

A Fascist named Saxon Steir has been arrested for sticking up New BBC advertising slips in telephone kiosks. In his defence he said that he had no idea that this company was broadcasting from Germany. He thought it was a pirate station of the PPU [Peace Pledge Union]. What is important is that we should find out where he got the leaflets and what instructions he had. Jif this incident furnishes further proof of close connection between the NBBC and the BUF there would I think be ground for further action, against the rank and file of the Party.

**June 8, 1940:** DDS has asked HO to close down on all marriages between British subjects and enemy aliens. All naturalizations including neutral aliens have been stopped, except for British-born wives of enemy aliens, and aliens of importance to this country.

We are considering some regulations under DR [Defence of the Realm Act] for preventing chalking up of signs and also some broadcast which will assist in the prevention of this without bringing on the police and ourselves an avalanche of reports.

**June 9, 1940:** We have now arrested one William Gaskell Downing, an AID inspector and his German mistress Lucy Sara Strauss [evidently a Jewess?]. When Downing's room was searched 8 Winchester repeater rifles were found, with telescopic sites [sic. sights] and 2,000 rounds of ammunition. No adequate explanation was

forthcoming as to why he was in possession of them. He also had a photographic room with a high-grade camera and photographic representations of an AID pass and an Air Ministry pass were found. He said he had done this in order to keep them as souvenirs, The possibility of his prosecution under section 1 of the Treachery Act 1940 is being considered.

The result of the suggestion in the document picked up on the railway lines near Manchester [*Germans and IRA planning action on west coast: see June 8, not copied here*] that caravans might be used either for wireless communications or for arms is that we have moved the HO to order a general search of [Gypsy] caravans throughout the country.

Had a long discussion today with Frost of the BBC and TZAR about the NBBC... [*more details*].

Frost strikes me as an extremely able and knowledgeable person. For five years he has made a very close study of foreign broadcasts, and particularly the German. He says it is quite a simple matter to foresee in general terms what the German purposes are [... *details follow.*]

[...] The Fighting Services are being more and more restive about the Fifth Column. In some cases they are taking the matter into their own hands, but generally the wrong cases. They need guidance which I hope they will get from our regional officers.

SIS reports: There appear to be a considerable number of Germans in Spain. Franco is resisting both Italian and German appeals to join the Axis and has given orders that if any attempt is made by Italy to occupy the Balearic islands, strong resistance should be put up. There appears to be some danger that a falangist putsch

will occur in Spain. It is reported that a certain clique in the Kremlin is advocating a complete German victory as the best way to world revolution which can only be achieved after the destruction of the British and French empires. Italy is putting out terms. She wants the cessation of Corsica, Tunis and Djibouti from the French, Malta from us, and the demilitarisation of Cyprus and Gib, and the internationalisation of the Suez Canal. Another reports states that they also want Nice from the French.

The Pope seems to have lost all initiative. His immediate supporters do not think that he will lead any crusade against the Nazis.

**June 11, 1940:** The blow has fallen, and DSS and DDS are leaving us. Harker is to take over with Charles as his Deputy and myself as B. [head of Section B, MI5]. I am terribly sorry for DSS and DDS. It must be a frightful blow to them as being the two pioneers of the whole show.

At the Board meeting this morning we discussed the meeting held by [Lord] Swinton's Committee on the previous day, at which a suggestion was put forward for a sub-committee on Fifth Column activities, This was to consider of a representative of SIS, the police, and MI5, and was to be under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Ball.

[...] I was called to a meeting in Lord Halifax's room on the question of the proposed release of Italian consular staffs and other individuals described as "friends of the embassy" whose names appear on a list of 350 submitted by the Italian Embassy in London. There were 37 on the list who had been down for arrest as suspects. We reduced these to eleven. It was considered essential that consuls should be given facilities to communicate with all the people on their list in order that they might be given instruc-

tions about their departure from Glasgow on Thursday evening. I said that this was not of course satisfactory from a security point of view, that it had been agreed to place the consuls under house arrest and cut off their telephones the reason being that the consulates were the organising centres of the Fascio and that documentary information had been received that the Fascio in Canada and one of the local Consuls were planning acts of sabotage. It was now proposed to release these very individuals and allow them to wander about the country and make their way to Glasgow for a period of 48 hours. The general view of the meeting with which I could not agree, was that they could not do much harm. I said that if these were the orders of higher authority presumably they had to be accepted. Orders were given to resume telephone communication and, to remove the restrictions or house arrest. This was considered essential if the party was to be organised to leave on Thursday We had of course expected that our suspects would be arrested, handed over to the military and then sorted out as bargaining counters. Parties of them could then have been sent to the ship under escort.

**June 12, 1940:** At the Board Meeting this morning we unanimously agreed that our policy with regard to enemy aliens should be their wholesale internment followed by their removal from the country as and when this might become possible. Our object is to clear the ground as far as possible in the event of an invasion of this country. We do not necessarily believe that there is a high percentage of Fifth Columnists among these people. There may be a few. Our main point is that as a category these aliens will be an [...]

[...] I lunched with Desmond Morton, Jasper and Charles. Desmond was full of titbits of one kind or another and very emphatic that we should keep our end up with the HO and not fall

into the trap of compromise. This is contrary to the advice that we have received from the late DSS and DDS who say that we should watch our step very carefully as both the HO and the military were gunning for us. [...] Desmond said that he had been astounded by the ignorance of people in high places about subjects which had been common knowledge in the intelligence Services for months if not years. He ascribes this very much to the clogging form of bureaucracy. [...] Desmond mentioned particularly the situation in Eire. Until VV's people saw the Lord President, he was obviously in almost complete ignorance. He now realized what the position is and VV's courageous suggestion at the Swinton Committee is being adopted, namely, Craigavon and De V[alera] are to be asked to come over to consult jointly with ourselves on measures for the defence of Ireland.

**June 13, 1940:** At the Board meeting this morning I explained about the Italian situation and suggested that Harry should warn the soldiers that there was a proposal to dump back in Italy as many Italians as we possibly could. The FO idea is that these people will form focal points of dissatisfaction particularly those who had been earning good money in this country. Our view is that provided certain specialists are held and in particularly any members of the Fascio, there is no objection to the proposal which may indeed be a sound one.

**June 14, 1940:** Roger has seen Leggett regarding policy towards communists. Leggett is against the use of [Defence Regulation] 18b [= *internment*] unless the circumstances are very exceptional. We have one very definite case where a man is deliberately trying to prevent the speed-up. Leggett thinks he should be dealt with. The others he thinks should be sacked by the management after consultation with the district T.U. [Trades Union] organiser.

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A very hectic, day, in fact so hectic that I cannot really remember the course of events.

**June 15, 1940:** I attended the inaugural meeting of the subcommittee of the Home Policy Executive, at which Fifth Columns activities were discussed.

Swinton: explained that the purpose of this committee was to pool all our resources and information on the Fifth Column. He will take the chair as often as possible, but Ball will do much of the spade work and deputise when necessary.

1. The Committee is to deal with new features after clearing up the old ones, such as light Signals etc.
2. Home Defence forces are dealing with subjects of a purely military nature. The subcommittee will deal with Home Security information.
3. GHQ Home Forces are to have a permanent representative, the JIC, Police, Admiralty are to have a liaison officer, the Air Ministry; Censorship and ourselves are to have permanent representatives.
4. Radio Security: the section are to get directions from the Committee.
5. The present system of distribution employed by the censorship; is to continue unless some special line emerges when they should be asked to report direct to the Committee.
6. When action is required, *e.g.* by the Post Office, it is ruled that consultation must first be held with the department which is to it out. There have been some instances of impossible telephone orders being given in connection with Italians.
7. Sir Joseph Ball, accompanied by Capt. Cowgill and a representative of Radio Security, is to get a general picture on Monday from MI5.

8. GPO want to have guidance re telephone circuits etc and the nature of the enquiry.
9. Knickerbocker believed to be a secret beacon station. The Air Ministry ask that any documents, wireless apparatus etc. obtained through travel censorship bearing on this matter should be sent to them.
10. The collection of wireless sets from enemy aliens was discussed. The police have been asked to make test checks to see if the order has been carried out.
11. The control of radiotherapy: HO to agree with GPO, Air Ministry and Military Intelligence on. The form of an order which shall prohibit the use of such apparatus without a licence.
12. Police are to scrutinise cars laid up which may contain wireless sets.
13. Plain language codes: Foyers is to come down to discuss with MI5, Frost and Herbert about setting up a section in close proximity to MI5.
14. A small committee is to be set up to discuss the [*German-controlled transmitter*] New BBS and its various activities. Robertson, MacDonald Blackford, and Frost are to form this committee. It is to have a close liaison with GC&CS.
15. Blackford explained the system of dealing with lights. The police are to go to the Observer Corps when they think they have some information. The Observer Corps will pass this to the Air Ministry after further sifting.
16. The question of relay stations was raised. There are 320 in this country. It was agreed, that the War Office should be responsible for their demolition if this became necessary and that the committees should look into the question of their being used for improper purposes.
17. Herbert raised the question of organisations, religious or otherwise, which may act as a cover for Fifth Columnists. I explained

that there were many such organisations and that most of the refugees had obtained employment through one of them. Herbert thought peace organisations were specially dangerous.

18. Lastly the question of Irish cables was considered. It was pointed out that either the Eire or the Italian representative in Dublin could get his colleague to send messages wherever he wished. The Committee was unanimously of the opinion that steps should be taken to deal with Cat. C enemy aliens.

In the afternoon Dick had a meeting with Lord Swinton and Sir Henry Bunbury. Bunbury. was extremely difficult and argumentative but was eventually floored. He has been made to concede every point.

**June 16, 1940:** *Away.*

**June 17, 1940:** The worst news so far, has reached us today. The French have more or less packed up.

[Sir Joseph] Ball has been here in order to get the hang of our organisation and the work we are doing. He should be a useful ally on the Swinton Sub-Committee.

We have prepared a memo on sabotage. A certain amount has been going on but it is in a way remarkable that there has not been far greater activity, particularly as regards ships, It is of course possible that an organisation is lying low awaiting; the moment of maximum embarrassment, Personally I think the IRA are more likely to be concerned than any other body.

[...] The Air Force produced two very sinister photographs taken from the air. One had the appearance of an arrow, said to be point-

ing in the direction of an Ordnance factory. It led from a Church said to belong to the Under Order. Then some 20 miles away, was a bow in the middle of a plantation. Everybody on the Swinton Committee became wildly excited. Investigations have been carried out with the following results. The Under order turns out to be the Undenominational Church, and when it was built the local borough council insisted there must be a car park. This car park made the head of the arrow, which broadened out rather naturally at the tail, where the drive came up to the front of the church. There was a wireless receiving set in the church but it could not even pick up the national broadcasts. ... The bow was in the middle of a pheasant covert on Lord Iliffe's estate. It had been there since 1923 and showed up white on account of the chalky ground. Its purpose was to provide food for the pheasants. At the moment it is planted with potatoes which had been put in in accordance with the "Dig for Victory" campaign. It would have been completely covered with green in about another 10 days. The local Air Force unit took the law into its own hands, cut down the trees and laid them across the offending space.

**June 18, 1940:** ... We also need more personnel on account of the arrest of members of the BUF and Italian fascio. There is moreover a terrific spate of Fifth Column reports.

**June 19, 1940:** Attended a meeting of the Swinton Committee. An order is going out with regard to diathermy apparatus, which is only to be used after a licence has been issued. The framing of this order is causing some difficulty owing to the use of this apparatus extensively for medical purposes, It is a real danger from the Air Force point of view, as not only can the apparatus act as a beacon to hostile aircraft but also as a transmitter. [*More on this, not copied, under June 21*].

[...] Blackford told us that he had got the solution of KNICKEBEIN from a captured German prisoner. It is quite clear that the Germans are flying on a beam and that KNICKEBEIN is some apparatus which is used by an agent and which tells them exactly when they are over their target.

[...] One hundred [enemy] bombers came over last night. Seven or eight were shot down. I understand that a large number of bombs fell on one of our bogus aerodromes.

**June 20, 1940:** [Major] Mawhood, our Security Officer Eastern Command, says that Fifth Column jitters in his area are extremely serious. The military seem to be taking the law into their own hands. They arrested a perfectly inoffensive ex-officer with a fine record in the last war and kept him and his wife under detention for seven days without any justification whatever except that his name was Landsberg or Landsberger. Some of the local units appear to have prepared a kind of Black List of their own. When the balloon goes up they intend to round up or shoot all these individuals. The position is so serious that something of very drastic kind will have to be done.

**June 21, 1940:** I attended the Swinton Committee, which is getting rather cumbersome. There was a lengthy discussion on relay stations. ... Diathermy was discussed again. ... Desmond Morton informed the meeting that shiploads of people might be arriving from France. These included experts, ex-Cabinet ministers, armed soldiers etc. There would be picked up as and where possible and might be dumped at any port. The meeting was unanimously of opinion that since the Ministry of Health had no accommodation available, the military should undertake to keep these people in a guarded camp until there had been an opportunity of looking thoroughly into their cases. [...] Morton also told me that

members of the French Purchasing Commission over here who were in possession of extremely valuable documents, had drawn the attention of the authorities to the possibility of their going back to France and the danger of some of their members being subject to pressure by the Gestapo. It has been decided for the moment to prevent their leaving the country. It may be necessary to intern them, as a preventative measure.

A report on the NBBS was examined, the question of lights was again discussed and we put forward a suggestion that there should be a curfew in country districts. ...

**June 22, 1940:** We had a Board meeting this morning on the question of the BUF. Sneath is still of opinion that a good many of the rank and file are quite loyal. There are a certain number of members of the BUF in the Post office, and I have got Allan working on this. We may have to bring the matter before the Swinton Committee. We are going through some of the BUF cards which indicate possible cases for further internment. We are also going through the old Hoffmann files. A number of people of pro-German tendencies used to communicate with Hoffmann. They might possibly form the basis of some sort of Fifth Column organisation.

I have arranged with [Captain] Cowgill [SIS] to recruit French staff through Daru to man the ports when the avalanche of French people descends upon us. This I understand is already beginning today.

VV tells me that between 10th May and 10th June the confirmed figures of enemy aircraft destroyed are 3,085. He says to that the morale is bad. It is not clear at the moment whether the present air raids on the east coast are in part reconnaissance of for the purpose of training young pilots.

[...] The French Atlantic Fleet appears to have sailed and a large cruiser which was on the stocks at Toulon has been got away as well.

[...] Anthony Blunt, who has now joined D Branch, has produced the following summary of his first day's work in the office [*see page 509*]

**June 23, 1940:** The German peace terms to France have been announced today and are more or less what might be expected. We are still in dark about the French Fleet, and about the measure of assistance to be expected from the French colonies.

[...] I lunched with Stewart Menzies. He told me that from all sides he was getting reports about the tremendous damage done by our air raids in Germany. We discussed the case of the wireless set which had been heard operating from the Hungarian Legation. The Hungarian Minister had been seen by [Sir Alexander] Cadogan and had admitted quite frankly that he had had a wireless set since the beginning of the war and that it was the most convenient way of communicating with his government. He was under the impression that many other legations in Budapest were doing the same thing, including the British, and he suggested that there should be a reciprocal arrangement. It is in fact true that SIS have a set operating from our legation and probably we shall have no alternative but to acquiesce in the Hungarian Minister's suggestion. What shook me was that we only discovered the existence of this set a fortnight ago, whereas in fact it has been operating since the beginning of the war.

**June 24, 1940:** We have formed a new section under Brooman-White to deal with the Celtic movements. The Germans had obviously

done a good deal of work in the Breton Movement and it may be that to some degree they have done the same here.

[...] We have drastically cut down our vetting, which had practically paralysed the work of the office. Instead of looking up all records, we now only cover the Communist and Fascist indices.

Maude has discovered that the military, particularly the 55th Division in the Eastern Counties, have badgered the local police into giving them a list

Of people with whose bona fides they are not altogether satisfied. If and when the balloon goes up the military intend to take the law into their own hands and arrest these people. We have got hold of these lists which do not seem to have much in the way of a commonsense basis. One man's only crime appears to be that he is a dentist. Another is a member of the PPU. The PM had apparently heard of these lists and was wondering why the people had not been arrested already.

**June 25, 1940:** At Liverpool seeing the children off. [*Children of wealthy and privileged UK citizens were evacuated to safety in Canada*]. MacPhail was most helpful.

**June 26, 1940:** The legal aspect of interrogating people under arrest has been considered, It has been decided that we must interrogate, and run the risk of the information obtain being so incriminating as to prevent us proceeding with a prosecution.

[Sir Oswald] Mosley is to come before [Mr Norman] Birkett's committee and we are considering whether there is any way of giving some publicity to his case. If it were generally known in the BUF that he had arranged with the German Govt. to broadcast propaganda to this country and incidentally to transmit funds from

Germany to the BUF, the rank and file might think very differently from what they do now.

This office is being absolutely inundated with ridiculous inquiries from every possible quarter. The worst come from the highest circles. We have asked the DSS to try and get some broadcast urging the public to report more accurately and to take steps to verify their facts as far as possible before doing so. I have also suggested that something should be done to ensure that stories are fully sifted here before being passed round to the PM, Cabinet Ministers and other officials. We are now harassed by a number [of] amateur detectives in high places. The bow and arrow story is still going on, and we have had to answer a five-page letter from Antony Bevir, the PM's secretary, who is still unconvinced. I really think it must be accepted that we probably have more experience of mare's nests than anybody else. I have asked DSS to take the matter up with Lord Swinton.

At a meeting of the Swinton Committee today ... (3) Some 8,000 French dockhands and arsenal workers have been landed here and are to remain at a military camp at Aintree. Efforts are to be made to get rid of them as soon as possible. Some of them are rather bolshy. (4) The internment of enemy aliens is to proceed on the following lines: there are to be three waves, the first one non-refugee unemployed, second all males in the provinces and thirdly all males in the metropolitan and City Police areas. Subsequently these people are to be sent abroad. Canada will take 7,000, Newfoundland 1,000, Jamaica up to 100,000 and Australia almost unlimited numbers. (5) German women, of whom there are about 30,000, and Italian women 8,000, will be sent to the Isle of Man, as soon as the males have been sent abroad. The matter of getting rid of our adult refugee population is considered to be more important than the arrangements for evacuating children. (6) Mem-

bers of the BUF to be taken over by the military. MI5 are to say what leaders are to be kept apart, ... (9) In future no refugees are to be allowed to land until the question of the value of the ship and its contents have been considered. It may be that we might be ready to accept some refugees in order to get the ship. On the other hand we may tell the ship to go about and dump its refugees elsewhere. ...

**June 27, 1940:** I spoke to Bourne of the Post Office. He has taken steps to clean up cases of BUF members employed in the PO either by bringing about their internment or dismissal or alternatively having them moved to some harmless occupation.

I have spoken to B.10 and suggested that they should look into the former connections of the German Military and Air Attaches.

**June 30, 1940:** John Maude called in today. Things seem to be going quite well in the Eastern Counties region and he is on the whole satisfied that there is nothing very serious going on at the moment from the Fifth Column point of view. The anxiety of the military is being gradually allayed.

He is having some difficulty with [Major] Mawhood, the Eastern Command Security officer, who seems anxious to cover the whole area with another network of intelligence officers.

[...] John was very amusing about a certain Major Fowler, of the LDV [Hoe Guard], who had got a complex about lights going up during air-raids. He had written a letter to Brigadier Hawes who was equally concerned. John said he thought it would be well to make Major Fowler's acquaintance, and probe the story as far as possible. He

went out to his place with Dixon one evening last week. They had not been talking for long when the yellow warning came through. They sallied forth, the Major heavily armed and crept along the banks of the Ouse. The Major was even afraid that the rustle of the grass might disclose their whereabouts to an enemy agent. They spoke in whispers, and after creeping about for a considerable time returned home having seen nothing. At one moment the Major crept on his hands and knees towards a curious noise that he had heard, It turned out to be two swans a four cygnets feeding on the banks of the river.

**July 1, 1940:** Mind's a blank.

**July 2, 1940:** The whole office has now been turned upside down by a spy scare. A message came through of a very circumstantial kind during the night to the effect that a German parachutist had been caught with addresses on him indicated a widespread organisation. Another parachutist was said to have escaped. Cookie, TAR, SIS and the centre boys dashed off in cars to the Oxford area where the Canadians were in control. The place was also visited by the C-in-C and a number of unfortunate civilians are already under arrest. In particular the occupants of a neighbouring farm who employed alien labour. These people were only being allowed to milk the cows under guard with fixed bayonets. Meanwhile their house had been turned inside out by the Canadians who had drunk the whisky and finished everything else which caught their fancy. The story looked promising at first, even though the German turned into a Welshman. Somebody in the LDV [Home Guard] had reported that parachutists were descending, the Canadians had turned out in force to look for them and had discovered a man under a bush with a bicycle eating a piece of bread. He was immediately pounced upon and said that he had been brought in an aeroplane with another man from Le Bourget and that he

was a Welsh prisoner of war. An aeroplane had been heard that night in the vicinity but it was not apparently of a type that would normally have been used for this purpose. The alleged parachutist was interrogated again and ended by telling 3 different stories. The truth eventually emerged. He was really a deserter when taken by the Canadians. They thought that his first story would provide a way out. His Sergeant-Major identified him and he was handed over to his unit. As usual there was great excitement in high quarters and everybody was jumping to all sorts of conclusions, before the incident had been properly investigated. Others were indignant because they had not been told.

The Canadians do not appear to have been impressed by the way the whole matter was handled but they do not seem to have behaved awfully well themselves. They are I think in a general state of impatience in regard to arrangements over here. They do not seem to think that we are any good, and that we move them about from place to place for no particular purpose etc. There may well of course be a good deal in what they say, but my experience of them in the last war was that they were always very eager to show everybody else how efficient they were by comparison with ourselves.

**July 3, 1940:** At the Board Meeting today I said that in the present circumstances it is quite impossible for us to continue vetting at the present rate and also to do intelligence work. Although the registry was to be mechanised with a view to easing the situation, it [...]

The Intelligence Centre of the Swinton Committee is rather getting on my nerves. [...] In its present form it is really rather pandering to Fifth Column neurosis, which is perhaps one of the great-

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est dangers with which we have to contend at the moment.

[...] Cecil heard this afternoon that the French fleet was being sunk in the Mediterranean [by the Royal Navy, at Mers el-Kébir]. News was also received about the *Arandora Star* which went down with so-called Cat A Germans and Italians on board.

**July 4, 1940:** Today we have had news of the Battle of Oran [Mers el-Kébir] and the sinking of French warships.

**July 5, 1940:** [...] Three French sailors are reported to have been attempting to dissuade their compatriots from joining de Gaulle. The facts were reported to us by a Security officer. I gave orders for these men to be arrested. The sequel was a visit to the camp by somebody from the French Embassy who said that they should be released at once, followed by a visit from somebody on de Gaulle's staff who said they should be detained. To complete the picture the Air Force rang up about them, presumably because they were sailors.

**July 6, 1940:** It has been decided that the French officers are to be allowed to leave after they have been vetted by us. [...]

Gooch tells me that the Japanese consul in Liverpool, Beppu, has established himself in Dublin and left his vice-consul to carry on in Liverpool. Beppu describes himself as a consular courier. It is interesting that this arrangement has been made subsequent to the declaration of war by Italy. It seems fairly clear that Beppu will now be acting as a courier between this country and Eire for the Axis powers, Gooch has gone up to Liverpool (a) to try and establish contact with the consul or vice-consul, he has a good pretext for such a visit; (b) to acquaint the local police with the position and instruct them to keep very close observation both

on the consul and the vice-consul, and also on those who visit the Legation. He may find that the Japs are intermediaries between the IRA in Liverpool and Dublin.

July 7, 1940: Away for the day.

July 8, 1940: Mind a blank.

July 9, 1940: Had a long talk with Lord Swinton ... to explain to him exactly what our difficulties and limitations were at the present moment. ... I mentioned in particular the 750 MEW [Ministry of Economic Warfare] cases [for vetting] with which we had been threatened. ... I explained to him that we had now under arrest more than five hundred members of the BUF, and that quite rightly it was considered an urgent matter that their documents should be gone through and that they should be interrogated. The solution however was not an easy one. Our Fascist Section had been ticking over quite quietly until the arrests were made. At this moment extra staff are needed. [...] While on the subject of Fascists I drew Lord Swinton's attention to the attitude of Mr Norman Birkett [*chairman of the Advisory Committee?*]. Birkett seemed to think it was his duty to go into the whole circumstances of each case in order that he can establish the man's present attitude of mind and whether some form of control should not be exercised over his movements. This in fact is laid down in the instructions to the Advisory Committee. The danger in this was that Birkett was inclined to release all members of the BUF who pleaded that they had fought for their country in the last war and that although they did not like the present system of government and thought that much that Hitler had done in connection with the Labour Front [Deutsche Arbeitsfront] was sound, they were themselves entirely patriotic. Lord Swinton thought that this attitude was entirely wrong, and that steps should be taken to see

that the Advisory Committee did not operate in this way. I told Lord Swinton that Sneath [of Fascist Section] was going up to see Birkett and that if the interview was unsatisfactory I would let him know.

[...] We have decided to set up our own arrangement for interrogating prisoners. This is being back by Swinton, and Crocker and Stephens are on the job.

Three people have landed at Tow Head near Cork in a small boat. Two of them said they were Afrikanders [sic. Afrikaners] but were obviously Germans, and the other was an Indian from Antwerp called Obed who said he was a bird fancier. This was difficult to believe as his luggage consisted of two suitcases filled with a variety of bombs. The party also had £800. Obed is obviously Obed Hussein, the Indian who has been working for the Germans for some time. The Irish have got them inside and ask permission to interrogate them.

**July 10, 1940:** Farquhar of the FO came down to discuss Italians. Apparently his S of S [Lord Halifax] is in considerable difficulties about the Italians who were drowned on the *Arandora Star*. Everybody is reluctant to believe that there could be any harm in their pet waiters and restaurateurs. It is true that all of these people were down on our list as members of the Fascio, and it had previously been arranged that only young members of the Party who, owing to their local knowledge might be used against us as parachutists, should be held, while the remainder should be sent back to Italy to create focal points of discontent. The waiters and restaurateurs would have been excellent material for this latter purpose. They have all been earning large sums of money here and would have resented the fact that their business had been ruined. Why this policy was never carried out I cannot think. It seems

that both in so far as Germans and Italians were concerned they were rushed on board indiscriminately, and that no selective process was adopted.

**July 11, 1940:** C Carroll, late secretary of The Link, has been arrested and his premises searched, A good deal of excitement was caused through a report that some of his documents had been concealed under the floorboards, Sneath has been down to look at this but there was nothing very exciting. They do show however that a meeting of the Anglo-German Brotherhood took place in the first months of 1940. There is also a certain amount of correspondence relating to [Admiral] Barry Domville. The latter's documents have already been examined but are not very exciting.

The present German air attacks are rather difficult to understand It is difficult to see why, if as many as one hundred planes come over here, they do not drop their bombs to some purpose, It has been said that they are training their pilots or reconnoitring, but this does not provide a very satisfactory explanation since if they take the risk of coming over here at all they might as well do as much damage as possible. [...]

Three Dutchmen landed here a few days ago. They managed to get away in small boat. They reported that the Germans were massing large numbers of small craft and that we were to be attacked on the 11th.

**July 12, 1940:** The Communist policy has been discussed by the Swinton Committee which has agreed to accept our view that for the present action against the Party as such would be a mistake. [...] As regards the press, it is recommended that the *Daily Worker* should be warned under the appropriate section of DR and subsequently dealt with if the paper publishes any offensive articles.

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At the moment it is fairly well within the law.

[Toby] Pilcher has had a talk with Birkett and is quite convinced that he will be releasing a large number of Fascists. He is taking the matter up with Swinton, who will try to get the directions to the Advisory Committee altered in such a way as make membership of the Party a reason for continued internment.

Dick [White] dined last night with a friend in the Air Force. The airmen evidently have their tails well up. His friend went out every other night with twenty-five others to bomb various targets on the continent. He evidently thoroughly enjoyed his work. ... Unlike the German sour bombers of course have to look after themselves and are not accompanied by fighters.

The policy of exempting from interment certain categories of aliens who are employed in important industries is likely to cause us a great deal of trouble. ... Everything hangs on the definition of the word "key man." ... [Lord] Rothschild has gone very thoroughly into all the aspects of this problem and has proved quite conclusively that most of the alleged key men are not key men at all.

**July 13, 1940:** John Maude tells me that the local police in his area have been investigating the case of a man who keeps bees in boxes, which he is alleged to use as couriers. The superintendent who has been in charge of the enquiries says that the practical difficulties of attaching and detaching the messages would in his opinion render the scheme unworkable.

[...] I have just heard of a Parliamentary Group known as the Peace Aims Group. I am trying to get the names of the members, but I do not imagine that it need be taken very seriously. Greenwood

seems to be worried about it.

SNOW has been in communication with the other side. They first of all wanted him to give them the name and address of a suitable individual in the North of England or Scotland who would be prepared to receive explosives. They subsequently cancelled this, and asked him to find out whether his friend in the Welsh Nationalist Movement would be prepared to act in this capacity. This may possibly indicate a change of [invasion] plan. Some time ago we heard that the points for invasion were Anglesea, Scotland, and the SE and E coasts. The latest message to SNOW may mean that the Germans will go for Ireland first, and subsequently for Wales. On the other hand it seems to be an indication that an attack here is not likely to be impending. In fact the indications from SS sources are confirmation of this view. Nothing is expected for about the days at least, and some think that Spain and Portugal are the first objectives, with Gibraltar as the final object of attack.

I cannot help feeling that the authorities here, both military and civil, are suffering from Fifth Column neurosis very severely. . . . I am very much inclined to doubt whether they [the Germans] have the organisation here that our friends of the Intelligence Centre are looking for. Unlikely their activities in other European countries, those here were concentrated on misleading public opinion as to Germany's real intentions. This was done through the Anglo-German Fellowship, The Link, Kameradschaft, BUF etc. The purpose was to make people here believe that Germany should be given a free hand in Europe and this view was taken up by the BUF in their slogan, "Mind Britain's Business."

[...] As regards sabotage, it would be wrong to take a complacent view. It may be that the Germans are holding their hands until

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the day of invasion, when we may see things going on, either through the agency of the IREA or possibly of certain elements of the BUF. ...

**July 15, 1940:** I had a discussion with Adam today about the control of foreigners. His view is that the various foreign governments here which now include Poles, Norwegians, and Dutch and in a slightly different category the French, Czechs and Belgians, should be responsible for their own nationals and for seeing that they are harnessed into our national effort. .. I foresee certain difficulties, e.g. we shall have the Poles discriminating against Jews and wanting the British Govt. to deal with them. The Czechs have already asked us to return 260 members of their military unit; the grounds seem to be mainly political.

**July 16, 1940:** At Herschel Johnson's [US embassy] request I lunched today with Klemmer of the American Embassy, who has been instructed by Joe Kennedy to produce a report on the Fifth Column. I gave him as general a picture as I could on the situation here. I had the impression that he or the Ambassador [Joseph P Kennedy] was apprehensive about the desire of this country to see things through. He wanted to know whether I thought there was any danger of this country packing up if we were bombed incessantly for two or three months. I said that on the contrary, the more we were bombed the more we would dig in our toes, I asked him for his own views. He seemed to have gained a rather more superficial impression that we had not really got our heart in this war and that there was a possibility of the country thinking it was better to come to terms. I could have given him some arguments in support of his theory but I did not think it would be good for him, as they might well have presented a false picture. In fact I did my best to get him to believe that there would be no compromise hereof any sort or kind. In the meantime I heard

that one Mowrer, a representative of [US Navy Secretary Frank] Knox of the Ministry for War or Marine in the US, had instructions to get similar instructions for his chief. Lord Swinton had instructed brigadier Holt-Wilson to get in touch with him and find out what he wanted.

**July 17, 1940:** The Irish do not wish us to interview their prisoners. This is unfortunate since we might have got quite a lot of information.

**July 18, 1940:** I had a discussion with Dick [White], Roger [Hollis] and M about Tom Wintringham, who is instructor at the [Edward] Hulton LDV [Home Guard] school at Osterley Park. This school seems to be the outcome [outcome?] of Wintringham's article which appeared in Picture Post about arming the workers in defence of the country. ... There is always the possibility that Wintringham might like to build up something in the nature of a future Red Army. It all depends on the kind of people who are going through the school and whether there are any politics attached to the whole scheme.

[...] SNOW has had an interesting message. It is proposed to drop somebody in Ireland or this country. Information is requested as to documents and formalities for getting to this country from Ireland. ... It is very important that he should not call into the hands of the military or the parashots [sic] either here or in Ireland until we have got his whole story and instructions.

[...] Gooch has returned from Liverpool. He has arranged with the Liverpool police for a close watch to be kept on Beppu, who is expected back from Ireland in the course of the next few days. Gooch managed to get into the consul's office and to make arrangements for finding out the combination of the safe. As soon

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as this has been done, Gooch will go up and have a look at the contents.

**July 20, 1940:** The PPU [People's Pledge Union] seems to be getting rather active, and the remarks of some of its members would constitute an infringement of DR. The membership is something over 100,000. It is not thought desirable to take any action unless things get much worse.

**July 21, 1940:** John Maude came over. He is very worried about the lists which are being compiled by the soldiers of people they intend to arrest in the event of an invasion. He thinks it hopeless to try and withdraw these lists as he feels quite sure that the soldiers will keep a copy and act upon it. ... At the moment one of the Corps has a scheme for sending out a code word COLLAR, and probably other corps commanders have similar schemes. Nobody seems to know whether this scheme should be put into operation. For example, if the Germans land at Harwich, is COLLAR to operate in Bedfordshire?

**July 22, 1940:** Attended Swinton Committee when we discussed the release of exempted categories of enemy aliens. ... I mentioned to the committee the case of Soag Machine Tools, where representations had been made by General [Sir Louis] Spears on behalf of the German, Schoenthal. Soags have now been taken over by the Ministry of Supply who are of the opinion that Schoenthal's services are by no means indispensable. General Spears had said that the factory would have to close down without Schoenthal. I also mentioned that the same arguments applied to the firm of Loewy, about which Lord Beaverbrook was so concerned. ...

After this meeting I went on to another at the Cabinet offices, where Sir Edward Bridges was trying to collect information about the

*Arandora Star* from the various departments concerned. There is no doubt that the military camps have made a first-class muddle of the whole business, although I expect the general measure for internment took them very much on the hop. They had their camps all ready at the beginning of the war, but were not allowed to use them. Now they suddenly get an order to intern between thirty and forty thousand, and deport as many as possible to the Dominions. Huyton Camp at Liverpool is I believe in a state of real confusion. It was from this camp that the people embarked on the *Arandora Star*. Even now there is no authentic list showing exactly who were on board. We agreed that all Cat A enemy aliens and prisoners of war should be sent first of all. Beyond this we had no say in the matter. No lists were submitted to us, either before the boat sailed or afterwards.

**July 23, 1940:** An intercepted wireless communication in cipher between New York and Germany shows that a German agent in New York has been instructed to ascertain from British seamen the effect of German bombing in the UK. This is certainly encouraging if it can be taken as an indication that this is the most rapid means of communicating the facts from this country to Germany.

[...] I lunched with Herschel Johnson. He had not a great deal to say but I rather sensed a background of slight gloom. This seems to be rather prevalent among members of the American Embassy and I believe throughout the junior ranks of the Diplomatic Corps.

**July 27, 1940:** The Machine Tool Control have taken over nine machine-tool firms under DR55(4) and appointed a board of management. They are now considering ways and means of keeping these firms clean of enemy agents and safeguarding their activities as far as possible against any form of leakage, This is I think a real triumph for Rothschild who has done a very good job of work.

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A Group 1 [*Abwehr cypher*] has been intercepted between Ireland and Germany and refers to a man called Donaghue, presumably a German agent, who is coming over here in the course of the next few days.

**July 28, 1940:** We spent a hectic morning trying to sort out the case of Lady Gladstone. She wanted a permit to enter a protected area in order to stay with the Minister for Air [Sir Archibald Sinclair]. The police said that she was associated with Communists, which was not strictly true, although she has drifted on to most Left Wing committees at one time or another. She is an ardent member of the League of Nations Union. This brought her on to the Committee against War and Fascism and also caused her to join various peace committees and to champion Haile Selassie. The Minister for Air is indignant because the case was held up for several days owing to the Police report, which we had already overruled.

The question of repatriation of Japs in the event of war with Japan is being considered, There is an idea that it should be done on a general exchange basis. Evidently the possibility of rupture is envisaged, we have today asked the Japanese Govt. to declare their attitude.

**July 28, 1940** [*sic: same date twice*]: An SIS report states that the Germans are contemplating some action against Russia in the Baltic.

The Germans have started a new wireless broadcast from what is known as the Workers Challenge Station. It is preaching communism. The question of jamming this station and others has been considered, The mechanics of such an operation are not easy...

**July 29, 1940:** The Japs have arrested a number of our traders in Japan, on grounds of espionage. I am told that in fact there is no basis whatever for the accusations made. It seems that the Japanese police and military are being pressed by the very strong German colony in Tokio to embarrass us as far as possible in the Far East.

**July 30, 1940:** We have been trying to get hold of Arthur Schultz for the interrogation centre, John Phipps was told that he was at the Oratory, and shortly afterwards another individual rang me up from PW.2 to say that he was on board the *Etterick* en route for Canada. In actual fact there seem to be two people of the same name, but I think we have the right one at the Oratory.

**July 31, 1940:** Tom Wintringham is going round giving lectures to Western Command about guerrilla warfare. We have warned DMI that this practice is perhaps not very desirable even though the lectures may be harmless. We have information that Tom Wintringham's present work is regarded as highly advantageous to the CP [Communist Party] and there may be danger of his picking up quite a lot of information, from indiscreet officers.

[...] Anna Wolkoff and Tyler Kent are coming up for trial. It has however been decided not to prosecute Maule Ramsey at any rate for the present. Originally a conspiracy charge had been contemplated.

Peters and [Kim] Philby called on me today about a training centre which they wish to establish here for special agents who were being sent abroad. They were very keen to keep the organisation as secret as possible, and wanted to discuss ways and means of doing this. I have had a previous discussion with them, and the plan

which they have worked out seems a good one with a few exceptions. One of these was a suggestion that all their agents should have their finger prints taken at Scotland Yard. I told them that they could not possibly do this without stating the purpose and this might lead to endless complications.

**August 1, 1940:** Special material on July 29th shows that [Ivan] Maiski [Soviet ambassador in London] was telling the Egyptians that negotiations for a secret alliance between Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were going on despite the visits of the Bulgarians to Germany and their consultations with Italy. Maiski seemed confident that these negotiations would be successful. It is doubtful however whether much importance can be attached to Maiski's views as I always had the impression that he was rather in the dark.

On July 26th one Mittelhaus of Berlin asked Ander of New York for information from English papers and English news to be wired back to Germany. This seems to be yet another indication of the difficulty that the Germans are having in obtaining information from this country.

[...] Holtzmann has turned up in BA [Buenos Aires]. His wife was carrying 1,300,000 pesos worth of jewels in her fur coat lining. These were confiscated and Holtzmann was fined. His allowance from this country under Treasury Permit has been cancelled, so by now he must be finding himself in considerable difficulties.

**August 2, 1940:** The Irish have now given us a fairly full report about Obed and his two Afrikander friends, but there is still much detail that we should like to know. They have brightly told us that no useful purpose would be served by our sending an officer over to interrogate these people. Obed had in his possession a letter

addressed to one S B Kahn, an Indian in Liverpool. This man was arrested by the Liverpool Police and is being sent down to the Interrogation Centre. We hope to have some other Indians to keep him company.

[...] Roger [Hollis] has put up a memo advocating that communists should not be allowed to remain in key positions either in Govt. departments or in industry. ... I think the moment has come when they will have to put their cards on the table. It is quite obvious when a man is removed that he is removed on account of his political views and I think we may as well say so in suitable form, namely that as he owes allegiance to a foreign government, he is not a suitable person to be in a position of trust where confidential information is available.

**August 4, 1940:** DMI rang up to ask whether I would see Somerset Maugham, who is being sent to America by the Ministry of Information to enlighten the Americans on the Fifth Column. This led to a discussion between myself and DMI on Fifth Column activities here. He entirely concurs in our view that the Nazi Party was the basis of these activities and that its liquidation to some extent at any rate had reduced the danger from individuals. He believed that at least ninety percent of Fifth Column activity here was the creation of neurosis. He thought there might be just a handful of spies, but probably not more if as many. He also thought that there might be a few people, such as members of the BUF, IRA etc. who would cut a few wires in times of emergency.

**August 5, 1940:** The Schutz case has been thoroughly gone into at the Interrogation Centre by Crocker. He has come quite definitely to the conclusion that the man is innocent. He has complied with our request to decode certain portions of his letters, and this has been done to our satisfaction. The code is merely one between

himself and a married woman, and is quite innocuous.

**August 6, 1940:** [John] Sterndale Bennett of the [FO] Far Eastern Dept. rang up today about the suggested release of [Japanese ...] Makihara. WE worked out the following communication to the press regarding the matter. "Following representatives [sic. representations?] from the Japanese authorities the matter has been further considered and the conclusion reached that the evidence at present available was not sufficiently strong to warrant further detention or deportation at this stage."

I dined with Crocker. I asked him how it was that he had come on to the Centre. He said that it was through Herbert and possibly through Joe [Sir Joseph] Ball. Ball had at any rate given him to understand that it was through his influence that he was there. He had been told that it was an organisation with executive power which was going to co-ordinate Intelligence. I said that many people had burned their fingers trying to co-ordinate Intelligence, and that the whole business was a mass of intrigue, political and otherwise, with everybody gunning for everybody else. I tried to explain to him that this office was rather different to others and that a considerable amount of time and experience was necessary to get the hang of it. It would never have the slick efficiency of Harrods Stores or Scotland Yard, but there were certain aspects of it where considerable use could be made of two or three trained police officers. I thought the first thing to do was to get the Registry [i.e. card index system] working order.

**August 7, 1940:** Lord Swinton has decided that we should agree to the admission of Italian duals [i.e. dual nationality aliens], members of the Fascio, to the Pioneer Corps, provided they were prepared to renounce their oath of allegiance to Mussolini. [ ... *Description of the complications.*]

[...] Spent the night with VV and discussed with him the functions which Crocker might perform in this office. He will willingly come here for a few days in order to give us the benefit of his advice.

**August 8, 1940:** There is an active pro-German group of disaffected members of the BUF in Leeds. The principals are R Windsor and Crewe. There is also one Wroe [Rowe? Robert Rowe?] who is said to be particularly violent in his views. The group is anxious to establish contact with Germany with a view to getting funds and possible arms. We are trying to develop our connections with this organisation and to arrange contact between the group and Germans in Portugal.

Snow has received a telephone message asking him to meet a Mr Cadbury. He is going to do this and will be kept under close observation. BISCUIT [+++++] has been doing extremely well. He has got £1,000 and I believe a wireless set. He is on his way back.

[...] The HO [Home Office] are giving instructions to the Police regarding the internment of Japanese. The procedure will be similar to that in the case of Germans and Italians. Those occupying key positions will be laid off before the outbreak of war. Immediately prior to the outbreak a list of suspects will be arrested after which the remainder will all be interned.

VV tells me that we are getting extremely valuable information on the movements of the German Air Force and Fleet.

Gen Kell has been appointed Security Officer to Lord Bessborough's committee, which is in charge of welfare work among the French and other foreigners here.

I had another talk with Crocker. He was rather distressed about what he described as an atmosphere of hostilities and non-cooperation. He has the impression that nobody wants to play. I told him that the main trouble was that nobody knew what his position was in this office. There had only been a verbal communication and no specification of duties beyond the vague phrase "investigation". In the meantime it was only natural that people should not be very responsive, particularly since they felt that the office had been unjustly criticised. Everybody knew that there were deficiencies but these were very largely due either to unforeseen circumstances or to lack of government policy. It seem hard therefore that people who had been doing a lot of good work here should be made the scapegoats. I explained to him again that while I thought there was work here of the detective kind I did not think it was quite on the scale which he imagined. I said that this office was not like Scotland Yard, with fast cars dashing about. Crocker then showed be the note from Swinton appointing him a Deputy Director and stating that he is to be in charge of investigation. He is to retain his seat on the SIC. I said that as far as I knew Harker had never received anything in writing. Crocker was worried because he did not think Frost intended to give him any sort of control of his organisation. I said that I thought Frost would want to put out enquiries to him in the same way that various officers of B. Branch would do.

[*Liddell dines with Lord Swinton and Harker, and they thrash out over two pages the problem of Crocker, and his precise job specification:*]

I dined with Swinton and Harker. Harker had previously been to see Horace Wilson and had arranged for Jimmy Rae of the Treasury to look into the organisation here. We had a very amicable

conversation on general topics, but when we reached 11 pm I thought it was time that we began getting down to the subject on which the meeting had obviously been called. I therefore opened the ball. I told Swinton that I did not see quite how Crocker was going to fit into the organisation. I said that we had discussed the possibility before the war but had decided that on the whole he could be of more use outside. This had been tried out and a certain number of cases had been farmed out, but he had not been able to find a solution for them. I felt that there was very definite work for him to do here but from my conversation with him I did not feel that it was of a kind he envisaged. He seemed to think that this investigation branch would deal with a very large number of cases, which would be handed over lock stock and barrel. I said that cases arose out of an intelligence background and that while certain aspects of them needed police investigation the case must remain in the control of the intelligence officer. Swinton seemed to think that this was sound, although he was rather reluctant to admit it at first. He then said "You have bombarded me. Now I am going to bombard you." He said that he thought that the cases for internment which we submitted to the Home Secretary were badly drafted. I asked him to quote instances. He could only think of one or two. Nor could he make it very clear to me exactly what was wrong. I said that our procedures in B. Branch was to put a case up to the Legal Section which we thought was a likely one for internment. S L then made out a form and gave their opinion as to whether the case was weak or strong. Sometimes we turned down such cases. He often had difficulty in ascertaining what was a weak case in the eyes of HO [Home Office] and what was a strong one. There were cases when we had what we deemed to be a really strong case and the HO turned it down. In others where the case was much weaker an internment order was made. Swinton thought that these cases should all be prepared by solicitors and put up to barristers who would if neces-

sary defend them.

He said he was very glad to have had such a frank talk, but he did nothing towards solving our immediate difficulty, namely, what exactly is Crocker to do. Rather vaguely he thought that he should be in charge of the solicitors preparing the cases and that he should carry out what he described as the "pursuit stage" of a case. Opinions are likely to vary on the exact moment when the pursuit stage has been reached. Swinton was horrified at Cracker's having asked for a list of the staff and their records. He said that he was never told to do anything of the kind, merely to engage some extra solicitors who would work under himself. I gained the impression that Swinton felt he had put his foot in it pretty badly, but that he was trying to get away with it by calming down both sides. Harker told him that he thought the position of Deputy Director was rather out of balance. He said that perhaps it might be, but that people like that attached a good deal of importance to their position. The answer of course is that we have efficient people here just as important in their walks of life, who have taken up quite a humble position in this office and who at any rate have made it their business to find out the true nature of the work. The fact is that it is impossible to tell how a man is going to turn out here, whether he be a solicitor, lawyer, or anything else. There is no training which is of any very certain value. The only thing to do is to start in at the bottom rung.

**August 9, 1940:** I lunched with Somerset Maugham, who is writing four articles for the American press, one of them on the Fifth Column. DMI had asked me to go and see him. He said his task was rather a difficult one, because altho' he wanted to arouse Americans [deleted: opinion] to a sense of the danger with which they were faced, he did not wish them to get the impression that

this country regarded the position as hopeless and was not worth supporting. I have im an outline of the foreign organisation [*Auslandsorganisation*] of the NSDAP [the Nazi Party], explaining that I thought that as far as this country was concerned, and in fact American and many other countries, it was the basis of the Fifth Column activity. I then went on to give him an estimate of what I thought was the position at the moment. I said in fact that I did not anticipate anything very frightful in the way of Fifth Column activity. He said that what I told him was most interesting but not actually very helpful in so far as his report was concerned. He had apparently written just one article for some American periodical on the French collapse. He said that when something so completely and unexpected happened one had to go back to fundamentals. He thought that the root cause was that the French had grown to attach more importance to money than to more spiritual things.

**August 10, 1940:** The W. Section is beginning to get under way. The arrangements have now been made for an officer from the Army, Navy and Air Force to join the organisation and supply all possible information relating to operations.

Movements of all enemy aircraft over this country have been plotted and in one instance it was found that they all seemed to turn at a point in Somerset near the Bristol Channel. A few days later a map was taken off a German aeroplane brought down in this country which had a X on it at this very spot. The pilot is being interrogated and the whole area is being combed out as far as possible. It may be that there is something in the nature of a beacon station at this spot.

Dickson has done a very good report on the funds of the BUF which have been invested in a number of Trust Companies. A great deal

of trouble had been taken by the Party to cover up the origin as far as possible. So far investigations disclose that there is a balance of some £11,637.

**August 11, 1940:** The War Cabinet were informed on August 1st that Lord Lytton would accept the chairmanship of the Advisory Council on Aliens. An attempt has been made to get MI5 to send a representative but this has been heavily turned down by Swinton, on the grounds that it would be most improper for any member of this service to express views at such a meeting.

On August 1 the PM stated to the War Cabinet that our position was not considerably more secure than it had been some months earlier. At that time we had very few trained and equipped troops in the country. He thought that it would now be possible to take a somewhat less rigid attitude in regard to internment of aliens. The Home secretary agreed but thought it would be undesirable that there should be too violent a reaction from the policy previously endorsed.

**August 12, 1940:** Charles and I lunched with Vivian. VV proposed that he should have a very frank talk with Swinton, and should tell him in very plain language that his action in pitchforking William Charles [faint pencil: “?Crocker”] into this office was fundamentally wrong. He would say that he was quite ready to serve on a committee but that it must be properly constituted, and he would probably say many things that might conceivably make Swinton his enemy.

Archer tells me that our air strength is 20,700. This includes all types of aircraft in all parts of the globe.

[...] Cecil has got an interesting report from an Irish informant of a

reliable type who had been in touch with a member of the German Legation in Dublin. [... *details; effects of bombing, situation in France etc.* ]

**August 13, 1940:** At the Board meeting today Toby [Pilcher] raised the question of [Norman] Birkett's attitude [as chairman of the Advisory Committee] towards members of the BUF. In spite of the fact that he had agreed to keep in internment proven members of the BUF since their organisation had now been proscribed, he had been letting them out whenever he thought they had an attractive personality. Evidence did not seem to count for very much. In one case the man denied that he was a member of the BUF, in spite of the fact that his black shirt was found in a drawer and that he was wearing a Fascist belt. I forget what excuse was offered about the shirt, but as regards the belt he said that he wore it for his lumbago. This was readily accepted by the committee. The matter is being taken up with the HO.

[...] An interesting case has come to light. We have records dating back some years showing that one Stanislas Seymoniczyk, who has used a variety of other aliases, was either a member of the OGPU or the 4th Department. This man succeeded in getting over here with a number of refugees at the time of the French débâcle. He was accompanied by a woman called Alta Lecoutre. We now find that they are ensconced in the offices of de Gaulle, the woman being secretary to Labarthe, who is supposed to be in charge of technical equipment. Labarthe has a very sticky record as one of the people who were deeply involved in the Spanish arms racket on behalf of Moscow. This looks like developing into an interesting case. We have sent a wire to Mr Thomas in Canada as he is almost certain to know these people.

**August 14, 1940:** There has been tremendous excitement today ow-

ing to the discovery of eighty parachutes dropped through the previous night in various parts of the country. Meetings are being held by GHQ, Air Ministry, the centre, etc. In actual fact these parachutes are a very crude hoax by the Germans. They were obviously intended to cause alarm and despondency and the NBBS has been collaborating in flesh-creeping broadcasts. Two points have almost completely given the show away. One of the parachutes were discovered in a cornfield, and there were no tracks leading from it. In another case documents were dropped giving alleged instructions to agents. These documents were partly covered with mud, and bore a secret stamp. Unfortunately the stamp had been put on over the mud. It is of course possible that the Germans might put over a hoax of this kind in order that on some future occasion they might do the same thing and drop a couple of agents.

Charles went and saw Swinton this evening, and seems to have had a devastatingly frank talk. He told Swinton at his recent action in pitchforking C [Charles?] into this organisation as a Deputy-Director on half-baked information had completely messed up the whole department, and that everybody was regarding C as Swinton's spy, particularly as he still retains his apartment on the executive. Charles explained to him that he had put me in an extremely awkward position and that he would be well advised to send for me and hear what I had to say. Swinton admitted that he had acted too hastily. ... It was quite obvious that there was no job in MI5 which would warrant C being given the post of Deputy Director. In Mr Chamberlain's words after his return from Berchtesgaden [September 1938], "It was a frank talk and a friendly talk."

**August 15, 1940:** I went to lunch at Latchmere House. [*Latchmere House Prison in Ham, near Richmond*] Stephens certainly has done

a first class piece of work, and he is evidently enjoying the job. The establishment is in fact now more or less full up and we have the necessary interrogators.

**August 16, 1940:** We had two air raid warnings today, one in the morning and one in the evenings [sic].

Kano has written to Kase of the Japanese Embassy forwarding a copy of a long memo on Japanese policy vis-à-vis China etc. which is to be given to Semphill [sic. Lord Sempill]. The latter is to put it over with members of the Labour Party and the Government and also with certain people in the House of Lords. Since Semphill is employed at the Admiralty this seems to be going rather far, particularly in the light of the previous information which shows that he is in receipt of £200–£300 a year for services officially and unofficially rendered to the Japanese Naval and Military authorities.

[...] Curry has unearthed an interesting case. A man called Sarpill who takes expensive photographs in Bond Street has been reported by U.35 as being a doubtful customer. His record shows that he was formerly a Czarist Intelligence officer, that he managed to obtain his release in 1924 and went to Berlin. He came here after the Nazi revolution and is running a very successful business. On looking up his HO papers, Curry has found that he came here on the recommendation of Walter Bloch of Bloch and Anderson and the Mercedes Co.

**August 17, 1940:** Lakin has discovered that the Censorship are employing A E Newton, the crook solicitor who featured in the “Mr A” case. [No further details.]

**August 18, 1940:** 140 aircraft have been brought down today, out of

six hundred aircraft which came over, The figures for the week come to an average of 82 per day, Our mown bomber losses amount to thirty-one. This figure is considered very low considering the ground covered and the damage caused. We are working almost entirely at night, and apparently with just as much if not more effect.

**August 19, 1940:** Attended Bow Street, where I gave evidence in the Wolff – Tyler Kent case. I merely had to state that two of the letters found in the possession of Tyler Kent addressed to the American Embassy were written by myself. One referred to the Brandeis case, and the other to certain secret wireless operations. I said that both these letters would be useful to the enemy. McLure was prosecuting. I was not cross-examined.

**August 20, 1940:** I have just seen the Night Duty messages, one of which ran as follows [*and see entry for August 22*]:

DSD.9 Admiralty rang up to say that the Portland Signal office have captured a carrier pigeon with a piece of green paper wrapped round one leg, on which is written the following message:

“Beach Hotel. The barmaid’s drawers are pink. Sutton on Sea from Rogues Roost Louth.”

There was no other means of identification on the bird.

[...] BISCUIT has returned from Lisbon with an up to date wireless et in a suitcase and £950. He met Rantzow in Lisbon and his whole visit seems to have been a thorough success he gleaned a certain amount of information regarding local German activities particularly those of Döbler, who is the head German agent there.

I had lunch with Lord Swinton and went over with him all the ground that VV and Charles had covered. I told him how his action had completely upset the office and how an extremely difficult situation had been created through William Charles being pitchforked into this office with the rank of Deputy Director and a seat on the Executive. [...] He [Swinton] seemed to think that this office was rather like a large detective office with fast cars, which in fact it was not. It was really an Intelligence research department throwing up occasional cases requiring investigation either by our own watchers or by the police. I was in some difficulty to know exactly what Chief Inspector Burt and his merry men were going to do.

[...] Morris, who is chairman of one of the Tribunals dealing with members of the BUF, has had a talk with Toby Pilcher. It is quite evident that he is not acting on the directives laid down and agreed to by Birkett, namely that as the Party had been proscribed active membership up to the time of arrest should constitute sufficient grounds for permanent detention. In 36 cases detention is being continued, in 35 we have agreed to release, and in a further 21 the committee have recommended release in spite of the fact that all those concerned were active in the movement until the time of their arrest. If something is not done to prevent the HO releasing these people the Govt will find themselves in a very nasty hole, quite apart from the risks of allowing a number of potential Fifth Columnists to remain at large. Ewe have just come across a group in Leeds consisting of members of the BUF who are endeavouring to establish communication with Germany.

**August 21, 1940:** [...] A German named H J Bruins who came over here in the guise of a refugee from Belgium and Holland, is a self-confessed German agent. He had been in possession of a wireless set with which he had been communicating weather reports and

the information to the Germans. He had also been instructed to give them early intimation of the advance of British troops into Belgian. This I gather he had done. He was working for Rantzow. The question now arises whether this is a shooting case. There is no doubt whatever that Bruin [sic] was a German agent and very little doubt that he was operating against us. He was certainly operating against our allies.

Seymoniczyk has been followed, and had a meeting at the Serpentine Lido with a man who was subsequently who was subsequently identified as Nolte, a Dutchman. Nolte has a considerable intelligence background. He is said to have been working for the French and has quite recently offered his services to us. In the meantime things are obviously leaking through Gen. de Gaulle's office. Very secret operations in contemplation involving the landing of de Gaulle's forces at Dakar were only supposed to be known to De Gaulle and his Chief of Staff. Now they seem to be known to almost everybody on the French Mission including Labarthe. We shall have to tell the DMI that until that organisation is cleaned up they should not be given any confidential information at all.

Rothschild had an amusing interview with the Beaver [*Lord Beaverbrook*] on the subject of Loewy. He described the general scene when he arrived. There were about a dozen people in B's room all talking in groups. B. went out for about an hour and left them all sitting there. When he came back he was called upon to go to Downing St. Rothschild went with him and started his business in the car on the way. He waited 1 1/2 hours outside 10 Downing St. in the car, and had a further talk with B. on his return. After this he got 10 minutes private conversation. The dialogue went something like this:

B. Well, Rothschild, you have come to see me about the Loewy

people, about those people. I am surprised that somebody with your name, your liberal views, your position and reputation, should go in for this witch-hunting. Those poor Jews have been hunted out of Germany, and now when they come here they are hunted back into concentration camps. You should not be involved in this persecution, and you should not be in M.I.5 witch-hunting. You should be leading your people out of the concentration camps.

R. The members of the Loewy firm that I came to see you about are not Jews. They are what is known as Aryan.

B. They are Jews.

R. They are not.

B. They are Jews.

R. They are not..

B. I am not going to start an argument. Now are you anything to do with that man Capt. or Group Capt. Archer?

R. He is a colleague of mine.

B. You know I fired him. I fired him because he said a terrible thing to me, something that would do this country a great deal of harm with its traditions of harbouring political refugees. He said that if those poor Jews were left out that the public would hang them on every lamp post. Anybody who says that to me gets fired at once. You ought not to be associated with those witch-hunters.

R. Do you think then that M.I.5's investigations into Nazi agents in industry are of no value?

B. No value at all. Even if these Loewy people are agents, they can do no harm.

R. Couldn't they sabotage plant?

B. No, I watch them very carefully.

R. Couldn't they convey information to the enemy about, the geographical position of your extrusion presses, and about the Ministry of Aircraft Production's aircraft capacity and production?

B. I don't care if they do know where the presses are. It is not easy to

- bomb a press even if your so-called agents were signalling to them. As regards our capacity, I hope the Germans do know. I said what it was on the transatlantic telephone at 9 o'clock this evening.
- R. So really you are quite happy about having these people about. You remember what happened in France and Holland.
- B. I was in France at the very last moment before the Govt. fell, and I can tell you it was nothing to do with so-called Fifth Column activities. The French were a decadent and beaten race. That poor Jew Mandel was the only one who had any spirit in him. I watched him trying to carry the whole country. You know I have not always been pro-Semitic, but when a people get persecuted I go on to their side. I am the only liberal member of the Cabinet, and I am sticking up for them everywhere. You ought to stick up for them too, instead of persecuting them. It is disgraceful.
- R. Well, if you are quite happy about having dangerous people in your employ, I will say nothing more about it.
- B. (a little apprehensively), Well what is your case against them? I must have logic. and I must have my presses. If you take the men away I can't have my presses.
- R. Your own industrial adviser Sir Charles Craven says it will make no difference if these people are taken away.
- B. How the bloody hell does he know? What is your case against them.
- R. In two cases we consider that the people are German agents, or at any rate strong Nazi sympathisers, and our source of information has been some Czech intelligence officers who have known these people for a considerable time. It is no good your saying that Loewy has confidence in them. Loewy is quite unreliable. He told me that Eugene HILT, an Englishman who had been in his employ for some time, was perfectly reliable when the witch hunters knew perfectly well that he was actively conspiring with the German Embassy and the German Chamber of Commerce to break Loewy. The thing I have against the others is that they were

members of the German Labour Front.

B. The German Labour Front is a Trade Union.

R. It isn't. It is an espionage organisation.

B. Everybody in Germany after 1934 had to belong to the German Trade Union. Therefore it means nothing.

R. But these people became members of the German Labour Front not in Germany in order to work, but in a free country.

B. That poor Jew Loewy wants to go to Canada now. He comes and begs me every day to let him take all his people over three.

R.: Well I take it you are not going to agree to having these people removed.

B: You produce your case. You have not produced anything yet; and I will consider it. I do not want Nazi agents in the Ministry of Aircraft Production.

R. Thank you very much for letting me come and see you.

B.: Good-night. You should not be in that organisation with the witch-hunters. It ought to be abolished. I do not think there is any danger from Nazi spies in this country. I do not think it matters if they are at large."

[...] I lunched with General Kell. He was very disturbed about the whole situation in the office, particularly by the publicity given to the appointment of Chief Inspector Burt.

**August 22, 1940:** [...] Leonard Ingrams told me today that he had very definite evidence that the police in Germany are committing suicide at the rate of about one a day. He asked whether anything of the kind was happening over here and whether I could give any special reason.. I could not think of anything except that a policeman's lot is not a happy one.

I dined with David Boyle. He has now more or less completed his

organisation in the provinces. Incidentally he has I think solved the mystery of the message about the barmaid's drawers. The pigeon was probably one of his, as he has communication not only by wireless but by pigeon to a loft at Willesden,. All his pigeons have a green band.

**August 23, 1940:** There was an air raid last night, It is the first time I have heard the guns.

**August 25, 1940:** According to a code message the Germans are very anxious to find out the strength of our forces in N Ireland.

**August 26, 1940:** I lunched today with John Booth,. He gave me an interesting account of his experiences in Belgium. He said that on the whole there were not many really bad moments. The first dive bombing attack shook im slightly, but he very soon got used to it and so did his men. He really disliked being shelled more than being bombed. [...]

Roger Hollis has been all through the documents of the Executive Committee of the CGD which were in Eric Godfrey's possession, and [has] made a comparison between Moscow's short thesis on the war situation and utterances made by Moscow as related by J Lovestone to the Dies Committee. Moscow's instructions are that the imperialist war must be gradually converted into civil war, that no steps should be taken to oppose a German landing in this country since a short period under a Nazi regime would be the quickest way of bringing about a Communist revolution. J Lovestone said that Moscow was working on similar lines in the past in Germany, since they held the view that it was much easier to bring about a revolution after a fascist regime than after a Social-Democratic one.

**August 27, 1940:** I met Duthie in the passage, he asked me how things were going. I told him none too well, that everyone was asking what Crocker's position here was and resenting his interference.

[...] SNOW is in daily communication with the Germans, and arrangements are being made to land an agent by parachute. A suitable spot is being found, the location of which will be communicated to the Germans. The great difficulty is to get the man down alive and to prevent the LDV [Home Guard] from getting at him. The German proposal is that a house should be taken in an out of the war spot where this man and other agents can be accommodated.

A cynical American youth, writing from New York, says: "America is the only country which has passed from barbarism to decadence without the intervening stage of civilisation."

**August 128, 1940:** Had lunch with Duthie. ... I told him how we had discussed before the war the possibility of making use of Crocker's services, how we had come to the conclusion that there was no job big enough for him inside the office, but that he might be useful outside [...etc. *Another page of this.*]

I attended Lord Snell's committee this morning It had been set up to go into the question of the *Arandora Star*. There only appeared to be one other member of the committee, whose name I did not catch. I was asked to state the part played by M.I.5 in the preparation of the lists. I explained that we had compiled a list based mainly on membership of the Fascio before the war as but that there were half a dozen to a dozen other people who were suspected of espionage. These people had been interned immediately on the outbreak of war and were put into Cat. A. We had recommended the general policy of clearing the ground in this

country of enemy aliens because we thought that as this country was in a state of siege they might create dangerous focal points and would be a source of embarrassment both to the military and police. There was further the question of vetting them.. We had however agreed in the case of the Italians to that large proportions of them should be sent back to Italy in order that they might become focal Points of discontent there. We had made a reservation in the case of the young Italian Fascists since they might have been sent back here as parachutists or as attacking forces with specialised knowledge. This Policy had been abandoned owing to difficulties connected with shipping. The fact that our Cat. A. enemy aliens had been placed on board the Arandora Star was part of the general scheme of evacuation of all enemy aliens and it was natural that the Cat. A people should have been taken first Lord Snell then wanted to know something about the membership of the Fascist Party. He thought that although some of them might be prepared to commit some overt act he thought that a certain number of them might have been forced to join and might in consequence be harmless. Was there any difference he asked between membership of the Fascist Party and membership of the British Club in Rome by a British subject. I said yes indeed there was a very fundamental difference. In one case we were dealing with a totalitarian state fighting a total war and in the other we were dealing with a single individual with no organisation behind him. I then tried to explain the organisation of the Fascist Party abroad. He seemed quite interested and thanked me profusely for having given evidence before the committee. I am convinced however that he understood very little of what I said or of its implications. He lives in an entirely different world.

**August 30, 1940:** There have been some melodramatic developments in the case of the BUF at Leeds. There is not a definite conspiracy

to obtain military information through a young girl who is friendly with an officer and to pass this information to the Germans. There is also a scheme to obtain arms and explosives.

**August 31, 1940:** A new regulation has been published permitting the shooting of peregrine falcons, as they apparently prey on homing pigeons coming in from the Continent.

I left at midday for six days' leave.

**September 6, 1940:** Returned midday to find that in my absence, four Dutchmen had landed in a boat from Dungeness on the 3rd Sept. Their names were Van den Kieboomm, Meier, Pons and Walberg. They had been instructed to report on British defensive measures on the coast near Dungeness and on army reserve formations in depth from Dungeness to Ashford and thence to London. They said that there was a concentration of mounted troops equipped with mules at Le Touquet. This information was confirmed to some extent by SIS sources. They have been told that an invasion would take place before the middle of September. In the meantime they were to report anything they could with the small transmitting sets in their possession. They were to work in pairs. Each pair had £60 in English currency and food for seven days. They were given no contacts in this country. In fact they were singularly badly directed and to anybody with any knowledge of conditions in this country it should have been apparent that none of these people could hope to succeed. All of them had been misled about conditions in this country, probably as an inducement to them to come over.

[...] I found on return that Crocker had resigned. I gather that he was not prepared to accept the position which we had to find for him but that he had had a row with Swinton as the result of which

he had retired not only from this office but from the Centre as well.

**September 7, 1940:** A parachutist descended during the night from a height of 15,000 feet; he had been stunned by his wireless et and was found lying in a ditch at Denton, Northants, at 17.30 hours yesterday. He was dressed as a civilian and was in possession of a German automatic and a wireless et which could transmit and receive. It was of similar pattern to that now in possession of SNOW. The man's name is ++++++++ [blacked out, SUMMER written in ink]. He is a Swede of German origin. He had been dropped by a Heinkel plane and had embarked at Brussels. He had intended to land at Birmingham and thought that on landing he was somewhere near Stratford on Avon. It transpired that he had been in England as late as December 1939 when he stayed with friends at Boughton. He was in possession of his National Registration Certificate. He had been trained at Hamburg, Hinchley Cooke took down a statement from him at Cannon Row and he was then sent on to Latchmere.

[...] Quite a number of reports have been coming in from SIS regarding the imminence of invasion .

**September 8, 1940:** Carrigan has been on a very secret visit to Dev [De Valera]. He was asked to find out what Dev's terms would be for the abandonment of his neutrality. I gather that Dev is quite intrigued and is thinking things over. This move is inspired from the highest quarter here.

The Germans have been flying in here on a direction wireless beam [KNICKEBEIN and X-GERÄT]. It is claimed that we have succeeded in bending this beam with the result that the Germans instead of dropping their bombs on important industrial towns in the Mid-

lands have dropped in the open fields.

I have got out the directives about the interrogation of prisoners, particularly those who land in small boats or by air. If they have wireless apparatus they are to be dealt with in the first instance by W. Otherwise they will first be interrogated by someone delegated by Dick [White]. The handling of the case in so far as the DPP is concerned will be done by Cookie. Our object will be to get the prisoner to Latchmere House at the earliest possible moment and to give facilities to the military to extract from them anything in the nature of urgent operational intelligence.

Wood tells me that he is endeavouring to obtain the release of a the Belgian woman who has been at Holloway [women's prison] for some months owing to an unfortunate mistake. She arrived here in May, when the general rush of refugees began, and described herself as a *journalière*. The immigration authorities, thinking this meant "journalist," came to the conclusion that her general appearance did not quite justify the description of her occupation. They therefore ordered her internment, The police authorities at Holloway not being quite clear as to the reason for her internment, rang up the Belgian Embassy to enquire about the lady and her profession of *journalière*. On being told that the word meant "daily worker" [The *Daily Worker* was the communist newspaper] they banged down the telephone and decided that she should remain in internment for an indefinite period.

According to Group 1 [decoding of *Abwehr* signals] the Germans are worried about the four men in a boat [see *September 6 entry*] and also [+++++] SUMMER and his friend [+++++], TATE whose identity has now been disclosed, on condition that [+++++'s] TATE['s] life will be spared if and when he arrives in this country. This is interesting confirmation that these six spies,

who have been thrown into this country in the most inefficient manner, are apparently part of a serious German organisation, SUMMER is not apparently interested in his own life but merely that of his friend. He himself is quite prepared to be shot as a spy. He is apparently a student of philosophy. Owing to his German parentage and his admiration of the German regime he joined the German Army. He was however reluctant to become a spy, but having taken the job was prepared to see it through and determined not to give away his friends. Frost and Knight seem to have succeeded in persuading him that the Germans have given him a very raw deal and had sent him over here ill-equipped and under somewhat false pretences. He came round eventually to this view and agreed to work his wireless set, which he had up to then refused to do.

I saw Kenneth Strong from MI this evening. He had just had an interview with the prisoners. What puzzled him was that the Germans should have given their agents details of their plan of attack. The details they had given more or less agreed with what we had received from other sources and from aerial reconnaissance, etc. of the dispositions of enemy forces, This made it difficult to believe that the spies had been sent over here to mislead us. Strong has a great regard for German efficiency and cannot bring himself to believe that they could have been so stupid, as to send these men over here without having schooled them properly and worked out plans by which they could be really effective.

**September 9, 1940:** We had a heavy raid last night and a raid at Northolt today. We are sending SUMMER down to Bucks where he is going to get into communication with the other side.

[...] We are getting Charlie [++++++] fixed up in Manchester where [he] is to be ready to receive another agent with a wireless

set. We have also got a place waiting in Wales for three more agents who are due to arrive,.

A man called Gordon Evans reported at the recruiting Station at Gt. Scotland Yard that he had arrived here in a rubber boat from an aeroplane which had taken three hours to come from Calais to Dover. [*More details...*] Obviously the man is a lunatic.

**September 10, 1940:** There have been more day and night raids.

A meeting has been held with the MI to discuss policy in regard to communications sent to the enemy through our various agents. Are we to encourage them to invade or are we to try and stall proceedings? DMI was rather in favour of encouraging them to come over, but on referring the matter to the Chiefs of Staff it was decided to let them have the truth about the strength of our defences. The question of getting the necessary information to transmit was also discussed. This was to be done through MI9 except in the case of the Air Ministry where Archie Boyle will continue to let us have information for SNOW. [Captain Felix] Cowgill [SIS] is not very satisfied with the plan to obtain information through MI9. His whole experience is that we ought to go very high. The heads of the Intelligence are too important to give us the chicken-feed and not important enough to give us the really vital stuff. Whenever you asked something of the kind you are always told to refer the matter to someone else, when the result is generally unsatisfactory and the delay considerable. Personally I think Cowgill is quite right, but I am afraid we are committed to the MI9 scheme until it breaks down, which it undoubtedly will.

Rothschild has recovered his Home Farm at Tring, which he gives to the office for the use of those who want a night's sleep [*because of the air raids*]. This is getting more and more necessary.

**September 11, 1940:** [...] Both Preetz [alias Mitchell] and Donoghue have now been arrested and a wireless set has been found in their possession. We have asked for the fullest possible details.

Cecil has put forward a scheme by which an Irish Mission should be attached to our forces if we are called into assist the Eire Govt. in the event of an invasion. He feels that it is extremely important that the military should not attempt to deal with any Fifth Columnists in Eire except through the Eire

Mission. If it is necessary to arrest anybody he should immediately be handed over to the mission for necessary action. ...

The Sabotage Section here is to be reconstituted. [Lord] Rothschild is taking it over, and is bringing in a marine engineer and one other.

[...] We have received a Group 1 message that a troop-carrying convoy has safely reached Ostend and that further orders will be issued when the convoy leaves for the attack on England.

**September 12, 1940:** [*A one page overview of all the committees busy releasing enemy aliens.*] It is rather difficult to accept the fact that if a man has written against either of these regimes [Berlin and Rome] he is necessarily all right. There are moreover plenty of people who had written against the Nazi regime but who are thoroughly German at heart, e.g. Hermann Rauschning [who wrote the anti-Nazi diatribe, *Gespräche mit Hitler*].

**September 13, 1940:** I have asked VV to arrange that we should receive in future copies of Group 10 messages which come from USA. These are very important if we are to have a complete picture of the Rantzow organisation, The Poles, Czechs, and Hun-

garians [*diplomats in London*]

all appear to be transmitting by wireless without any supervision. I am not so worried about the Czechs by I think the Poles should certainly be supervised. I have asked RSS to take down the Hungarian messages and if they cannot be deciphered I propose to ask for the removal of the Military Attaché, who is transmitting the special cypher unknown to his minister. He is moreover notoriously pro German.

**September 14, 1940:** A warning has been sent to CCs [Chief Constables] about Kuhirt and Peter Schroder who may have landed here. We are still on the lookout for SUMMER's friend, TATE, @ [*alias*] LEONHART. We know his wave-length, which has not come up, and there is also a rendezvous between him and summer on the 20th.

VV says that he is moving a section of his show back to some place in the vicinity of St Albans. His forward office will be reduced to a minimum and will eat, sleep and work underground.

From their best sources SUS learn that orders were issued last night for a 24 -hour blitzkrieg on London. The order was subsequently postponed owing to adverse weather conditions.

**September 15, 1940:** Last night SUMMER sent a message telling his employers [German Intelligence] that he was in the vicinity of Oxford but had met with considerable difficulties. This morning SNOW received a request from the other side to go to the assistance of a Swedish friend who was in the fields near Oxford, he has agreed to do this and has suggested High Wycombe Station as the rendezvous.

DNI [*Director of Naval Intelligence, Admiral Godfrey?*] rang up in

the evening, He was worried about these wireless messages, which he did not understand.. He told me they referred to a meeting which was to take place at 11 o'clock on Monday. I showed him that the meeting would be covered. He seemed satisfied. In actual fact we are sending down B.6 (a) to see that SUMMER does not escape and (b) to ascertain whether the Germans send anybody to observe what takes place.

I dined at the Hyde Park Hotel, where the waiter announced that we had brought down 165 planes up to eight p.m. The night was fairly noisy. One bomb gave us a mild shock. Cecil spent the night at Hackney and toured the East End with Arthur Villiers. The damage has been considerable. He was very impressed by the Anderson shelters. One was right on the edge of a huge crater 30 yds wide and 40–50 ft deep. An old lady had been sleeping in the shelter and got off with a broken leg.

**September 16, 1940:** I have arranged that we shall in future form a small committee to deal with snow and double-cross agents. It will consist of Frost, Dick, Curry, TAR [Robertson], Cowgill, and myself. ++++s of SIS has put in an excellent report on his examination of the prisoners. He seems to have come to precisely the same conclusions as Dick, but he adds a certain amount on the lay out of the wireless stations etc. It has been decided to amalgamate the two reports.

[...] Three French cruisers and three destroyers have apparently passed through the Straits of Gibraltar unmolested. It seems that they are on their way to Dakar and I understand that De Gaulle and his party are now on their way back to this country. The whole situation is rather obscure and it looks very much as if there has been a muddle somewhere.

[...] There is yet another strange incident, when U.35 called on Harlip at an unexpected hour. A mysterious stranger came in, much to the embarrassment of Harlip and his wife. U.35 had a very definite impression that this man was a German agent.

Mrs O'Grady is now at Holloway. [*Believed by MI5 to be a saboteur operating in the Isle of Wight: see entry for September 12, not copied*].

The meeting between BISCUIT and SUMMER took place. There was no one else there. The Germans have expressed their warm tanks to SNOW for his services.

I ha a meeting with Dick [White] and +++. They are both quite convinced on the evidence that the Germans did not attempt to build up any service in this country until after the occupation of Holland and Belgium, and that this accounts for the very uninspired and slipshod performance which is going on now.

The JIC continue to report concentrations of barges in the Channel Ports. They see no reason to alter their previous view that an invasion is to be expected at any moment.

[...] Bombs fell during the night in Bond Street and Berkeley Sq. One of them hit the entrance to the Air Ministry and MEW.

I had a long talk with [Chief Inspector] Burt about his position here. [*One page discussion, not copied*].

**September 17, 1940:** A detective from the I.O.W. came up to see me about the case of O'Grady. She had apparently done three years detention in Borstal [youth imprisonment] institution for forging ten shilling notes. She also has convictions against her as a

prostitute. Her maps and drawings are quite good and the details of gun emplacements etc are correct,. She still refuses to say whether she was acting for anybody in particular. She evidently dislikes this country. I am a little inclined to think that she may be the type of person who has to be in the limelight. Cookie is dealing with the case as it will have to go to the DPP.

[...] Con has gone to Sheerness in order to find out whether there is any local buzz about the raid which is to take place on the 24th, We are carrying out a test today to see whether it is practicable to set the sea alight as a defence measure. Two tankers are taking part in the experiment. If it is successful it is intended to make use of it in an attempted invasion. I believe this is an ancient method known as Greek fire and we had a suggestion early in the war that possibly the Germans might attempt to make us of it. This came from Stein who heard of it through some quite good German sources.

**September 18, 1940:** I hear that there is considerable confusion in the Irish Home Guard due to the fact that the orders are given in Gaelic. As nobody understands the language, they never know whether they are being told to pile arms or open fire.

**September 20, 1940:** It appears that the Cabinet have issued instructions that all depts. are to consider cutting down their staffs in London to a minimum and sending as many people as possible to battle headquarters. I have said that I did not see how we could possibly split up the organisation. ... It is certainly disturbing to have our records here as they are extremely vulnerable and if destroyed the efficiency of our office would be seriously impaired. We cannot possibly do without them, and this nearly applies to all sections...

André Maurois' wife, writing from New York to a Miss Varley of Ross-on-Wye, talks of her husband's book and his story about Reynaud which is apparently authentic. Helen de Portes, Reynaud's mistress, was his undoing. She destroyed his sense of duty. His so-called accident was perhaps a double suicide. It occurred shortly after a discovery in Spain of suitcases filled with fifty million francs, which had been carried across the border by two minor attachés de cabinet of Reynaud. Arrested, the two men declared that the money belonged to Reynaud and mostly to Mme de Portes who was killed in the accident. To Bullett [sic. William C Bullitt], the American Ambassador, who visited Reynaud in the Montpellier Hospital, Reynaud said: "I have lost my country, my Honour and my love."

I have been looking at the Cockfosters conversations. The morale of the German prisoners seems to be high. They seem very ignorant about their losses [sic. *The British claims were of course hugely inflated*] and about conditions over here. They were expecting an invasion to take place about the fifteenth and seemed surprised that nothing had happened.

[...] SUMMER['s] friend TATE has been captured near Cambridge. He had a Danish passport and answers to the description we have. He said that he was a refugee and that he had landed some time ago. He first said he came on a yacht with brown sails and then on a ship propelled by motor. A gypsy has told the police that he had a friend with him at 8 o'clock yesterday evening. Every effort is being made to trace this individual and also a wireless set if one exists.

**September 21, 1940:** Dick and Frost have been interrogating SUMMER [sic. *error for TATE?*] [++++++] all day without result. He sticks rigidly to his story although it has discrepancies.

[...] Stephens rang me up late in the evening to say that TATE, the new arrival, had broken down and was prepared to go out and assist in the discovery of his wireless set.

**September 22, 1940:** TATE['s] wireless set, which was a two-way one, and also his code, parachute, etc. were found. He explained that he had been dropped from a height of 3,500 ft, he had been caught up in some telegraph wires and for a brief moment was in a search-light beam, he eventually succeeded in extricating himself from the telegraph wires but damaged his foot on landing. He could not add a great deal to what SUMMER [++++++] has already told us, but what he has to say is interesting confirmation. I discussed with Frost the question of running TATE [+++++++]. We came to the conclusion that it was essential that he should try and establish connection, since if the Germans thought that he had been caught SUMMER and SNOW might be compromised. TATE had an address on him of Lopez in Lisbon. We are considering writing to say that the set had been damaged. It was recollected however that the Lopez address had been to some extent compromised by the capture of the other prisoners so we dropped this idea.

I have just been told that the officer from MI9 who was present at the interrogation of TATE yesterday [i.e. Lieutenant Colonel J Scotland] took it upon himself to manhandle the prisoner without saying anything about it to Stephens, Dick or Frost. The interrogation broke off at lunchtime, when [Colonel] Scotland left the room. Frost, wondering where he was, followed him and eventually discovered him in the prisoner's cell. He was hitting TATE in the jaw and I think got one back for himself. Frost stopped this incident without making a scene, and later told me what had happened. It was quite clear to me that we cannot have this sort of thing going on in our establishment. Apart from the moral aspect

of the thing, I am quite convinced that these Gestapo methods do not pay in the long run. We are taking the matter up with the DMI [Director of Military Intelligence] and propose to say that we do not intend to have that particular MI officer on the premises any more. I am told that Scotland turned up this morning with a syringe containing some drug or other, which it was thought would induce the prisoner to speak. Stephens told Scotland that he could not see [++++++] TATE, who was not in a fit state to be interrogated. Actually there was nothing seriously wrong with [++++++] TATE.

Vichy are reported to be showing signs of coming over [*to British side. First hint at Louis Rougier mission?*].

Stephens has given an amusing account of Osbert Peake's visit to Latchmere [*Latchmere House prison, Ham, south-west London*]. He saw two of the German spies. The conversation with Kiebon was pleasant and ended on the note that he (Peake) hoped that Kiebon "would not be here long." Conversation with Meier was perhaps equally unfortunate in that he asked this spy who had been pitched on to these shores by the German s.s. [security service] whether he had arranged with his relations to send him clean laundry each week. Peake was closeted with Dr Dearden for some time and told him that he intended to rely on him as a private source of information.

A short time ago Ned Reid told me that an employee of his named Martin had been asked to go over to Dublin to see De V [Valera]. Martin has known De V for a good many years. ... De V apparently told Martin that the inevitable consequences of a German victory were too horrible to contemplate This remark is I think somewhat surprising and very significant.

**September 23, 1940:** We had a meeting here with VV, Cowgill, Frost, Dick, TAR and myself, when we discussed all the aspects of the cases of the various German agents through whom we were communicating with the enemy. As SUMMER [++++++] had seamen's papers we decided to get them put in order. Later on we could arrange for him to fall in with another seaman whom we might perhaps run to Lisbon. It was agreed that we should watch the money situation very carefully since it was obvious that we could not do all that we were doing for nothing. As regards [++++++] TATE, it was decided that he must be worked if possible, but that much would depend on his frame of mind, after the treatment he had received from the MI9 officer [Colonel Scotland]. I suggested that we might possibly use him or one of the other agents as a very obvious double-cross, transmitting sometimes true and sometimes false information. If they came to the conclusion that we were using this set for our own purposes we should perhaps enhance the value of the other sets, which they were inclined to trust. We all agreed that it was necessary to get [++++++] TATE into communication as soon as possible. VV was very interesting about information he was receiving from his best sources [*codebreaking*]. It was clear that the invasion has been meeting with considerable difficulty. The German Naval experts considered the craft entirely inadequate. The troops and naval ratings were tired of waiting and did not view with any enthusiasm the prospect of crossing the Channel in a barge at eight knots. The Air Force are apparently quite ready to have a cut at it but they are feeling their losses rather acutely. Hitler has been told by his High Command that he must make up his mind one way or the other, as it is impossible to keep the troops up the mark indefinitely,

**September 24, 1940:** At a conference with DSS, Charles and Horrocks today, the latter was very hurt about the memo put forward on the Registry by B. Branch. [*Four pages of discussion on this, not*

*copied*].

I have just heard that the Cambridge Police are up in arms about our having sent down [++++++] TATE in a car under guard to dig up his wireless set, etc. without telling them or the Regional officer. This was of course quite inexcusable but one of those things which happened in the enthusiasm of the moment. ... The worst of it was that the police, LDV, etc, have been scouring the country for this wireless set during the last 48 hours. They eventually came on some people who reported that some mysterious diggers had come down in a car and removed what appeared to be a wireless set. On making further enquiries they discovered that these people were officers of MI5.

Derek Tangye has been brought back from a region. He is to collect information from all sections and bring out a weekly bulletin ...

The battle for Dakar is going on, It looks like being a fiasco, as the local French forces are not inclined to come to terms. This is I think a real disaster and will have a great effect upon other powers, particularly the Oriental powers. ... I am told that the plan was conceived by the PM, Desmond Morton, and Spears without being properly thrashed out and co-ordinated by the services. Further the whole project was known about long before the expedition started. This is not surprising in view of the undesirable people who surround the De Gaulle Mission. The whole story had learned to Vichy who sent three destroyers and three cruisers from Toulon. For some reason or other these were allowed to slip through the Straits [of Gibraltar].

I dined with Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess and the Reform Club. Just as I was going away at about 11:30 a Molotov breadbasket descended. Three incendiary bombs fell just inside Pall Mall and

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all sorts of people were rushing about in dressing gowns with bags of sand. When I got into the Mall the whole of St James Park was lit up as if by Roman Candles. I saw at least a dozen there and several in the Mall itself.

**September 25, 1940:** When I arrived at the office this morning I found that part of the Registry had been burnt by incendiary bombs and that all the card index had been destroyed. Mercifully we had had it photographed. Some thousand files had also been destroyed.

I lunched afterwards with Brookie at Frascati's, which had been somewhat damaged by the events of the night before. In fact the whole of the far end of Oxford St. and part of Tottenham Court Road has been rather seriously damaged. There were piles and piles of broken glass on both sides of the street, but workmen were already replacing some of it and most people were carrying on in one way or another. Brookie was in particularly good form. We discussed propaganda films and he said that the acid test was box office value. He could only say that those he had seen had no box office value whatever. One from the Post Office was so grossly indecent that he had been obliged to send for an official and have it destroyed. He thought that if it had been put on the screen the police would probably have intervened. This whole situation is hardly to be wondered at, seeing that they have people like Sydney Bernstein in charge of the film section of the M. of I. He is a strong supporter of the Communist Party. Joseph Reeves of the Woolwich Arsenal Co-operative, another communist, is also there. It is really rather a waste of time, our vetting people from the communist angle if these individuals continue to be employed. If they were doing a really useful job of work it might be worth while stretching a point, but since all the work coming from that department in connection with films is so obviously useless, I should

have thought that a change would be advantageous. Films like "Mein Kampf" are doing no good at all from the box office point of view, since quite obviously they are not the kind of thing the public wants to see. There has been a space of them on account of the removal of the ban on Charlie Chaplin's film *The Dictator* [sic. *The Great Dictator*].

**September 26, 1940:** Some more Molotov breadbaskets, and the Registry has now removed to Blenheim.

[...] The Dakar project has been abandoned. I am afraid the consequences may be rather disastrous.

**September 27, 1940:** I lunched with Stewart Menzies ["C"]. He told me that the invasion project had been worked out in every detail including practice in climbing cliffs. It had previously been postponed for some reason unknown. ...

unknown. The Navy and Army had both had misgivings and the matter had been referred to Keitel. Meanwhile people in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany were getting impatient and were unable to understand the delay. Something has obviously gone wrong. SIS have successfully dropped Dutchmen by parachute on the continent who are giving them useful information. One rather alarmist report was sent over yesterday that the Germans were getting steam up. Menzies said that the meeting between Ciano and Ribbentrop had been unsuccessful. The Germans are trying to press the Italians into action. The latter seem reluctant to commit themselves too deeply.

Dakar has been a disaster as we were expecting someone from the Pétain Govt. and arrangements were on foot to get Martinique and its ships and aeroplanes handed over to ourselves. It is feared

that Dakar may prejudice these negotiations.

SIS have learned from a very good source that the Russians have been making approaches to the Czechs and have been urging them to commit acts of sabotage. This is a very interesting development.

It has now been decided that most of B. is to go to Blenheim. We are keeping up only our police sections and B.24. I do not know how it is going to work. Ultimately the staff here are to go forward to some house in the centre of London. [...]

**September 29, 1940:** The move [of MI5 Registry etc to Blenheim] was started and everything seems rather chaotic. It has been decided that Cookie is to run the London region .

**September 30, 1940:** Three people arrived in a rubber boat in the early hours of this morning on the east coast of Scotland somewhere near Banff. A man and a woman, the latter calling herself Vera Erikson and the former François de Decker. They appeared at Gordonstown station looking somewhat bedraggled as they had been obliged to wade ashore. They aroused the suspicion of the station-,master, whom sent for the local inspector. On opening one of their boxes a two-way wireless set was found. Both have been arrested and are on their way to London. Another man has been seen in the company of these two. He is said to have taken a ticket for Edinburgh. The local police have been informed and steps are being taken to have the train searched. There is a suggestion that there may be a fourth, but this is based on the fact that the boat, which incidentally had aluminium oars and may therefore have been carried by a seaplane, was big enough to hold four

people.

**October 1, 1940:** The other man has been caught at Edinburgh. With characteristic stupidity he had left his suitcase, wet and covered with seaweed and sand, at the cloakroom. The local porter who had a good nose thought there was something fishy and sent for the police. The man was arrested. His name is Walti and he has a Swiss passport. He has been sent to London. Vera E and de Deeker have been arrested. Vera's story is that she was going to London in order to hand over the wireless set to a man called Wilkinson, who was tall and thin with fair hair, who would call on her at the Dorchester hotel within the next five days. She began by saying that she knew nothing about De Deeker but eventually admitted that both he and Wilkinson had come over with her in the same boat. They had started in a ship called the *Northern Star* but failed to get through the blockade and had gone back to Stavanger whence they had taken a seaplane.

I attended a meeting in the DMI's room to discuss the establishment of a new committee to be known as the W Committee for the dissemination of false information. The three directors of intelligence, Steward [sic], myself and a representative of MI9 were present, also [Victor] Cavendish-Bentinck [chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee] of the FO. DMI is very anxious to centralise the dissemination of rumours and false information and to take stock of the channels through which such information could be distributed. I said that as far as we were concerned it was essential that we should get quick answers to any questionnaires or enquiries that we received from the other side. We wanted first of all to know the truth and secondly how much of it could be put over. Having obtained this information we would then send down our agent to see how much of it he could pick up of his own accord. It had to be borne in mind that we were mainly

purveyors of true information, but that by putting over a half-truth we might be able to assist a line put out by some other dept. At the moment it seems that EH, MEW, SIS, and NID are all circulating false rumours. Some of them have come back to our agents for confirmation. we are thus in the position of having to contradict information put out by another dept. It was suggested at the meeting that as ISSB was already disseminating false information to cover various operations, we should, rather than set up some new committee, build up something round ISSB. DMI suggested that all rumours and false information should be pooled in ISSB and that we should submit our questionnaires to the secretary who would provide the answers. I expressed doubt about the speed with which such an enquiry could be made and DMI said that in cases of emergency we could always go direct to Ds of I. In the meantime the W Committee would meet about once a fortnight in order to assist on the main rumour policy.

[...]

**October 2, 1940:** The interrogation is still going on but De Decker and Walti refuse to say anything, and Vera is obviously lying.

A friend of the Rothschilds, Alan Hotchkin, turned up at Tring tonight. He is I believe one of the most eminent scientists that Cambridge has turned out for a great many years. He is only about 28 and is at present working on the RDF [radar]. He was extremely interesting on the developments going on, to which he attaches great importance. Much of the conversation was rather technical, but I gathered that our predictors on AA [anti-aircraft] guns have completely solved the question of range and that a good deal has been done towards the solution of the difficulty in obtaining an accurate line of fire. As soon as this difficulty has been overcome

it will be possible to deal very successfully with aeroplanes at night. The application of this invention by medium and short wave is the subject of experiments, through fitting the apparatus in Blenheim bombers. They have brought down ten or fifteen machines by night, and by December the design should have been perfected and fitted to a number of machines. The application of short-wave to this problem is being developed but will not be ready until about February. It is I believe possible for the Germans to jam this apparatus but so far they do not seem to have done so, in spite of the fact that they must have got some of our predictors in France. There has also been a rumour that one of our planes fitted with the apparatus came down by accident in France about a fortnight or three weeks ago. Hotchkin explained to me how the RDF stations round the coast were able to give about half an hour's warning before any raid took place. There is apparently a screen on which the planes appear in the form of little spikes as they are flying in to assemble before the raid takes place. When they are all assembled a rather thick black pyramid is discernible which represents the concentration. As soon as these concentrations are seen our Fighter Command is warned.

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1940 10 – 1941 05

PRO file KV<sub>4</sub>/187

### Liddell diary Oct 3, 1940 – May 3, 1941

October 3, 1940: Swinton is fussing about not getting immediate reports about every little detail. The fact is that it is not the slightest good disseminating information until you know whether it is true or at any rate likely to be true. We are not all a lot of fools here. All we want is to be left alone to do our job and to produce a reasoned report as soon as we have got to the bottom of the case. Swinton is apparently anxious to impress the PM and to get in with the goods before MI. This to my mind is a lamentable attitude. We are none of us interested in kudos. All we want is to get on with the job. For instance this afternoon Dick [White] has been swept off to do an interim report which is quite valueless as it may very well be misleading. It had to be done because Swinton wanted it.

[...] Fitzgerald, one of Crocker's solicitors ... was summoned to lunch with C and brought with him Major Milner, MP, who is a partner in the same firm. Both F and C were very loud in their criticism of this office and of Swinton's behaviour. Milner urged them to produce a full report on the whole thing which he would submit to the PM. This is all rather dirty but I do not think they will get very far. I suppose Crocker once more thinks that he is doing the nation a great service.

October 5, 1940: ... I saw the VCIGS with Roger Hollis. He [VCIGS] wanted to know about Communism. He was worried about the morale of the troops during the winter and the possibility of their being affected by agitation. ... We reassured him, but I pointed out that in our view two things were necessary, firstly that the Govt should anticipate events rather more intelligently,

i.e. it should not allow the CP to get the credit for putting people into the underground or in large shelters in the East End which had formerly been locked up at night; secondly, that if the regulations were contravened strong action should be taken and the reason explained to the public.

**October 7, 1940:** ... Swinton came down today and cross-examined us about the spy cases. The PM had evidently been asking why we had not shot some of them. I told Swinton that we understand that we had been given a more or less free hand to promise a man his life if we thought we were going to get information and that information was really by far the most important matter to be considered. He said that we had no authority to grant a man his life and quoted some minute of the Centre. On looking this up we found it was quite irrelevant. It merely referred to the DPP's attitude in these cases, which was that if we wished to prosecute we should not offer a man any inducement to talk. Swinton said that in future nobody was to be offered his life without his authority. I am still in ignorance of what Swinton's position is. I have seen no charter, and all we know is that he appears to think that he is head of MI5 and to some extent even of MI6.

**October 8, 1940:** ... Arrangements are being made to take over the Old Parsonage at Hinxton as the Home for Incurables [*place where prisoners are interned until the end of the war and kept incommunicado from their embassies etc*].

... [Herbert] Morrison has now taken over as Home Secretary.

**October 10, 1940:** ... Doust was consulted as to the possibilities of installing microphones in POGO's flat [*a Spaniard, del Pozo, had arrived, sponsored by the British Council*] and in the meanwhile a HOW [on the address] has been imposed. SNOW is reported to be

feeling his oats again after a long period of quiescence. He must be watched very carefully, and the question of putting a microphone into his new house is being considered. ... POGO told SNOW that he was going to Glasgow.

**October 13, 1940:** ... We have arranged with Miss Franks that a Spanish-sealing gentleman will take up residence in POGO's block of flats [*Athenaeum Court*] as from tomorrow.

**October 14, 1940:** ... The lunch party at the BBC arranged for today had to be cancelled as POGO had been mislaid. It has not therefore been possible to complete the arrangements for the installation of the microphone in his flat.

**October 15, 1940:** I saw Maxwell in the afternoon and gave him our 18b orders for the Duchesse, her daughter and the two Henrys [Mr and Mrs]. He began by studying each case individually and expressing the view that they seemed rather thin.

**October 16, 1940:** ... Arrangements have been made through Howard to sign on GIRAFFE and SPANIEL with De Gaulle. Nothing has come up on the telephone check of Oulpe. We are trying to find out his telephone number and will put on a check.

**October 17, 1940:** A telephone check on Pogo is now working, [*One and a half lines deleted:* ]

++++  
 Captain Russi who is going to do the listening was shown round today and arrangements have been made for him to stay on the premises.

**October 19, 1940:** The following is an extract from a JIC report on possible enemy action and sequence of events:

[4 pages: *German penetration of Romania, designs on Bulgaria, Turkey, Iraq. Need to strengthen Turkey, protect Iraqi and Iranian oilfields or prepare for destruction.*]

**October 23, 1940:** I was summoned to the Old Bailey to give evidence in the Wolkoff trial, but owing to a legal argument as to whether the Court was competent to try Tyler Kent [*former cypher clerk at US embassy*], I was not called. Kent's counsel took the line that as the offence had been committed when Kent was a diplomat, he was privileged.

**October 24, 1940:** I attended at the Old Bailey again. I merely had to testify that I had written certain letters to the American Embassy which might be useful to the enemy. I was asked by Kent's counsel whether I thought these letters would be useful to some political party in the USA which was interested in showing up a connection between the British and American services. I said that the documents could be used for this purpose by unscrupulous persons. I was then asked whether these two documents were isolated instances or whether the correspondence was a considerable one. I said that it was considerable.

After giving evidence, I went with Frost to see the DNI [etc.]

**October 25, 1940:** A JIC report of today's date states that assemblies of shipping and barges are still to be observed in Channel ports. It is thought that the intention is either to complete arrangements in case the situation is favourable or to maintain the threat of invasion or to continue preparations so as to prevent a fall in morale.

**October 26, 1940:** The telephone check on Mrs Harris, POGO's girl-

friend, has produced one curious feature – it is remarkable how many different accents and methods of speaking are adopted by this woman. According to the person to whom she is speaking, she employs at various times a marked foreign accent, a slightly American accent, a Cockney accent, and a comparatively educated and fluent English accent. When speaking to Pogo she appears to be a rather elderly woman with a poor command of the language, just as on other occasions she speaks fluently, quickly, and with practically no accent at all.

**October 28, 1940:** We have established contact with ++++++ of the Rumanian Legation. He is prepared to give us all the information we want, and should I think be able to help us with the Rumanian cypher.

**October 31, 1940:** Mlle [Betty] Baudelot has arrived with a number of letters sewn in her skirt. ... the Duke of Westminster and Rickett immediately weighed in when they heard that Baudelot was held. It seems that she is the Duke's mistress and that since Rickett is also involved there must be some oil in the picture somewhere. *[more detail]*

**November 1, 1940:** At a meeting between Lord Swinton, the HO [Home Office] and [Mr Justice?] [Sir Norman] Birkett a decision was reached to which we refused to be a party. It was to the effect that some 100 members of the BUF [Mosley's British Union of Fascists] should be released, but it would possibly be subject to certain restrictions.

**November 2, 1940:** C and CS have succeeded in breaking group 13 between Berlin and Tetuan.

**November 4, 1940:** The following interesting fact has emerged in

connection with TATE's transmitter. Before he was provided with the one he is at present using he was given one which was a much larger instrument, which he said was used by parachutists in Holland and Belgium. They told him that he would be given a special combination in order to open the back of the transmitter to put it into operation, and that if this combination was not used (that is to say if it was opened by someone unaware of the combination), the instrument would be blown up by a small bomb which was to be placed inside.

**November 6, 1940:** I saw Stewart Menzies and asked, if there were to be changes, there was any chance of VV taking over here. He told me that VV was not very well favoured in military circles, but that he would certainly recommend him although he could ill be spared.

**November 7, 1940:** I examined the holorith [sic. Hollerith, *i.e.* *punched card computer*] machine in W. [Wandsworth?] today. It is being used for censorship analysis. I am a little sceptical about its value although it has many attractions. If it could somehow be married to our records it would of course be invaluable, but as things as this is quite impossible. Under present arrangements its usefulness must depend on somebody remembering something. This is really common to all our work and I do not believe there is any mechanical way round it.

**November 11, 1940:** Victor [Rothschild] and I saw Rickett at the ++++++ ++++++. We had the room miked ++++++ Rickett was exactly what I expected. Although I think he was slightly nervous at first, he very soon got into his stride and waving his cigar in the air subjected us to a perfect tornado of bluff. He tried to make out that Betty Baudelot had nothing to do with the project at all and was a brainless female (in his own words, "her brains

were in her bottom"). Rickett's own interest soon became clear. He wanted to have a monopoly for the supply of oil to the sheiks in Morocco. This would act as an inducement to them to revolt. They would also be given other commodities such as tea, tobacco, etc. Rickett, Freeman and de Lazovert were to arrange this if they could get the necessary backing. Baudelot had evidently been used to get Rickett and company in touch with the PM's entourage through the Duke of Westminster, Westminster's sole interest seems to be the woman. [...*more detail*]

**November 12, 1940:** We have been trying to get Betty Baudelot down to London for an Interview. [The Duke of] Westminster has sent a note and a medical certificate to say that she is ill and unable to travel. This is obviously a put-up job.

[...] I have suggested to VV that we ought to try and get at Kanaris [sic. Canaris?] If we could stage an interview somewhere in Portugal we might make use of the information about him which we got from Mr Thomas. [handwritten comment in margin: "Krivitzky"]. There is no doubt that he was in Russian pay.

**November 13, 1940:** I saw Monkton [Sir Walter Monckton?] on the subject of Gen. [JFC] Fuller [right wing, tank expert]. Everybody is getting worried about Fuller's articles in the *Sunday Pictorial*, and particularly those which he prepared for the American press and which had to be carefully censored. Monkton told me he had had 3/4 hour's talk with Fuller, whom he regarded as rather deep and sinister. It was suggested to Fuller that possibly certain passages in his articles might be harmful to this country and cause alarm and despondency abroad. Fuller asked what the offending passages were and when these were shown to him he said that he could see no harm in them. He refused point blank to alter any of his articles. Monkton has seen the American press who agreed to

pay for Fuller's articles but not to publish them. Monkton agreed that it would be unwise to touch Fuller at this moment although he thought that he should be carefully watched. This we are doing by every possible means.

**November 26, 1940:** Lennox rang me up in a great state of mind. He wanted to see me some time before 5 p.m. as he had received instructions to go to Downing Street at 5 o'clock. I rather wondered whether he was going to be asked to take over the office, I thought it best to get this clear and told him that in my view neither he nor I were [sic. was] suitable, and if anybody was to come in VV was far the best choice. He entirely agreed with me. When he got to Downing Street he found that Lord Croft, presumably on the advice of the DMI, had written to the PM saying that all was not well with MI5 and he had better have a talk with Lennox. Lennox told the PM what he thought about this office and also about the centre. The PM then realized that he did not know why Lennox had come, to which the answer was "because you sent for me." The PM said that he always left these matters in the hands of Major [Desmond] Morton and he would be glad if Lennox would have a talk with him at once. The PM seemed worried about the Boothby case [Czech Gold] which he thought had been badly represented by MI5 and he took the opportunity to make a long political speech while walking round the Cabinet room. Lennox went straight on to Morton who was more understanding. He told Lennox that Petrie was on his way here to enquire into the whole organisation.

**November 27, 1940:** Charles saw Swinton and gave him his views about the office. He suggested that Swinton should have a talk with me, but this did not go very well. He [Swinton] said, "You see, Guy thinks I'm a bloody shit." Charles protested vehemently but without making much headway. He mentioned Frost and told

Swinton that he thought him a snake in the grass, neither loyal to MI5 nor to Swinton himself. Swinton seemed worried about this.

**November 30, 1940:** Ham [London] was bombed last night in one of the worst night raids we have had in London. There was a direct hit on the main building [Camp 020?], and three casualties among the guard. Bruhns, one of the internees, had a serious skull injury and is not expected to live.

There have been three interesting developments today. Firstly, Group 2 has been broken. These messages are between the principal stations in Western Europe and Berlin and should give us a great deal of information. Secondly GIRAFFE, our Czech agent, has received a draft from the Swiss Banking Corporation, for £50. It comes from the Banco Santo Spirito e Commerciale in Lisbon. ... Thirdly, there is the discovery of a S African ...we think that this man is probably a German agent...

**December 2, 1940:** The case of Pogo is getting rather difficult. The M of I have told him that he is no good and he had better go home. [*Resulting complications feared.*]

... We got up Masterman today to help us with the planning of the XX work. He has I believe a very good brain and I very much hope that he will put forward some useful suggestions.

**December 3, 1940:** I saw Desmond Morton today and had a long talk with him about the whole office. ... Morton did not think that VV was suitable to run the whole office, but he did consider that possibly he would make a valuable assistant. He would bear this in mind ...

**December 17, 1940:** [Much talk in this and preceding entries of the

reorganisation of MI5.] ... KIEBOM, the third spy, was executed today.

[...] Mrs O'Grady has been sentenced to death. Personally I doubt whether she is guilty of anything more than collecting information. She probably pictured herself as a master spy, and cannot bring herself to say that there was really nothing behind it at all.

**December 19, 1940:** A prosecution is being staged against Mrs Nicholson. She is the wife of Admiral Wilmot Nicholson. They are both mixed up in the Right Club and were connected with Anna Wolkoff and Tyler Kent. The Admiral is rather a passive member and strongly anti-semitic, and with a bee in his bonnet on the subject of corruption in high Government circles. Mrs Nicholson on the other hand is a much more active member of the Right Club and has a strong pro-German background. In May 1940 we heard that she and her husband claimed to have obtained from Anna Wolkoff the full story of our Norwegian Expeditionary Force. Later in May we were told that Mrs Nicholson had made a copy of some document which Anna had obtained from Tyler Kent. Almost simultaneously we heard that a servant employed by the Nicholsons was handed a sealed envelope by Mrs N. with instructions Washington-Jerusalem Axis that she was to take it home and hide it and that if she was questioned she was to say that it was Admiral Nicholson's will. The servant handed the envelope to the police who found that it contained two sheets of notepaper with pencilled writing very much abbreviated. It was clearly a copy of one of the US Embassy telegrams. The handwriting appeared identical with that of a Right Club card found in Maule Ramsey's property, and when compared was clearly the writing of Mrs N. She was arrested on 26th May and admitted that the document was hers, that when she knew Anna Wolkoff and had met Tyler Kent. She refused at first to say who had given

her the document of which she had made a copy, but later admitted that it was Anna. She was detained and subsequently interned under 18b. The contents of the telegram dealt among other matters with the now famous US destroyer deal. At that time the matter was considered so secret that the prosecution of Mrs N. was out of the question. Now the officers of the Crown consider that she should be dealt with under the Official Secrets Act and Defence Regulations.

**December 20, 1940:** Had a long discussion with Charles about the reorganisation meeting. I told him that I was very worried about the whole thing. He thinks that I should put in a minority report.

**December 21, 1940:** Did my Xmas shopping this morning.

**December 22, 1940:** Dick [White] has got interesting news about STORK. [*Complete entry*]

**December 24-25, 1940:** At Hailey Manor.

**December 27, 1940:** Dick also told me about the Muselier case. A letter had been produced by Howard, alleged to have been written by Gen. Rozoy of the Vichy Consulate, to Lisboa, 2nd secretary of the Brazilian embassy, and carried by Mlle. D'Anjou, his mistress. The letter disclosed that [Admiral] Muselier had warned Vichy about the Dakar project [of de Gaulle].

**December 26, 1940:** Went to see Desmond Morton today about the Muselier case. I showed him the letter and explained to him very carefully that while we had verified the text as far as possible, also the paper and the stamp, there were two weak links in the chain between the source and ourselves, namely the Adjutant Collin, who had not got a very good reputation, and a mythical

man called Gomez who was supposed to be an attaché at the Brazilian embassy. Morton got very excited about the letter, which he said he thought had all the appearance of being genuine and said that he would like to show it to the PM at once. I made it quite clear to him that we should not have brought it to his notice at all if we had not heard through a junior member of Howard's office that the contents of the letter had already been communicated verbally to Col. Angenot, de Gaulle's chief of staff. It followed therefore that it would be all over de Gaulle's headquarters within the next twenty-four hours. I said that if he was going to show it to the PM I hoped he would make it absolutely clear that we could give no guarantee whatever about the source of the information. Otherwise I foresaw that it might recoil on our heads and MI5 would be held responsible for producing a mare's nest. Morton said that he had heard criticisms in the past that MI5 were too inclined to hold things up pending verification and that we had done absolutely right in bringing it to his notice immediately. He thought that the FO should be informed. Kenneth Younger and I then went round to see Hopkinson and told him the same story.