

David Irving

CHURCHILL'S WAR

I — *The Struggle for Power*

Part 4 of 4
Source Notes and Index

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FOCAL POINT

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Vol. ii – *Triumph in Adversity* (ISBN 1872 197 159) – was published by Focal Point Publications (London) in 2002. A third volume is in preparation.

Notes and Sources

1: Faithless but Fortunate

- 1 Harold Nicolson, MS: *Portrait of WSC*, 1947 (Columbia University, New York: Longwell papers).
- 2 Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 1941 (Boston Univ.).
- 3 General Sir Hastings Ismay; in Nicolson diary, Aug 7, 1942.
- 4 Letter from Nigel Nicolson, Mar 23, 1978.
- 5 William Lyon Mackenzie King diary, Aug 11, 1943 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa).
- 6 N Chamberlain (Min of Health) to Ld Irwin, Aug 15, 1926 (Gilbert, *Winston Churchill*, vol. v, 180f).
- 7 WSC to Ld Hugh Cecil, unsent, Oct 24, 1923; in R Churchill, *Winston Churchill* (London 1969), vol. ii, 70f.
- 8 Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals* (London, 1977), 21.
- 9 Roskill remarks (*ibid.*, 33) that Gilbert 'glosses over' WSC's role in this (*Churchill*, vol. iii, 40ff).
- 10 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 16, 1943.
- 11 From WSC, 'My Life.' First published in *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 4, 1935; original MS at Oregon Univ., Eugene, Oregon.
- 12 Interview of Kay Halle, Washington, May 1978.
- 13 Hankey cited in Liddell-Hart notes, May 23, 1945 (King's College, London: Liddell-Hart papers).
- 14 WSC to Baldwin, Dec 13, 1924 (Gilbert, vol. v, 75ff; letter, Ld Beatty to his wife, Jan 26, 1925).
- 15 Naval staff memo, Mar 5, 1925 (Gilbert, vol. v, 103).
- 16 Cf. Gilbert, vol. v, 290ff.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Memo on Anglo-American relations, Nov 19, 1928 (Gilbert, vol. v, 308). The Chartwell quotes are from the diary of Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn, later an MP, Sep 21, 1928 (*ibid.*, 301).

- 19 WSC to Clementine, Nov 7 and 15, 1928 (*ibid.*, 306ff).
- 20 Gilbert, vol. v, 315.
- 21 WSC to Clementine, Sep 9, 1929 (Gilbert, vol. v, 346).
- 22 WSC to Clementine, Sep 29, 1929 (Gilbert, vol. v, 348).
- 23 Maurice Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (London, 1968), 18.
- 24 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 1941 and Aug 24, 1943.
- 25 Chamberlain to Irwin; see note 6.
- 26 John Davidson, diary, Mar 6, 1929, recording luncheon with Sir William Berry, later Lord Camrose (Gilbert, vol. v, 316).
- 27 Interview of Kay Halle (see note 12). She was at Chartwell that evening; FDR's son was present.

2: Keeping It under His Hat

- 1 Douglas had first published his infamous attack, 'The Murder of Lord Kitchener and the Truth about the Battle of Jutland and the Jews,' in his obscure weekly *Plain English*, Jan 1921. The attorney general had at the time advised WSC to ignore it. WSC had of course left the admiralty in 1915, one year before Jutland.
- 2 Halifax, cited in Dalton diary, Dec 18, 1940.
- 3 Prince Otto von Bismarck, *Aufzeichnung, London den 20. Oktober 1930* (German FO papers: NA microfilm T120, roll 5540, 567887ff).
- 4 WSC to Beaverbrook, Sep 23, 1930 (Beaverbrook papers, C.86).
- 5 WSC to Randolph, 8 Jan. 1931 (Gilbert, vol. v, 379).
- 6 WSC to Baruch, Nov 1, 1931 (Baruch papers).
- 7 *Washington Star*, Jan 10, 1932; and see John Wheeler, *I've Got News for You* (E P Dutton, New York 1961), 163. He

- also sold it to the *Daily Mail*.
- 8 Clementine to Randolph, Jan 12, 1932 (Gilbert, vol. v, 423).
- 9 C Murphy MS, Mar 1945 (FDR Libr., Winant papers, box 190, 'Churchill').
- 10 Speech in New York, 28 January, 1932 (Gilbert, vol. v, 425).
- 11 WSC, 'Zionism versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People,' in *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, London, Feb 8, 1920.
- 12 WSC speech, Jan 27, 1926 (Public Records Officer [hereafter: PRO] file TREASURY.172/1505).
- 13 WSC to Clementine, Jan 6, 1927 (Gilbert, vol. v, 224).
- 14 Cited in *Current Biography*, 10ff.
- 15 WSC's original typescript in Univ. of Oregon, with his MS corrections.
- 16 WSC article, Mar 31, 1931 (Gilbert, vol. v, 408f).
- 17 See WSC's speech to the House on Nov 23, 1932 (*House of Commons Debates*).

3: **Wuthering Depths**

- 1 Interview of Kay Halle, May 1978.
- 2 Beaverbrook to Sir Robert Borden, Jan 7, 1931.
- 3 Beaverbrook to Arthur Brisbane, Oct 20, 1932.
- 4 Beaverbrook to Sir Robert Borden, Jan 7 and Mar 28, 1934.
- 5 Beaverbrook to Theodor Fink, Nov 19, 1934.
- 6 T E B Clarke, *This is Where I Came In* (London, 1974), 87.
- 7 Christopher Hassall, *A Biography of Edward Marsh* (New York, 1959), 575f.
- 8 *The Times*, reviewing *The World Crisis*, vol. ii, on Oct 30, 1923.
- 9 Prof A J P Taylor in *The Observer*, May 17, 1970; cf. R Rhodes James, *op. cit.*
- 10 Letters, WSC to E Marsh, Aug 31, 1922; June 24, 1934; Aug 30, 1947 (Berg Library, New York).
- 11 Gilbert, vol. v, 333; M. Ashley, *Churchill as Historian* (London, 1968).
- 12 Gilbert, vol. v, 303.
- 13 WSC to Clementine, Nov 15, 1928 (Gilbert, vol. v, 307).
- 14 Colville diary, Nov 3, 1940.
- 15 L Amery diary, Nov 5, 1928 (Gilbert, vol. v, 306).
- 16 WSC to Spears, Mar 22, 1930 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Spears papers, 1/76B).
- 17 Gilbert, vol. vi, 961.
- 18 Letter, Aubrey Neil Morgan MP to author, Dec 9, 1977.
- 19 WSC to the Prof, Feb 26, 1931 (Cherwell papers).
- 20 WSC speech to the US Congress, Dec 26, 1941.
- 21 WSC to Camrose, Aug 2; and to Clementine, Aug 8, 1929 (Gilbert, vol. v, 339).
- 22 C Murphy, memo on dinner party of Mar 16, 1946 (Eisenhower Library, C D Jackson papers, box 32, 'Churchill').
- 23 C Scribner to WSC, Mar 11, 1932 (Gilbert, vol. v, 427). They sold 4,000 copies of the final volume of *Crisis*.
- 24 Letter, Thornton Butterworth to WSC, Nov 19, 1931 (Gilbert, vol. v, 416).
- 25 Jack Churchill to WSC, Sep 16, 1932 (Gilbert, vol. v, 438).
- 26 Correspondence between Curtis Brown and *Chicago Tribune*, Sep 19, 1932 to Feb 13, 1933 (Univ. of Oregon, Eugene). And see Dr J Richard Heinzkill and Martin Schmitt, 'Sir Winston's Potboilers,' in *Imprint: Oregon*, Fall 1974, 3ff, and note in *The Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, vol. 72 (1978), 359.
- 27 Curtis Brown to *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 13, 1935.

4: **Wild Man in the Wilderness**

- 1 C D Jackson, memo: Churchill speaking during cruise with Henry Luce (Eisenhower Library, Jackson papers, Apr 14-17, 1955, box 32, 'Churchill').
- 2 Lord Birkenhead, *The Prof in Two Worlds* (London, 1961), 126f.
- 3 Hoare to Willingdon, Apr 6, 1933

- (Templewood papers).
- 4 WSC to Lord Burnham, Apr 9, 1933 (Gilbert, vol. v, 477).
 - 5 Hoare to Willingdon, Apr 20, 1934 (Templewood papers).
 - 6 WSC to Cyril Asquith, Aug 8, 1934 (Gilbert, vol. v, 584).
 - 7 Gilbert, vol. v, 457: WSC speech, Feb 17, 1933.
 - 8 Cabinet meeting, Mar 15, 1933.
 - 9 WSC speech at Devonshire Club, Nov 14, 1933 (Gilbert, vol. v, 498).
 - 10 'His thirst for talking military strategy is unquenchable.' (Colville diary, Sep 20, 1940.)
 - 11 Hore-Belisha to Liddell-Hart (diary, Mar 10, 1944).
 - 12 Cecil King diary, May 10, 1941, quoting W J Brown, sec. of Civil Service Clerical Association.
 - 13 Tel., Masaryk to Prague, London, Mar 15, 1934 (Berber, *op. cit.*, No. 23).
 - 14 Hitler's first reply to Lord Rothermere was on Dec 7, 1933. See the photocopies retained by Rothermere's go-between, Princess Stephanie von Hohenlohe, in her papers, and the two original Ribbentrop files in the Louis P. Lochner collection, Hoover Library.
 - 15 WSC to Clementine, Aug 22, 1934 (Gilbert, vol. v, 559).
 - 16 Alexander Korda told Ladislav Farago (a reporter for *News Review*) over lunch at the Korda home in Swiss Cottage. (Interview of Farago, Jun 1979; letter Michael Korda to author Jun 1979.)
 - 17 Letter, Bracken to Baruch, May 21, 1947 (Baruch papers).
 - 18 See for instance von Puttkamer's telegram to Raeder from the Berghof, May 24, 1938 (in German naval file PG/36794): 'The Führer must now assume that Britain and France will rank amongst our enemies.'
 - 2 Liddell Hart related this to E Wingfield Stratford, letter, Apr 12, 1942 (Kings College: Liddell Hart papers).
 - 3 D Longwell memo, Oct 15, 1953 (Longwell papers, box 2).
 - 4 Arthur Krock MS, May 22, 1969 (Princeton Univ.: Krock papers),
 - 5 WSC to Clementine, Feb 23, Mar 2 and Apr 13, 1935 (Gilbert, vol. v, 612).
 - 6 Morton to Thompson, Aug 20, 1960 (in R W Thompson, *Churchill and Morton* [London, 1976], 71).
 - 7 WSC to Hankey, Jan 31, 1936 (Gilbert, vol. v, 702).
 - 8 In Dec 1940 WSC would appoint Mr Justice Singleton to review the secret information. Air Intelligence at that time estimated the enemy front line at 5,710 planes, while MEW put it at 3,000. (WSC to Sinclair, Dec 9, 1940, Cherwell papers.)
 - 9 WSC to Cherwell, May 2, 1947 (*ibid.*).
 - 10 WSC to Spaatz and reply, Jul 17, 1947 (Library of Congress: Spaatz papers). Spaatz supplied figures from British ADI(K) report 352/1945 on captured GAF Equipment Branch files suggesting that in Sep 1938 Germany had a first line strength of 3,200 mobilised planes, and 4,300 in Sep 1939.
 - 11 Hinsley, vol. i, 53. This, says Prof Hinsley, remained the best source on the subject 'when other sources were providing conflicting and only tentative assessments.'
 - 12 Erhard Milch diary, Aug 20, 1938 (author's microfilm DI-59).
 - 13 Milch diary, Feb 1935.
 - 14 Bruce Lockhart diary, Sep 5, 1943.
 - 15 WSC to Clementine, Apr 13, 1935. Londonderry never deviated from his view that WSC had grossly exaggerated the German airforce and attributed Britain's troubles to the attitude which developed after Simon returned from Berlin. 'Our first line strength at that date was 897 machines, and as I calculated at the time and verified from subsequent information which I received, the first line strength of the German Air

5: **Sixty**

- 1 From WSC, 'My Life,' MS first published in *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 4, 1935 (original MS at Univ. of Oregon).

- Force was 12 machines.' Winston's 'delusion' about the German airforce had 'disastrous results' on foreign policy. (Letter to Halifax, Dec 2, 1939, Ld Halifax papers, FO.800/328.)
- 16 Ld Rothermere to Hitler, Apr 29; and reply, May 3, 1935 (Hoover Library, Stanford Univ., Calif.: Hohenlohe papers).
- 17 Milch diary, Jan 12–15, 1935. In Aug 1935 they began planning the 1936 budget. The airforce claimed 4,300m Reichsmarks; Hitler said 3,100m was possible, but Göring warned Milch that they would probably get only 2,000m. Later the 1936 budget (without SA) was set at a total of 7,200m (army 4,200m, navy 680m, airforce 2,300m).
- 18 Rose Kennedy memo, 1940; and WSC to J P Kennedy, Oct 12, 1935 (JPK papers, Kennedy Libr.). WSC had cabled to Ld Beaverbrook on Oct 10 inviting him to dine with Kennedy in Oct at Claridges; B declined (Beaverbrook papers, C.86).
- 19 WSC: 'Zionism versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People,' in *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, London, Feb 8, 1920.
- 20 Rothermere to Hitler, Dec 6 and Dec 16, 1935; reply, Dec 19, 1935 (Hohenlohe papers).
- 21 W C Bullitt to FDR, Feb 22, 1936. In Orville H Bullitt, *For the President* (New York, 1972), 144.
- 22 E.g., WSC to Flandin, May 15, 1936: his estimate, 'drawn from a variety of sources,' was 1,200 first line German machines, and 2,000 by the end of 1936; Flandin replied on May 16 giving French estimates of 1,236 and 2,000 respectively.
- 23 Leo Amery to Beaverbrook, Nov 7, 1936 (Beaverbrook papers, C.5).
- 24 WSC to Londonderry, May 6, 1936 (Gilbert, vol. v, 732).
- 2 Eugen Spier, *Focus – A Footnote to the History of the Thirties* (London, 1963). Credit is due to Dr Dietrich Aigner of Mannheim Univ. for his research into the Focus in *Das Ringen um England. Das deutsch-britische Verhältnis* (Munich, 1969) and particularly his unpublished bibliography, *On Producing Chaff. Materials for an Inquiry* (Weinheim, 1980).
- 3 Ld Citrine, *Men and Work – An Autobiography* (London, 1964), 347ff.
- 4 E.g., ANG to Spears, Sep 19, 1935 (Spears papers, 1/55). Vice chairman was Sir Robert Mond of ICI; vice presidents were Nobel Peace Prize winner and fellow-traveller Angell, Herbert Morrison, E Sylvia Pankhurst, Canon F Lewis Donaldson, Eleanor Rathbone; chairman, George Latham; hon sec and treasurer, C Q Henriques; council: Monica Whately, A M Wall, V Adams, P Guedalla, A Conley, P Horowitz, F Rodgers ('organising secretary'), L W Carruthers, and M H Davies.
- 5 WSC to FDR, undated, Nov 1940 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0148).
- 6 The fund was controlled by foreign propaganda chief Jan Hajek. In 1923 he paid Steed £10,000, ostensibly for advertising in his *Review of Reviews*, although it could never handle so much advertising; he paid Steed £8,000 on Nov 27, 1923 and £5,000 six months later, acknowledged by Steed to Dr E Mastny on Mar 27, 1924. Payments continued through the 1930s. He was receiving 8,000 crowns monthly in 1936 (£1 = 200 crowns) and collected £3,000 in 1938. T Masaryk gave him 120,000 crowns – half from the foreign ministry. Czech funds flowed freely to writers like Machray and Poliakoff; Laurence Lyon was slushed with 100,000 crowns for an unpublished book. Newspapers like the Canadian *La Presse*, Montreal *Daily Star*, *The Gazette*, Toronto *Star Weekly* and *Globe* were also on the Czech payroll. Prague was even subsidising Alexander Kerensky's anti-Soviet newspapers like *Dni* and *Volja*

6: The Hired Help

- 1 WSC to Randolph, Nov 13, 1936.

- Rossiji and making payments to intellectuals 'for their service rendered to our legions during their conflict with the Soviets.' Stefan Osusky, MS: 'Beneš and Soviet Russia,' in Osusky papers, box 14 (Hoover Library). Dr R Urban, *Tajne fondy III sekce*, Z Archivu ministerstva zahraniči Republiky Československe (Prague, 1943), proves that Hajek on Dec 11, 1935 ordered 15,000 crowns paid quarterly to Kerensky in London.
- 7 Leon Poliakov, in *Histoire de l'Antisemitisme*, vol. iv: *L'Europe suicidaire, 1870-1933* (Paris, 1977), 23off, even has Steed instrumental in propagating the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion.'
 - 8 *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Dec 4, 1936.
 - 9 Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, diary, Aug 17, 1936.
 - 10 Urban (see note 6).
 - 11 Gilbert, vol. v, 739, citing ANC minutes in Churchill papers, 2/282-3, closed to other historians.
 - 12 Spier, *op. cit.*, 20.
 - 13 See note 8.
 - 14 Citrine (see note 3).
 - 15 Gilbert, vol. v, 739, quoting Churchill papers 2/282.
 - 16 In 1940 Arthur Harris, commander of No. 5 Bomber Group, discovered that Anderson was reporting directly on his two bomber squadrons to WSC. When he ignored warnings Harris sacked him and posted him to Canada. Anderson protested to the Prof that the real reason was 'because I am regarded as a personal friend of the prime minister's and of other serving ministers. I am therefore regarded as a potential danger.' (Sinclair to WSC, Aug 24; and Anderson to the Prof, Oct 29, 1940: Cherwell papers.) Beaverbrook took him on as personal assistant at MAP despite Sinclair's warnings. In 1942 WSC told him that a number of Sinclair's top secret minutes and copies of all the PM's minutes to Beaverbrook had been found in Anderson's possession. Anderson was invalidated out of the RAF; Beaverbrook referred to him sympathetically as 'the poor fellow who went mad.' (Beaverbrook to Sinclair, Jun 29 and Jul 13, 1942: C.311.) He died in 1982.
 - 17 Tel., Franckenstein to Vienna, Jun 25 (NA microfilm T120, roll 1447, 568395).
 - 18 Hankey to Inskip, Jun 29 (Gilbert, vol. v, 757).
 - 19 Swinton to Hankey, Jun 26 (CAB.21/426).
 - 20 Wigram memo, Jun 30 (FO.371/19946).
 - 21 See note 18.
 - 22 WSC to Randolph, Nov 13, 1936.
 - 23 Steed, 'The United States and British Policy,' address at Chatham House on Nov 25, 1937 (in *International Affairs*, London, vol. xvii, No. 1 [1938], 51-3).
 - 24 Spier.
 - 25 Robert Henriques, *Sir Robert Waley-Cohen 1877-1952. A Biography* (London, 1966), 362.
 - 26 It was published in the *Sunday Chronicle*, Jul 4, 1937, and in *Collier's*.
 - 27 S Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals*, 27.
 - 28 Swinton at Cabinet Joint Planning Committee, Sep 15, 1936 (AIR.2/1873).
 - 29 Verbatim transcript of parliamentary deputation, Jul 28-29, 1936 (PREM.1/193).
 - 30 *Evening Standard*, Aug 10, 1936. Similar articles followed on Aug 21, 1936 and Jul 7, 1938.
 - 31 Spier; and see note 8.
 - 32 WSC to A H Richards, Oct 21 and 26, 1936.
 - 33 Adams to WSC, Oct 20 (cited in Gilbert, vol. v, 790).
 - 34 Spier, 53ff.
 - 35 WSC to Randolph, Nov 13, 1936.
 - 36 Unpublished letter, Sarah to Clementine, May 19, 1950.
 - 37 Arnold diary, Jun 16, 1944 (Library of Congress, MS division).
 - 38 Unpublished letter, Sarah to Clementine, Oct 12, 1936.
 - 39 Letter, WSC to Baruch, Jan 1, 1937

- (Baruch papers).
- 40 Lothian to WSC, Mar 30, 1940 (FO. 371/24263).
- 7: **Over-Reaching Himself**
- 1 WSC: *My Life*, typescript in Univ. of Oregon.
- 2 Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 1941 (Boston Univ.).
- 3 Deputation of Nov 23 (PREM.1/193).
- 4 WSC to E L Spears, Nov 17, 1936 (Spears papers).
- 5 Cummings, cited in German embassy despatch, Dec 3.
- 6 Naomi W Cohen, *Not Free to Desist – The American Jewish Committee 1906–1966* (Philadelphia, 1972), 183f; and letter, WSC to Baruch, Jan 1, 1937.
- 7 Letter, Italian Consul General at Cannes to Ciano, Dec 16, 1936 (Italian embassy in London, file 963, ‘*Rapporti politici*’; and ‘*Gran Bret 1: Reali Inglesi Questioni Dinastiche: Conflitto tra Corona-Governo.*’ This file includes telegrams of the Finnish minister in London, George Gripenberg, to Helsinki, of interest since his American wife Peggy was a friend of Mrs Simpson (Italian FO archives, Rome).
- 8 Tel., Gripenberg to Helsinki, Nov 6.
- 9 Ditto, Dec 15, commenting on this and on Hoesch’s hold over Edward VIII; cf. Bruce Lockhart diary, May 27, 1935.
- 10 F Hesse memo, London, Mar 11 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz: Hesse papers, Kl.Erw.262–1. He died in 1980.
- 11 Chamberlain diary, Nov 25 (Chamberlain papers, Birmingham Univ.).
- 12 Ld Citrine, *Men and Work* (London, 1964).
- 13 Letter, Beaverbrook to Guy Ross, Dec 11.
- 14 Blanche Dugdale diary, Dec 5.
- 15 Gilbert, vol. v, 817.
- 16 John Parker MP, interview, Apr 1978.
- 17 Nicolson MS (Longwell papers).
- 18 Dugdale diary, Dec 8. Amery diary, Dec 7. Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 318, col. 1643f.
- 19 Ilse Hess to Rudolf’s mother, Nov 3, 1937 (PRO: FO.371/26566).
- 20 Naomi Cohen, *op. cit.*, 183f.
- 21 Joseph Kennedy, cited in James V Forrestal, *Diaries*, ed. W Millis (New York, 1951), 122. Kennedy’s own anti-Semitism was notorious.
- 22 WSC to Baruch, Jan 1 (Princeton Univ.: Baruch papers). Steed left via Canada in Sep 1937, was interviewed by the Montreal *Star*, which like him was being funded by the Czechs, met the governor-general in Ottawa; crossed into the US on Oct 5, met Sulzberger, Swope and Baruch. He reported to the Focus on Oct 28, and had this to say at Chatham House on Nov 25: ‘I spoke confidentially to the Council on Foreign Relations, to the Foreign Policy Association, to the New York Jewish Committee, to the Harvard Club and various other gatherings. I met also some responsible executive officers of the United States.’ (*International Affairs*, vol. xvii [1938], No. 1, 51–3.)
- 23 WSC to Baruch, Jan 1.
- 24 WSC to Clementine, Jan 7 (Gilbert, vol. v, 835); and Feb 2, 1937 (Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 274).
- 25 Curtis Brown Ltd to Chicago Tribune Syndicate, Mar 29; reply, Oct 29, 1937 (Univ. of Oregon).
- 26 Gilbert, vol. v, 835n.
- 27 Others included ‘A Stand against Aggression’ in Mar 1938, and ‘For a Pact with Russia’ in May 1939.
- 28 Churchill, vol. i, 203.
- 29 H V Johnson to FBI, Mar 11, 1941 (US embassy in London, secret files, box 6, file 820.02). Military activities in NA, RG.84, Suitland, Maryland. Guy Liddell’s original MI5 report of Mar 5 was removed from this file on British instructions in 1975.
- 30 J Kuczynski, *Memoiren* (East Berlin and Weimar, 1975), 3257. In Aug 1939 the Left Book Club published 50,000 of his *The Condition of the Workers in Great Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union 1912–1938*.

31 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 12, 1943 (Public Archives, Ottawa).

8: **People Are Buying 'Churchills'**

- 1 Ironside diary, Dec 6, 1937.
 - 2 Milch, *Gedenken für den Luftkrieg*, returned by Karl Bodenschatz, Feb 1, 1937 (Milch papers, deposited by the author at Institut für Zeitgeschichte [hereafter: IfZ], Munich).
 - 3 Sir Herbert Creedy (war office) commented on Steed's memorandum on Germany, 'The value of this report is much reduced by the great exaggeration in it as to the strength of Germany's air force and army. Thus the source estimates that Germany has between 2,000 and 3,000 war 'planes ready for service (i.e., first line): but the Air Ministry estimate is about 1,000 first line and this agrees with the strength given them by the Germans.' (FO.371/19446).
- In FO.371/19914 is further evidence of how avidly Churchill swallowed Steed's data. In October 1936 Steed reported a (fictitious) Hitler speech at Würzburg on Sep 18; warned that Hitler was about to invade France through Switzerland; advised that the Nazis had established a submarine base off the coast of Portuguese Guinea; and talked about the German battleships being under orders to raise 'a good head of steam' (they were in fact diesel-powered). Sending this report to an FO official on October 20, Wickham Steed wrote: 'I mentioned some of it to Mr Winston Churchill last week and he said it "ought to go also to the Government."' Steed added that since his own financial resources had come to an end, 'a wealthy friend' had placed money at his disposal 'for this "research work"' in the summer of 1936. (The Board of Deputies, it will be recalled, had first funded the Focus in July 1936.) He continued, 'I have now six or seven non-Jewish informants on my string.'
- 4 Wigram, minutes, May 12 and Jun 16.

- WSC's and Wickham Steed's memoranda on German air power; air ministry responses; British papers on Swinton's discussions with Milch and Wenninger, and Wigram's exchanges with Wing Cdr. Medhurst (FO.371/19446).
- 5 Sir E Phipps to FO, Tel. No. 1344, and reply, Jan 16, 1936 (FO.371/19946).
 - 6 CID meeting, Jul 10 (FO.371/19946). Wenninger talk with Wing Cdr. Medhurst, Jul 6 (*ibid.*).
 - 7 Cabinet meeting, Feb 3, 1937 (FO.371/20734).
 - 8 Their mission lasted from Jan 17-23 (report in FO.371/20733).
 - 9 For German documents on this mission see Milch files, vol. 56, 3003ff (now at BA Freiburg). Swinton discussed the results in cabinet on Feb 3, 1937.
 - 10 Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill* (London, 1979), chap. 15.
 - 11 F Owen MS in Beaverbrook papers, C.86.
 - 12 H Rauschnig, *Hitler m'a dit* (Paris, 1939). Cf. letter, Steed to Kingsley Martin, Aug 6, 1939: 'I have got a number of German Aryans working on this very problem [of making the Germans understand encirclement] - Rauschnig and Hollermann among them. . . Last week I put Rauschnig into touch with Beneš.' On Rauschnig, cf. FO.371/26581.
 - 13 M J Creswell to WSC, Dec 22, 1937 (Gilbert, vol. v, 89of).
 - 14 H Wilson to P J Grigg, Jan 31, 1938 (Churchill College: Grigg papers).
 - 15 H Channon diary, Apr 14, 1937.
 - 16 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 30, 1941.
 - 17 Cf. letter, King Saud to FDR in Mar 1945 (Leahy file 56), in Adm. William Leahy's words a powerful refutation of Jewish claims to a historical right to ownership of the Holy Land (diary, Oct 2, 1945).
 - 18 WSC, 'Zionism versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People,' *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, London, Feb 8, 1920. He argued that the Russian post-revolutionary experience con-

- firmed the case for a national home for 'the political conceptions of the Jewish race.'
- 19 Letter, Weizmann to Meyer Weisgal, his New York agent, Jul 9, 1948; and WSC to Weizmann, Nov 1951 (Weizmann archives). WSC's Zionist fervor has been properly noted by Gilbert and by monograpahers like O Rabinowicz (1956) and A Ade (Zurich, 1972).
- 20 Letter, Blanche Dugdale to Lord Cecil, Feb 17, 1936 (British Museum: Cecil papers, MS 51157).
- 21 Peel Commission, Mar 1937 (CO. 733/344).
- 22 Prof Norman A Rose, *The Gentile Zionists* (London, 1973), 131f; Dalton diary Jun 18, 1937. Weizmann wrote to WSC, Jun 14, 'I have followed your advice and have made it clear, both to members of the Commission and to [Colonial Secretary] Mr Ormsby-Gore . . . that they should not assume that I am in any way committed to . . . partition.' (Weizmann archives.)
- 23 Spier, *op. cit.*
- 24 Ashton-Gwatkin-Waley correspondence, Jun 24-27; A E Barker, memo, Jul 4 (FO.371/20733, fols 261ff; Leith Ross conversation with Goerdeler, Jul 6 (T.188/288). Another clandestine German visitor to Churchill from 1937 was Dr Richard von Kühlmann, former *Staatssekretär* in the German FO (affidavit, Dec 29, 1947 in *US vs. Korner et al.*).
- 25 Sheila Grant Duff to WSC, rec'd Jun 19 (Gilbert, vol. v, 863).
- 26 WSC to Clementine, Jul 25, 1937.
- 27 WSC to Feiling, Feb 26, 1938 (Gilbert, vol. v, 907).
- 28 Letter, WSC to Beaverbrook, Oct 20, 1937 (C.86).
- 29 WSC to Eden, Oct 1937 Gilbert, vol. v, 870).
- 30 Tel. No. 277, Ribbentrop to Hitler, May 18, 1937.
- 31 C Murphy, MS: *Ribbentrop, Zwischen London und Moskau* (Leoni, 1953).
- 32 US war dept. interrog of Bohle, Jul 26-27, 1945.
- 33 FO.371/20733.
- 34 Milch diary, MS, and letter to Trenchard, Dec 12, 1945; Trenchard to H Elmhirst, Feb 19, 1946 (RAF Hendon: Trenchard papers, MFC.76/1-565).
- 35 WSC to Hankey, Oct 16, and reply Oct 19 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 877f; and Hankey papers).
- 36 WSC to Hankey, Oct 21 (Hankey papers).
- 37 CAB.24/2/3. Until that time no German contingency plan against the Low Countries had been prepared.
- 38 Pearman to A H Richards, Jan 8, 1938 (Gilbert, vol. v, 894).
- 39 Ribbentrop, memo of Dec 28, 1937 (listed by *DGFP* as 'lost,' but found by the author in FO files); and subsequent Note for the Führer, Jan 2, 1938 (ND, TC.75; original in Loesch papers, NA microfilm T120/622/339ff).

9: **The Grand Alliance**

- 1 Vollbrunner, Franckenstein's colleague in Paris, was arrested on his return to Austria for destroying legation files wanted by the Gestapo; Ribbentrop assured Franckenstein he had nothing to fear. (Loesch papers, T.120/617/0289 ff.)
- 2 *Los Angeles Times*, Mar 18, 1939.
- 3 Churchill, vol. i, 263; Maisky, 405.
- 4 On Oct 27, 1938 Oliver Harvey urged Halifax to curb such activities (FO.800/311).
- 5 Mussolini papers, esp. files of Ministry of Popular Culture (NA microfilm T586/15 *et seq.*) and of Italian press attaché in Paris, Amadeo Landini (T.586/148).
- 6 Dr Fritz Hesse, note on propaganda possibilities in Britain, Nov 23, 1938 (BA Koblenz: Hesse papers, Kl.Erw. 276-1).
- 7 Examples of PRO files closed for 75 years are T.210/12 of the Treasury's Czech financial claims office (on the Weininger claim) and T.236/729-31 general files on Czechoslovakia,

- neral files on Czechoslovakia, 1939–49.
- 8 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jan 28, 1941, cols. 445–461. Indignant Liberal MP Geoffrey Mander complained: 'Many of us are not aware of anything that has been "going on for years."'
- 9 BBC Monitoring report: Munich broadcast, Jan 19; letter, FO central dept. to Prague and Paris, Jan 21; and reply, Feb 10, 1939 (FO.371/22903). Regarding *Cyrano*: T.586/145.
- 10 As Lady Spears (Mary Borden) put it in her diary, Oct 3, 1938 (Boston Univ. Library).
- 11 So chargé d'affaires Karel Lisicky informed Prague by 'phone on Mar 1, 1939. Dr R Urban, *Tajne fondy III sekce* ('Secret Funds of the Third Section'), *Z Archivu ministerstva zahraniči Republiky Československe* (Prague, 1943); and Stefan Osusky, MS: 'Beneš and Soviet Russia' (Hoover Library: Osusky papers, box 14).
- 12 Eden diary.
- 13 H Wilson MS, Oct 1941: 'Munich, 1938' (CAB.127/158; Eden, vol. i, 580. WSC spoke on Feb 17 to the Foreign Affairs Committee of MPs, officered by Emrys-Evans, Nicolson and John McEwen (all covert Focus members).
- 14 Grandi Tel. to Rome, Feb 18 (Ciano papers).
- 15 Sir John Simon, who put this to J P L Thomas (Eden, vol. i, 585).
- 16 Churchill, vol. i, 231.
- 17 Beaverbrook to Bracken, May 11, 1948 (Beaverbrook papers, C.57).
- 18 Hankey to Phipps, Feb 21 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 904); Mrs Chamberlain to Lady Chamberlain, Feb 23 (Templewood papers).
- 19 A H Richards to Spears, Feb 25, 1938 (Spears papers).
- 20 Nicolson to his wife, Mar 1.
- 21 *Daily Express*, Feb 25.
- 22 Kennedy to state dept., Tel. No. 184, Mar 4 (embassy files). Given Kennedy's central role in 1938–40, the author has built up a comprehensive set of his unpublished despatches gathered from the FDR Library, the Cordell Hull papers (Library of Congress), and particularly the CONFIDENTIAL, SECRET and TOP SECRET files of his embassy deposited at the Federal Records Center in Suitland, Maryland. His private diaries at the JFK Library are closed; Michael Beschloss, author of *Kennedy and Roosevelt: The Uneasy Alliance* (New York, 1980), was given access, as was JPK's friend James Landis (Library of Congress: Landis papers).
- 23 Morgenthau diary, Dec 8, 1937 (FDR Library); Beschloss, 157.
- 24 Ernest Lindley, in *Liberty*, May 1938.
- 25 Kennedy to state dept., Tel. No. 185, Mar 9, 6 P.M. (embassy files).
- 26 Tel., Berlin to Ribbentrop, rec'd London, Mar 10, 9 A.M. The ballot text was: 'Mit Schuschnigg für Österreich. Wir wollen ein freies und deutsches Österreich. Ein unabhängiges und soziales Österreich, ein christliches und einigtes Österreich. Wir wollen Brot und Frieden am Land, die Gleichberechtigung aller, die zu Volk und Heimat stehen.' (Loesch papers.)
- 27 Churchill, vol. i, 243; and interview of Frau Annelies von Ribbentrop, 1975.
- 28 See e.g., Ribbentrop to Hitler, London, Mar 10, 1938 (Loesch papers, T. 120/622/318).
- 29 Ribbentrop note, conversation with PM Chamberlain after luncheon on Mar 11, 1938 – with no mention of WSC. (Loesch papers on NA microfilm T. 120/622/323ff and T.120/619/15ff; cf. Cadogan diary, Mar 11).
- 30 Bracken to Baruch, Mar 11 (Baruch papers).
- 31 WSC to Unity Mitford, Mar 12 (Gilbert, vol. v, 911).
- 32 Chamberlain to his sister, Mar 20 (Chamberlain papers, and cf. Feiling, 347f).
- 33 COS 697 (JP), draft, Mar 19: 'The Military Implications of German Aggression against Czechoslovakia.' Cf. CAB.16/183 and COS 698 (revised) Mar 28 in CAB.53/57.

- 34 Feiling, 347; and Cadogan diary, Mar 16.
- 35 Maisky, Tel. No. 103, Mar 24. A private Soviet source obtained for me Russian copies of Maisky's despatches to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, from Soviet foreign ministry archives.
- 36 Published between Dec 5, 1937 and Feb 13, 1938 as 'My Life and Times.' In 1938 Harrap published his political pamphlet, *Arms and the Covenant*. Later in 1938 Harrap and Scribner declined to make any offer for his *History of the English Speaking Peoples*.
- 37 Baruch to WSC, Feb 8 (Baruch papers).
- 38 Nicolson diary, Mar 16.
- 39 *Daily Telegraph*, Apr 14.
- 40 Maisky, Tel. No. 103, Mar 24.
- 41 Maisky, Tel. No. 121, Apr 8.
- 42 Beaverbrook to A J Cummings, Mar 16 (Taylor, 381).
- 43 Letter, Prince Max von Hohenlohe to Hewel, Jul 25, 1940 (Hewel papers, T. 120/776/371063).
- 44 Beaverbrook to Herbert Swope, Mar 9, and to Frank Gannett, Dec 9 (Beaverbrook papers). Taylor calls this letter 'deplorable' (387).
- 45 Gilbert, vol. vi, 919f; cited in Churchill file 1/328. The actual debt of £18,162 was to stockbrokers Vickers, da Costa. When Strakosch died in 1943 he left Churchill £20,000 in his will (*The Times*, Feb 6, 1944), thereby effectively wiping the slate clean.
- 10: **'Let's Wait and See' Said Maisky**
- 1 A Nazi document reveals those methods: 5R1787D, in box 20, D Lerner papers, Hoover Library.
- 2 Cadogan to Henderson, Apr 22 (FO. 800/269).
- 3 Grandi to Italian FO, Apr 2 (FO archives, Rome: Italian embassy file No. 1272, *telegrammi per corriere*).
- 4 Phipps to Cadogan, Mar 24 and 28, 1938 (FO.800/311).
- 5 Phipps to Halifax, Mar 28 (FO.800/311).
- 6 Phipps to Halifax, Mar 27 (FO.800/311).
- 7 See note 28.
- 8 Phipps to Halifax, Apr 25 (FO.800/311).
- 9 WSC to Cadogan, May 27, 1940; reply May 28 (FO.800/312).
- 10 Maisky to Moscow, Tel. No. 111, Mar 31.
- 11 Gilbert, vol. v, 898f.
- 12 See note 26.
- 13 Grandi to Italian FO, Nov 2, 1937 (Italian embassy file No. 1007).
- 14 *Evening Standard*, Oct 15; *Sunday Chronicle*, Oct 17, 1937; cf. Grandi to Ciano, Oct 15 and 18, 1937 (*ibid.*).
- 15 Spears to WSC, Mar 19, 1942.
- 16 Spears invited WSC to accompany him to Prague in April. Replying on Apr 25, WSC hesitated: 'It might be embarrassing from several points of view. Let us have a talk about it when we meet. (Spears papers, 1/76B.)
- 17 Spears memo, Mar 14 (Spears papers, 1/41); he sent it to Halifax too (FO. 800/309).
- 18 WSC to Deakin, Apr 4 (Gilbert, vol. v, 930).
- 19 FO.371/22902; and Ashton-Gwatkin, memo, Feb 13, 1939 in treasury file T.210/236.
- 20 Steed to Spears, Apr 13 (Spears papers).
- 21 Dalton diary, Apr 8.
- 22 Richards to Spears, May 21 (Spears papers, 1/103); Steed to Spears, Apr 13 (1/316). Cf. Henriques, 364; Spier, 141. *Headway's* new editorial board in Aug 1938 was: Viscount Cecil, Lord Lytton, Lady Violet, Waley-Cohen, Angell, Gilbert Murray, Wickham Steed, and A M Wall. They published their first issue in Oct 1938 with a message from WSC wishing success.
- 23 Knop's material came from the Jewish Central Information Office in Amsterdam. This shifted in 1940 to London, as the Wiener Library, with subsidies from

- Waley-Cohen and HM Government (minute of Mar 2, 1940, FO.371/24423; Wiener Library *Bulletin*, [London, 1964], No. 1).
- 24 Werner Knop, *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov 2, 1946. He identifies one sponsor as wealthy Labour MP George Strauss. Cf. Knop, *Beware of the English!* (London, 1939) and *Germany's Economic Situation in 1939 and Her Challenge to the World*, published by Friends of Europe with a foreword by Capt Oliver Lytton – later Churchill's cabinet minister Ld Chandos.
- 25 Grandi to Italian FO, Nov 2, 1937.
- 26 Journalist Dr Hubert Ripka, note in Czech FO, Apr 21, quoting letter from Sheila Grant Duff, Apr 12 (in Václav Král [ed.], *Das Abkommen von München 1938. Tschechoslovakische diplomatische Dokumente 1937–1939* [Prague, 1968], 116f).
- 27 Grandi to Italian FO, May 10, 1938 (London embassy file No. 1007, *rapporti politici GB*).
- 28 Maisky, Tel. No. 176 to Moscow, May 13.
- 29 Himmler note, Jun 17, 1943: 'Habe dem Führer auf den Verdacht §175 aufmerksam gemacht.' (NA microfilm T175, roll 94, 5107.)
- 30 Henlein quoted by Hungarian military attaché in Prague, Eszterhazy, to Budapest, May 24 (Budapest archives).
- 31 Lindemann's note is in PREM 1/249. Henlein 'offered to give his word of honour that he had never received orders or even recommendations "Weisungen" from Berlin.'
- 32 WSC to PM, May 15, reply May 16 (*ibid.*); and WSC to Lindemann May 19 (Cherwell papers).
- 33 Ribbentrop, note for Führer, May 18 (*Adjutantur des Führers*, BA file NS.10/92).
- 34 CAB.64/9.
- 35 WSC to R Acland, May 26.
- 36 Thus Masaryk said to a British editor on Jun 22: 'Don't forget that we, the Czechs, heard of these movements first from your people!' (W P Crozier, *Off the Record – Political Interviews 1933–1943* [London, 1973], 75; and Gen Frantisek Moravec, chief of Czech intelligence, *Master of Spies* [London, 1975], 124ff.) A Czech agent in London reported that the original 'exaggerated' information on May 21 came from Capt Kettering, an SIS agent in the British consulate in Vienna (probably the SIS station chief Capt. Thomas Kendrick); Kettering had reported to the military attaché in Prague an increased movement of the German V Corps toward the Czech frontier, and sent a copy to London too. (Prof F Dvornik, report No. 3469/38 to Prague cabinet, London Oct 20, Dok 270, in Král, 286ff.) Cadogan emphasised to Maj H R S Massy on Oct 27, 1939 the 'close relationship' between the SIS and Czech General Staff (FO.371/22949).
- 37 Summary for cabinet meeting on May 22 (CAB.23/93, fol. 325).
- 38 General Alfred Jodl, chief of the German high command operations staff, wrote in his private diary on 30 May: 'The Führer's plans have been changed as a result of the Czech mobilisation of May 21, which occurred without any German threat or even the most threadbare pretext.'
- 39 Nicolson diary, May 20.
- 40 Masaryk to Prague, Jul 14 (Král, 150); and cf. Krofta circular, May 22 (*ibid.*, 131).
- 41 Dirksen to Berlin, Jun 10 (NA microfilm T120, roll 914, 382769ff).
- 42 German navy/airforce conference in Berlin, May 4 (German naval staff file PG.33272).
- 43 Puttkamer Tel. to OKM, May 24 (PG.36794).
- 44 Order of May 27 (note in German army 10th Branch files, Jul 23, T.78/300/1029f).
- 45 Capt Fritz Wiedemann note Feb(?) 1939 (Library of Congress: Wiedemann papers, box 604, fols. 43 and 65). Cf. Beck note, May 28 (BA-MA, N.28/3).

46 Milch diary, undated but Jun 2–16, 1938. They would have some 3,051 *Maschinen*, including 867 fighters, 1,134 bombers, 162 transporters, 252 dive bombers, and 195 ground attack planes.

11: **Choosing between War and Shame**

1 WSC to A Crossley, Jul 4 (Gilbert, vol. v, 953).

2 WSC to Halifax, Aug 20 (FO.800/309).

3 WSC to Spears, Jun 3 (Spears papers, 1/76B).

4 Baruch to WSC, Apr 28 (Baruch papers).

5 Bracken to Baruch (Baruch papers).

6 Author's interview of Jack Leland, senior reporter of the *Evening Post*, Charleston, South Carolina, Nov 1979. He has the tape-recorded memoirs of the madam at Georgetown. When she asked who the girls were for, Baruch's majordomo advised: 'Read the newspaper!'

7 Baruch to WSC, Mar 30, 1954 (Baruch papers).

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, Jul 22, 1947.

10 *Manchester Guardian*, Jun 3, 1938.

11 MS in Liddell Hart papers; and Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 1941 (lunch with WSC).

12 Ripka is identified in FO.371/30826 as connected with the Czech 'information service' in Paris in 1939/40; he became acting foreign minister in exile. *Bericht über Gespräche in London*, Jun 21–23 (Král, 144).

13 *Daily Telegraph*, Jul 6.

14 Spears's appointment book (in possession of Col J A Aylmer).

15 Masaryk memo, Jul 14 (Král, 152).

16 Lindemann's note on WSC's 'Talk with Herr Forster,' Jul 14. (FO.800/314; a 1943 translation is in Herbert von Dirksen's files as Nr. 13, *Dokumente und Materialien aus der Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges, 1937-1938* (Moscow), 144ff.)

17 WSC to Halifax, Jul 16 (FO.800/314).

18 WSC to Lloyd George, Aug 13 (Lloyd George papers).

19 [Randolph Churchill:] Conversation between 'Monsieur de K' and WSC (FO.800/309, fols 241ff).

20 WSC to PM, Aug 24, 1938 (PREM.1/249).

21 Adams spoke to them about the persecution of the Jews in neighbouring Germany and Poland. 'It does not seem to me,' he wrote Halifax on Apr 5, 'to lie in the mouth of the Germans to talk about the wrongs suffered by their minorities in Czecho-Slovakia' (FO.800/309).

22 Steed to WSC, Halifax, Vansittart, Chamberlain, Apr 28 and May 5 (*ibid.* and PREM.1/249); to Halifax, Jun 18 (FO.800/313).

23 Hore-Belisha denied the remark, but not convincingly (FO.800/309).

24 Chamberlain to Halifax, Aug 19 (FO.800/314); cf. Halifax at cabinet meeting Aug 23 (CAB.23/94).

25 Cabinet meeting, Aug 30 (CAB.23/94).

26 Maisky to Moscow, No. 321, Aug 31; cf. WSC to Halifax, Aug 31 (FO.800/314).

27 Cf. Krofta's note on the visit from Alexandrovsky, Prague, Sep 3 (Král, 211f).

28 Maisky, 412f; WSC to Halifax, Sep 3 and reply, Sep 5 (FO.800/322).

29 Brüning to Daniel Longwell, Feb 7, 1948 (Longwell papers).

30 Letter, Bergmann to Hull et al., Sep 9, 1938 (FDR Library, PPF 5237).

31 Templewood, *Nine Troubled Years*, 301ff; Halifax at cabinet meeting, Sep 12 (CAB.23/95).

32 WSC to Lord Moyne, Sep 11 (Gilbert, vol. v, 972).

12: **Here Today, Gone Tomorrow**

1 Kennedy to State dept., Aug 31 (US embassy in London, secret files).

2 Harold Ickes diary, Sep 18, 1938, regarding cabinet, Sep 16 (Library of

- Congress, MS division).
- 3 Beneš cited in Gen Lev Prchala diary, Oct 8, 1940 (FO.371/30826).
- 4 W C Bullitt to State dept., Sep 15, 11 A.M. (FDR Library, PSE, box 26).
- 5 *Luftflotte 2* study, 'Planning Case GREEN,' Sep 22 (in Dr K Gundelach, 'Gedanken über die Führung eines Luftkrieges gegen England bei der Luftflotte 2 in den Jahren 1938/39'). On Nov 7 Göring called for an expansion by April 1942 to a front line of 14,600 planes, including 7,300 bombers, 1,500 dive bombers, 4,000 fighters.
- 6 Hinsley, vol. i, 79.
- 7 Nicolson diary, Sep 4; Duff Cooper's letters to Halifax, Aug 1938, are in FO.800/309-10.
- 8 Ronald Tree learned this. James Margach, *The Abuse of Power* (London 1978).
- 9 *E.g.*, in Cadogan diaries, Apr 29, 1938, May 3, 1939, and May 25, 1940; intercepts of Joe Kennedy's remarks are hinted at in FO.371/22827 and /24251; on Italian and US embassy lines, see the Tyler Kent file NA, RG.84.
- 10 Dalton diary, Sep 19.
- 11 Dugdale diary.
- 12 *Ibid.*, Sep 25.
- 13 On the afternoon of Sep 27 Göring's aide Karl Bodenschatz handed to British embassy official Ivone Kirkpatrick the blue-mimeographed *Forschungsamt* intercepts of Masaryk's conversations with Prague. Officials lined every reference to Churchill in the margin, but the Central Dept. found no evidence of improprieties by Masaryk. Krofta denied the Nazi assertions as 'typical of the method used by the German government.' Masaryk called them 'utterly untrue' (FO.371/21742, fols 223ff). From postwar interrogations of FA officials it is clear that these transcripts are authentic. See David Irving, *Das Reich hört mit* (Kiel, 1989).
- 14 Hitler, speech to Nazi editors, Nov 10 (BA file NS.11/28); *cf.* his words quoted in German FO files, T.120/32/290-44ff: 'There's one other good representative of his own country, and that's Jan Masaryk in London. He also put up a brave fight for his country.'
- 15 Hoare to Halifax, Oct 17 (FO.800/309).
- 16 Letter, Duff to Diana Cooper.
- 17 O Harvey diary, Sep 15.
- 18 See note 4.
- 19 Letter, Phipps to Halifax, Sep 10 (FO.800/314). Bonnet had exclaimed, 'Toute de même, il ne faut très pas que les anglais nous poussent à la guerre.' Phipps to Halifax, Sep 16 (FO.800/311). Masaryk found out, and told Osusky; he also told Beneš on Sep 17, and Massigli on Sep 15 (Král, 227).
- 20 Phipps to Halifax, Sep 16.
- 21 NA microfilms T586, roll 148 and T175, roll 124, 9424.
- 22 Masaryk gave £300 to the Czech Committee in London, and mysteriously disbursed no less than £3,987 in the last six months of 1938. On March 16, 1939 (the day after Hitler invaded Prague) Dr Cerny, sent to London to investigate, reported that Masaryk had claimed to have spent the money 'financing official obligations,' had no written receipts, and refused further details. (Stefan Osusky, *Beneš and Soviet Russia: Osusky papers*, box 14, Hoover Library; and Dr R Urban, *Tajne fondy III sekce* (Prague, 1943).
- 23 Gilbert, vol. v, 976.
- 24 Kennedy to State dept., Sep 19, 6:00 P.M. (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 25 Gilbert, vol. v, 976f.
- 26 Král, 231f, 233.
- 27 Masaryk to Prague, received Sep 20, 2:04 A.M. (*ibid.*, 236).
- 28 Masaryk to Halifax, Sep 19 (FO.800/309); *cf.* Harvey diary, Sep 19.
- 29 Cadogan diary, Sep 19; Masaryk to Prague, Sep 20.
- 30 Dalton diary.
- 31 Boothby to Spears, Sep 23 (Spears papers).
- 32 Dalton diary, Sep 20. They were not pleased at this stiffening.

- 33 MS quoted by Gilbert, vol. v, 978.
- 34 Osusky, testimony to Czech State Council, London, Mar 11, 1942; introduced as evidence in *Prchala, Osusky vs. Bohus Beneš and Another* (FO.371/30826). His hostility to President Beneš is plain from his private papers in the Hoover Library; records in Czech state archives bear this out. Osusky first learned of this version on Sep 22 and challenged Beneš for an explanation that day; he further challenged the Prague foreign ministry on Oct 10, 13 and 14, without getting either reply or denial. (Documents Nr. 262, 265, 267 in Král, 280ff; cf. *Le Temps*, Oct 11–12.)
- 35 Osusky's testimony; see note 34.
- 36 WSC–Beneš conversation, in Táborský diary, Apr 4, 1943 (Hoover Library: Táborský papers; Reynaud diary, Sep 21–2, 1938, in Reynaud papers, NA Paris; Spears to Vansittart, Sep 23, in Spears papers 1/245.)
- 37 Reynaud MS for *News Chronicle* (Reynaud papers, 74AP27).
- 38 Nicolson diary.
- 39 Dalton diary, Sep 22.
- 40 Boothby to Spears, Sep 22 (Spears papers, 1/245); Nicolson diary, Sep 23.
- 41 Walter Elliot, cited in Blanche Dugdale diary, Sep 23.
- 42 Krno note, Sep 23 (Král, 249f); Dugdale diary, Oct 1.
- 43 Beneš's conversation; see note 3.
- 44 Eden diary.
- 45 Eden diary; cf. Cadogan diary, Sep 24.
- 46 Phipps to Halifax, Sep 24 (DBFP [3rd], vol. ii, 510).
- 47 Dalton diary, Sep 24.
- 48 The others were A P Herbert, Boothby, A A Somerville, Gunston, Crossley, and Strauss (FO.800/309).
- 49 Harvey diary, Sep 25.
- 50 Dugdale diary.
- 51 *Ibid.*, Sep 25.
- 52 Lady Spears diary (Boston University: Mugar Memorial Library).
- 53 Carruthers to Spears, Sep 25 (Spears papers, 1/245); he suggested WSC, Cranborne, Nicolson, Boothby, Cecil, Emrys-Evans, Ld Lloyd, Duchess of Atholl.
- 54 Nicolson diary, Sep 26.
- 55 Lady Spears diary. One went to Crossley, who wrote that WSC had described his position as very simple: 'Only a joint declaration by England, France & Russia could possibly save peace with honour' (cited in Gilbert, vol. v, 983).
- 56 Smutny memo, Sep 26 (Král, 257).
- 57 Baruch papers.
- 58 Nicolson diary, Sep 26.
- 59 Nicolson, Ld Cecil, Ld Lloyd, Sir E Grigg, Sir R Horne, Boothby, Bracken, R Law; Amery mentioned in his diary Ld Lytton and Sinclair too, while Nicolson noticed Macmillan and Spears.
- 60 R Harrod, *The Prof* (London, 1959), 169ff; J Wheeler-Bennett, *Munich – Prologue to Tragedy* (New York, 1948), 150; Corbin to Bonnet, Sep 30, in *Documents Diplomatiques Français* (2e), vol. xi, 720; Harvey diary, Sep 26: 'Preparations are being made for a broadcast in German of our point of view.'
- 61 Lady Spears diary, Sep 27.
- 62 Grant Duff, cited in Gilbert, vol. v, 985f.
- 63 *Evening Standard*, Sep 28.
- 64 Rendel memo, Nov 8, 1937 (FO.371/20733).
- 65 Nicolson diary, Sep 28.
- 66 Walter Elliot heard it (Dugdale diary, Sep 28).

13: **Outcast**

- 1 In 1937 Prague had sent Father F Dvornik, a professor of theology, to conduct political Intelligence in the west. His report and recommendations, No. 3469/38 dated Oct 20, are doc. 270 in Václav Král (ed.), *Das Abkommen von München 1938: Tschechoslovakische diplomatische Dokumente 1937–1939* (Prague, 1968), 286ff.
- 2 Chamberlain to his sister, Oct 9 (Templewood papers). When details of

- Beneš's similar attempts in October 1940 to bribe Czech general Lev Prchala threatened to surface in court documents, the FO refused to order the case held *in camera*, minuting on Nov 11, 1942 that it did not much matter if the attempt came out: 'I do not think anyone will be very surprised.' (Prchala diary, Oct 8, 1940, and the 'dirty linen' file in *Prchala, Osusky vs. Bohus Beneš and Another*, FO.371/30826.)
- 3 Hankey diary, Oct 2.
 - 4 FDR to Chamberlain, Tel. No. 572, Sep 28, 1:00 P.M.
 - 5 H S Truman to Marshall, Mar 12, 1948; Acheson to Truman, Dec 4; Eley to Acheson, Dec 11, 1950 (Truman Library: Truman conf file, 37).
 - 6 Letters cited by Gilbert, vol. vi, 987.
 - 7 Ld Lytton, cited in Dugdale diary, Sep 29; Lady Spears diary; Lady Violet, Foreword to Spier, *op. cit.*
 - 8 Nicolson diary.
 - 9 Colin Coote, editorial; Spears and Dugdale diaries.
 - 10 Eppstein to Spears, Oct 7. Funded – apart from one ten-shilling donation from an unsuspecting subscriber – entirely by Masaryk, a 'Czech Association' had begun operating on May 25 fronted by Spears, Eppstein, Steed, several Tory MPs, and other Focus worthies. (Spears papers, 1/95.)
 - 11 Nicolson MS, 'Portrait of WSC,' 1947 (Longwell papers).
 - 12 Masaryk to Prague, Tel. No. 1015/38, Oct 1 (Král, 276; Cadogan diary, Oct 1.
 - 13 R Harrod, *The Prof*, 171f.
 - 14 Masaryk to Prague, Oct 20 (Král 298).
 - 15 Dugdale diary, Oct 1. Also present were Ben-Gurion, Locker-Lampson, and Namier. By 1941 Sieff was *non gratissima* to the minister of information (letter, Smithers to Eden, Jul 22, 1943, in FO.371/34198).
 - 16 Dugdale diary, Oct 1; Dalton diary, Oct 2.
 - 17 Bracken cited in Bruce Lockhart diary, Mar 4, 1943. Writing to Raczynski on Oct 7 Churchill called these events 'squalid.' See Raczynski diary, Oct 20.
 - 18 Despatch by Count Jerzy Potocki to Warsaw, Jan 12, 1939 (doc. No. 6 in German FO, *Polnische Dokumente zur Vorgeschichte des Kriegs – Erste Folge* [Berlin 1940], 15f).
 - 19 Baruch to Potocki, Jul 18, 1944 (Baruch papers).
 - 20 Lady Spears diary, Oct 3.
 - 21 Dalton diary, Oct 3.
 - 22 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 339, cols. 365ff.
 - 23 The pupil was Eden, cited in H Butcher diary, Jan 27, 1945 (Eisenhower Library).
 - 24 Nicolson MS; see note 11.
 - 25 Boothby to WSC, Oct 10 (Gilbert, vol. v, 1003); and to Spears, Nov 2 (Spears papers).
 - 26 Gilbert, vol. v, 1005.
 - 27 Chamberlain to sister, Oct 15 (Templewood papers).
 - 28 Dalton diary, Oct 6. WSC and Duff Cooper were 'out for Chamberlain's blood, and inclined to join with anybody else to get it.'
 - 29 Dalton diary, Apr 29, 1941 – confidential annex, a conversation with O Stanley.
 - 30 Dalton diary, Oct 12.
 - 31 Beneš arrived on Oct 22 (FO.371/21588).
 - 32 FO.371/24292.
 - 33 Nevertheless the FO discreetly investigated: Lloyds confirmed that S was a well-established customer; that he had told them the box contained £3 million; and that its size was consistent with such a sum. Hodza had sent the £3 million out through Switzerland to a Mrs Stern, a mutual friend, who handed the box to S to deposit; a few days later Mrs Stern withdrew it from the bank (FO.371/21588).
 - 34 Cf. FO memo of Sep 25, 1939. Beneš was unpopular in Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland (FO.371/22949).
 - 35 Letter, WSC to Dafeo, Oct 11 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Dafeo pa-

- pers, MG.30, D.45); Lady Spears diary, Oct 4; letter, Nicolson to his wife, Nov 9; letter, WSC to Richards, Nov 12, 1938; letter, Beaverbrook to WSC, Apr 23, 1949 (Beaverbrook papers, C.88.
- 36 Beaverbrook to W R Mathews, Nov 10 (Taylor, 386).
- 37 *Reichspropaganda-Amt*, circular of Oct 28 (IfZ, 235/52).
- 38 Bracken to Baruch, Nov 22, 1938; *The Week*, cited in Ickes diary, Jul 2, 1939; FBI files cited in Beschloss, 187.
- 39 Landis to JPK, Jul 2 and Aug 2, 1948 (Library of Congress: Landis papers).
- 40 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 341, cols. 1987–2107.
- 41 Mary Soames, 279.
- 42 Bracken to Baruch, Nov 22 (Baruch papers).
- 43 Sir J Langford-Holt MP, interview, Feb 20, 1978.
- 44 Pownall diary, Jun 27; Dr Fritz Hesse, note, 'The Sandys Case,' Jul 6 (Hesse papers); Simon to Chamberlain, Jul 14 (PREM.1/283).
- 45 Nicolson diary, Dec 5; interview of J Parker MP, Apr 12, 1978.
- 46 Col Hon Arthur Murray, note on conversation with FDR, Oct 16–24; Halifax to PM, Dec 14 (PREM.1/367); Murray to FDR, Dec 15 and 20, 1938 (GB-Murray, box 53).
- 47 *New Statesman*, Jan 7, 1939; *Picture Post*, Mar 11, 1939; the interview was at Christmas.
- 48 Halifax to Hull, Jan 24 (*FRUS* 1939, vol. i, 2–6. Cf. diary of Col Martin F Scanlon, asst. military attaché at the US embassy in London, Feb 1: 'For the last two months very startling reports have been received about Germany's preparations for a coup between the middle of this month and first part of March. Holland, Belgium, France and G.B. greatly alarmed.' (USAF archives, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.)
- 49 WSC to Clementine, Jan 8.
- 50 WSC to Clementine, Jan 18.
- 51 Scanlon diary, Jan 9.
- 52 WSC to Clementine, Jan 18.
- 53 Vincent Shean, *Between the Thunder and the Sun*.
- 54 Spears diary, Feb 10, 1940. He noted in the margin, 'Omit.'
- 55 Gilbert, vol. v, 1038.
- 56 O Harvey diary, Apr 3.
- 57 *Picture Post*, Feb 25, Mar 4, Mar 11.
- 58 WSC to Spears, Feb 15 (Spears papers, 1/76B).
- 14: **Still Hibernating**
- 1 Kennedy to State, Tel. No. 290, Mar 3, 1939 (US embassy in London, secret files; and RG.59, Office of European Affairs).
- 2 [Gen] Frantisek Moravec, *Master of Spies* (London, 1975), 151.
- 3 That Maurice Hankey was informed about the telephone intercepts is evident from his diary on Oct 2, 1938. 'There have been efforts,' Hankey recorded, commenting on Churchill's Paris visit, 'to give both the French and Czech Governments the impression that Chamberlain's Government was about to fall. Bonnet, the foreign minister . . . has also protested against being rung up by Churchill and Spears from London for information. . . Van[sittart] remains in charge of all propaganda and is almost certainly in touch with Churchill, Eden, the Labour leaders and with Léger in the Qual d'Orsay, who is playing the same tricks over here.' (Churchill College, Cambridge: Hankey papers, 1/8.)
- 4 *Forschungsamt* report No. 140098, g.Rs., *Zu der englischen Politik vom Münchner Abkommen bis zum Kriegsausbruch* (in Wormann papers, microfilm T.120, roll 723, 32351off, translated in Irving, *Breach of Security* (London, 1968).
- 5 *Reichspropaganda-Amt* directive, Mar 13 (BA Koblenz: z.sg.101, Sammlung Dertinger).
- 6 Osusky refused, saying he did not know Moravec: Testimony to Czech State Council, London, Jul 1, 1941 (in Prchala, *Osusky vs Bohus Beneš and Another*, FO.371/30826).

- 7 FO memo, Mar 16 (FO.371/22904). Among those listed by Steed was Gen Alois Elias; he was arrested as PM on Sep 27, 1941, confessed to spying for London, and was executed in May 1942.
- 8 Leith Ross memo, Mar 23 (FO.371/22902; cf. T.210/236).
- 9 The government had made a £10 million loan to Czechoslovakia, including £6 million for economic reconstruction and £4 million for Czech refugees; this resulted in one Czech family receiving £753,000 and another £537,000 (T.210/20 and FO.371/24292).
- 10 Weininger's bank statement is in T.210/5. A treasury letter of Sep 26, 1940 (FO.371/24292, fol. 208) describes his compensation claim as fraudulent. File T.210/23 is still closed. A handwritten note of Oct 21, 1938 in FO.371/21588 links Churchill's Intelligence source Desmond Morton with Jan Masaryk and Weininger, who 'put Mr Morton in touch with the Czech Legation.'
- 11 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Mar 22 (vol. 345, col. 1317). On Apr 1 he wrote to Weininger that he would be weekending with the financial secretary to the treasury to apply further pressure.
- 12 Dugdale (diary, Mar 22) was present at the luncheon. On Mar 18, in consequence of Tilea's warning, the cabinet decided to make approaches to Romania and Poland (CAB.53/10 and 23/98).
- 13 Tilea told this to Milanovic, the Yugoslav minister (*Forschungsamt* intercept, Mar 21; see note 4). At the WO, Gen Pownall wrote in his diary, Mar 20: 'It appears that the Romania story of the weekend was a big exaggeration on the part of M Tilea. . . No doubt he had instructions to keep us up to the mark but overdid it!'
- 14 Papers concerning Tilea's application to emigrate in Jul 1942 (FO.371/33265; one document closed until 2013). Citing his 'anti-national attitude' while in London, Bucharest withdrew his Romanian citizenship in Feb 1941 (FO.371/30016).
- 15 Letter, Chamberlain to his sister, Mar 19 and 26 (Templewood papers; Feiling, 402f).
- 16 Letter, Ismay to Wilson, Mar 31, 5:45 P.M., enclosing report by MI2(b), the German section of SIS, 'Germany's Intentions Regarding Danzig, 30th March 1939.' (PREM.1/331a.)
- 17 E Bridges to Cadogan, Mar 19, 1943 (FO.371/34482).
- 18 Colvin to WSC, Jan 4, Nov 22, 1938 (Gilbert, vol. v, 896f, 963). Through Churchill's personal influence, Colvin was commissioned in the Royal Marines (Morton to WSC, Nov 11, 1940, PREM.7/3).
- 19 Oberst Curt Siewert, Aufz, Mar 25 (ND, R.100).
- 20 Harvey diary, Mar 29; Colvin, *Vansittart in Office*, 303ff; and DBFP, vol. iv, No. 566.
- 21 Iverach McDonald, *A Man of the Times* (London, 1976), 60f.
- 22 Nicolson diary, Apr 3.
- 23 H Wilson study, Oct 1941 (CAB.127/158). Nevile Henderson had written to him on May 9, 1939: 'The blind faith of the Labour leaders in Russia is pathetic – or tragic. One is almost led to believe that they want a war for the sake of their own internal purposes and the socialism which war, successful or unsuccessful, will spread.' (PREM.1/311a.)
- 24 Letter, Chamberlain to his sister, Apr 13 (Templewood papers).
- 25 See note 4.
- 26 Halifax also attended. On May 12 Ld Davies wrote him: 'I hope I may be wrong, but at Winston's lunch the other day, you gave us the impression that you were not happy in your job.' Surely Halifax's feelings had been outraged by Chamberlain's policies? Davies suggested he resign. 'Do not lose the first opportunity of taking this step before the sands run out.' Halifax replied

- that on the contrary he agreed with the PM on foreign affairs. (FO.800/328.)
- 27 Weizmann to WSC, Apr 26 (Weizmann archives).
- 28 Boothby to WSC, May 27 (Gilbert, vol. v, 1072).
- 29 Dalton diary, May 4.
- 30 See note 32.
- 31 Col Malcolm Christie, memo May 25 (Spears file 1/74).
- 32 Letter, Grigg to his father, Jul 1939 (Grigg papers, 2/4); Reynaud diary; Spears file 1/53.
- 33 Lippmann's notes, cited in Gilbert, vol. v, 1075; Nicolson diary, Jun 14.
- 34 WSC to Chamberlain, Mar 27 (PREM.1/345).
- 35 *The Times, Daily Telegraph, Yorkshire Post*, Jun 29.
- 36 Daniel Longwell pressed WSC for an explanation in letters dated May 18 and Jun 29, 1954 – in vain (Longwell papers).
- 15: **Two-Fisted**
- 1 Bruce Lockhart diary, Jan 9, 1946, quoting G M Young.
- 2 Max Freedman (ed.), *Roosevelt and Frankfurter: Their Correspondence 1928–1945* (Boston, 1967); see James Leutze, 'The Secret of the Churchill-Roosevelt Correspondence,' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 10 (1975), 465ff.
- 3 Minutes of meeting, Apr 10, 1939 (Library of Congress: Frankfurter papers, box 126, file 2621, 'Antisemitism'). One participant argued that fighting a war of defence justified Jewish secrecy; another, that audiences would disregard certain anti-German films (identified in this document) if they learned that the AJC had financed them.
- 4 Cf. Frankfurter to Prof Lindemann, Jul 18. Bowra wrote to the Prof Jul 13 that FDR was 'almost our only friend in the world worth cultivating' (Cherwell papers, social correspondence, 1939; and Ickes diary, Oct 26). Frankfurter's Oxford LL.D. ceremony was on June 21; he dined at No. 10 on Jul 10.
- 5 Letter, Brandeis to Flexner, Jul 12, in Melvin I Urofsky (ed.), *Letters of Louis D. Brandeis* (New York, 1978). Frankfurter noted to FDR on Aug 30 that the crisis had developed 'by the clock,' and reminded him that he had reported 'that in London they had definite word it was to begin about the 21st' (FDR Library: PSF box 150, Frankfurter).
- 6 Churchill, vol. i, 321.
- 7 Letter, Henderson to Halifax, Aug 1 (FO.800/316); H V Johnson report, Jul 22 (US embassy in London, secret files: Dirksen Tel. No. 227, Jul 3; Weizsäcker papers; T.120, roll 234, 169-617). According to a US embassy report on the British press in 1942, Kemsley shared Chamberlain's conviction that Hitler had no quarrel with England: 'He opposed the Eden school as being pro-French and fought against Churchill's inclusion in the cabinet to the end.' (FDR papers, box 53.)
- 8 Dirksen Tel. No. 231, Jul 7 (T.120/234/169629); the Churchill archives declines to confirm whether he corresponded with Negrin.
- 9 Camrose notes, Jul 3 (cited in Gilbert, vol. v, 1081f).
- 10 Still seething five years later, WSC ordered Bracken to investigate Henry Brooke, a director of Truth Publishing Company, suspecting an enemy plot behind these 1939 articles. (Beaverbrook papers, Bracken to WSC, Jul 11, 1944, D.422.)
- 11 Letter, Rothermere to WSC, Jul 17 (Gilbert, vol. v, 1088); and Kennedy to FDR, Jul 20 (FDR Library, president's safe file, Kennedy).
- 12 Letter, Hoare to W Astor, Jul 11 (Templewood papers).
- 13 Letter, Chamberlain to his sister, Jul 23.
- 14 Kemsley, notes of the conversation with Herr Hitler, Bayreuth, Jul 27 (FO.800/316); Paul Schmidt's German record of Hitler's prewar meetings with leading Englishmen (Sir Thomas Beech-

- am, Lds. Beaverbrook, Rothermere, Kemsley, etc.) vanished from the captured German files: cf. BA Koblenz, Kl.Erw.501.
- 15 Ironside diary, Dec 5–6, 1937.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Jul 24–27, 1939. The disparaging views about him are in Kennedy to Welles, Tel. No. 1140, May 8 (US embassy in London, secret files); and Cadogan diary, May 17, 1940.
- 17 Letter, A H Richards to Spears, Jul 11, on paper headed 'Defence of Freedom and Peace' (Spears papers).
- 18 Czech memo, Jul 27 (Hoover Library: Osusky papers, box 14; and Táborský papers, box 3).
- 19 Letter, Chamberlain to his sister, Aug 5.
- 20 Letter, WSC to Wood, Aug 5 (Churchill, vol. i, 344f).
- 21 Channon diary, Easter 1939.
- 22 Hans-Heinrich ('Johnny') Herwarth von Bittenfeld, 35, second secretary in the German embassy in Moscow, called US diplomat Charles Bohlen round to tell him the secrets of the pact. (Bohlen, *Witness to History* [New York, 1973], 69ff. Cf. Tel. Bohlen to State, Jul 1; and Adolph A Berle Jr, diary, Aug 24: 'We have pretty clear information' of the 'secret arrangement'); and Pownall diary, Aug 23.)
- 23 Letter, WSC to Wood, Aug 30; curiously, WSC (vol. i, 357) dates his return from Paris three days later, Aug 26.
- 24 Diary, Aug 23.
- 25 Kennedy to State, Tel. No. 1221, Aug 23 (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 26 Karl-Heinrich Loesch memo, Hitler-Henderson conversation, Aug 23 (Loesch papers, T.120/622/405ff; cf. ADAP [D], vol. vii, No. 200).
- 27 Raczynski diary, Aug 30.
- 28 *Ibid.*, Sep 2.
- 29 Dugdale diary, Sep 1; letter WSC to Chamberlain, Sep 2 (Feiling, 420).
- 30 Raczynski note, Sep 6 (*op. cit.*, 29).
- 31 Letter, WSC to Chamberlain, Sep 2 (Churchill, vol. i, 362f). The author has also relied on the private diary dictated by the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir John Simon (Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Simon 11).
- 32 Churchill, vol. i, 365.

16: A Foot in the Door

- 1 Eden diary.
- 2 Spears diary, Sep 3, 1939. The author has used the original text.
- 3 Dalton diary, Sep 15 and 25 (London School of Economics Library).
- 4 WSC to Halifax, Sep 10 and Sep 16 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 31).
- 5 WSC to Pound, cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 158. The warship was HMS *Baralong*; we do not know if the culprits were punished.
- 6 ADM.116/4239. Sir William Malkin was legal adviser to the FO.
- 7 WSC paper, Dec 16 (CAB.66/4).
- 8 Colville diary, Aug 11, 1940.
- 9 WSC to Ismay, Jul 6, 1944 (PREM. 3/89).
- 10 WSC to Halifax, Jan 16, 1940 (FO. 800/328).
- 11 Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/111.
- 12 Adm. John H Godfrey MS (Naval Historical Branch, London: Godfrey papers).
- 13 Churchill, vol. i, 415 and 626ff.
- 14 Godfrey MS.
- 15 ADM.199/1928.
- 16 Churchill, vol. i, 416; Godfrey MS, chap. vii, 365.
- 17 WSC to secretary, Sep 9 (Churchill, vol. i, 663; and Godfrey MS, chap. v, 111). Cf. Harrod, *The Prof*, 179.
- 18 Gilbert, vol. vi, 59f.
- 19 Godfrey MS, chap. vii, 303.
- 20 Pownall diary, Jun 13, 1938; Sep 3, 1939.
- 21 Cecil King diary, Jul 7, 1941: lunch with Frank Owen.
- 22 CAB.92/111.
- 23 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1518, Sep 8 (RG.84, US embassy in London secret files, box 2, '711–War').

- 24 Hoare to Beaverbrook, Oct 1 (Beaverbrook papers).
- 25 Hore-Belisha, cited in Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1666, Sep 15 (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 26 O Stanley, cited in Hoare diary, Sep 8 (Templewood papers).
- 27 Camrose note, Sep 11 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 24).
- 28 Dalton diary, Sep 13; and cabinet meeting, Sep 21 (CAB.65/1).
- 29 Simon diary, Sep 18; Hankey to his wife, Sep 19 (Hankey papers).
- 30 WSC to Chamberlain, Sep 10 (Churchill, vol. i, 406).
- 31 Dalton diary, Sep 13.
- 32 *Ibid.* He had told Ripka in Jun 1938 one had to be stupid not to know how to handle Italy. Ripka: 'Despite this rough language I had the impression Churchill had a soft spot for Italy.' (Kral, 144.)
- 33 WSC to Adm. Fraser, Sep 9 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 18).
- 34 WSC paper, Oct 18 (CAB.66/2).
- 35 Dugdale diary, Sep 20 and 30; and Weizmann papers.
- 36 Nicolson diary, Sep 26.
- 37 Letter, Kennedy to FDR, Sep 30 (FDR Library, PSF file Kennedy).
- 17: **Naval Person**
- 1 John Colville diary, Sep 28, 1939.
- 2 R Cartland, letter of Sep 26, in B Cartland, *Ronald Cartland* (London 1945).
- 3 The New York Genealogical Society established this (H Wallace diary, Aug 7, 1942).
- 4 WSC speech (*in absentia*) to New York University, Apr 9, 1954 (Truman Library).
- 5 Letter, Kay Halle to Jim Rowe, 1959 (Frankfurter papers).
- 6 C Murphy memo on dinner, Mar 16, 1946; and letter, W Graebner to Henry R Luce, Jan 23, 1947. 'You are, of course,' WSC told Luce in Apr 1955, 'the saviours of the world. . . All of us would have been flattened out by the Muscovites.' (C D Jackson papers, box 32, Churchill.)
- 7 Colville diary, May 13, 1940.
- 8 Hoare diary, Oct 1; and Simon diary, Oct 7, 1939 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).
- 9 Godfrey MS.
- 10 Mackenzie King papers (Public Archives of Canada).
- 11 Letter, Kennedy to FDR, Sep 30 (FDR Library: PSF file Kennedy).
- 12 *The Times*, Oct 2.
- 13 Kennedy MS, 461 (Library of Congress: Hon. James M Landis papers).
- 14 The '1939' file of the Chamberlain-Horace Wilson papers (PREM.1/333) and forty-five pages of FO.371/22985 spanning Oct 3-4 are closed, as are Hankey's Oct and Nov 1939 files (CAB.63/84-5). But see *e.g.*, Bastianini to Ciano, No. 550 of Oct 2, in Italian embassy file No. 1054: in a talk between Halifax and Ld Brocket on Oct 1 on peace terms, Halifax denied the war was to destroy Germany or even Nazism.
- 15 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1892-3, Oct 2 (US embassy files and *FRUS* 1939, vol. 1, 45). *Cf.* B E T Gage, FO memo, Sep 20. He added: 'I believe that other information in our possession goes to show that Mr Kennedy . . . is not optimistic about our chances' (FO. 371/22827).
- 16 *Boston Herald*, Apr 7, 1947; Beschloss, 206.
- 17 ADM.199/1928; the declassified FDR-WSC correspondence is on six microfilms in FDR Library. WSC had sent vol. i of *Marlborough* to FDR inscribed: 'With earnest wishes for the success of the greatest crusade of modern times. Oct 8, 1933'; vol. iv was published in 1938.
- 18 Kennedy diary, cited in Landis.
- 19 Kennedy to FDR, Tel. No. 1936, Oct 5, 4 P.M. (FDR Library, microfilm 6, 0266).
- 20 WSC to FDR, Oct 5, 1939.

- 21 See e.g., Hinsley, vol. i, 141; and for examples, German naval staff war diary, Oct 1–2 (PG.32022).
- 22 'Aus bestimmter Quelle,' *ibid.*, Oct 1. On the attaché's question, Raeder would only say that his source 'in neutral Ireland' was very reliable (Tel., US naval attaché in Berlin to Op Nav, Washington, Oct 4; and war diary, Oct 3–7, 10, PSF box 201, FDR Library).
- 23 WSC's version of this is in PREM. 3/467, a cabinet print of his messages to FDR from Sep 1939 to May 1940; for a British embassy telegram from Washington on the bizarre incident, see FO.371/23097.
- 24 See too Ickes diary, Oct 7. FDR had gone to Hyde Park for an early weekend after his Oct 5 cabinet (Library of Congress).
- 25 Samples are in RG.84, series 4: 'Records relating to . . . Tyler Gatewood Kent.' One item in box 10, file 820.02 1–M, suggests that the British were reading American cypher traffic between Stockholm and Washington. Another item, in box 22, is the interrogation of the German prisoner Laun who worked in Ribbentrop's *Pers-Z* code-breaking section; in 1942 he saw intercepts of American despatches stamped 'Seen by the Führer' (*Dem Führer vorgelegt*).
- 26 Later the Americans paraphrased messages and used secure navy codes. Thus Harriman's letter from Moscow, Nov 3, 1943 was paraphrased before being forwarded to WSC (US embassy in London, secret files, box 12, series 2, RG.84, 711–Moscow conf).
- 27 WSC to Halifax, Jan 12, 1940 (FO. 371/24248).
- 28 Oral history, Rear-Adm. D J Macdonald, Aug 3, 1970 (Truman Library).
- 29 See Prof Warren F Kimball, 'Churchill and Roosevelt: The Personal Equation,' in *Prologue*, Washington, Fall 1974.
- 30 Gilbert, vol. vi, 56.
- 31 I M Maiskii [Maisky], 'Bor'ba za vtoroi front: iz zapisok posla,' in *Novii Mir*, No. 7 (Jul 1965), 185–210, and No. 8 (Aug), 166–187.
- 32 Cabinet meeting, Nov 7 (CAB.65/4); letter, Hoare to Lothian, Nov 11 (Templewood, 409f).
- 33 WSC to DNI, Sep 6 (Churchill, vol. i, 655).
- 34 Godfrey MS, chap. v, 39.
- 35 Churchill, vol. i, 323: 'In the purely naval sphere he [Hitler] had always been building U-boats as fast as possible, irrespective of any agreement.' Godfrey comments (in his MS, chap. i, 284) that this was quite untrue; cf. Hinsley, vol. i, 63.
- 36 WSC to Pound, Apr 24; Roskill, *Admirals*, 310.
- 37 Godfrey MS, chap. v, 259ff.
- 38 H Nicolson diary, Dec 6.
- 39 Godfrey MS, chap. v, 63. Capt. Ralph Edwards (diary, Feb 21) called Winston's sacking of Danckwerts and 'all the others in that Divn. a great loss & a great mistake.' The handwritten diaries of the late Adm. Sir Ralph Edwards (1901–1963), director of the operations division (home) under Churchill, are in Churchill College.

18: The Joybells Will Ring

- 1 Ld Camrose, note of Sep 5 (Camrose papers: Gilbert, vol. vi, 11).
- 2 Spears diary. He pencilled in the margin 'Best left out.'
- 3 Meeting, Nov 3 in ADM.116/5458; trip report in ADM.1/10250.
- 4 Prof to WSC, Oct 16 (Cherwell papers).
- 5 Kennedy MS, 469f (Landis papers). After prolonged bargaining with Oliver Stanley, Kennedy managed to increase the Hollywood quota to \$20.5 million.
- 6 Kennedy MS, 482.
- 7 Kennedy to FDR, Nov 3 (FDR Library).
- 8 *Daily Telegraph*, Nov 9, 11.
- 9 Kennedy MS, 485.
- 10 Cadogan diary, Nov 2.
- 11 WSC to Eden, minute M.64/1, Jan 20

- (FO.371/26542).
- 12 Guiseppe Bastianini to Ciano, No. 640, Nov 13 (Italian embassy in London, file 1054); and letter of Nov 14, (*ibid.* and DDI (9), ii, Doc. 218); and Weizsäcker memo, No. 916, Nov 20 (T.120/234/169846).
 - 13 Reynaud and WSC appointment books.
 - 14 War Cabinet, Nov 24 (CAB.65/2; and Gilbert, vol. vi, 87).
 - 15 ADM.116/4239 and 205/2; and CAB. 120/418.
 - 16 WSC to Pound, Oct 16 (ADM.199/1928).
 - 17 Kennedy MS, 491ff.
 - 18 Kennedy MS, 578.
 - 19 Dugdale diary, Dec 5; Weizmann note, Dec 17 (Weizmann archives).
 - 20 Kennedy MS, chap. 38; *Beschloss*, 200.
 - 21 War cabinet, Dec 11 (CAB.65/2).
 - 22 Jukka Nevakivi, *The Appeal that was Never Made: The Allies, Scandinavia and the Finnish Winter War 1939–1940* (Montreal, 1976).
 - 23 Godfrey MS, chap. v, 27 and 302.
 - 24 WSC to Chamberlain (Gilbert, vol. vi, 117).
 - 25 WM 120 (39) 9; Cadogan minute, Dec 21: Supreme War Council, Dec 19 (FO.371/23696).
 - 26 MC 10 (39) 2, Dec 20 (CAB.83/1).
 - 27 ADM.116/4471; and war cabinet, Dec 22 (CAB.65/4).
 - 28 Diaries of Hoare, Jan 2; Capt. Ralph Edwards, Jan 5 (Churchill archives); Cecil King, Jan 13, 17, Feb 2 and 27.
 - 29 Australia's Robert Menzies cabled Chamberlain about this omission: war cabinet, Jan 12 (CAB.65/11).
 - 30 Gort to Halifax, Jan 16 (FO.800/328).
- 19: **Nobody Questions the Victor**
- 1 War cabinet, Feb 2 (CAB.65/4). A record of the interallied staff talks at Vincennes Jan 31–Feb 1 and other Anglo–French documents fell into German hands at La Charité (T.120/115/117116ff and 119964ff; cf. FO.371/30944B on these documents).
 - 2 Ribbentrop speech, Apr 27 (German FO White Book No. 4, 1940).
 - 3 Supreme War Council, Feb 5 (British text, CAB.99/3 and PREM.1/437; Ironside diary, Feb 5).
 - 4 Letter of gunnery officer Fox, Feb 7 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 148f).
 - 5 Cecil King diary, Feb 8; cf. *ibid.*
 - 6 Spears diary, Feb 10–11. He visited Georges twice at his Paris apartment, the general having left his GHQ specially for the rendezvous. 'Every time he was deeply affectionate and his regard for Churchill is boundless.'
 - 7 German naval staff war diary, Jan 30, Feb 9 and 12. *Altmark* was a *Troßschiff*, an auxiliary, neither a 'warship' (as stated in Gilbert, vol. vi, 151) nor armed (154). See the study by the US Naval War College in *International Law Situation and Documents*, 1956, pages 3 *et seq.*; and Borchard, 'Was Norway Delinquent in the *Altmark* Case?' *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 34 (1940), 289.
 - 8 Edwards diary, Feb 15; Halifax diary, Feb 15–17.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, Feb 16; WSC to Pound, Feb 16 (Churchill, vol. i, 506); duty capt.'s account in Alexander papers, AVAR.5/4 (Churchill College, Cambridge).
 - 10 Gen. Geyr von Schweppenburg (IfZ, zs.680). German accounts of the incident are in naval staff war diary, Feb 20 (PG/33730) and Woermann papers (T.120/40/34183ff).
 - 11 WSC to Pound, Mar 25 (Churchill, vol. i, 692).
 - 12 War diary of *Gruppe XXI*, Feb 21 (BA Freiburg: E.180/5).
 - 13 See FO.371/24263; *Daily Express*, Oct 13 and Mar 10, 1939.
 - 14 WSC memo, Feb 13; Lothian to WSC, Mar 19 and 30 (FO.371/24263).
 - 15 *Daily Express*, Oct 22, 1942.
 - 16 Dugdale diary, Feb 7.
 - 17 War cabinet, Feb 18; Weizmann to WSC, Feb 23 (Weizmann archives).

- 18 Holma Tels. No. 254-5 to Helsinki, Feb 29 (Finnish FO archives: Nevakivi, 126).
- 19 ADM.116/4471.
- 20 Halifax at war cabinet, Mar 8; Gripenberg diary, Mar 7; and Halifax-Gripenberg conversation (CAB.66/6).
- 21 Cf. *Journal Officiel*, Mar 13, 1940. Daldier omitted the implied threat in reading out the text to the Chamber of Deputies on Mar 12.
- 22 Cf. FO.371/26542: 16-page cabinet summary of principal German peace feelers Sep 1939 through Mar 1941.
- 23 Kennedy to US embassy, Feb 9 (FO.371/24251).
- 24 Kennedy MS, 551. He wrote 'very extensive notes' on the episode. Letter, Landis to JPK, Jul 2, 1948; and to Welles, Dec 4, 1950 (Landis papers).
- 25 Kennedy MS, 562.
- 26 COS committee, Mar 11 (CAB.79/85); and cf. Simon diary, Mar 13, 1939.
- 27 WSC to Reynaud, Mar 22 (Churchill, vol. i, 519). Cf. Hankey's file on ROYAL MARINE (CAB.63/107).
- 28 Ulrich Kittel, a senior *Forschungsamt* official, recalled this in zs.1734 (IfZ).
- 29 Weizsäcker diary, Mar 13; Tanner diary, in Väinö Tanner, *Olin ulkoministerina talvisodan aikana* (Helsinki, 1950), 387; Ribbentrop (see note 2); Tel. No. R.145 from Dr Pakaslahti to Holma, May 14, 1940 (Helsinki FO archives, 109/C2E); and interview of Prof Jukka Nevakivi, London, May 1973.
- 30 Hewel diary, Jul 5, 1941 (IfZ: Irving collection).
- 31 Kennedy MS, 567; Welles's reports (FDR Library, box 9). On Mar 13 WSC related to the war cabinet that he had told Welles: 'Now that we have entered the war, we must, and should, fight it to a finish . . . even though this meant putting all to the stake.' (CAB.65/6.)
- 32 Kennedy MS, chap. 40.
- 33 Cecil King diary, Feb 8.
- 34 Kennedy MS, 578.
- 35 Kennedy MS, 572.
- 20: **Tit for Tat**
- 1 And, incidentally, that Mussolini was the greatest man he had ever met. (Ickes diary, Apr 6, 1941.)
- 2 Berle diary, May 5, 1940 (FDR Library).
- 3 Mackenzie King, conversations with FDR at Warm Springs, Georgia, Apr 23-4: 'When Welles had a talk with him,' FDR had continued, quoting Welles almost verbatim, 'he drank a lot of whiskey and made a speech of an hour's length to Welles. At the end of the hour's talking he had become sober.' And diary, Apr 29 (Mackenzie King papers).
- 4 Oral history of Brig. Gen. Garry H Vaughan, 1963 (Truman Library).
- 5 Letter, Sir Charles Molt-Radelyffe to the author, Apr 1978.
- 6 Letter in *Daily Telegraph*, Apr 10, 1981.
- 7 Cadogan diary, Jul 14, 1940 (Churchill College, Cambridge).
- 8 Eleanor Roosevelt diary, Oct 23, 1942 (FDR Library).
- 9 FDR quoted in Ickes diary, Feb 20, 1943.
- 10 Berle diary, Jun 10, 1943.
- 11 *Washington Star*, Mar 8, 1958. In Beaverbrook's file C.70 are pathetic letters from WSC's secretary Anthony Montague Browne thanking him for keeping stories about Sarah out of the press.
- 12 Letter, Agent P E Foxworth to J Edgar Hoover, Jul 27, 1942 (FBI archives, Washington DC).
- 13 Beaverbrook to Pamela Churchill, Dec 13, 1943 (Beaverbrook papers, C.87). According to a Danish study reviewed by experts of Harvard's Alcohol and Drug Abuse Research Center in *New England Journal of Medicine* (Oct 25, 1979), alcoholism is four times more common in the offspring of alcoholics.
- 14 Letter, Sarah to Clementine, Apr 9, 1948 (unpublished).
- 15 Letter, W Grabner to D Longwell,

- Mar 9, 1949 (Longwell papers).
- 16 Cadogan diary, Aug 1941.
- 17 Letter to Lester Pearson, Jan 23, 1952 (Eisenhower Library).
- 18 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 16, 1943.
- 19 *Ibid.*, May 19, 1944.
- 20 FDR cabinet, May 10, in Ickes diary, May 12, 1940.
- 21 'He claims it is good for typhus and deadly on lice which thrive in those parts.' (FDR Library: Hopkins papers, Tel., Hopkins to FDR, Jan 24, 1945).
- 22 See note 4.
- 23 See *e.g.*, letter from Gabriel Smith, Cdr. (ret.) of Royal Norwegian Navy, to John Renny, Feb 21, 1940 in Halifax papers (FO.800/322). 'We have behaved like damned blundering fools, the Germans have been liars and cheaters, but on the other hand not much good can be said for the British action.'
- 24 War diaries of *Gruppe XXI*, Mar 12–13, and German naval staff, Mar 15.
- 25 WSC to Halifax, Mar 14 (FO.800/328).
- 26 Cecil King diary, Mar 20.
- 27 Tel. Kennedy to State, Mar 19; on Mar 16 WSC also voiced concern to Gamelin that Welles might succeed (ADM.116/4240).
- 28 WSC to Reynaud, Mar 22 (Churchill, vol. i, 519).
- 29 PREM.1/437 shows that Daladier was expected. Spears noted on Apr 4: 'Reynaud is completely at Daladier's mercy, and the way Daladier treats him is best shown by the fact that a quarter of an hour before Reynaud started . . . Daladier informed him that he was not going.'
- 30 Paul Stehlin, *Témoignage pour l'Histoire* (Paris, 1964), 215; he saw the map; there was open talk of it in London. 'Campbell saw Byron last night. . . We are intending to attack the Baku oil-fields. The large force we have in the Near East is to be used for that purpose.' (Cecil King diary, Feb 29.)
- 31 Kennedy MS, referring also to evidence that agreement on the July date was reached on Apr 5 (Docs. 8 and 9 of the German White Book, No. 6).
- 32 British text in CAB.99/3. Churchill, vol. i, 519f; Gamelin, *Servir* (Paris, 1947), 297; Reynaud, in *La France a sauvé l'Europe*, 28ff.
- 33 *Resultats du Conseil Suprême du 28 Mars 1940*; and *Notes prises par le lieutenant-colonel de Villelume sur des conversations sur les événements Avril–Mai 1940*, in Reynaud papers (74AP22).
- 34 Edwards diary, Mar 28.
- 35 Darlan to Daladier, Apr 12 (Archives Politiques, Paris: Daladier papers).
- 36 Thus his own memo on their conversation, Mar 31 (FO.800/312 and ADM.116/4240); Cadogan diary; *cf.* Capt. Edwards diary: 'If the French won't play with Oprn. R.M. we don't like R3.'
- 37 See note 35.
- 38 Amery diary, Feb 27, 1927.
- 39 Letter, Chamberlain to his sister, Mar 30; Eden diary, Apr 1.
- 40 Letter, WSC to Chamberlain, Apr 1 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 203).
- 41 Cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 206.
- 42 War cabinet, Apr 5, 11:30 A.M. (CAB.65/6).
- 43 Colville diary, Apr 5.
- 44 See note 35.
- 45 Tels., Copenhagen to FO, Apr 6, 00:25 and 14:17 (FO.371/24815).
- 46 Letter, Daladier to Chamberlain, Apr 5 (Daladier papers, 3 DA 6 DR 3).
- 47 WSC to Chamberlain, Apr 6 (Chamberlain papers).
- 48 Admiralty to Forbes, 2:20 P.M. Apr 7 (ADM.186/798).
- 49 Pound to Cunningham, Mar 30 (British Museum: MS 52560); Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals* (London, 1977), 296f; Edwards MS; summary in ADM.116/4471; Churchill, vol. i, 533.
- 50 Edwards diary, Apr 7. The author prefers the original diary to the bowdlerised version quoted by Roskill and adopted uncritically by Gilbert, vol. vi, 166.

21: **Completely Outwitted**

- 1 Darlan to Daladier, Apr 12 (Daladier papers).
- 2 Walthor Hewel diary, Jul 5, 1941 (Irving collection, IfZ).
- 3 This was on Mar 28, 1940. Ribbentrop's speech, Apr 27 (German FO White Book No. 4, 1940).
- 4 German naval staff war diary, Mar 30.
- 5 Report by D B of SIS, 'The Scandinavian Invasion,' Apr 14 (PREM.1/435). Cf. Hankey to Wilson, May 12 about his inquiry into the SIS and MI5 (CAB.63/91).
- 6 PREM.1/435; and ADM.1/9956.
- 7 Wilson to Chamberlain, Apr 30 (PREM.1/435).
- 8 Memo, Dep. CIG Lieut.-Gen. Hugh Massy to Ironside, Apr 13 (WO.216/780).
- 9 German naval staff war diary, Apr 13.
- 10 Gilbert, vol. vi, 215.
- 11 Hoare diary, Apr 8; cf. Templewood, 427.
- 12 Summary in ADM.116/4471.
- 13 Halifax, cited in Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 887, Apr 9.
- 14 Capt S W Roskill, *The War at Sea* (London, 1956), vol. i, 171.
- 15 *Réunion du Conseil Suprême du 9 Avril 1940*, in Reynaud papers (74AP22; British text in CAB.99/3).
- 16 CAB.99/3; and Reynaud papers.
- 17 WSC to Forbes, Apr 9, 7:14 P.M. (Gilbert, vol. vi, 221f).
- 18 WO.106/1875.
- 19 ADM.199/1929; Edwards MS; Roskill, *Admirals*, 105. Official historian Roskill found the signals in a guarded 'cage' in the Admiralty Record Office; they are now missing, but incomplete typed copies are in ADM.199/1929. All WSC-Cork-Mackesy signals are quoted from this file.
- 20 Roskill (*Admirals*, 100f) identifies the signal's author as Mr Churchill.
- 21 ADM.116/4471, and Churchill, vol. i, 54of.
- 22 Eden diary.
- 23 The author prefers the handwritten original diary. Roskill (*Admirals*, 102) quotes this as 'was half-cocked as usual.' This bowdlerised text is adopted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 231.
- 24 Edwards diary, Apr 11.
- 25 ADM.199/1929.
- 26 WSC to Reynaud and Daladier, Apr 13 (FO.800/322 and ADM.116/4471).
- 27 Gilbert, vol. vi, 239.
- 28 Massy to Ironside, Apr 13; Ironside to Stanley, Apr 14 (WO.216/780).
- 29 Comments by Ironside (CAB.101/232).
- 30 Edwards diary, Apr 15; Bridges memo, Apr 25 (PREM.1/404).
- 31 Wilson memo, Apr 25 (PREM.1/404).
- 32 WSC to Chamberlain, Apr 16 (ADM.199/1929).
- 33 Bridges memo, Apr 25 (PREM.1/404); cf. Ismay to WSC, Apr 16 (ADM.199/1929).
- 34 Colville diary, Apr 16; Bridges memo, Apr 25 (PREM.1/404).
- 35 Wilson memo, Apr 25 (PREM.1/404).
- 36 Edwards diary, May 8, 1940.
- 37 WSC to Ismay, May 26, 1946 (CAB.127/50).
- 38 Note initialled by WSC, Apr 17, 1940, 1:45 A.M. (ADM.199/1929); and Churchill, vol. i, 554f.
- 39 Cork to WSC, Apr 21, 22:29, received 23:59 (ADM.199/1929; original in ADM.116/4471).
- 40 ADM.199/1929; and cf. Churchill, vol. i, 572f.
- 41 Reynaud papers (74AP22; English *ibid.*, and CAB.99/3).
- 42 Colville diary, Apr 23 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 263).
- 43 Colville diary, Apr 26.
- 44 Keyes to WSC, Apr 30 (FO.800/322). He sent copies to Halifax, Simon, Hoare, Stanley and Chamberlain (PREM.1/418).
- 45 Nicolson diary, Apr 30.
- 46 Reynaud to Chamberlain, Apr 26, 8:50 P.M. (Doc. No. 49, captured by Germans at La Charité: German: T. 120/115/117196; French: T.120/

- 127/119986); Corbin to Reynaud, Apr 26, 11:00 P.M. (Doc. No. 50, *ibid.*).
- 47 See note 41; and *Notes prises par le lieutenant-colonel de Villelume* (Reynaud papers).
- 48 Tel., Corbin to Reynaud, Apr 29 (see note 46).
- 49 *Ibid.*, Docs. Nos. 51 and 52.
- 50 WSC to NC, Apr 30 (PREM.1/401).
- 51 Reynaud conversation with Chamberlain, Apr 30, 10:10 P.M.: see letter, SS-Schütze Fritz Lorenz to Himmler, Jan 26, 1943 (T.175/124/9424ff); BDC file on Lorenz; *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 7, and Hitler speech, Jul 21, 1940. A private letter of Adm. A B Cunningham shows that Weygand met him at Malta en route to Paris on Mar 28: 'He said [Reynaud] must have heard that he was very old [73] and sent for him to see if it was true.' (British Museum: MS 52588.)
- 22: Hence Prime Minister**
- 1 Dalton diary, May 1.
- 2 Eden diary, May 1 (*The Reckoning*, 96).
- 3 Hptm. Deyhle, *Gedanken über die Befehlsführung an erster Stelle*, Apr 24 (ND, ps.1781).
- 4 Nicolson diary, May.
- 5 Reith diary, May 3.
- 6 Dugdale diary, May 6.
- 7 Lockhart diary, May 1.
- 8 John Colville diary, May 1. He entered these thoughts that evening.
- 9 Ironside diary, May 3.
- 10 Ld Davies to Beaverbrook, May 3 (Beaverbrook papers).
- 11 A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 408.
- 12 Churchill, vol. i, 583.
- 13 Colville diary, May 3, quoting Ld Portal of Laverstoke.
- 14 This remark, commented one senior FO official, was reminiscent of prewar days and unlikely to inspire foreign confidence; it seemed an easy way of earning dollars. Macdonald to Halifax, Jan 16 (FO.800/321); and *Daily Express*, Jan 13.
- 15 Chips Channon diary, May 1.
- 16 Cecil King diary, May 3.
- 17 Alexander, quoted in Dalton diary, May 2.
- 18 Ironside diary.
- 19 CAB.65/13.
- 20 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, May 7, cols. 1086f.
- 21 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1140, May 8 (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 22 Dalton diary, May 8; Hansard, May 7, cols. 1075–1198; *ibid.*, May 8, cols. 1253–1368; letter, Herschel Johnson to Hull, May 10, 1940; Nicolson diary, May 7–8.
- 23 Colville diary, Dec 12.
- 24 A V Alexander to WSC, May 20 (ADM.116/4471).
- 25 CAB.79/4.
- 26 War diary, Hopkinson Mission (PHANTOM), May 7 (WO.215/1).
- 27 WO daily Intelligence summary, May 8 (WO.106/1644); the diary of Lieut.-Gen. Brooke of II Corps (May 7–9) shows no hint of coming events.
- 28 Beaverbrook papers, C.88, Churchill; and Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1148, May 9, noon (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 29 Edwards diary, May 9.
- 30 Eden diary, May 9.
- 31 Amery, *My Political Life*, vol. iii, 371; cf. Spears, *Prelude to Dunkirk*, 131.
- 32 Letter, Butler to Halifax, May 9 (Hickleton papers, A.4.410.16); Dalton diary, May 8–9.
- 33 Notes, in Taylor, 409.
- 34 Bruce Lockhart diary, Aug 16, 1946; and slightly different 1963 version by R Churchill in Gilbert, vol. vi, 305.
- 35 Eden diary, May 9.
- 36 Cadogan diary, May 9; Margesson told Beaverbrook (A J P Taylor, 410).
- 37 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1158, May 10, 2:00 P.M. His source was perhaps Halifax.
- 38 Eden diary, May 9.
- 39 Gilbert, vol. vi, 302f.
- 40 Viscount Templewood, *Nine Troubled*

- Years, (London, 1954).
- 41 Irving, *Hitler's War*, 114 (H Heim, *Hitler's Tischgespräch*, Oct 17–18, 1941).
- 42 Cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 306; cf. Lockhart diary, Aug 16, 1946.
- 43 Diary.
- 44 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1158, May 10, 1940, 2:00 P.M. Kennedy predicted trouble over this. 'This may result in another bitter fight while the world is burning.' Earlier on May 10 (according to Dalton's diary) Sinclair urged Attlee that Chamberlain remain until the crisis was past; he then issued a statement to *The Times*: 'Recent events have proved the necessity for a prompt and radical reconstruction of the British Government; but the opening of the first critical battle in the West is not the moment.'
- 45 Dalton diary, May 16. Bracken said it to Macmillan.
- 46 Nicolson, diary, May 10.
- 47 Diary, May 10.
- 48 Hankey papers. Under his long-prepared Operation XD, destroyers carried British demolition parties to Ymuiden, Hook of Holland, Flushing, and Antwerp. Each party consisted of three officers, 26 naval enlisted men, plus Royal Engineers: 12 for Amsterdam, 66 for Rotterdam, 24 for Antwerp (Memo by Hankey, May 10, CAB.63/132).
- 49 CAB.65/7.
- 50 Greenwood's version, in Bruce Lockhart diary, May 15.
- 51 CAB.65/7. The king (diary, May 10) felt Chamberlain had been treated unfairly and suggested Halifax as the 'obvious' successor; Chamberlain explained why the king should send for Churchill.
- 52 Letter, Adm. A B Cunningham to his Aunt Helen, May 11 (British Museum: MS 52558).
- 53 Kennedy diary.
- 23: **Rogue Elephant**
- 1 *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 2 Memo of Apr 25 (ADM.199/1929).
- 3 Colville diary, May 11.
- 4 FDR cabinet of May 10, reported in Ickes diary, May 12. 'Apparently Churchill is very unreliable when under the influence of drink,' FDR added. 'I suppose that he is too old.' (Library of Congress.) When Kennedy tendered his resignation on Dec 1, FDR spoke to him of WSC's rudeness (from his MS).
- 5 Letter, Hankey to Halifax, May 1, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.4.410.4.5).
- 6 Letter, Hankey to Hoare, May 12, 1940 (Beaverbrook papers, C.308).
- 7 Dalton diary, May 16, 1940; and Bruce Lockhart diary, Mar 14, 1946.
- 8 H Hopkins diary, unpublished, Jan 30, 1941; Mackenzie King diary, Aug 30, 1941; King to WSC, May 12, 1940 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 316). On Jun 5 Lord Halifax would record after seeing the king: 'He was very funny about Winston, and told me he did not find him very easy to talk to: Nor was Winston willing to give him as much time, or information, as he would like. Much surprised and not a little disturbed at being invited to make Brendan Bracken a Privy Councillor.'
- 9 Taylor, 411.
- 10 Dalton diary, May 14.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Dec 13.
- 12 Gilbert, vol. vi, 331.
- 13 Dalton diary, May 18.
- 14 *Ibid.*, May 17.
- 15 Nicolson diary. Halifax was struck by Churchill's 'chilly' reception (diary).
- 16 Ismay, 116.
- 17 Reynaud papers, file 'Télégrammes'; letter, Corbin to WSC, May 14. (PREM.3/188/1. PREM.3 files – Mr Churchill's papers – have been heavily sanitised before their release to the PRO.)
- 18 CAB.79/4.
- 19 Bullitt to State dept., Paris, May 14 (FDR Library: PSF, box 26).
- 20 PREM.3/188/1; Cadogan diary, May 14. Telephone message, timed 8:40 P.M. (Reynaud papers).

- 21 Bruce Lockhart diary.
- 22 Colville diary, May 14.
- 23 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1211, May 15, 1940, 2:00 A.M. He concluded that WSC called in Eden, Alexander and Sinclair 'and they are very low tonight although they are tough, and mean to fight.' (FDR Library, PSF, box 26).
- 24 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1216, May 15.
- 25 Bullitt to FDR, noon, May 15 (FDR Library, PSF, box 26).
- 26 Reynaud papers (74AP22); Seal's memo, PREM.3/188/1.
- 27 CAB.79/4.
- 28 La Charité files (T.120/115/117019).
- 29 Beaverbrook replied, 'The communications you speak of are a subject I have always fought shy of,' but he respected Dowding's right to 'hold fixed and firm opinions' (Beaverbrook papers, C.120); *Sunday Pictorial*, May 31, 1942, 'Did They Really Die?'; Mackenzie King diary, Aug 18, 1943.
- 30 CAB.65/7 and /13; cf. Dowding to air ministry, May 16 (Dowding papers, AC.71/17/2).
- 31 WSC to Reynaud, undated (May 15, PREM.3/188/1).
- 32 La Charité files (T.120/115/117018).
- 33 The author has used the original diary in the Brooke papers (Kings College, London: 5/2/1).
- 34 Kennedy to FDR and State dept., Tel. No. 1237, May 16, 6:00 P.M. (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 35 This from CAB.99/3; the remainder is based on the French minutes by de Margerie (Reynaud papers) and by Daladier (Doc. No. 74 in German White Book No. 8: *Dokumente über die Alleinschuld Englands am Bombenkrieg gegen die Zivilbevölkerung*, Berlin, 1943). Cf. Reynaud, *La France a sauvé l'Europe*, vol. ii, 98 and 131.
- 36 Around 10:30 A.M. on May 16 de Margerie briefed the sous directeur d'Europe that Reynaud had 'chargé Monsieur Leca [his secretary] de centraliser toutes les questions relatives à l'évacuation du ministère' (Daladier papers).
- 37 Dalton diary, May 28.
- 38 Colville and Cadogan diaries, May 16.
- 39 *FRUS* 1940, vol. iii, 49-50; PREM.3/468.
- 40 Bullitt to FDR, 6:00 P.M., May 16 (FDR Library).
- 41 Gamelin Tel. to WSC, May 17, 9:25 A.M. (La Charité files, T.120/115/117017).
- 42 Kennedy to State dept., May 17; WSC to Chamberlain, May 17 (PREM.3/188/2).
- 43 Dalton diary, May 18.
- 44 Historical record of signals officer in chief, BEF, May 10-June 1 (WO.197/92); and Hankey papers (CAB.63/132).
- 45 Cabinet, May 18, 10:00 A.M. (CAB.65/7).
- 46 Colville memo, May 18 (PREM.3/188/3).
- 47 Brian Bond (ed.), *Chief of Staff: The Diaries of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Pownall*, vol. i, 1933-40 (London, 1972), 328. Cf. Ismay, Summary of W. Front, May 28 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 48 Eden diary.
- 49 WSC to FDR, Tel. No. 12,671, May 20 (FDR Library: Map Room papers; also in *FRUS* 1940, vol. iii, 51; and *Their Finest Hour*, 56-7); Colville diary, May 19.
- 50 PREM.3/468.
- 51 CAB.65/7; Edwards diary, May 20; and Tel., Swayne to WSC and Eden, May 20 (PREM.3/188/3); letter, Dill to Churchill, May 20 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 52 Major-Gen. Giffard Martel, history of 50th Division's attack of May 21 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 53 Ironside and Colville diaries, May 21; Eden, *The Reckoning*.
- 54 Defence committee, evening of May 21 (CAB.69/1 and PREM.7/2).
- 55 PREM.3/263/1.
- 56 Reynaud papers.
- 57 Reynaud diary, May 22: '10 h Weygand, 11 h Churchill, puis à Vincennes,

- Churchill et Weygand. *Déjeuner, Churchill, puis Mandel arrive après le déjeuner.*' (British text, CAB.99/3; the French, in Reynaud's papers, was also among archives captured by the Germans at La Charité and sent to Hitler for his enjoyment. T.120/115/117004. Also, *Notes prises par le Lieut.-Col Villelume.*)
- 58 Reynaud papers (74AP22, file 'Télégrammes').
- 59 See note 44.
- 60 CAB.65/13.
- 61 Ulrich Liss, head of 3. *Abteilung, Fremde Heere West*: 'Düнкirchen, gesehen mit den Augen des Ic,' in *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, 1958, 325ff.
- 62 Pownall diary, May 23.
- 63 CAB.65/7.
- 64 *Note prise par le président du Conseil, 23 Mai 1940, 16h50* (Reynaud papers, 74AP22, file 'Télégrammes').
- 65 Bock diary, May 24. He learned '*das an der Somme bei und südostwärts Amiens erhebliche Angriffe . . . im Gange seien und dass Kluge, der Oberbefehlshaber der 4. Armee, drei von der Heeresleitung für die Schlacht im Norden bestimmte Division dorthin, also nach Süden, habe abdrehen müssen*' (Bundesarchiv, Nr. 22/5).
- 66 King George's diary, May 23.
- 67 Pownall diary.
- 68 Letter, Reynaud to Pétain, 25 Apr 1941 (FDR Library); Reynaud papers (74AP23); FO.371/28570 and PREM.3/186/A4).
- 69 Darlan letter, Jul 9 (Reynaud papers).
- 70 John C Cairns, 'Great Britain and the Fall of France,' *Journal of Modern History*, Dec 1955, 394.
- 71 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1344, May 24, 1940.
- 24: **An Avoidable Disaster**
- 1 WSC to Ismay, May 18 (Churchill, vol. ii, 49); Morton to WSC, May 18 (PREM.7/2); report by H V Johnson, 'The Fifth Column in Great Britain,' Jul 29 (US embassy in London, secret files, box 3, RG.84); and cabinet, May 22.
- 2 US embassy in London, secret files, series 4, RG.84: Tyler Kent, 1939-42; and cabinet, May 22 (CAB.65/13).
- 3 Mackenzie King diary, Apr 23-4, 29.
- 4 Memo, May 25 (*ibid.*, MG26, J13). The emissary was Mr Keenlyside.
- 5 WSC to Reynaud for Weygand, May 24, 5:00 A.M. (Churchill, vol. ii, 61); also in Reynaud papers and captured La Charité documents (T.120/115/117-004).
- 6 Reynaud papers, 'Télégrammes.'
- 7 Campbell to WSC, May 24 (PREM.3/118/6).
- 8 Irving, *Hitler's War*, 125. Gen. Hanz von Salmuth, interrogated in 1947, was one witness of Hitler's remarks (IfZ, zs-133).
- 9 Reynaud to WSC, May 24, 9:00 P.M. (Reynaud papers, 'Télégrammes'; Churchill, vol. ii, 62f). The Germans later broadcast this message.
- 10 J Martin private letter, Jun 2.
- 11 WSC to Ironside, May 25 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 12 Spears diary, May 25.
- 13 Cabinet, May 25 (CAB.65/7); WSC to Ismay for Nicholson, May 25 (Churchill, vol. ii, 73); Edwards diary; Nicholson, Calais diary (WO.217/1).
- 14 Reynaud papers.
- 15 Churchill, vol. ii, 75; L F Ellis, *The War in France and Flanders*, 148f; this is accepted by Hinsley, vol. i, 143. WSC's source was Brooke's letter of Oct 31, 1946. Gilbert suggests that GHQ read the documents 'that afternoon' (vol. vi, 397). Not so.
- 16 Brooke made no reference to the 'document wallet' in his *authentic* (ink) diary. After he visited 4th and 3rd Divisions to discuss plans for the attack, 'GHQ had another conference at 7:00 P.M. [I] found the atmosphere entirely changed and was at once presented with 5th Division to hold Ypres-Comines Canal. They have now realised the danger I warned them about this morning. The penetration scheme [the Weygand plan] is temporarily abandoned.' *Later*

- he pencilled two lines about it under May 25: 'Collected German officer's wallet from 3 Div HQ with plan for German attack.' In Alanbrooke papers (3/A/111) is MI14's version of Oct. 1946.
- 17 CAB.69/1.
- 18 *Comité de guerre*, May 25, 7:00 P.M. (Daladier papers).
- 19 Eden to Gort, May 25, seen by WSC May 26 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 20 Letter, R Campbell to WSC, May 25: 'The enclosed message to you from Léger has just been brought to me by a friend of his to whom he telephoned it from the country.' (PREM.3/188/6; the message itself has been withdrawn, like much of this file.) Horace Wilson would write in Oct 1941, 'Léger was violently anti-German, equally violently anti-Italian, and he must bear much of the responsibility for the failure to take advantage of the opportunities offered from time to time by either Hitler or Mussolini for some kind of rapprochement.' (CAB.127/158. For a similar view on Léger, see Feiling, *Life of Neville Chamberlain*, 413.)
- 21 Three-page undated draft (PREM.3/174/4).
- 22 *Agende*, May 26 (Reynaud papers, box 74AP22, 'Documents').
- 23 It is in CAB.65/13 and PREM.3/188/6; cf. Ismay summary, *ibid.*; and Cadogan diary, May 26. On May 27 Mackenzie King noted, 'Mentioned [to Malcolm Macdonald] . . . that we might very soon have the king and queen themselves in Canada.'
- 24 Eden diary.
- 25 WSC to Spears, May 26 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 26 Darlan letter, Jul 9.
- 27 Churchill, vol. ii, 73; Ismay, 131.
- 28 The intercepted order to a Panzer division to attack Calais was shown on May 27 by Major-Gen. A E Percival (the asst. CIGS) to Eden (*The Reckoning*).
- 29 So King George VI told Hopkins (Hopkins diary, Jan 30, 1941). 'It strikes me,' Kennedy reported, 'this isn't going to improve the morale of the Dutch much' (Tel. No. 1197, May 13).
- 30 WSC to Gort, 4:30 A.M., May 27 (PREM.3/188/6).
- 31 Army Group B, telex to OKH, May 31 (Weizsäcker papers, T.120/155/126598ff).
- 32 CAB.65/13; Halifax diary, May 27, 1940. Major Thomas Ingram, the archivist of Lord Halifax's papers (now at the Borthwick Institute, York) informed the author (Feb 1987) that Halifax evidently began dictating the intermittent journal for his family in 1940 when his children were dispersed and he himself had moved into the Dorchester Hotel. 'These typewritten diary-letters, together with the "secret" diary, were passed to me by Lord Halifax and are just as I received them.' Halifax appears to have related the cabinet dispute to Kennedy: see Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1400, May 27, 9:00 P.M. Peace moves were in the air: 'Churchill, Attlee and others will want to fight to the death but there will be others who realise that physical destruction of men and property in England will not be a proper offset to loss of pride.'
- 33 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1415, May 28.
- 34 Spears to WSC, May 28 (PREM.3/188/6); Colville diary.
- 35 Tel., WSC to Reynaud, May 28, 11:40 P.M., sent by cypher telephone (Ismay papers, CAB.127/50).
- 36 Bruce memo, May 30 (Morton papers, PREM.7/2).
- 37 Martin private letter, May 30; Ironside diary, May 28.
- 38 Spears diary; WSC to Spears, May 29 (FO.800/312).
- 39 Personal, WSC to Ld Gort, May 29, 21:40 (PREM.3/175 and PREM.3/188/6).
- 40 WSC to Reynaud, May 29, 23:45 (PREM.3/175).
- 41 Eden to Gort, May 30, 14:07 (PREM.

- 3/188/6).
- 42 Mackenzie King to WSC, May 30 (Mackenzie King papers, MG.26, J1, vol. 286, and FO.800/310). He found the 'difficult part' was meeting FDR's wish 'of having the message appear to be from myself rather than from him' (diary).
- 43 WSC to Mackenzie King, Jun 5 (PREM.4/43B/1 and FO.800/310; Churchill, vol. ii, 128f; and Mackenzie King diary, Jun 5).
- 44 British text, CAB.99/3; French text, 'Conseil Suprême du 31 Mai 1940 – Discussions relatives à l'évacuation de l'armée des Flandres' (Reynaud papers, 74AP22).
- 45 Reynaud MS, 'Comment Raymond Cartier écrit l'histoire' (in 74AP27): 'Ainsi, cent dix mille soldats français furent évacués.'
- 25: **We Shall Fight in the Hills**
- 1 Thompson, 82.
- 2 Dr Waino W Suojanen, a psychologist and professor of management at Georgia State University (ed.), *Management and the Brain* (1983). As for the curative properties of stress, Dr Neil E Kay and Dr John E Morley suggested to a Washington symposium that stress increased the body's production of natural opiates (*International Herald Tribune*, Jul 30, 1983).
- 3 Dr Paul A Rosch, president of the American Institute of Stress. Dr Joel Elkes, emeritus professor of psychiatry at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, draws a significant comparison between drug addiction and stress addiction: 'Risk-taking and extreme stress produce a pleasurable arousal,' he explains, 'followed by a feeling of release' (*ibid.*).
- 4 Diary, Mar 26.
- 5 Quoted in Bruce Lockhart diary, May 29.
- 6 Diary.
- 7 Memoirs, 293.
- 8 Spears diary, Jun 1; Darlan letter, Jul 9 (Reynaud papers).
- 9 WSC to Spears for Weygand, Jun 1 (Reynaud papers and PREM.3/175, from which many items have been withdrawn); cf. Spears diary, Jun 1.
- 10 Darlan letter, Jul 9.
- 11 Herschel Johnson to State dept., Tel. No. 5258, May 17, 1940 (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 12 Eden diary; WSC to Lloyd, Seal to WSC, May 23 (PREM.3/348); Weizmann to WSC, May 29 (Weizmann archives).
- 13 Martin dairy, May 31.
- 14 Mackenzie King diary, May 27.
- 15 Kennedy to State dept., June 26: 'There was a disposition, as much as three weeks ago, even on the part of Churchill, to say, "Of course we move to Canada and carry on the battle from there." Everybody, however, since then gives me the same answer which makes me very suspicious. That answer is "Of course we are not going to move to Canada; we will fight it out here."'
- 16 Colville diary, Jun 1 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 449).
- 17 There are impressions of Chequers in the diaries of Gen. Hap Arnold, May 30, 1942, and Harry Butcher, Sep 21, 1942.
- 18 Corbin to Reynaud, Jun 2, 7:30 P.M. (Daladier papers; also T.120/115/117-259).
- 19 WSC to Reynaud, Jun 3 (Reynaud papers, slightly garbled; and PREM.3/175).
- 20 Dowding (in his memoirs) and other writers have mistakenly put this episode on May 15, when he also attended the cabinet. The 'graph' figures only in the Jun 3 cabinet minutes.
- 21 PREM.3/175.
- 22 Dalton diary, Jun 3. Bevin also wrote an account of it in his diary, 'while the memory was white hot.' A Christiansen to Beaverbrook, Oct 28, 1942 (C.38).
- 23 PREM.3/175, note of Jun 3. Gallipoli evacuation figures: from Helles, 35,268; from Anzac and Suvla, 83,048.
- 24 Dalton diary, Jul 23.
- 25 Author's interview of Norman Shelley,

- Dec 1981.
- 26 Pownall diary, Feb 9, Mar 12, Apr 10.
- 27 *Ministère de l'Aire, Cabinet militaire: Note pour le Général Tarnier*, Jun 2 (Reynaud papers, 74AP22).
- 28 WSC to Ismay *et al.*, Jun 4 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 459f, 472f, 469).
- 29 Cadogan; and *cf.* Colville diary, Jun 5: 'Winston would like to send more than the experts agree.'
- 30 Tel., WSC to Reynaud, Jun 5, 4:15 P.M. (PREM.3/188/1); Spears recorded on Jun 5: 'Winston sent me two very sharp messages to Reynaud and later spoke to me on phone.' Reynaud 'took my stuffy wires well.'
- 31 Colville diary, Jun 5.
- 32 The letter is in French files captured by the Germans (T.120/115/117036). Churchill replied to Reynaud on Jun 6: 'Fighter aircraft. General Vuillemin's demand was altogether unreasonable and his letter made the worst impression on everyone and greatly increased my difficulties.' (Reynaud papers, 74AP22, 'Correspondence Reynaud/Churchill.') Reynaud summoned Spears to his cabinet: 'Very painful and difficult atmosphere,' Spears noted in his diary, describing Vuillemin's letter as 'incredibly impertinent.'
- 33 Colville diary, Jun 6.
- 34 Tizard diary, Jun 4 (Clark, *Tizard*, 227).
- 35 Spears to WSC, Jun 6 (PREM.3/188/3).
- 36 Ismay to Spears, Jun 7; and Reynaud to WSC, Jun 7 (Reynaud papers, PREM.3/188/3; 74AP22, file '*Angleterre télégrammes . . . Mai-Juin 1940*'; and PREM.3/188/1).
- 37 PREM.3/188/1; and WSC to Reynaud Jun 8, 7:55 P.M. (Reynaud papers).
- 38 Cadogan diary; and Dalton diary, Jul 16, 1940.
- 39 For a rough statistical analysis, see Warren F Kimball, 'Churchill and Roosevelt: The Personal Equation,' in *Prologue*, Fall 1974.
- 40 Tel., WSC to Smuts, Jun 9 (PREM.3/43B/1).
- 41 WSC to Ld Lothian, Jun 9 (FO.371/24239).
- 42 Reynaud papers, 74AP22.
- 43 Colville diary, Jun 10.
- 44 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1579, Jun 10, 9:00 P.M.
- 45 Ickes diary, Jun 5.
- 46 Beaverbrook to Hoare, Jun 11 (Beaverbrook papers, C.308).
- 47 French text, '*Proces-verbal de la séance du Conseil Suprême tenue au Château du Muguet, près de Briare, le 11/6/1940*,' in Reynaud papers (74AP22) and Reynaud diary. British minutes in CAB.99/3; and see Sir Ronald Campbell's despatch to Halifax, Jun 27, 1940; transcripts of all these meetings were extracted by the Spanish from the luggage of Reynaud's fleeing staff and copied for the Nazis.
- 48 Tel., Eisenhower to WSC, Dec 14, 1942, quoting letter, Darlan to WSC, Dec 4, 1942.
- 49 Reynaud papers, 74AP22.
- 50 WSC to FDR, Tel. No. 1622, Jun 12, 9:00 P.M.
- 51 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1603, 2:00 P.M. Jun 12 (FDR Library).
- 52 Colville diary, Jun 12.
- 26: **Breakneck**
- 1 WSC to FDR, in Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1628, Jun 13 (US embassy in London, secret file). Gilbert wrongly dates this Jun 11 and applies it to Churchill's previous trip.
- 2 English minutes are in Reynaud papers, file 74AP27; and CAB.99/3. Three French participants wrote accounts: Reynaud; Baudouin, first in a memoir titled, '*À propos d'un nouveau livre de M Kammerer*' and then in, '*Neuf mois de Gouvernement*'; de Margerie, Reynaud's directeur du cabinet, took an almost verbatim note (in 74AP27). *Cf.* Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 1650, Jun 14; WSC to Dominion high commissioners, Jun 14, 5:00 A.M. (FO.800/310); and Beaverbrook memo, Sep 11, 1946

- (Beaverbrook papers, D.480).
- 3 In German captivity Reynaud often recalled those words, 'in her power and her dignity,' e.g., in letter to Pétain, Apr 23, 1941 (Reynaud papers and FDR Library, PSF, box 34, 'Biddle'). Leahy had sent copies to Washington. Reading them, Churchill ordered them circulated to the cabinet: 'Pray God we never get in such a jam! . . . They vindicate us before history. WSC 8.vii.' He wanted them published but – to protect Reynaud – the Americans declined. (Churchill however used the 'neck wrung like a chicken' quotation in his Ottawa speech. FO.371/28570.)
 - 4 Spears, *Assignment to Catastrophe*, vol. ii, 215. Spears is not always reliable, as Reynaud later commented: '*Le Général Spears . . . est devenu avant d'écrire ses mémoires, l'adversaire de la France, malveillant pour tous les Français, moi compris, du fait du conflit franco-britannique en Orient, auquel il a pris part.*' (Reynaud MS, 74AP27.)
 - 5 Spears diary, citing M Dejean (Spears papers, 2/18).
 - 6 Deposition by Weygand, *proces de Riom*; and *Témoignages, l'Armistice* (Paris, 1944, Édition de Minuit).
 - 7 Sent at 1 P.M. Washington time, Jun 13; cf. Berle diary, Jun 13. According to Halifax's diary, Churchill told the cabinet: 'If he will consent to have this published, it pretty well commits America to war.'
 - 8 CAB.65/7. Kennedy takes the credit for this. 'The call came through while he was with Churchill and he persuaded Roosevelt to withdraw it [the permission to publish] in Churchill's presence. Said Churchill hated him from then on.' (Hoover Library: Herbert Hoover, memo dated Apr 19, 1945). But Berle's diary makes Hull's role plain.
 - 9 PREM.3/468.
 - 10 Eden diary, Dec 19.
 - 11 State dept. Tel. No. 1643 [Jun 13], 1 P.M. 'In no sense was it intended to commit . . . this Government to the slightest military activities.'
 - 12 Kennedy to FDR, Tel. No. 1649, Jun 14 (embassy file; and PSF file, 'Kennedy').
 - 13 Prof to WSC, Jun 13 (Cherwell papers); J Martin letter, Jun 13.
 - 14 CAB.65/13.
 - 15 Bryant, 172–3.
 - 16 Colville diary, Jun 14
 - 17 FO.800/310.
 - 18 Colville diary, Jun 15. The message was despatched at 3:15 A.M., Jun 16 (PREM.4/43B/1).
 - 19 Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill*, 229; Clementine to Prof, Apr 3, 1941 (Cherwell papers).
 - 20 Colville diary; and Tel., Campbell to EO, Jun 15 (PREM.3/468).
 - 21 Colville diary, Jun 15.
 - 22 *Notes de Louis Marin* (Reynaud papers, *Divers*, 74AP22); Reynaud diary; Tel., Bullitt to FDR, Jun 16, 1:00 A.M.
 - 23 Diary.
 - 24 CAB.65/13.
 - 25 Halifax to Campbell, Jun 16.
 - 26 '*Conversations téléphoniques enregistrées à Bordeaux pendant les journées du 15 au 17 Juin 1940 au Palais Gallien*' (in 74AP22, file '*Divers*'). Charles Eade pointed out to Reynaud in May 1953 that in *Le Procès du Marshall Pétain* (vol. i, 97) he had called these intercepts false.
 - 27 On Jun 16 Lieut.-Col. Villelume noted, '*Tard dans la soirée, le général de Gaulle revient de Londres. Il revele . . . qu'il est avec Jean Monnet, l'auteur du projet, et que c'est lui qui la fait accepter par Churchill.*'
 - 28 MI5 were shadowing her and reported she exerted 'a dominating influence over the Free French delegation' in Britain (RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, 820.02).
 - 29 CAB.65/7. Text of the proclamation from Roosevelt's files (film 1, 0099f).
 - 30 Hankey to Halifax, Jun 22; reply, Jun 23 (FO.800/312).
 - 31 Edwards diary, Jun 16. Louis Marin recorded the events of that afternoon: '*À 17h Reynaud annonce que la Note de*

12h30 est retirée. Il lit le nouveau texte anglais apporté par Campbell à 3h30. Ybar et Pomaret déclarent qu'ils ne veulent pas être sujets anglais. Chautemps: Le texte donne lieu à des observations. Le projet est écarté. Chautemps reparle de l'armistice et de la nécessité de provoquer un choc psychologique sur l'opinion. . . Pour justifier la résistance devant l'opinion, il faut connaître les buts de l'Allemagne. . . Un ministre suggère une nouvelle tentative auprès des Anglais pour être relevés de la parole donnée. Reynaud répond: 'C'est un autre que moi qui fera cette démarche.' . . . Louis Marin rappelle la parole donnée et le devoir de le respecter. Il demande à Reynaud s'il juge que l'honneur de la France est engagé avec sa parole. Reynaud: Parfaitement – totalement.' He resigned, noting in his papers: 'La majorité se prononce par Chautemps sans attacher grande importance à l'offre anglaise. J'annonce mon démission.' (Reynaud papers: Louis Marin notes. Letters, Reynaud to Pétain, April 5 and 23, 1941: Reynaud papers and Campbell despatch.)

27: The Diehard

- 1 Hewel papers. Some items were re-typed on Hitler's special typewriter.
- 2 In 1946 and 1964. Prytz revealed it in 1965. *Der Spiegel*, No. 40/1965; *The Times*, Oct 10, 1965; and Prytz's obituary, *Daily Telegraph*, Jul 30, 1976.
- 3 The Italian minister in Stockholm, Francesco Fransonì, reported this urgently to Ciano at 7:30 A.M.: 'The British representative [Sir Victor Mallet] requested an interview with the Swedish foreign minister and notified him that the British government is inclined to enter into peace negotiations with Germany and Italy. The Secretary General of the foreign ministry here immediately informed me and in reply to my inquiry confirmed specifically that this declaration by the British representative is of official character.' (*Documenti Diplomatici Italiani*, 9, v, No. 47, Jun 18; cf. No. 48, Jun 21.) This was evidently intercepted by German codebreakers (Naval staff war diary, Jun 22). Sweden notified her envoy in Berlin, Arvid Richert; and on Jun 22 he related this to von Weizsäcker (*Aufzeichnung Nr. 454*, June 19: 'Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik,' series D IX, Dok.487).
- 4 Swedish foreign minister Christian Gunther showed it to Mallet on Jun 19 and asked – no doubt to satisfy inquiries from Berlin – precisely how it was to be interpreted (Mallet to FO, Tel. No. 743, Jun 19, FO.800/322). The relevant paragraphs are blanked out in CAB.65/7.
- 5 WSC to Halifax, Jun 25, and reply, shielding Butler (FO.800/322).
- 6 György Barcza, unpublished memoirs (Hoover Library: box 1, MS, chap. xix, 'Churchill az uj miniszterelnök; 206f).
- 7 Dowding to WSC, Jun 17 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 564); Ld Halifax diary, Feb 8, 1941, and letter to Simon, Mar 25, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.4.410.4.14).
- 8 WSC to Campbell, Jun 17 (Reynaud papers); and A V Alexander's memo on WSC's meeting with Pound, Jun 17 (Alexander papers).
- 9 Kennedy to State dept., Jun 17, 8:00 P.M. (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 10 BBC Written Archives. The speech was heard in North America at 3 P.M. (Harold Nicolson letter, June 17; dated Jun 19 by Gilbert, with consequential misidentification of the broadcast concerned); and Cecil King diary, Jun 18.
- 11 Colville and Dalton diaries, Jun 18.
- 12 Norman Shelley, interview, Dec 1979; J Martin letter, Jun 21.
- 13 Colville diary, Jun 18.
- 14 Martin MS; Colville diary, Jun 27.
- 15 Cadogan diary, Jun 19; Cecil King diary, Jun 21.
- 16 Tels., Künsberg to Ribbentrop, Jun 24 (T.120/127/119648); and Abetz to Ribbentrop, Sep 18 (/119890).
- 17 To Edwards (diary, Jun 23), this was

- 'a first class blunder. . . This when we're doing our damndest to bring away troops.'
- 18 Tel., Stohrer to Ribbentrop, Jun 27 (T.120/127/119655).
- 19 WSC to duke, Sep 6, 1939; in *Sunday Express*, Mar 12, 1967.
- 20 *Ibid.* Many Windsor documents in Halifax's file (FO.800/327) have been closed.
- 21 Hoare to WSC, Tel. No. 437, Madrid Jun 27: closed.
- 22 On Jun 28 the Italian chargé d'affaires told Ciano that the duke had told the Spanish foreign ministry he had 'no intention of returning to Great Britain,' despite Churchill's pressure on him; he had confidentially asked the Italian government to take good care of his Cap d'Antibes villa. On Jul 3, explaining the couple's move to Lisbon, the same Italian reported: 'They intend however to prevaricate and possibly remain on the Continent' (Italian diplomatic archives).
- 23 WSC to Daniel Longwell, Jan 26, 1946 (Longwell papers; Lockhart diary, Feb 16, 1946).
- 24 It was to the Tories' good fortune that, although arrested in April 1945, John Amery would be held outside England until after the July elections contested by Leo and Julian. He had made pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic broadcasts from Berlin (Bruce Lockhart diary, Nov 21, 1942) and tried to recruit British prisoners for a Legion of St. George to fight the Russians. See PREM.8/122.
- 25 WSC to Mackenzie King, Jun 24 (PREM.4/43/B/1).
- 26 WSC to Halifax, Jun 28.
- 27 Cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 584f.
- 28 Clementine to WSC, Jun 27 (in Soames, 291).
- 29 Colville diary, Jun 25.
- 30 Beaverbrook to A V Alexander, May 30, 1955, and replies (Beaverbrook papers, C.2). In general, ADM.186/800, *Operations Against the French Fleet at Mers-el-Kébir*; Pound's file (ADM.205/4); and Hinsley (vol. i, 150ff).
- 31 Letter, Marshall to FDR, Jul 11, 1942 (FDR Library: Hopkins papers).
- 32 *The Scotsman*, Jul 12, 1923.
- 33 *E.g.*, he directed Ismay on Aug 3, 1941, that 'an assortment of BONIFACE should be flown over to the Atlantic conference in a weighted case in case the plane came down at sea (Beaverbrook papers, D.122). Cf. too COS Tel., Jun 28, 1943, referring to that day's BONIFACE, 'revealing Hitler's intentions in the Mediterranean (Eisenhower Library: Tel., Marshall to Eisenhower, Jun 30).
- 34 See Ismay to WSC, May 13, 1942 (PREM.4/7/8). At the National Archives is a Special Research History (RG.457, SRH-005) evidently of British provenance, on 'The Use of CX/MSS ULTRA by the United States War Department.' The text declassified by the National Security Agency blanks out every reference to the British part of the project. That Eden was not receiving ULTRA, cf. WSC to Ismay, Oct 16, 1940 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 849).
- 35 WSC to FDR, Feb 25, 1942 (FDR Library, PSF).
- 36 An untitled MS by Cdr. Denniston on breaking diplomatic and other codes is in his papers (Churchill College: DENN.1/4); and see chap. 29, note 47.
- 37 SRH-145: US War Dept., Report of Technical Mission to England, Apr 11, 1941 (NA, RG.457).
- 38 Prof to WSC, Jun 13 and 17 (Cherwell papers); R V Jones, interview, May 1978; memoirs, *Most Secret War*, (London, 1978); A Sci (I) Report No. 5, May 23, 1940: Indications of New German Weapons to be Used against England (AIR.20/1623).
- 39 Jebb, 'Present Conditions in Germany,' May 30 (PREM.3/193/6a).
- 40 Edwards diary, Jun 18–Jul 2: Forbes returned 'a damned rude reply.'
- 41 Kennedy to State dept., Tels. No. 1715, Jun 18; and 1777, Jun 21.
- 42 Macdonald briefed Kennedy so he could inform Roosevelt. Kennedy to

- State dept., Tels. No. 1847, Jun 26; and 2001, Jul 5.
- 28: **A Misunderstanding between Friends**
- 1 C D Jackson log of conversation with Macmillan, Jun 10, 1958 (Eisenhower Library).
 - 2 *Sunday Express*, Jul 10, 1966; and see *Yorkshire Post*, Jul 20, 1946.
 - 3 Eden diary.
 - 4 Tel., Leahy to FDR, Aug 1, 1941 (FDR Library).
 - 5 Spears, 218f. The misunderstanding was widespread. Sir Ronald Campbell reported to Halifax (Jun 27) that WSC had said that 'he understood that in her desperate plight' France might be forced to lay down her arms (FDR Library, PSF, box 46). US ambassador Tony Biddle informed FDR (Jul 1) that WSC had told Reynaud that 'they would understand France's position' (FDR Library, PSF, box 41).
 - 6 On Mers-el-Kébir: Pound's file (ADM. 205/4); naval staff history (ADM.186/800); cf. Hinsley, vol. i, 150ff. Signals in PREM.3/179/1 and /4; and in Adm. Cunningham papers (British Museum: MS 52566).
 - 7 Hitler's naval conf, Jun 20 (P.0/32184 and 31762B); author's 1967 interview of Hitler's naval adjutant, *Konteradmiral Karl-Jesko von Puttkamer*.
 - 8 Armistice: German in *Handakten Ritter* (T.120/733/280529ff); French in *La Délégation Française auprès de la Commission Allemande d'Armistice* (Paris, 1947), vol. i; cf. Hermann Böhme, *Entstehung und Grundlagen des Waffenstillstandes von 1940* (Stuttgart, 1960). To his credit, Hinsley uses 'supervision,' not 'control' (vol. i, 151).
 - 9 Halifax memo, Jun 23 (PREM.3/174/1).
 - 10 Cazalet diary, Jul 5. Halifax claimed it was 'almost impossible' to get five minutes' conversation with WSC. In fact he saw WSC on Jul 3, 5 and 8. The PM's card shows he found time for Cazalet and ghost author Deakin on Jul 2; for Ian Colvin on Jul 5; he lunched with countless peers.
 - 11 A Bevan, cited in Bruce Lockhart diary, Jul 4.
 - 12 Cordell Hull memoirs.
 - 13 Beaverbrook memo, Sep 11, 1946 (Beaverbrook papers, D.480); and letter to Alexander, Jun 16, 1955 (D.325).
 - 14 Bracken, quoted in Chips Channon diary, Jun 25; and in John Martin diary, June 24.
 - 15 Letter, Alexander to Beaverbrook, Jun 1955.
 - 16 Beaverbrook to Prof. G S Graham, Oct 21, 1958 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Graham papers).
 - 17 Beaverbrook memo, Jun 27 (Taylor, 439).
 - 18 WSC to Beaverbrook, Jul 1 (Beaverbrook papers, C.88).
 - 19 Marshall memo, Jun 27 (Langer & Gleason, 568).
 - 20 WSC to Lothian, Jun 28 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 607).
 - 21 WSC to Baruch, Jun 28 (Baruch papers).
 - 22 Colville diary, Jun 29.
 - 23 Martin letter, Jun 30.
 - 24 Maisky, 597; and memo of Jun 10, 1941.
 - 25 Colville diary, Jul 3.
 - 26 Cordell Hull memoirs.
 - 27 Cunningham to his aunt, Helen Browne, Jul 18 and Sep 9, 1940 ('I never approved of the Oran business & got rather unpopular saying so'), and Feb 10, 1941 ('He's a rascal but he's a great leader') in MS 52558.
 - 28 Martin MS and diary; Raymond Lee diary, Jul 4; Seal to his wife, Jul 5 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 642); Herschel Johnson to Hull, Jul 5; Channon diary, Jul 4.
 - 29 Duff Cooper told Cecil King in August that Churchill was 'quite unaware of his power in the country and strangely afraid of the Tory majority in the House. . . any attempt by the H of C to turn Churchill out would result in the

- House of Commons being burnt to the ground' (diary, Aug 7).
- 30 Dalton diary, Jul 4.
- 31 Committee on French Resistance, Jul 12, Aug 7 (PREM.7/8). Muselier to WSC, Sep 21; on Oct 4 Morton drafted a reply expressing WSC's sorrow at the killing of the French 'comrades in arms' and promising eventual compensation (PREM.7/3).
- 32 Tel., Alexander Weddell to State dept., Jul 2 (FRUS 1940, vol. iii, 41); cf. Stohrer to Berlin, Jul 2 (ADAP [D], vol. x, No. 86; original is in German FO political archives, Weizsäcker papers, page 8002538 of file 'Anglo-German relations, Jun-Dec 1940' – the only volume *not* available on the T.120 microcopy).
- 33 Tel., Stohrer to Ribbentrop, Jul 9. Once back in Madrid, the latter replied on Jul 11 that the duke should be invited to co-operate against Churchill (8002549ff).
- 34 H Pell to FDR, Jul 17 (FDR Library, OF-48, 'England, 1940-41').
- 35 WSC to Ismay, Jul 5 (CAB.120/464).
- 36 PM's card; pictures of the CWR are in *Illustrated London News*, Nov 10, 1945; Mar 27, 1948; Apr 30, 1949. The author's description is based on a visit in 1964.
- 29: **Gangster Methods**
- 1 The diary of US military attaché Raymond Lee observes the London scene.
- 2 John Gunther, *Inside Europe* (London, 1940), 321ff.
- 3 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 2, 1943.
- 4 CAB.120/744. It was a mistranslation, corrected later; Cherwell papers.
- 5 Gilbert, vol. vi, 617.
- 6 Tom Jones diary, Sep 5, 1926 (Gilbert, vol. v, 193).
- 7 Milch diary, Aug 19, 1945 (author's microfilm DJ-59).
- 8 Ismay, cited in Bruce Lockhart diary, Mar 26, 1946.
- 9 Gilbert, vol. vi, 421.
- 10 Tom Jones diary, Aug 25, 1926 (Gilbert, vol. v, 181).
- 11 Dalton diary, Jul 16, 1940.
- 12 WSC to Prof, Jun 29 (Cherwell papers).
- 13 Prof to WSC, Jul 20 (*ibid.*).
- 14 WSC to Prof, Nov 11, 1942 (*ibid.*); on Habbakuk see DEFE.2/930 and /1087-90, and PREM.3/216.
- 15 WSC to Morrison, Jul 7 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 655).
- 16 Liddell Hart, note, May 23, 1945.
- 17 WSC circular, Jul 4, in Spears papers, 1/76B; Beaverbrook papers, D.414; etc.
- 18 WSC to Jacob, Jul 6 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 653).
- 19 Seal letter, Jul 6 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 654).
- 20 John Davidson to Baldwin, May 6, 1926 (Gilbert, vol. v, 160). Hitler likewise visited the *Völkischer Beobachter* after the 1933 Reichstag fire and demanded a remake of its front page.
- 21 WSC to Ismay, Jul 5 (PREM.3/2223).
- 22 COS (498) 40, Jun 28 (CAB.120/445).
- 23 Gilbert (vol. vi, 622f) devotes two pages to this trenchant theme.
- 24 WSC to Ismay, Jun 9 (CAB.120/441).
- 25 Colville diary, Jul 11.
- 26 WSC at cabinet, Jul 9 (CAB.65/14).
- 27 Ironside diary, Jul 9.
- 28 WSC to Ismay, Jun 30 and to Morrison, Aug 31 (PREM.3/88/3); Colville diary.
- 29 WSC to Ismay, Jul 2 (CAB.120/453).
- 30 Dr R V Jones (interview, Apr 1984), awakened in London one July 1940 night by a lone 'plane overhead, assured his wife, 'It must be one of ours,' but could not tell her why. Intercepts supplied to Fighter Command are not released, but Fighter Command's war room log has survived for the period Mar 28 to Jul 15, 1941, and shows how frequently the government knew German bombing targets hours in advance from (a) decoding the directives to KG.100, the Pathfinder unit, and (b) the blind-bombing beam activities (AIR.16/698); for other summaries

- pasted into a daybook at MI14 see wo.199/911a; and file wo.166/3 of G-2 at HQ, Home Forces.
- 31 Air staff to WSC, Jul 6 (AIR.40/2321); and Prof to WSC, Jul 9 (Cherwell papers).
- 32 WSC memo, Jul 19 (PREM.4/68/9).
- 33 Prof to WSC and reply, Mar 29–30, 1945 (Cherwell papers).
- 34 Bruce Lockhart diary, Sep 5, 1943.
- 35 Cadogan diary, Sep 22, 1940.
- 36 Naval staff history, *Norway* (ADM.186/798).
- 37 Edwards diary, Jul 15, 17. On Keyes's appointment, see PREM.3/330/1 and Pound's letter to Adm. Cunningham, Dec 12: RK had 'intrigued himself' into the position of DCO; Pound objected on grounds of Keyes's age, 'However the PM is as pigheaded as a mule on these things, and his reply was that RK was full of the flame of war, etc. etc.' (British Library, Add. MS 52561.)
- 38 Pound to Cunningham, Dec 1 (*ibid.*)
- 39 ADM.1/19177; North to admiralty, Jul 4; reply Jul 17 (ADM.1/19178); and Alexander to WSC, Jul 17 (Alexander papers).
- 40 Colville diary and PM's card.
- 41 Colville diary, Jul 14.
- 42 Peter Calvocoressi, in *The Listener*, Feb 3, 1977; letter, Wing Cdr. Oscar Oeser to Jean Howard, Apr 12, 1975.
- 43 So Cripps told Halifax (who called WSC that day); cf. Kennedy to State dept., No. 2001, Jul 5. After seeing Ismay, the US military attaché wrote on Jul 3: 'There is a lot of wishful thinking that Hitler will go off eastwards.'
- 44 Hewel to Hohenlohe, Jun 30; replies, Jul 18 and 24 (Hewel papers, on NA microfilm T120, roll 776, 371052ff). Kelly's report to the FO is C.13302/89/18.
- 45 Tel., US embassy Moscow to State dept., Jul 20 (*FRUS* 1940, vol. i, 608).
- 46 Lothian to FO, Jul 19 (FO C.8015/89/18). It reached London at 1:00 A.M. on Jul 20. The Quaker intermediary, Malcolm R Lovell, was negotiating on the relief of German Jews.
- 47 German diplomatic cyphers were certainly being read in 1941, as were the Italian (see *e.g.*, Hinsley, vol. i, 345, 363, 368, 410).
- 48 Thomsen's Tel. No. 1488 to Berlin, Jul 19, has vanished from captured files. Churchill denied any but German 'feelers' in his memoirs (vol. ii, 229). When Weizsäcker reported Thomsen's message in his memoirs, the noted historian Sir Lewis Namier rudely discounted it (*TLS*, Jul 1, 1951). But see Weizsäcker's diary, Jul 23: 'A strange peace feeler turns up, from the British ambassador in Washington. . . Lothian has made advances for which he must have obtained authorisation if he were a normal British ambassador.'
- 49 WSC to Halifax, Jul 20 (Churchill, vol. ii, 229).
- 50 Feiling, 426; Cecil King diary, Mar 15, 1944.
- 51 Cabinet, Nov 14, 1939 (*cf.* Nov 6 and 9, Dec 19 in CAB.65/4).
- 52 See *e.g.*, letter, WSC to King of Sweden, Aug 3, 1940 (Churchill, vol. ii, 231). Replying to Trenchard on Jan 5 he felt it was still not in Britain's interest 'to initiate general and unlimited air war' (ADM.199/1929).
- 53 WSC to Beaverbrook, Jul 8 (Beaverbrook papers, D.414).
- 54 Letter, Portal to Vice-Chief of Air Staff Sholto Douglas, Aug 2 (AIR.14/1930).
- 55 WSC to Portal, Sinclair, Jul 20; Sinclair to WSC, Jul 23. Some documents in PREM.3/14/2 are still closed around this episode. Portal checked with Douglas on Jul 20, suggested that the limiting factors were length of night, number of rested crews, and weather (AIR.14/1930).
- 56 See note 55.
- 57 Minute, DHO (Stevenson) to Newall, Jul 21: last night WSC had asked Portal 'what could be done about bombing Berlin at night and gave the date, 1st September' (AIR.14/1930); Bomber

- Command's reply in PREM.4/3/4.
- 58 Colville diary, Jul 24; very similar in Halifax diary.
- 59 Birkenhead, 460.
- 60 Minute by F Roberts, Jul 22 (FO c.7891/89/18).
- 61 Halifax memo on Lothian's call in c.7377; cf. Nicolson diary, Jul 22: 'Lothian claims that he knows the German peace terms and they they are most satisfactory.'
- 62 Goebbels, *Ministerkonferenz*, Jul 22 (Willi Boeleke, *Kriegspropaganda 1939-41* [Stuttgart, 1966], 433).
- 63 COS report, May 19, 'British Strategy in a Certain Eventuality'; war cabinet, May 27 (CAB.65/7 and /13).
- 64 WSC to Smuts, Jun 27 (CAB.66/9).
- 65 Cadogan diary, Jul 11; Atticus, *Sunday Times*, Jul 14.
- 66 Dalton to Attlee, Jul 2 (Dalton papers).
- 67 Colville and Dalton diaries, Jul 16; the PM's card mentions only Col. Menzies at 6:45 P.M. and Ld Swinton, postponed from 7:45 to 10:30.
- 68 The identity of MUW is a mystery. On Aug 30, Morton told WSC, 'I have . . . invited MUW to consider immediate steps for a bribery and propaganda campaign in North Africa' (PREM.7/2). To Ismay on Sep 3 Morton mentioned his committee and 'such Departments' as FO, MEW, MUW, and Mol. On Sep 6 he wrote to WSC that his committee was trying to meet a COS requirement for a *coup d'état* in Syria and Morocco, 'but MUW is unfortunately not in a position to render rapid help, either through bribery, propaganda or other means.' (PREM.7/3.)
- 69 WSC to Eden, Jul 14, 1940 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 666); Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 21, 1942.
- 70 PM's card; and Eden diary, Jul 25, 1940.
- 71 PM's card, Jul 26; and Gilbert, vol. vi, 686ff.
- 72 WSC to Ismay, Jul 7 (PREM.3/361/1).
- 73 Reith diary, Aug 16. Reith shared Dill's view.
- 74 Bova Scoppa to Ciano, Jul 22 (Italian FO archives).
- 75 Stohrer to Ribbentrop, Tels. No. 2474 and 2492, Jul 23-24; both unpublished.
- 76 Ditto, Jul 25 (original in Weizsäcker papers, 8002588; translation in Beaverbrook papers, D.407).
- 77 Tel., Bova Scoppa to Ciano, Jul 25 (Italian FO archives).
- 78 Huene to Berlin, Tel. No. 749, Jul 26, 8002597, not published; neither was Huene's further message (No. 783, Jul 30: 8002609) that the duke's host, a mutual friend, had told the ambassador that his guest assured the Nazis he could fly back via Florida in 24 hours.
- 79 Michael Bloch, interview of Viscount Eccles, 1983.
- 80 WSC to duke, Jul 27 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 705).
- 81 Bova Scoppa to Ciano, Jul 29, who repeated it to Berlin, Aug 3 (Italian FO archives).
- 82 Draft letter to WSC, Oct 1940. The duchess tactfully amended the phrase to 'dictator methods.' The reference to 'assassinated' in Bova Scoppa's telegram to Ciano, Aug 2, published in *Documenti Diplomatici Italiani*, series ix, vol. v (Rome, 1965), 324.
- 83 Huene to Ribbentrop, Aug 15, 1940 (8002655).
- 84 Attlee to WSC, Aug 25, 1945; and reply, Aug 26 (Beaverbrook papers, D.407).
- 85 Winant to Eisenhower, Sep 1945 (Eisenhower Library). The royal names were left blank on the carbon copy, but mention of '8002527-3018' leaves no doubt. Weizsäcker's file is now safe in German FO archives.
- 86 Note by Crozier on a conversation with WSC at 5:00 P.M. on Jul 26 (Beaverbrook papers).
- 87 Beaverbrook to WSC, Sep 2 (Beaverbrook papers, C.87).
- 30: **The Eagle Never Landed**

- 1 Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 1941.
- 2 Letter, Major I G Freiherr von Falkenstein to Col von Waldau, Jun 25, in Karl Klee, *Dokumente zum Unternehmen SEELÖWE* (Göttingen, 1959), 296f; and author's 1971 interview of Falkenstein; *Wehrmachtsführungsamt* directive of Jun 28, 1940 signed by Lieut.-Col. Bernd von Lossberg (T-608/1); cf. naval staff war diary, Jul 2.
- 3 Lossberg's plan (FRITZ) for the attack on Russia was nearing completion when Hitler arrived in Berlin on Jul 6 (Lossberg papers, in the author's possession). Wehrmacht adjutant Lieut.-Col. Rudolf Schmundt notified Luftwaffe adjutant Major Nicolaus von Below at Hitler's Black Forest HQ (interview of Below, 1967). Gen. Franz Halder diary, Jul 2; explaining this entry he told British interrogators in Aug 1945: 'About this time [von Brauchitsch] asked me to begin operational thinking about Russia.' Jodl recalled to gauleiters in Nov 1943 that Hitler told him about the planned attack on Russia 'during the western campaign' (ND: 172-L).
- 4 The deception character of SEALION was confirmed by Jodl at Nuremberg, Nov 1945. The OKW's Dr Wolfgang Cartellieri, in a postwar paper on 'Die Amtsgruppe Wehrmacht Propaganda,' makes it plain that 'special emphasis was placed on deceiving German troops also, up to *high command* levels (*hohe Führerstellen*).'
- 5 OKW operations staff war diary, Aug 8.
- 6 Maj.-Gen. Erich Marcks, draft operation plan, Aug 5 (T84, roll 271, 0902ff).
- 7 German naval staff war diary, Aug 14.
- 8 ND: NG-2948.
- 9 Anneliese Schmundt diary, Aug 27-29.
- 10 WO.199/911A; and Edwards diary, Jul 29.
- 11 Cecil King diary, Aug 21.
- 12 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 2486, Jul 31.
- 13 Kennedy to State dept., Aug 2.
- 14 Cadogan diary, Jul 16. Halifax, Butler, and the FO continue to debate the 'surrender to Japan (insisted on by Winston).'
- 15 WSC to Chamberlain, Feb 20 (PREM. 1/414).
- 16 Letter, Weizmann to WSC, May 29 (Weizmann archives); and papers in PREM.3/348, from which some items have been removed.
- 17 Weizmann to WSC, Aug 6.
- 18 Meeting on Sep 4 (Weizmann papers); other participants included Boothby, Ben-Gurion, Lewis Namier, Morrison, Layton.
- 19 Blanche Dugdale diary, Sep 13.
- 20 Prof to WSC, Dec 17 (Cherwell papers).
- 21 Pownall diary, May 25 and Jul 25, 1941.
- 22 Cunningham diary, Apr 2 and Jul 6, 1944 (British Library, Add. Ms 52577).
- 23 Cadogan diary, Jun 22, 1940.
- 24 Morton to WSC, Aug 30 (PREM.7/2 and PREM.7/8).
- 25 Halifax to WSC, Dec 13 (FO.800/312).
- 26 WSC to Ismay, Jun 24 (PREM.3/119/11).
- 27 Beaverbrook complimented Morton Jan 3, 1945 on his modesty, suggested 'you have been reading a *Life of Warren Hastings*' (Beaverbrook papers, D.141).
- 28 The man selected on Lyttelton's recommendation was the metal market publicity agent, Richmond Temple. Morton to WSC, Jul 15 (PREM.7/2); A B Cunningham to Pound, Jun 27 (British Library, Add. MS 52560); Eden diary, Jul 22.
- 29 Dakar file, PREM.3/276.
- 30 PM's card, Aug 3.
- 31 Norman Young to S D Waley, Jun 6; Hankey to WSC, Jun 7 (CAB.63/132; fol. 401 summarises the gold holdings of France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Poland).
- 32 Cadogan diary, Jun 21; Morton-Vansittart committee, Jun 23 (PREM.7/8).
- 33 Raymond Lee diary, Jul 30.
- 34 War cabinet, Aug 22 (CAB.65/14).

- 35 Letter, Kingsley Wood to FO, Oct 9 (FO.371/24292). On Oct 13 Halifax submitted to Masaryk a draft agreement for the Czech National Bank's gold to be placed at the British government's disposal (Táborský papers, box 6).
- 36 Táborský diary (in Czech), and PM's card, Aug 8; Beneš message, Aug 15 (Táborský papers, box 5).
- 37 OKW/WFA, *Weisung Nr. 17 für die Führung des Luft- und Seekrieges gegen England*, Aug 1. Goring's corresponding directive of Aug 2 (Ob.d.L. Füst.la Nr. 5881/40) would be in the airforce cypher.
- 38 Tel., Alfieri to Ciano, Aug 7 (DDI, 9, v, No. 368).
- 39 R W Thompson, *Churchill and Morton* (London, 1976).
- 40 Eden diary, Jul 29.
- 41 Colville diary, Aug 9; and PM's card.
- 42 Cadogan diary, Aug 10.
- 43 Colville diary, Aug 10.
- 44 PM's card; Eden diary, Aug 12; passage of armoured reinforcements through Mediterranean, Sep–Oct 1940 in PREM.3/284/1.
- 45 Eden diary, Aug 13.
- 46 Harry Hopkins diary, Jan 30, 1941; Colville diary, Aug 7, 1940.
- 47 Táborský diary; and Beneš message to Czechoslovakia, Aug 15. 'In any case it is vital,' Beneš warned his agents, 'not to do anything against Russia' (Táborský papers, box 5).
- 48 Pound to Cunningham, Aug 14 (British Library, Add. Ms 52561).
- 49 Field Marshal Wilhelm von Leeb diary, Aug 14.
- 50 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 2731, Aug 14. He cast doubts on the RAF claims.
- 51 Tel., FDR to WSC, Aug 13, 6:00 (PREM.3/468).
- 52 Colville diary, Aug 14.
- 31: **In a Single Gulp**
- 1 Morgenthau, memo to FDR, June 18 (FDR microfilm 1, 0090; and diary, 0586).
- 2 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 2001; and Colville diary, Jul 5.
- 3 Harold Ickes diary, Jul 5.
- 4 WSC to Prof, Jun 21 (Cherwell papers).
- 5 WSC to Ismay, Jul 17 (PREM.3/475/1).
- 6 Morton to WSC, Jul 21 (PREM.7/2); Godfrey MS, chap. v, 129f.
- 7 Cadogan to Halifax, Dec 17; quoted in Anthony Cave-Browne, *Wild Bill Donovan, The Last Hero* (London, 1984), chap. 10.
- 8 Lee diary, Aug 2; and pocket notes, Aug 13. Donovan told Stimson (diary, Aug 6) that he found British morale very high; if invaded they would 'probably win,' but he stressed the danger of letdown if not (Yale University Library).
- 9 Sir Arthur Salter's memo of Aug 17 (CAB.115/83).
- 10 Records of Tizard mission, AVIA.10/1; Tizard correspondence, AVIA.9/48.
- 11 Tizard to A V Hill, Jun 25 (Clarke, 237).
- 12 Cecil King diary, Jul 4; cf. Jul 7.
- 13 Dalton diary.
- 14 Cecil King diary, Jul 7.
- 15 Tizard diary, Aug 1. The PM's appointment card records the archbishop at 5:00 P.M. and Tizard not at all.
- 16 WSC to FDR, Jul 31 (PREM.3/462/2/3; paraphrase on FDR microfilm 1, 0107).
- 17 WSC to Ismay, Aug 1 (PREM.3/475/1).
- 18 Ickes diary, Aug 4.
- 19 Colville diary, Aug 6; Halifax diary, Aug 7 (Hickelton papers, A.7.8.5).
- 20 Morgenthau diary, Aug 14.
- 21 WSC to FDR, 1:00 A.M., Aug 15 (FDR microfilm 1, 0112f).
- 22 Lothian to FO, Tel. No. 1789, Aug 23.
- 23 WSC to FDR, Aug 25 (FDR microfilm 1, 0116ff).
- 24 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 2948, 7:00 P.M., Aug 29.
- 25 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No.

- 2948, 7:00 P.M., Aug 29; and Kennedy MS.
- 26 PREM.3/462/2/3.
- 27 Adolph A Berle Jr diary, Aug 31, 1940. The 'foaming' remark is from intercepted letter, Baron Stackelberg, Washington, to editor, *Financial News*, Nov 9 (FO.371/24263).
- 28 Cecil King lunched with William Sempill of the admiralty, Lord Hirst of General Electric, and R B Bennett, one-time prime minister of Canada, and was surprised that they did not even mention the deal. 'The press here is unanimously favourable,' recorded Cecil King (diary, Sep 4), 'which surprises me, as the deal on the face of it is overwhelmingly favourable to the Americans.'
- 29 *Ibid.*, Aug 21.
- 32: **The One Sinless Man**
- 1 Leopold Amery diary, Feb 27, 1929.
- 2 WO.199/911a.
- 3 Milch diary and notes.
- 4 Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 1941: lunching with WSC.
- 5 Colville diary, Aug 16.
- 6 Ismay, 180; and cited in Bruce Lockhart diary, Sep 12, 1946.
- 7 Air Minister to Bomber Command, 6:25 P.M., Aug 17: 'Operation is postponed indefinitely and will not be undertaken without Air Ministry authorisation.' (AIR.14/775 and PM's card.)
- 8 Brooke papers, 3/a/iv, 23of (unpublished); and Martin diary.
- 9 Cadogan diary, Aug 19; Milch diary, Aug 19; Milch docs., vol. 65, 725iff. BONIFACE also reported invitations to a Berlin conference on Aug 19, issued to 7th *Flieger Division*, which had spear-headed Hitler's May attack. On Aug 24 all three air fleets were directed to provide air-sea rescue launches, 'in connection with the SEALION operations.'
- 10 Colville diary, Aug 20.
- 11 In May 1941 Adm. Godfrey, visiting FDR as director of naval Intelligence, tactfully said nothing. Eleanor Roosevelt and the others affected not to notice this 'rough talk' (Godfrey MS).
- 12 WSC to Phillips, Oct 14, 1939 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 158).
- 13 WSC to Lord Lloyd, Jun 16, 1940 (*ibid.*, vol. vi, 556n).
- 14 Cadogan diary, Oct 13, 1942.
- 15 Colville diary, Aug 10.
- 16 Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, cited in Bova Scoppa to Ciano, Aug 16 (Italian FO archives).
- 17 Duke of Alba to Madrid, Aug 26 (Spanish FO archives).
- 18 Bomber Command directives file, vol. 1, AIR.14/775. As recently as August 24 the German high command (OKW) had issued MOST SECRET order No. 665/40, 'regulations for restricting hostilities,' forbidding the use of poison gas, attacks on ships not positively identified as hostile, and air raid on London (*Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*, vol. i, 970).
- 19 Colville diary; Bottomley minute, Aug 26 (AIR.14/775).
- 20 Martin letters, Aug 25 and 28, Sep 1.
- 21 Cadogan diary, Aug 28; Attlee, cited in Dalton diary, Aug 29; Morton, *ibid.*, Oct 4.
- 22 Bottomley minute, Aug 28, 10:30 A.M. (AIR.14/775).
- 23 Col. Raymond Lee notebook, Aug 28; letter, Aug 29; diary, Oct 3.
- 24 Bensuson-Butt to Prof, Dec 21 (Cherwell papers).
- 25 Portal to Peck, Sep 2 (AIR.14/3554).
- 26 SAO, vol. i, 154; Portal's biographer disagrees.
- 27 WSC cabinet paper, Sep 3, WP (40) 352; Churchill, vol. ii, 405 (CAB.66/11).
- 28 COS (40) 683, Sep 4 (CAB.80/17).
- 29 Dalton diary, Sep 3.
- 30 Hansard, House of Commons, vol. 430, cols. 52-7.
- 33: **Good Ol' Winnie**
- 1 Kennedy to State dept. and FDR, Tel.

- No. 3063, Sep 11, 7:00 P.M. (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 2 CAB.65/9. WSC had written to Air Marshal Peirse on Sep 6 recommending widespread attacks on 'the smaller German centres.' Portal submitted on Sep 11 a list of twenty larger towns suitable for bombing in reprisal for 'each night of indiscriminate bombing.' Heavy attack on 'a military objective' would, by normal spread, 'inevitably cause a high degree of devastation.' (AIR.14/1925).
 - 3 Cf. WSC to Chamberlain, Aug 31; Halifax diary, Aug 29.
 - 4 Colville diary, Aug 28; and Ismay.
 - 5 WSC to Anne Chamberlain, Sep 20 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 800).
 - 6 Ismay to WSC, Nov 26, 1946 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 775; and memoirs, 183).
 - 7 Ismay, cited in Lee diary, Sep 24.
 - 8 Sinclair to WSC, Sep 15 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 782).
 - 9 Colville diary, Aug 31. Alexander was refused access to ULTRA (Godfrey MS).
 - 10 Air Intelligence assessed on Sep 2, 'It may indicate their re-employment on a larger scale in preparation for an invasion' (AIR.40/2321).
 - 11 MI14 memo, Sep 8 (WO.199/911a).
 - 12 Jodl, signal to Ausl./Abw., Sep 6 (ND: 1809-PS).
 - 13 See note 1.
 - 14 Mallet to Halifax, Sep 5, and to Cadogan, Sep 7, 8 and 9 (in FO C.9498/89/19); on Sep 8 deputy Führer Rudolf Hess first approached Prof Albrecht Haushofer to discuss peace talks with England (Haushofer papers, T253, roll 46, 9921ff).
 - 15 Cf. Cecil King diary, Sep 4. William Sempill of the admiralty said Churchill was 'being very disconcerting to the foreign office, as he sends cables affecting foreign policy all over the world without even informing Halifax of what he is at.'
 - 16 Cadogan diary, Sep 10; Tel., Halifax to Mallet, Sep 11 (FO C.9598/89/18). Halifax told the war cabinet that day of the rejection.
 - 17 Kennedy said WSC was an 'entirely bellicose character' (Hoover memo, Nov 22, 1940). On the Weissauer deal: Stig Jagerskjold of Djursholm, Sweden, has unpublished papers on the negotiations between Weissauer and Mallet, and related letters between Prof T Kivimaki (the Finnish envoy in Berlin) and Ekeberg.
 - 18 Security at Chequers, WO.199/303.
 - 19 Knickerbocker, passing through Lisbon, told Bova Scoppa, who telegraphed this to Ciano, Oct 2 (Italian FO archives).
 - 20 Brooke diary, Sep 12, 1940; and notes Mar 4, 1941 (3/a/iv).
 - 21 Milch diary: note on Jeschonnek's conference with Hitler, Sep 14. In view of subsequent developments, it is worth quoting the resulting OKW directive: 'Air raids are to be continued against London with larger target areas including military targets and targets of vital importance to the city. Terror raids are expressly embargoed as an ultimate sanction.'
 - 22 See note 1.
 - 23 Lee diary.
 - 24 Martin diary, Sep 13-14; WSC to Ismay and others, Sep 14 (PREM.4/69/1).
 - 25 Morton's memo, in PREM.3/276, WSC's file on the Dakar operation.
 - 26 PREM.4/69/1.
 - 27 PREM.3/276.
 - 28 CAB.65/15; Cadogan diary, Sep 17.
 - 29 Pound to A B Cunningham, Sep 20 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).
 - 30 WSC to Ismay, Sep 19 (PREM.3/314/2).
 - 31 Colville diary, Sep 20, 1940.
 - 32 Minute by Group Capt. T W Elmhirst, Nov 19, 1940 (AIR.16/473); and draft instruction for duty air commodore, Dec 10, 1941 (AIR.16/388).
 - 33 Blanche Dugdale diary, Sep 13.
 - 34 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 3150, Sep 20. We have already remarked on J P Kennedy's anti-Semitism.

- 35 Lee diary, Sep 13; Cecil King diary, Sep 11, 1940; and FO.371/26259. Cf. Menzies diary, Feb 21, 1941.
- 36 Godfrey MS, chap. vii, 185.
- 37 PREM.3/276; and diaries of Spears and Halifax.
- 38 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 365, cols. 298–301; Churchill repeated this (vol. ii, 427); Roskill calls the claims ‘fictitious’ in *Churchill and the Admirals*, 161.
- 39 Admiralty to Bevan, Oct 4. Writing to Alexander, Oct 19, WSC claimed Bevan’s ‘serious and disastrous failure in responsibility’ had contributed to ‘a far worse misfortune,’ meaning Dakar. That day Edwards noted, ‘I hear W.C. wishes to make Bob Bevan the scapegoat for Dakar.’
- 40 PREM.3/71.
- 41 Pound to North, Jan 3, 1940 (North papers).
- 42 Admiralty to North, Jul 4 (British Library, Add. MS 52575).
- 43 Tel., Menzies to WSC, Sep 29 (FO. 800/310).
- 44 Knickerbocker memo, Sep 27 (Longwell papers).
- 45 Kennedy to State dept., Tel. No. 3247, Sep 27; in US embassy file.
- 34: **The Fixer**
- 1 WSC to Beaverbrook, Sep 12, 1939 (Beaverbrook papers).
- 2 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 21, 1943.
- 3 Bruce Lockhart diary, Dec 4, 1941, Feb 24, 1942, and Aug 4, 1943.
- 4 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 21, 1943; Bruce Lockhart, diary Mar 31, 1942.
- 5 Author’s interview of John Parker MP, Apr 12, 1978. The Tory MP concerned died in 1945, as did several WAAFs sent over as interpreters from Bletchley, having caught an infection while visiting Buchenwald concentration camp.
- 6 WSC to Chamberlain, Sep 30; reply, Oct 1 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 819).
- 7 Dalton diary.
- 8 WSC to Halifax, Sep 29 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 817f).
- 9 Seal to WSC, Oct 3 (PREM.3/22/1).
- 10 This and what follows from the Hugh Dowding papers (RAF Museum, Hendon: file AC71/17/2).
- 11 The woman was Irene Ward MP (PREM.4/4/6).
- 12 The report is in PREM.4/3/6; quotations are from Lee diary, Sep 12 and Oct 4.
- 13 Dalton diary, Oct 3.
- 14 Cadogan diary, Oct 21.
- 15 Cecil King diary, Oct 6.
- 16 *Daily Express*, Oct 2, 1929.
- 17 Colville diary, Oct 8.
- 18 Pile, *Ack-Ack*, 169.
- 19 Colville diary, Oct 12.
- 20 Pile, 171.
- 21 *Manchester Guardian*, Oct 10.
- 22 WSC to Morrison, Nov 23, 1940 (PREM.4/40/19) and Jul 19, 1941 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 895n).
- 23 Colville diary, Oct 12; Cecil King diary, Oct 8 and 11; Halifax diary, Oct 7.
- 24 Dalton diary, Oct 7: ‘I hear that on the lower deck they call him Don’t-do-it Dudley.’
- 25 Dalton diary, Nov 9.
- 26 Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals*, 120.
- 27 Pound to Cunningham, Sep 20 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).
- 28 Cecil King diary, Oct 18; Dalton diary, Nov 9.
- 29 Pound to Alexander, Jun 8, 1942 (ADM.205/14).
- 30 Tovey to A V Alexander, Oct 9 (Alexander papers, AVAR.5/4); and to Cunningham, Oct 17, 1940 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52569).
- 31 Colville diary, Oct 21.
- 32 Brooke papers, 3/a/iv, 241.
- 33 WSC to Dill, Oct 19 (PREM.3/220).
- 34 Colville diary, Oct 23.
- 35 Alastair Forbes, letter to *The Times*, Oct 26, 1978.
- 36 Colville diary, Sep 23.
- 37 War cabinet, Mar 24, 1941 (CAB.65/18).

- 38 Colville diary, Oct 13, 1940.
 39 WSC to Halifax, Oct 13 (CAB.120/300).
 40 Colville, 'The Churchillians,' in *Sunday Telegraph*, Dec 7, 1980.
 41 Dalton diary, Oct 16, 1940.
 42 Cadogan diary, Oct 12.
 43 Godfrey MS.
 44 MI14 file, wo.199/911a.
 45 Halifax to Hoare, Oct 24 (FO.800/323).
 46 WSC to Menzies, Oct 2 (PREM.4/43b/1).
 47 WSC to FDR, Oct 4 (PREM.3/468).
 48 WSC to FDR, Oct 26.
 49 Johnson to State dept., Feb. 12, 1941 (US embassy in London, secret files: 8700.2, Boothby, R); cf. Dalton diary, Oct 31, 1940.
 50 Boothby stresses that he did not run the committee. 'It was set up by a very well known Jewish lawyer. They asked me to see them once. I said I would support any Bill which came in to prevent them sending the gold [out of London]. . . Immediately after the war Speaker Morrison gave a ruling from the Chair of the House of Commons making it clear that the rule of the House regarding the disclosure of financial interests applies only to Votes, and not to Speeches.' (Interview, Feb 2, 1984.)
 51 According to his own account (interview, Feb 2, 1984).
 52 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jan 28, 1941, cols. 445-461.
 53 Colville diary, Oct 17; WSC to Chamberlain, Oct 20 (PREM.4/7/8); Deakin to WSC, Oct 18 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 852).
 54 Nicolson diary, Oct 17.
 55 WSC to Chamberlain, Oct 20 (PREM.4/7/8).
 56 WSC to Portal, Oct 20 (Portal papers, file 1); and PREM.3/314/2 (Churchill, vol. ii, 604).
 57 SAO, vol. iv 128-31.
 58 WSC to Portal, Nov 1 (Portal papers, file 1, items 9, 9a, 9b; and PREM.3/25/1).
 59 WSC to Bridges, Oct 22 (PREM.4/69/1).
 60 Letter, Douglas Fairbanks to FDR, Nov 19 (FDR Library, PSF, box 53, 'GB-Kennedy').
 61 Letter, Gerson J Brown to Stephen J Early, Jun 6, 1941 (FDR Library, file OF.3060).
 62 WSC to FDR, Nov 6 (PREM.3/468); and to Ld Lothian, Nov 26 (PREM.4/17/1).
 63 Colville diary, Oct 24.
- 35: **Britain Can Take It**
- 1 *Daily Express*, May 2, 1945. On D-notices, see Ministry of Information Handbook of Defence [D-] Notices, revised 1941, in file 871, 'Press and Postal Censorship' (US embassy in London, secret files: box 11, RG.84).
 2 *Evening Standard*, Nov 12, 1964.
 3 Dalton diary, May 28.
 4 So this Yugoslav politician told Bova Scoppa on arriving from London on Nov 13. Tel., Lisbon to Ciano, Nov 14 (Italian FO archives). The other quote is from Churchill, vol. ii, 331.
 5 Tel., Bova Scoppa (Lisbon) to Ciano, Dec 4 (Italian FO archives). The 'personalità nord americana' is not identified.
 6 Cadogan diary, Nov 4.
 7 Halifax diary, Oct 1.
 8 WSC to Halifax, Sep 29 (PREM.4/21/1); Halifax diary, Oct 1.
 9 Dalton diary, Oct 2.
 10 WSC to FDR, Oct 4 (PREM.3/468).
 11 WSC, note, 'Priorities,' WP (40) 416, Oct 15 (CAB.120/10).
 12 WSC to Hoare, Oct 20, 6:55 A.M. (PREM.3/186a/2).
 13 Churchill, vol. ii, 451-3. Sir Ronald Campbell pleaded that the prime minister be persuaded to let someone read the French version for him 'since if the truth must be told his French is not altogether intelligible' (FO.371/24361).
 14 When Rougier first published details in his book, *Les Accords Pétain-Churchill*

- (Montreal, 1945), he was denounced by the Gaullist press as 'valet de Pétain' and 'neo-hitlérien' and dismissed as professor of philosophy at Besançon. He defended himself in a paper, in *Ecrits de Paris*, Jul 1948, 95–118 (Rougier papers, in private possession).
- 15 King George to Pétain, Oct 25 (in PREM.3/186a/2; published in White Paper, Cmd. 6662, Aug 2, 1945).
- 16 Memo on meeting WSC–Rougier, Halifax, Oct 25 (FO.371/24361).
- 17 Rougier, *Mission secrète*. In his memo for Frankfurter, he said that Churchill wanted 'nothing less than to send the British Air Force to bomb the Vichy Government.'
- 18 In file FO.371/24361 is one such memorandum headed *Entretien avec Weygand*. Handwritten in Churchill's ink at top: 'If General Weygand will raise the standard in North Africa. . .' Cf. war cabinet, Oct 28, and FO to Hoare, Nov 1 enclosing a copy: 'The French text is Rougier's own, and the passages in English are our additions.' Strang also sent a copy to Rex Leeper on Nov 7. 'It was seen by the secretary of state and the prime minister and the bits in English are their additions.' However several documents at this point have been closed until 2016.
- 19 Ismay memo, Oct 31 (CAB.127/14).
- 20 Published Jul 13, 1945: 'Despatch to HM Ambassador in Paris regarding relations of the United Kingdom and the Vichy Government in the autumn of 1940,' *The Times*, Jul 17.
- 21 Paul Baudouin trial, Feb 27, 1947.
- 22 [Rougier's] memorandum is in Frankfurter papers, box 98; and letter, Frankfurter to FDR, Dec 24, after talking with [Rougier] (Library of Congress).
- 23 Admiral Moreau would write to Rougier on Feb 28, 1948: 'From 1940 to 1942 as naval commander at Marseilles charged with supervising our merchant navy traffic with our colonial empire, I was able to confirm that whether signed or not, it was the agreements you worked on which governed relations between Britain and France and assured our food supplies.' On Jan 8, 1941 Mr David Eccles, a ministry of economic warfare expert, would negotiate agreements in Madrid with a Vichy expert, M Marchal, which lifted the blockade (testimony of Flandin, Flandin trial, 177f); and see Churchill's statement to the House on Apr 9, 1941 welcoming public assurances offered by Pétain, and coupling this with the fact that Britain had eased the blockade; and the pseudonymous letter from an officer of Darlan's staff in the *New York Times*, Jul 31, 1945. As for the BBC, see Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout (de Londres à Algiers)*, 88f: 'La BBC refusa désormais de transmettre sur ses ondes aucune attaque contre Pétain, qui demeura pratiquement "tabou" jusqu'au débarquement de 1941.' And Col. 'Passy' (de Wavrin), *Souvenirs*, 152.
- 24 Muselier, *De Gaulle contre la gaullisme*, 218.
- 25 However the FO cabled to Lisbon and Tangiers on Oct 30, 'Professor Rougier arrived here a few days ago from Unoccupied France with the knowledge and approval of Marshal Pétain to explain to us the situation at Vichy and to take back with him an impression of the situation here and of the attitude of His Majesty's government.' (FO.371/24361.)
- 26 Cadogan was doubtful about this, noting: 'We have already covered that ground and it's no good going on nagging' (Cadogan diary, Oct 25). A summary of the Churchill letter was sent to Weygand by the British consul at Tangiers, Anthony Gascoigne, in a letter dated Oct 31. Since in Jun 1945 Churchill would emphasise to the House that Rougier was acting on Pétain's personal instructions, it is clear that the visit to Weygand was a bonus – not the main purpose of the trip.
- 27 Colville diary, Nov 1.

- 28 Dalton diary, Oct 31.
- 29 Prof to WSC, Nov 13 (Cherwell papers).
- 30 Colville diary, Oct 24.
- 31 Defence committee, Oct 31.
- 32 Dalton diary, Oct 28.
- 33 Colville diary, Oct 31.
- 34 Dalton diary, Oct 31; *cf.* Colville diary, Oct 28.
- 35 Eden to WSC, Nov 1 (PREM.3/309/1).
- 36 WSC to Portal, Oct 31 and Nov 2 (CAB.120/300).
- 37 Colville diary, Nov 3.
- 38 WSC to Portal, Nov 2 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 884).
- 39 WSC to Ismay, Nov 9 (PREM.4/43b/1).
- 40 Gilbert, vol. vi, 885f.
- 41 Colville diary, Nov 2.
- 42 Minute by WSC to Bridges, Nov 22, 1940 (CAB.120/744); Gen. Lee diary, Nov 24: 'The Information Outline . . . has been cut to the bone'; and Nov 27, Dec 4-6, 17.
- 43 Letter from Jean Howard, Jan 30, 1984.
- 44 The intercept is pasted into the MI14 report, Nov 6, 5:30 P.M., in WO.199/911a. On Oct 27 an intercept had revealed that the invasion forces were merely to 'continue training.'
- 45 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, col. 1246; and Harold Nicolson diary, Nov 5.
- 46 Channon diary, Nov 5; he was not an unbiased observer, reporting inaccurately on Nov 6 that Churchill's 'popularity is on the decline.'
- 47 Dalton diary, Nov 10.
- 48 Colville diary, Sep 23.
- 49 Memo, Churchill speaking, Apr 14-17, 1955 (C D Jackson papers, box 32).
- 50 WSC to A V Alexander Oct 16 (ADM. 199/1931).
- 51 Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 365, col. 108.
- 52 R Tree quoted in Nicolson diary, Nov 22.
- 53 Hap Arnold diary, Apr 18-19, 1941;
- author's interview of Mrs Marietta Tree, New York, 1978.
- 54 Colville diary, Nov 11.
- 55 In a Nov 12 minute, Wing Cdr. C P Grant of AI1(w), spelt out to the director of home operations, Air Commodore D F Stevenson, the evidence that MOONLIGHT SONATA must be a massive night attack by moonlight using the beams, KG.100 and both *Luffflotten* (AIR.2/5238, the main PRO file on the Coventry attack; the related CAS file is AIR.8/352). See too N E Evans, 'Air Intelligence and the Coventry Raid,' in *RUSI Journal*, Sep 1976.
- 56 R V Jones supplied this ENIGMA intercept to Miki Clayton, who quoted it to Winterbotham, Sep 23, 1980.
- 57 Colville diary, Nov 14.
- 58 Air Commodore Boyle, director of air intelligence, to DCAS, Nov 13, and air staff memo of Nov 14 (AIR.2/5238). The target possibilities were given as: 'Central London (not absolutely definite), Greater London, the area bounded by Farnborough-Maidenhead-Reading and the area bounded by Rochester-Faversham [Faversham]-Isle of Sheppey.'
- 59 Squadron Leader S D Felkin, AI1(k) to Air Commodore A Boyle, director of intelligence, Nov 12, in AIR.2/5238. Felkin noted: 'As this came after S/L Humphrey's visit . . . when he mentioned that a gigantic raid under code-name of 'MOONLIGHT SONATA' was in preparation, I thought it well to bring this information to your notice. . . I believe that S/L Humphreys has pretty definite information that the attack is against London and the Home Counties . . . in retaliation for Munich.'
- 60 Chips Channon diary.
- 61 Letter, WSC to Sinclair, Nov 14, 1940 (PREM.3/466).
- 62 Colville diary, Nov 14.
- 63 Dalton diary, Nov 14.
- 64 Author's conversation with Sir John Martin, Feb 7, 1984.
- 65 The diary of 80 Wing (AIR.26/580) is silent on this; but the 3:00 P.M. time is

- confirmed by the report by DDHO (J Whitworth Jones), 'Note on German Operation MOONLIGHT SONATA and Counter Plan COLD WATER,' Nov 17 (AIR.2/5238 and AIR.8/352). R V Jones, in *Most Secret War* (5th ed.), 536f, challenges this as 'tinged with a degree of hindsight and self-interest.' He points out that the duty group captain in Home Operations had to send out two telegrams on Nov 14: 'Executive Cold Water' when it was sure the raid was on (see note 70), and the target, when identified. The first was sent at 4:15 P.M., with no mention of Coventry. The draft of the second telegram remains on the file with a blank space where the target was to have been named. But there was a bureaucratic reason for this. The lengthy operation orders for COLD WATER were issued earlier on Nov 14. Four possible target areas were foreseen, but Coventry was not among them. Stevenson commented on this. For security reasons, this complicated the issue of the telegram that night, and it was probably communicated verbally; Stevenson minuted later that day, 'the 1300 hrs signal was made today & acknowledged by HQ Air Fleet 3. CAS decided to go ahead with COLD WATER and *I spoke to Commands* [author's italics] and issued instructions at 16:15 hrs.'
- 66 The late Miki Clayton, one of the principal WAAF liaison officers between Chichester(?) Sands intercept station and Bletchley Park, as well as F C Jones, the senior signals officer at Kingsdown listening post, are certain of this. So Clayton wrote to Winterbotham on Sep 23, 1980; and see her book *The Enemy is Listening* (London, 1980).
- 67 Group Capt. F W Winterbotham, letter in *TLS*, Jun 25, 1976; memos of Apr 26, 1979, and May 27, 1980; letter to the author, Jan 23, 1984.
- 68 Information from the present Lady Tweeddale.
- 69 The whole talk of London may have been a decoy. The pencilled diary of Gen. Hoffmann von Waldau, chief of Luftwaffe operations staff (in the author's possession), mentions only Coventry: 'To Richthofen's at Trouville for conf with Canaris. Evening: heavy attack planned against Coventry. Weather and visibility conditions good.' But London was heavily attacked the next night.
- 70 director of home operations, telegrams *en claire* to Fighter, Bomber and Coastal Commands, and 80 Wing, Nov 14; time of origin 16:15 hrs, time of despatch 16:21 (AIR.2/5238 and AIR.8/35).
- 71 This is according to Sir John Martin's loyal recollection in a letter to *The Times*, Aug 28, 1976.
- 72 Colville diary.
- 73 CAB.65/10.

36: **All Very Innocent**

- 1 DHO to Bomber, Fighter, etc., Commands, 10:20 P.M., Nov 15 (AIR.2/5238). Field Marshal Milch's diary reveals that RAF raids killed 975 Germans from May to November (when road accidents had killed 1,845 Germans); 15,000 British had died in German raids.
- 2 Brooke diary, Nov 16. On Poincaré: Colville diary, Jan 24, 1941.
- 3 Colville diary, Nov 18.
- 4 WSC to naval staff, Oct 22 (ADM.199/1931).
- 5 Keyes dates this meeting Nov 19 (KEYES.13/5). The PM's card for Nov 18 records '9:30: Meeting with 1st Lord etc.'
- 6 Harold Nicolson diary, Nov 20. From the PM's card it seems his doctor, Sir Charles Wilson, visited one morning a month.
- 7 Eden diary, Nov 20.
- 8 Eden diary, Nov 25.
- 9 Lee diary, Dec 5.
- 10 Brooke diary, Nov 22, 1940 (3/a/iv,

- 246).
- 11 Cecil King diary, Nov 26.
 - 12 Beaverbrook to WSC, Dec 2, and reply (Beaverbrook papers, C.87).
 - 13 Beaverbrook to WSC, Mar 17, 1942 (*ibid.*).
 - 14 WSC to Alexander and Pound, Dec 2 (First Lord's papers, ADM.199/1931).
 - 15 Somerville to Cunningham, Dec 8 (British Museum, Add. MS 52563).
 - 16 Eden diary, Dec 4.
 - 17 WSC to Dill, Dec 7 (PREM.3/288/1).
 - 18 Defence Committee, Dec 5 (CAB.69/1). Pound to Cunningham, Jan 27, 1941 (British Museum, Add. MS 52578).
 - 19 Duke of Alba to Madrid, Tel. No. 985, Dec 8; despatched Dec 9.
 - 20 Irving, *Hitler's War*, 187f. The resulting OKW directive is on microfilm T77, roll 781, 8325.
 - 21 Lewin, 127.
 - 22 Eden diary, Oct 11, 1940.
 - 23 Eisenhower and Mark Clark dined at Chequers on Aug 25, 1942. Ike's aide Harry Butcher dictated the unflattering description on Aug 25; it was deleted from his unpublished diary by a censor who scrawled 'My God' in the margin.
 - 24 Charles Murphy MS (Eisenhower Library: Jackson papers, box 32).
 - 25 Michael Eden, *op. cit.*
 - 26 Chips Channon diary, Dec 9.
 - 27 Eden diary, Dec 12.
 - 28 WSC to Mackenzie King, Dec 12.
 - 29 Colville diary, Dec 13.
 - 30 Dalton diary, Dec 17.
 - 31 Godfrey MS, chap. vii, 236.
 - 32 Michael Eden letter, Dec 15 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 938n).
 - 33 WSC to FDR, Dec 7, WP (40) 466 (FDR microfilm 1/0161ff); *cf.* Churchill, vol. ii, 544ff; and see his remarks about the ships in letter of Dec 13 (FDR microfilm 1/0183).
 - 34 WSC to Pound, Dec 21 (PREM.3/462/1). WSC reported the defects to FDR on Dec 31, but the Washington embassy pleaded with the FO not to push their luck: it might seem ungrate-
ful to mention shortcomings in the destroyers to the White House just now.
 - 35 Cabinet, Dec 2.
 - 36 WSC to FDR, Nov 21 (FDR microfilm 6/0331f).
 - 37 *Cf.* PM's card for Nov 27; and Colville diary, Nov 30.
 - 38 WSC to FDR, Dec 7, WP (40) 466 (FDR microfilm 1/0161ff); *cf.* Churchill, vol. ii, 544ff. The file on this letter is CAB.115/14.
 - 39 PM's card, Nov 25, 2:45 P.M.; and WSC to Halifax Nov 27 (FO.800/362, H/XIV/477).
 - 40 Lisbon Tel. to FO, Dec 9. Strang raised the question on Dec 15 whether de Gaulle should not be informed of these too. W B Mack recommended that distribution be confined to Churchill, Alexander, Pound, Ismay and Morton (FO.371/24361).
 - 41 Halifax minute, Dec 19, WP (40) 486 (*ibid.*).
 - 42 A note on this Dec 21 conversation is in ADM.199/1928. Tel., Washington to FO, Dec 9. *Cf.* Lisbon Tel. No. 903, reporting Baudouin's conversation with the Portuguese chargé at Vichy, Dec 7 (FO.371/24361).
 - 43 On Darlan, see D Dodds-Parker, *Setting Europe Ablaze* (London, 1983). On Huntziger: Leahy diary, Mar 3, 1944.
 - 44 Halifax diary, Nov 25 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.3).
 - 45 Dalton diary, Feb 4, 1941.
 - 46 Hewel diary, Feb 14, 1941; and Irving, *Hitler's War*, 156.
 - 47 Neville Butler to FO, Dec 15 (FO.954/29). Lloyd George had met Hitler and held him in high esteem: Cecil King diary.
 - 48 Colville diary, Dec 20.
 - 49 Halifax diary.
 - 50 Cadogan diary.
 - 51 Eden diary, Jan 20, 1941.
 - 52 Dalton diary, Dec 20.
 - 53 Bruce Lockhart diary, quoting Tedder, May 6, 1944 and Jun 25, 1944.
 - 54 Rawdon-Smith cited in Cecil King diary, Dec 26, 1940.

- 55 Lee diary, Dec 5.
- 56 Masaryk to Prague, Mar 15, 1934 (Czech state archives).
- 57 Hopkins memo, Jan 10, 1941 (FDR Library: Hopkins papers, microfilm 19).
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 Dalton diary, Jan 9, 1941.
- 60 Dalton diary, Dec 20, 1940.
- 61 Harold Nicolson diary, Dec 23.
- 62 Cadogan diary, Dec 24–5.
- 63 James Layton Ralston diary, 1940–41, (Public Archives of Canada: Ralston papers, file 41, MG27.III.B11).
- 64 Cecil King diary, Jan 4, 1941.

37: **The Unsordid Act**

- 1 WSC to Hopkins, Tel., Apr 13, 1945 (Hopkins papers).
- 2 Henry Morgenthau diary, May 15, 1942 (FDR Library).
- 3 Harold Smith (budget director) diary (FDR Library).
- 4 Mackenzie King diary, Apr 29, 1940; and *cf.* Ickes diary, May 10, 1940.
- 5 WSC to FDR, Oct 4 (PREM.3/468).
- 6 Morgenthau diary, Mar 11, 1942.
- 7 Henry Wallace diary, Jun 15, 1942. ‘The President,’ he added, ‘says that the nations leading the world are the United States, Australia, New Zealand, China, Russia, the Scandinavian countries, and possibly Holland.’
- 8 *Ibid.*, Dec 16, 1942.
- 9 *Ibid.*, Dec 18, 1943.
- 10 Morgenthau diary, Aug 19, 1944.
- 11 British White Paper, Dec 7, 1945.
- 12 Cadogan diary, Aug 7 and Dec 24, 1940.
- 13 *Aide-mémoire*, May 27, 1940 (Reynaud papers, 74AP22).
- 14 Harold Ickes diary, Sep 28, 1941. This was in cabinet on Sep 26. ‘Russia should turn over to us what gold she has, which would go to pay for goods here.’ After that she would get Lend–Lease. FDR also suggested (Morgenthau diary, Mar 10) sending a cruiser to South Africa to pick up the Belgian gold.
- 15 John Colville diary, Jan 12. The emissary was Hopkins.
- 16 Prof. Warren F Kimball in *Political Science Quarterly*, June 1971.
- 17 Memo on meeting, Mar 17, 1944 of Stettinius mission (State dept. files: Office of European Affairs, RG.59). FDR envisaged the trustees including ‘one from Latin America perhaps, one from the United States and Canada perhaps, and one other.’ (Wallace diary, Aug 20, 1942.)
- 18 Answers by Harold Smith, hearings on Lend–Lease, Mar 15, 1941 740.011 EW/14061).
- 19 Ickes diary, Jan 19, 1941.
- 20 Smith, *op. cit.* In the two years up to Oct 1941 Britain would spend £5,668 million of a total budget of £7,018 million on war services.
- 21 These were nominal values; market values would be less, particularly in Latin America.
- 22 Ickes diary, Nov 9, 1940.
- 23 Tels., Phillips to FO, Dec 10–11 (PREM.4/17/1).
- 24 Draft Tel., WSC to FDR, Dec 17 (*ibid.*).
- 25 *PPR*, vol. ix, No. 149; *The Times*, Dec 18.
- 26 Washington to FO, Dec 23.
- 27 Beaverbrook to WSC, Dec 26 (*ibid.*); *cf.* A J P Taylor, 439.
- 28 Kingsley Wood to WSC, Dec 26.
- 29 Phillips to FO, Dec 27.
- 30 WSC to FDR, Dec 28, *draft* (PREM.4/17/1, fols. 89–91, and PREM.3/469).
- 31 Churchill, vol. ii, 507f.
- 32 WSC to Wood, Dec 28 (*ibid.*).
- 33 WSC to FDR, Dec 31 by telephone at 3:45 A.M. (PREM.4/17/1, fols. 77f). *Cf.* Colville diary, Jan 1. Original in PREM.3/469; *FRUS* 1941, 3:1–2.
- 34 Morgenthau lunched with WSC on Aug 10, 1944. He told FDR: ‘He [Churchill] is going to tell Parliament about their financial condition at the right time after the Armistice, and . . . when he does that he is through’ (Mor-

- genthau diary, Aug 19). Morgenthau also told this to Sir John Anderson on Aug 11 (National Archives: W D Taylor memo on meeting, in H D White papers).
- 35 Major-Gen. Eugene Chaney, report, Mitchell Field, New York, Dec 15, 1940 (archives of US army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania).
- 36 At the signing of the draft Lend-Lease Agreement Phase II. Harry Dexter White memo, Sep 15, 1944 (Morgenthau papers, 1512).
- 37 Memo, Mar 10, 1941 (Morgenthau papers, 0853).
- 38 Ickes diary.
- 39 FDR to Hull, Jan 11, 1941 (FDR microfilm 6, 0344ff).
- 40 Ickes diary, Jan 19. The secretary of agriculture also recorded this in his diary. Discussion arose over Britain's available assets. In the 'rather warm debate' FDR insisted that only Britain's dollars mattered, not her sterling ('because it might not prove of value after the war') or other worldwide assets. 'Railroads or all other property in South America or elsewhere were not wanted by us.' Wickard limited himself to the observation 'that many people in the country had the idea that the British were holding back part of their resources, their securities.' FDR and Morgenthau declared themselves satisfied that these had all been pledged. (FDR Library: Claude R Wickard papers).
- 38: There Goes the Empire**
- 1 Lee diary, Dec 28, 1940.
- 2 Cecil King and Lee diaries, Jan 11, 1941.
- 3 Cecil King diary, Jan 11.
- 4 Ickes diary, Feb 22, quoting Wendell Willkie.
- 5 Nicolson diary, Jan 21.
- 6 Cecil King diary, Jan 31.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 Cecil King diary, Jan 11.
- 9 Dalton diary, Jan 13.
- 10 Defence committee, Jan 13, 1941 (CAB.69/2).
- 11 Colville diary, Jan 24.
- 12 Cecil King diary, Jan 17. Ward Price alleged that censorship found incriminating references to Muselier in Vichy telegrams, and that he was arrested 'at a very gay party with some young French officers and a few blondes.'
- 13 Diaries of Cadogan, Jan 3-4, Bruce Lockhart, Jan 15 (and citing Bracken, Jul 18, 1946); and Cecil King diary, Jan 10.
- 14 Cecil King diary, Jan 10.
- 15 Ickes diary, May 7, 1941 (quoting the Morgenthau) and Aug 31, 1942 (quoting Anna Roosevelt). On Apr 20, 1937 Hopkins told him he had been wed 'at 21 to a Jewess' and had stood this first marriage 'as long as he could.' On Feb 6, 1938 Ickes talks of the cancer death of the second Mrs Hopkins and of Hopkins's own bad shape during that illness.
- 16 Ickes diary, Apr 26 and Jun 8, 1941.
- 17 Ickes diary, Nov 17, 1940.
- 18 Ickes diary, Aug 10, 1940; Sep 28, 1941. Elliot Janeway, source of many tidbits, reported that Stettinius and Odlum also paid Hopkins.
- 19 Ickes diary, Feb 8, noting FDR cabinet of Feb 7.
- 20 Ickes diary, Feb 1, 1942.
- 21 Harry Butcher diary, conversation with Hopkins, Jan 20, 1942 (Eisenhower Library: page deleted by them; opened at this author's request in 1977).
- 22 Dalton diary, Jul 24, 1941.
- 23 Lee diary, Jan 10.
- 24 Hopkins note, Jan 10.
- 25 WSC to FDR, Jan 11, 5:00 P.M. (FDR microfilm 6/0342f). FDR sent instructions to Leahy on Jan 13 (1/0189f).
- 26 FDR microfilm 6/0348f.
- 27 Colville diary, Jan 20.
- 28 Martin letter, Oct 27.
- 29 Colville diary, Jan 11.
- 30 Hopkins to FDR, Jan 14 (Hopkins

- papers).
- 31 WSC to FDR, Jan 13.
- 32 Harold Ickes diary, Feb 8, recording FDR cabinet of Feb 7, 1941; and *cf.* Feb 27, 1943.
- 33 Hopkins memo, Jan 10.
- 34 COS (40) 27 (0) of Nov 25, 1940 (CAB.80/56).
- 35 FDR to WSC, Dec 30 (FDR microfilm 6/0334).
- 36 WSC to FDR, Jan 3.
- 37 Hopkins memo, Jan 10.
- 38 Dalton diary, Jan 13 (PREM.3/328/7).
- 39 Dalton diary, Jan 14.
- 40 Charles Peake diary, Jan 15. Birkenhead, *Halifax*, 471.
- 41 Letter, Martin, Jan 19.
- 42 Hopkins diary, Jan 30; Martin MS, 41; *cf.* Dalton diary, Jan 30.
- 43 Ruth, 1:16. Johnston related this to Lockhart on Jul 18, 1944 (diary).
- 44 Martin MS, 40.
- 45 FDR memo, Aug 23 (PSF: Atlantic Charter).
- 46 Hinsley, vol. i, 355.
- 47 Defence committee, Jan 20 (CAB.69/2).
- 48 Eden diary, Jan 20.
- 49 Cecil King diary, Jan 21. On Jan 17 *Mirror* columnist Bill Greig had told him, 'There is a great hoo-ha about communists' and predicted the *Worker's* suppression.
- 50 Herschel Johnson to State dept., Tel. No. 246, Jan 22.
- 51 Dalton diary, citing Desmond Morton, Feb 2.
- 52 Nicolson diary, Jan 22; Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, col. 263.
- 53 Hopkins, handwritten memo on Chequers notepaper, Jan 25 (Hopkins microfilm 19).
- 54 WSC minute, Jan 6 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 979).
- 55 Hinsley, vol. i, 353.
- 56 Defence committee, Jan 8 (CAB.69/2).
- 57 Hopkins memo, Jan 10; Tel., WSC to Wavell, Jan 11.
- 58 WSC minute to cabinet, Jan 14 (cited in Woodward, vol. i, 519f); *cf.* Eden diary.
- 59 WSC to FDR, Jan 6 (FDR microfilm 6/0340).
- 60 WSC to Wavell, Jan 26 (PREM.3/309/1).
- 61 WSC to Inönü, Jan 31 (*ibid.*).
- 62 WSC to Portal, Feb 6 (Portal papers).
- 63 Henry Wallace diary, Aug 7, 1942; Halifax diary, Feb 17, 1941.
- 64 Seal, cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1000.
- 65 Hopkins memo.
- 66 Hopkins memo, Dec 19, 1941. The US Naval Hospital found on Dec 8 that the tablets 'contain barbital, phenacetin, antipyrine, urotropin and a small amount of material to bind these drugs together. In general it is a sedative-pain reliever type of remedy.' (Hopkins papers, microfilm 21.)
- 39: Against His Better Judgement**
- 1 Beaverbrook sent Willkie's remarks at the Century Club, New York, to WSC on Jun 6, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.417).
- 2 J C C Davidson to Lord Irwin (Halifax), Jun 14, 1926 (Hickleton papers).
- 3 Chamberlain to Irwin, Aug 12, 1928 (*ibid.*); the 1903 speech is from Guedalla, *Mr Churchill*.
- 4 Group Capt. R Humphreys, 'The Use of 'ULTRA' in the Med. and NW African Theatres of War,' Oct 1945 (NA, RG.457, SRH-037).
- 5 Dalton diary, Feb 3; *cf.* Cadogan diary.
- 6 Stimson diary, Apr 15 and 17. Donovan assured him that Wavell alone made the decision. 'Donovan had been present [in Cairo] when it was made.'
- 7 Dalton diary, Mar 4; cutlery salesman information in Lee diary, Jan 7 and 10.
- 8 Dalton diary, Feb 4.
- 9 Defence committee, Feb 10 (CAB.69/2).
- 10 Eden diary.
- 11 Dalton diary, Jan 24.
- 12 Dalton diary, Jan 29, Feb 1-5; and Portal to Gladwyn Jebb, Feb 1 (AHB file 1d3/1588).

- 13 Dalton diary, Feb 10 and 13.
- 14 Churchill, vol. iii, 157. Cadogan noted 'Jap telephone talks' in his diary, Feb 5-6; Dalton diary, Feb 7.
- 15 Stimson diary, Feb 4: 'Quite a flurry of exciting news this morning.' FDR summoned him with Marshall on 'an urgent message respecting the Far Eastern situation' from London. And Gen. Sherman Miles (G-2) showed him a further alarming message, evidently MAGIC.
- 16 Cadogan diary, Feb 6. Marshall sent Stimson reports from London 'that the Japanese were clearing out and getting their Embassy out of Britain.' Stimson adds that these were 'discountenanced by later messages' (diary, Feb 8).
- 17 Eden diary, Feb 7.
- 18 Stimson records a heated conference on the release of MAGIC (diary, Oct 23, 1940). The US army approved but the navy did not. Adm. Stark finally agreed to exchange MAGIC for British experience on ENIGMA. See Stimson diary, Oct 24, 1940 and May 15, 16 and 27, 1941.
- 19 *The 'MAGIC' Background of Pearl Harbor*, US Govt Printing Office, 1979, eight vols. Cited hereafter as *MBPH*. And Japanese-German diplomatic messages 1940-1, MAGIC intercepts (NA, RG.457, SRDJ series).
- 20 WSC to FDR, Feb 15 (FDR microfilm 6, 0006ff). Stanley Hornbeck (State dept. Far East section) commented approvingly on Churchill's suggestion: 'The only thing which can effectively prevent further Japanese adventuring is display of physical force and of willingness if necessary to use the said force.' (NA: Hornbeck papers, box 117.)
- 21 Matsuoka to London, Feb 15; repeated to Washington, Feb 15; MAGIC translated Feb 19 (*MBPH*, No. 381).
- 22 Matsuoka to London; repeated to Washington, Feb 18; translated Feb 20 (*MBPH*, Nos. 382-3). At British ambassador Sir Robert Craigie's request Matsuoka briefed editors on Feb 16 to 'exercise restraint.'
- 23 Cadogan diary, Feb 15: 'How valuable this form of eavesdropping has been!' On the 23rd he drafted a telegram for Washington summarising 'all the Jap talks that gave their game away.'
- 24 Churchill, vol. iii, 159.
- 25 Martin MS, 44.
- 26 Shigemitsu to Tokyo, Feb 24; repeated by Tokyo to Peking etc. Feb 27 (*MBPH*, No. 384).
- 27 Quoted in Japanese circular from London; Tokyo to Peking etc. Feb 27 (*MBPH*, Nos. 385-7).
- 28 Matsuoka to Shigemitsu, Feb 27; repeated to Washington, Feb 28; translated Mar 10 (*MBPH*, No. 388).
- 29 Shigemitsu to Tokyo, Mar 10; translated Mar 13 (*MBPH*, No. 389).
- 30 WSC to Cadogan, Feb 19 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1012).
- 31 Eden to WSC, Feb 21.
- 32 Until his capture and liquidation. SS memo, Jun 5, 1943 (Himmler files: NA microfilm T175, roll 458).
- 33 Report from A/D [evidently George Taylor] and D/HY on 'Certain SO(2) Activities in Yugoslavia,' Jun 24 (Dalton papers, 7, file 3, 99-116); cf. Sweet Escott, *Baker Street Irregular*, 35, 63.
- 34 Mackenzie King diary, Aug 31, 1943. When a Tory MP told WSC years later of his own maiden-speech agony, he replied that he still had butterflies and only recovered when he recognised the sound of his own voice. (Letter from Sir William S Duthie, Feb 18, 1978.)
- 35 The speeches were those at Ottawa and to the Congress. Dean Acheson to Lester Pearson, Jan 23, 1952 (Eisenhower Library: Acheson files).
- 36 C Murphy memo, Mar 16, 1946 (Jackson papers, box 32).
- 37 Colville diary, Feb 26.
- 38 Seal letter, Feb 27 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1016).
- 39 Cazalet diary, Feb 27.
- 40 Menzies diary, Mar 1 (National Library of Australia).
- 41 Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn di-

- ary, Sep 21, 1928 (Gilbert, vol. v, 302).
- 42 Menzies diary, Mar 2.
- 43 Ministry of defence directive, Mar 6 (CAB.120/10).
- 44 Dalton diary, Feb 28 and Jun 15, 1940.
- 45 Churchill, vol. iii, 106.
- 46 Bruce Lockhart diary, Mar 4.
- 47 Seal letters, Mar 4 and 6 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1024n).
- 48 Halifax diary, Jan 15.
- 49 Tizard diary, Mar 9.
- 50 Dalton diary, Mar 2.
- 51 Menzies diary, Mar 2.
- 52 WSC to Hopkins, Feb 23 (FO.954/29).
- 53 *Washington Daily News*, Feb 8. Worried British purchasing officials urged that Churchill publicise Canada's direct contribution with two divisions on British soil. (Canadian legation in Washington, Tel. to Ottawa, Feb 11: MG26, J1, vol. 302.)
- 54 Colin Cross, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*.
- 55 W K Hancock & Margaret Gowing: 'British War Economy,' in *History of the Second World War* (HMSO, London, 1949), 234.
- 56 Presidential press conferences, vol. xvi, 393f.
- 57 Morgenthau diary, Jan 9.
- 58 *Op. cit.*, Dec 19 and 23; Mackenzie King diary, Feb 3, 1941.
- 59 FO to Phillips, Dec 12, No. 3496 (Beaverbrook papers, D.46). In general: R S Sayers, *Financial Policy, 1939-45* (HMSO, London, 1956); Warren F Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend Lease, 1939-41* (Baltimore, 1969).
- 60 Beaverbrook to WSC, Feb 19 (D.414).
- 61 Stimson diary, Oct 2, 1940, quoting Alfred Loomis.
- 62 Morgenthau diary, Mar 10.
- 63 Ickes diary, Aug 9. He called it 'skulduggery for the benefit, as usual, of the House of Morgan.' Churchill (vol. ii, 506) wrote: 'A figure much below its intrinsic worth.'
- 64 King George's diary, and king to Sir Alexander Hardinge, Dec 30, 1940.
- 65 FDR to WSC, Feb 25, 1941 (FDR microfilm 1/0198).
- 66 Colville diary, Mar 5.
- 67 WSC to Lds Moyne and Cranborne, Mar 4.
- 68 Recalled in Bruce Lockhart diary, Jan 28, 1944.
- 69 King's diary, Apr 25; Dalton diary, Jul 24.
- 70 Colville diary, Mar 5.
- 71 Air Intelligence analysis, Mar 3: 'The Move of the German Air Force into the Balkans.'
- 72 Colville diary, Mar 5.
- 73 WSC to Eden, Mar 6, 2:20 A.M. (CAB.69/2).
- 74 Colville diary, Mar 7.
- 75 PREM.3/224/1.
- 76 Brooke diary, Mar 9. Cf. Martin diary, Mar 10.
- 40: **The Midas Touch**
- 1 Dalton diary, Jan 9, 1942.
- 2 State dept. conversation with Mr Rumbold, Jan 28 (State dept. file, 841.01b11/190).
- 3 Agent's report, Feb 6 (*ibid.*, /191).
- 4 Donovan had again visited No. 10 at mid-day on Mar 4, 1941 on a mission for Roosevelt (PM's card; and Brooke, 3/A/iv).
- 5 Morton to Jacob, Sep 18 (cited in Cave Brown, *Donovan*, 166); and Berle to Welles, Sep 27, 1941 (FDR Library).
- 6 William Stephenson, *A Man Called Intrepid* (New York, 1976).
- 7 Statement by Col H Montgomery Hyde, a former BSC agent (*Daily Telegraph*, Aug 22, 1979).
- 8 Berle to Welles, Sep 27, 1941 (FDR Library).
- 9 Berle memo, Apr 17, 1942 (FDR Library). There were no such plans.
- 10 Berle memo on conversation with Mr Spruille Braden, US ambassador to Colombia, May 7, 1942 (diary).

- 11 At 64 Baker-street they were handled by Lieut. Col. James Pearson. Several 1944 samples are in Beaverbrook's file D.145, while a memo in D.400 begins, significantly, 'No. 10 have received, through secret channels, the following telegram from Bill Donovan. . .'
- 12 Memo by Biddle, Feb 26 (Berle papers, box 213).
- 13 Biddle memo, Feb 26, 1942 (FDR Library: Berle diary, box 213).
- 14 The BSC agent, Paine, fled to Montreal; see Berle memos, Feb 13, 14, 26 and Mar 5 and 10, 1942 (FDR Library).
- 15 Memo by Berle on the conference, Mar 5 (*ibid.*).
- 16 Berle memo, Mar 10, 1942, in State dept. file 841.20211/36.
- 17 Menzies diary, Mar 10.
- 18 PM's card, Mar 10-11, 1941.
- 19 Cadogan diary, Mar 3.
- 20 Stimson diary, Jun 5: quoting Winant on a brief return to Washington.
- 21 Cabinet, Mar 17 (CAB.65/18).
- 22 Martin diary, Mar 15; on Harriman: James Farley cited by Beaverbrook, May 1943 (D.517). Ickes diary, Nov 17, 1940; memo WSC to Bridges, Mar 26 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1034).
- 23 WSC to Halifax, Mar 15 (PREM.4/17/2).
- 24 WSC to Wood (PREM.4/17/2).
- 25 Letter, Cadogan to Halifax, Mar 18, 1941.
- 26 Cadogan diary, Mar 20.
- 27 WSC to FDR, Apr 2, 6 P.M. (FDR microfilm 1/0293 and /0296).
- 28 Lieut.-Gen. Josef Schmid, speaking in CSDIC(UK) report SRGG.1331, Jul 14, 1945 (NA, RG.407, box 1954).
- 29 *The Times*, Mar 19.
- 30 Führer naval conference, Feb 13, 1942.
- 31 PM's card.
- 32 WSC to FDR, Mar 19 (FDR microfilm 6/90353f).
- 33 Letter, Biddle to FDR, Apr 26 (PSF); Biddle: FDR Library; Colville diary and Seal letter, Mar 19 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1039).
- 34 FO.371/30253.
- 35 WSC to Tsvetkovitch, Mar 22 (Churchill, vol. iii, 141f).
- 36 German FO files of Task Force Künsberg, serial 2013H, 443373ff: German interrogations of Tsvetkovitch and his secretary.
- 37 WSC to Campbell, Mar 26 (Churchill, vol. iii, 42). In the British consulate at Skoplje German agents later found remnants of a recent arms and explosives consignment which had arrived as diplomatic luggage from Greece and been forwarded to Belgrade; SOE had used some to sabotage mines at Radusa (Tel., Burker [OKW Abwehr] to German FO, Apr 10; White Book No. 7, Dok. Nr. 102).
- 38 Summary report by A/D, Jun 24 (Dalton papers).
- 39 Heeren to German FO, Belgrade, Mar 26 (White Book No. 7, *Dok. zum Konflikt mit Jugoslawien und Griechenland*).
- 40 Dalton diary, Mar 27. The 9:45 P.M. defence committee sent its appreciation to him for 'the part played by his Organisation in bringing about the coup d'état in Yugoslavia' (CAB.69/2).
- 41 WSC to Australian acting PM, Mar 30 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1048); and to Eden, Mar 28.
- 42 Hinsley, vol. i, 371, 451.
- 43 See the diaries of OKW operations staff, naval staff, Hewel, von Waldau, Jan 9; Halder, Jan 16.
- 44 MI appreciation, Jan 17, 1941 (WO.190/893).
- 45 Defence committee meeting, Oct 31, 1940 (CAB.69/8). For the opposite military Intelligence view: WO files 190/891-3; for the air Intelligence view: AIR.40/2321; and see the weekly Intelligence summaries in WO.208/2258.
- 46 Churchill, vol. iii, 10.
- 47 MI appreciation, Feb 14 (WO.190/893).
- 48 Brooke, notes, 3/A/iv.
- 49 According to Berle it reached Washington in January. 'We had the memorandum for the General Staff,' he re-

- called (diary, Jul 28, 1944), 'on which the decision to attack was taken, having got it surreptitiously in December [1940].' With justified misgivings, Sumner Welles passed the gist of it to Soviet ambassador Oumansky on Mar 1, but Moscow took it as an attempt to embroil them with Germany (*FRUS* 1941, vol. i, 712, 714).
- 50 *FRUS* 1941, vol. i, 133 and 723; regarding *MAGIC*: FO.371/26518 and /29482.
- 51 Washington to FO, Mar 21 and Jun 17 (FO.371/26521).
- 52 Cf. Cadogan diary, Mar 28.
- 53 Colville diary, Mar 29.
- 54 Churchill, vol. iii, 319f.
- 55 FO memo, Mar 31 (FO.371/29479).
- 56 On Apr 10 Ribbentrop went further: even if Russia did not attack Japan, he told Matsuoka, 'Germany might still start a war against the Soviet Union before the year is out; it depends on how she behaves.' Ambassador Oshima's telegrams to Prince Konoye, especially that of Apr 1 reporting Matsuoka's lunch with Hitler, are published in German in *Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, 1968, 325ff.
- 57 WSC to Cripps, Apr 2 (PREM.3/252/2). On Apr 12, Hitler was handed a *Forschungsamt* decrypt of Churchill's message (David Irving, *Breach of Security* [London, 1968], 130).
- 58 ADM.233/88.
- 59 Colville diary, Mar 31.
- 60 WSC to Cripps, Apr 3 (PREM.3/170/1); Churchill, vol. iii, 323.
- 61 WSC to Beaverbrook and Eden, Oct 14 (Beaverbrook papers).
- 62 Letter, Keitel to Africa Korps, Apr 3 (German navy file PG/33316; text in OKW war diary, vol. i, 1009f).
- 63 MI appreciation, Apr 2 (WO.190/893).
- 64 Hopkins memo, Apr 5, 1941 (FDR Library: Hopkins papers, box 307). Churchill asked FDR urgently (but cryptically) if he had received the message about 'his Italian friend' and the president replied, 'No.' Roosevelt obviously did not understand because on Apr 5 Halifax noted in his diary, 'The President told me he had had a telephone call from Winston which he hadn't been able fully to understand, as the connection had been bad, but in which Winston had said something about the Man from Italy. . . .' In a telegram to WSC on Apr 2 the president used the phrase 'your larger friends' meaning 'your larger warships.' A telegram of Apr 11 talked of expectations of making early use of seized Danish and Italian ships.
- 65 Hewel diary, Mar 27; Hitler-Sztójay conference, Mar 27.
- 41: **Mr Optimist Frog**
- 1 Hinsley (vol. i, 320) is coy about *which* night raids were thus revealed, but the Fighter Command war room log gives scores of precise instances of the government's own foreknowledge. Mar 29, 1941: '16:00 hrs DAC [duty air commodore] special message, Target tonight [will be] Avonmouth & Bristol.' Apr 1: '20:28 hrs, beams. DAC reports, [beam] Cherbourg 345° true on Bristol established, active since 19:00.' Apr 2: '18:00 hrs DAC reported that Avonmouth will be target tonight.' Apr 5: '17:44 hrs [DAC reports] KG.100 have no operations for tonight.' Apr 10: '17:50 hrs. Target tonight. Indications are the East side of Birmingham will be attacked.' It was, and so the warnings went on – though not of course to the cities affected (AIR.16/698).
- 2 Winant to FDR, Apr 14 (Suitland: Winant papers, box 1, RG.54); notes by Winant (*ibid.*); and Harriman's version in Winant to State dept., Tel. No. 1470, Apr 14; Cdr. Thompson MS.
- 3 H H Arnold diary, Apr 16 (Library of Congress: Arnold papers).
- 4 CAB.120/10.
- 5 Cadogan diary, Apr 7.
- 6 Colville diary, Apr 7.

- 7 Dalton diary, Apr 9.
- 8 Nicolson diary, Apr 9.
- 9 *FRUS* 1941, vol. ii, 836f.
- 10 Anneliese Schmundt diary, Apr 17 (in this author's possession). Her husband was Hitler's chief adjutant.
- 11 Gen. Lee diary, Apr 22. The war room log (see note 1) shows that the government had precise forewarning. 'Special message,' the log recorded five minutes before 6:00 P.M.: 'KG. 100 [the German Pathfinder unit] are preparing to operate tonight. Unlikely to be a western target.' Then: 'Beam, Cherbourg 30° true through London.' At 7:42 P.M.: 'The attack on London is likely to start at 21:20 hrs.'
- 12 Cadogan diary, Apr 17; Cecil King diary, Apr 16.
- 13 Arnold diary, Apr 18.
- 14 WSC to Longmore, Apr 18 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1065).
- 15 King diary, Apr 22; Colville diary, Apr 18.
- 16 Note, Apr 18 (PREM.3/14/3); PM's card.
- 17 Beneš telegram, Apr 24: 'He [Churchill] promised help . . . concerning recognition and setting up a provisional government and he will assist us to get American recognition.' (Hoover Library: Táborský papers, box 5, file 'Dr Beneš messages . . . to Czechoslovakia 1941.')
- 18 Beaverbrook papers (House of Lords Records Office).
- 19 Hankey papers.
- 20 Cecil King diary, Feb 19.
- 21 Brooke diary, Apr 27; and Hankey diary, May 1.
- 22 Quoted in Hugh L'Etang, *Fit to Lead?* (London, 1980), 32.
- 23 Cadogan diary, Apr 28; Dalton diary, Apr 29.
- 24 Defence committee meeting, Apr 28 (CAB.69/2); Churchill, vol. iii, 241.
- 25 Lindemann to WSC, Apr 28. On May 7 he repeated that Hitler's oil position would be permanently secured if he captured Iraq (Cherwell papers).
- 26 Ivan Maisky memoirs, 637, quoting Swedish minister Byörn Prytz; PM's card, Apr 30.
- 42: The Telephone Job**
- 1 *E.g.*, Oliver Stanley; Dalton diary, Apr 28 (confidential annex).
- 2 Gen. Kennedy, DMO: Lee diary, Apr 15.
- 3 Lee and Arnold diaries, Apr 21.
- 4 Lee diary, May 21.
- 5 Sir C Wilson (Lord Moran) to Beaverbrook, Apr 18, and reply Apr 19 (Beaverbrook papers, D.141). Cecil King diary, Jul 17.
- 6 Dalton diary, Jun 11.
- 7 *Ibid.*, Apr 28.
- 8 Cecil King diary, Mar 27.
- 9 Shinwell told Stewart Campbell (*Daily Mirror*) this (*ibid.*, Feb 19).
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Gilbert, vol. vi, 1090.
- 12 Letter, Canadian High Commissioner Vincent Massey to Ottawa, Jun 7 (MG26, J1, vol. 312).
- 13 Cecil King diary, May 1.
- 14 Cadogan diary, May 5.
- 15 Colville diary, May 2. Harriman wrote to FDR on May 7 that the PM often took him to the devastated cities. Having an American around was 'of value for the morale of the people.' He and Winant were at Swansea, Bristol and Cardiff; James Forrestal at Liverpool and Manchester. 'This week we go to Dover.' (FDR Library.)
- 16 FDR to WSC, May 1 (FDR microfilm 1/0228).
- 17 PREM.3, 469/350.
- 18 WSC to FDR, May 4 (FDR microfilm 1/0306).
- 19 Winant reported this to Roosevelt, May 6, 9:00 P.M. (FDR Library, PSF file 'Winant'; and FDR microfilm 6/0371).
- 20 Colville diary, May 3.
- 21 *Cf.* cabinet meetings, May 4-5 (CAB. 105/4); Cadogan refers on May 4 to 'secret news' that the Germans in Libya

- were uncomfortable.
- 22 WSC to Wavell May 4 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1080).
- 23 COS meeting, Apr 22 (CAB.79/11).
- 24 Stimson diary, unpublished, May 15–16. Confiding to Stimson on May 27 the progress of talks with the Japanese, Hull again remarked how ‘bitterly disappointed’ he had been to realise that the British could read the intercepts.
- 25 WSC to Dill, May 13 (WO.216/5).
- 26 Hinsley, vol. i, 418 quoting CX/JQ 911, May 6.
- 27 RG.457, SRH.037: Group Capt. R Humphreys, ‘The Use of “U” in the Mediterranean and Northwest African Theatres of War,’ Oct 1945.
- 28 Cecil King and Colville diaries.
- 29 WSC to Pound, Portal, Dill, May 10 (PREM.3/109).
- 30 FO.371/26566.
- 31 Letter, Karl to Albrecht Haushofer, Sep 3, 1940 (*ADAP* [D], vol. xi, No. 12).
- 32 Hess–Beaverbrook conversation, Sep 9, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.443).
- 33 Cf. Duff Cooper’s account of how MI5 intercepted the duke’s correspondence (Cecil King diary, May 15). The intercepted Hess–Haushofer–Hamilton letters are in file FO.371/26565, closed until 2016.
- 34 Letter, Hamilton to Air Ministry, Apr 28 (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 148). The Haushofer papers are on NA microfilm T253, roll 46. Albrecht Haushofer was executed by the Germans; Karl committed suicide in Allied custody.
- 35 J Martin diary, May 11: ‘Arrival of Duke of Hamilton to report on arrival of Rudolf Hess.’
- 36 Hamilton–Hess conversation, May 11 (Nuremberg document M116, a certified copy by David Maxwell Fyfe of an original said to be in FO files).
- 37 Beaverbrook–Hess conversation, Sep 9 (Beaverbrook papers, D.443).
- 38 Berlin Document Centre file 236: Rudolf Hess.
- 39 Cecil King diary, May 15.
- 40 ND: M-117.
- 41 Colville diary, May 13.
- 42 Unpublished memos, James H Rowe Jr to FDR and to ‘Missy’ LeHand, May 14 (FDR microfilm 1/00242f).
- 43 FDR to WSC, received May 15, in 800.2 Germany, Hess: London embassy files; and FDR microfilm 1/0241.
- 44 Cecil King diary, May 15. FDR wondered on May 20 what was ‘really behind’ the story (Sherwood, 294). For American uneasiness about Hess, see Lee diary, May 24.
- 45 ND: M-119.
- 46 Cadogan diary, Jun 11. The fullest transcripts of Simon’s talks (Jun 9) are in his papers at the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and cf. *IMT*, vol. xi, 279–291.
- 47 Beaverbrook papers, D.443; cf. Dalton diary, Jun 16.
- 48 Cadogan diary, Jun 16.
- 49 FO.371/26566. Beneš learned that the SIS saw the Haushofer approach as ‘an excellent opportunity’ and sent a reply ‘purporting to come from the duke.’ Further letters, Beneš learned, had arranged when Hess should fly to the duke’s estate; his actual arrival had created panic in London. Beneš, interview with Compton Mackenzie, Dec 13, 1944 (Hoover Library: Táborský papers, box 4). A 1941 account of what security sources told Beneš is: *Prisna duverna zprava z britskeho uredniho prameno [vojenskeho]* (*ibid.*, box 6). Haushofer’s letter ‘never reached Hamilton because the Secret Service intercepted it and answered it instead. Several letters were exchanged and in the end Hess actually came to England and he fell into the trap.’ ‘Among leading British personalities,’ Beneš learned, ‘a furious argument is raging as to whether Hess set out . . . with the knowledge and consent of Hitler or not. . . He acted as though he was an official negotiator and expected all the prerogatives accruing from this role.’
- 50 Morton to WSC, Jul 28 (PREM.3/219/2).

43: **Turning Point**

- 1 WSC to Ismay, Dec 11 (PREM.3/124/2).
- 2 Freyberg to New Zealand government, May 1 (Churchill, vol. iii, 244).
- 3 Wavell to WSC, May 15 (*ibid.*, 249).
- 4 *Sonderkommando* von Künsberg: *Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Britischen Vizekonsuls Pendlebury auf Kreta, Juni 1941* (German federal archives: MGFA/DZ III, fol. 29).
- 5 Letter, J Martin to home, May 18.
- 6 Churchill, vol. iii, 250.
- 7 See note 4; and the letter from Maj. John Biddulph, a Cambridge contemporary, April 1982.
- 8 Gen. Lee diary, quoting Lady Warwick, Oct 11, 1940; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1031n; Spears excised the word *louche* from the published text of his diary.
- 9 Martin MS; Cadogan diary, Nov 5 and 8, 1940.
- 10 Pétain cited in Adm. William Leahy diary, Mar 18; and in letter, Leahy to FDR, Mar 19 (Leahy papers).
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 Weizmann to WSC, Feb 7; and reply, J Peck for J Martin, to Weizmann (Weizmann archives).
- 13 Weizmann to Jewish Agency Executive, reporting conversation with WSC on Mar 12 (Weizmann archives); Harvey diary, Nov 1, 1941.
- 14 WSC paper on Syrian policy, May 19 (CAB.120/10).
- 15 Admiralty to Tovey, May 18: 9:55 A.M. (ADM.223/78); in general, Ludovic Kennedy, *Pursuit* (London, 1974).
- 16 Admiralty to naval commands, May 21, 6:28 P.M. (ADM.223/78).
- 17 WSC to FDR, May 23 (FDR microfilm 1/0323).
- 18 Adm. Süd-Ost: *Kurzer Bericht über Operation Motorseglerstaffel Malemes-Herklion an SKL v. 23.5.1941* (in war diary of Adm. Süd-Ost, German archives, III M800/2); Karl Gundelach, *Der Kampf um Kreta*, in *Entscheidungsschlachten des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 127.
- 19 Cunningham to admiralty, May 23 (Churchill, vol. iii, 259).
- 20 Roskill, vol. i, 441; Playfair, vol. ii, 137.
- 21 Colville diary, May 23.
- 22 Dalton diary, May 26, quoting Rex Fletcher; Ismay, 219.
- 23 Capt. Ralph Edwards says Churchill insisted on this signal (RUSI *Journal*, Feb 1953: admiralty to *Rodney*, May 25, 2:48 P.M.).
- 24 ADM.233/88: Colpoys, 'Admiralty Use of Special Intelligence in Naval Operations,' 53-73.
- 25 Admiralty to Tovey, May 25, 7:00 P.M.; CX/JQ 993; and ADM.223/78, ULTRA signal, 6:12 P.M., May 25.
- 26 Colville diary, May 24-5.
- 27 *Odyssey*, 374f; admiralty to Cunningham, May 25, 9:32 P.M. (British Museum, Add. MS 52567).
- 28 Cunningham to admiralty, May 26 (Churchill, vol. iii, 260).
- 29 Dalton diary, May 26; and *cf.* Colville diary, May 25.
- 30 Eden to WSC, May 26 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1095).
- 31 WSC to Freyberg and to Wavell, May 27 (Churchill, vol. iii, 262).
- 32 Lee diary, May 26. Winant eventually praised Churchill to FDR, but said that his colleagues were rotten (Stimson diary).
- 33 It was actually transmitted at 11:37 A.M. on May 27 (Kennedy, 225; and Churchill, vol. iii, 282).
- 34 Kennedy, 225; Roskill, *Admirals*, 125.
- 35 By noon-thirty Adm. Ghormley had 'phoned the news from the admiralty to his embassy.
- 36 Tovey to admiralty, May 27, 11:19 A.M.; and WSC's reply, 4:10 P.M., adding '... however much we admire a gallant fight.'
- 37 Martin MS (Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, May 27, cols. 1714-8); Nicolson diary.

44: **Beaverbrook**, BATTLEAXE and

BARBAROSSA

- 1 Clementine Churchill to Hopkins, Apr 10, 1942 (FDR Library: Hopkins microfilm 11).
- 2 Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 24, 1941 – ‘recently’; PM’s card, Jun 19.
- 3 Colville diary, Jun 5.
- 4 Bevin, cited in memo from A Christiansen to Beaverbrook, Oct 28, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, C.38).
- 5 Brooke diary, May 13 and 27, Jun 19 (original). Brooke suggested that 20 per cent of AFV output be for spares. ‘This was not appreciated by the PM, who likes to put the whole of his goods in the shop window.’
- 6 Beaverbrook to WSC, Jun 3 (Beaverbrook papers, D.417).
- 7 Beaverbrook–Hess conversation, Sep 9 (Beaverbrook papers, D.443).
- 8 Londoner’s Diary, *Evening Standard*, Feb 29, 1940. Beaverbrook’s dinner guests were McGovern, James Maxton and Campbell Stephen.
- 9 *Greenock By-Election Special* reported McGovern’s speech of May 25. According to Cecil King’s diary (Jun 5) Beaverbrook sent *Express* general manager E J Robertson personally to kill the rival *Daily Mirror*’s story.
- 10 Tel., WSC to Beaverbrook, Jun 10. McGovern reminded Beaverbrook of the Mar 5, 1940 dinner in his letter of Jul 2, 1941 (copy to WSC). The sheer number of press communiqués, drafts and redrafts in file D.446 testifies to an uneasy conscience.
- 11 Beaverbrook to W J Brown, Apr 16, 1942: ‘I send you my personal good wishes and my hopes and expectations. I cannot oppose the Churchill candidate but I hope the newspapers give you a good show. Mention this telegram to Robertson.’ (State dept. file 841.00/1589.)
- 12 Lee diary, May 27.
- 13 Colville diary, May 29.
- 14 WSC to Dill, Jun 7; Colville diary, Jun 3.
- 15 PREM.4/68/9. Dowding had taken an airforce mission to North America in November 1940; he quarrelled with Slessor and in Canada he expressed views so obnoxious that Churchill decided in March it was ‘high time’ he came home. ‘No reason need be assigned.’ WSC to Beaverbrook, Mar 29 and 31 (Beaverbrook papers, D.29).
- 16 WSC minutes to Ismay, May 27 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1097).
- 17 Hewel diary, May 31 (in the author’s possession).
- 18 Bletchley intercepts OL/523 and 525.
- 19 For FO scepticism, see FO.371/29479.
- 20 COS meeting with JIC on Apr 22 (CAB.79/11 and file WO.190/893).
- 21 Churchill, vol. iii, 373–7.
- 22 ‘Winston,’ he added proudly, ‘had said Hitler would attack Russia, and said this some four months before’ (Mackenzie King diary, Aug 24).
- 23 Churchill, vol. iii, 320ff. Cf. Eden to WSC, Oct 14 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1051n).
- 24 CX/JQ/S/11, dated May 31 (cited in Hinsley, vol. i, 474).
- 25 Churchill, vol. iii, 326.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 319.
- 27 COS to Wavell, May 31 (Churchill, vol. iii, 318). Cf. Cadogan diary, Jun 2, and Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 3.
- 28 Letter, WSC to Randolph, Jun 8 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1107).
- 29 Conference, Justice Robert H Jackson with First Secretary Donald R Heath, on Mar 29, 1946: Schacht had told him ‘on about June 6’ (NA: Jackson papers, Schacht file).
- 30 Visits by Birger Dahlerus are recorded in Göring diary, Mar 25, 27 and Jun 16; and cf. Bernd Martin, *Friedensinitiativen*, 470; Woodward, vol. i, 620f.
- 31 Sikorski cited in Biddle to FDR, Jun 20 (FDR Library: PSF, box 34, folder ‘Ambassador A J Biddle Jr, 1937/1941’).
- 32 For typical criticism see Channon diary, Jun 6.

- 33 Colville diary, Jun 6.
- 34 Cecil King diary, Jun 7, quoting the *Sunday Pictorial's* Stewart Campbell.
- 35 Cecil King diary, Jun 12.
- 36 Cf. Bruce Lockhart diary, Feb 27, 1944.
- 37 Kathleen Harriman cited in Bruce Lockhart diary, Apr 6, 1942.
- 38 Cadogan diary, Jun 9.
- 39 Mackenzie King diary, Apr 16–21.
- 40 WSC to FDR, May 31 (FDR microfilm 1/0337).
- 41 See e.g., Wickard diary, Jun 8; Stimson diary.
- 42 WSC to Pound, Alexander, May 28 (ADM.199/1933).
- 43 WSC to FDR, Jun 8 (FDR microfilm 6/0010).
- 44 Letter, Johnson to WSC, Jun 12 (US embassy in London, secret files).
- 45 WSC to Ismay, Jun 14 (Gilbert, vol. vi, 1110).
- 46 Martin and Cadogan diaries, Jun 9; Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 11.
- 47 Eden minute, Jun 9 (FO.371/26521).
- 48 Cabinet meeting, Jun 9 (CAB.65/22).
- 49 Massey reported this denial to Ottawa on Jun 13. Cripps told him the same on Jun 15: 'It is Cripps view that German motive is not economic, because in his opinion Russia would be prepared to sign any economic agreement which Germany would demand, but that German aim is to remove menace of the Russian Army from her eastern frontiers before it gets too strong.' (MG26, J1, vol. 312).
- 50 Eden cited by Herschel V Johnson, Tel. to State dept., Jun 11. In his Russian memoirs Maisky mentions only Cadogan (641).
- 51 The telegram was in Oshima's *chef de mission* cypher. Oshima saw Hitler at 7:00 P.M. on Jun 3. Walther Hewel, who made the (now missing) official record, noted in his diary only: '*Andeutungen* [Hints about] BARBAROSSA.'
- 52 Hinsley cites only the (classified) Jun 12 report JIC(41)252(0). Sikorski paraphrased this intercept to Biddle on Jun 20; see note 31.
- 53 JIC report, Jun 12 (cited in Churchill, vol. iii, 318).
- 54 *Izvestia*, Jun 14.
- 55 P J Grigg cited in Nicolson diary, Jun 24.
- 56 Letter, Wing Cdr. Oscar Oeser to Jean Howard, Apr 12, 1975.
- 57 Dalton diary, Jun 16; cf. Jun 20 and 21.
- 58 WSC to FDR, Jun 14 (FDR microfilm 1/0355; PREM.3/230/1).
- 59 Brooke diary, Jun 17 (original)
- 60 Colville diary, Jun 18.
- 61 Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 18.
- 62 *News Chronicle*, Jun 18.
- 63 Cecil King diary, Jun 20.
- 64 WSC to FDR, Jun 26 (FDR microfilm 1/0358) and reply, Jul 10 (1/0362ff; PREM.3/426/3).
- 65 Colville diary, Jun 19 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1112).
- 66 O Harvey diary, Jun 25.
- 67 Colville diary, Jun 20.
- 68 WSC to Lord Linlithgow, Jun 20 (cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1113); and to FDR, Jun 22 (*ibid.*, 1115).
- 69 Martin MS.
- 70 WSC to Ismay, Jun 21 (CAB.120/10).
- 71 Colville diary, Jun 22.
- 72 Winant (*op. cit.*, 203) says he arrived on Jun 20 at Chequers.
- 73 Lockhart diary, Jun 20, 1942.
- 74 Churchill, vol. iii, 371f; only this speech is transcribed in Beaverbrook's files (C.87); Lee diary, Jun 22.

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WSC and FDR are used as abbreviations for Churchill and Roosevelt. People with military or honorific titles are accorded the one current in this volume. An italicised page number indicates a photograph.

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