

Endnotes: contents

INTRODUCTION: NEVER FORGET YOUR TRADEMARK	3
1: A VERY BIG AND VERY UGLY WAR	9
2: PRIME MINISTER WITH NOTHING TO HIDE	13
3: THE CHARTER THAT WAS NEVER SIGNED	17
4: SHALL WE DANCE? ASKS MR CHURCHILL	21
5: ‘WE DID IT BEFORE — AND WE CAN DO IT AGAIN!’	25
6: CARRY A BIG STICK	30
7: THE ‘NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE’	36
8: REALLY NOT QUITE NORMAL	42
9: WESTWARD LOOK	48
10: GAPS IN THE ARCHIVES	49
11: A SORRY PASS	57
12: DAY OF PERFIDY	66
13: AT THE WHITE HOUSE	81
14: SOME CHICKEN	87
15: THE COMPLETEST INTIMACY	94
16: POOR WINSTON	102
17: CHURCHILL UP AND CHURCHILL DOWN	108
18: HUMILIATION VALLEY	116
19: THREE MEN AND A BABY	125
20: MOLOTOV AND THE MONGOLIAN SMILE	131
21: ONE THOUSAND BOMBERS	136
22: THE BLAME FOR TOBRUK	143
23: THE KNIGHT’S MOVE	147
24: A VISIT TO THE OGRE IN HIS DEN	154
25: IN CHAINS	163
26: PIG IN THE MIDDLE: DARLAN	173
27: A LITTLE AIRPLANE ACCIDENT	181
28: GETTING RID OF DARLAN	189
29: ALL THE USUAL SUSPECTS	198
30: ‘USE FORCE IF NECESSARY’	206
31: THE HILL OF GOATS	214

32: 'IS THAT YOU, WINSTON?'	220
33: CHEATED OF THE BOMB	229
34: 'SOLDIERS MUST DIE'	233

INTRODUCTION: NEVER FORGET YOUR TRADEMARK

¹ From a speech by Gen. Sir Ian Jacob at Churchill College Cambridge, 'Looking Back at Churchill,' Mar 13, 1969.

² Quoted by Eliot A Cohen in 'Churchill at War,' *Commentary*, New York, May 1987, 4off.

³ Sir Ian Jacob to Mrs Long, May 25, 1954 (Alanbrooke papers, 12/xi/2/11).

⁴ WSC to Brooke, Mar 12, 1957 (Alanbrooke papers, 13/3/1/3); WSC saw only the sanitised version that was published by Bryant.

⁵ In the proof copy of the prewar book by Churchill (hereafter 'WSC'), *Step by Step*, the final chapter written in about March 1939 held that the world could still 'welcome and aid a genuine Hitler of peace and toleration.' When the book was published in June 1939, this chapter had been cut out (Longwell papers; Hoover Library, Stanley Hornbeck papers, box 117; *Evening Star*, Washington, Dec 12, 1965). The papers of Sir Walter Monckton in the Bodleian Library contain as items 23 and 24 correspondence with Queen Elizabeth revealing her desire to accept Hitler's 1940 peace offer; access to these items was restricted until 1999.

⁶ See the letter from R A Butler to Lord Halifax, May 9, 1940, on the terms on which the Labour Party agreed to enter into WSC's coalition government (Hickleton papers, A4.410.16).

⁷ See Paul Addison, in Nick Tiratsoo (ed). *From Blitz to Blair: A New History of Britain since 1939* (London, 1997).

⁸ See the comment of P J Grigg on this to his father, Feb 23, 1941 (Grigg papers, 2/4).

⁹ Thus Brendan Bracken revealed to Mirror group newspaperman Bartholomew on May 1, 1942 that 'the Government knew the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* had run on some mines when escaping through the Channel . . . because we at that time knew the naval code and had picked up their report to that effect.' Bartholomew at once retailed this to Cecil King: hand-written diary, May 5, 1942 (Boston Univ., Mugar Memorial Library, Cecil King papers) (hereafter: Cecil King diary).

¹⁰ See Lord Halifax's secret diary, Jul 10, 1941.

¹¹ The British Channel 4 television broadcast on Nov 16 and 23, 1995 a documentary entitled 'Edward VIII. The Traitor King,' which rehashed, though without attribution, the evidence we presented that his right-wing

and anti-war leanings were the real cause of his enforced abdication in 1936 and his enforced exile, at pistol-point, to the Caribbean in Aug 1940.

¹² Morton to WSC, Aug 23: a Prof. Rougier had arrived in Switzerland from Paris, with word that Weygand wanted to get in touch with WSC and de Gaulle (PREM.7/6; this file was closed until 1996). Again on Oct 5, Morton to WSC: 'Monsieur Rougier, who was to have come here as an emissary from Pétain, has arrived. He has been seen by Lord Halifax, Cadogan and myself. I have found him disappointing.' 'He has no real mandate to commit Pétain in any way but he carries a signed note showing that his visit is known to Pétain.' Rougier, said Morton, 'was manifestly bewildered at finding food, petrol and normal intercourse in London. He expected to clamber over piles of smoking wreckage to discover the Prime Minister hiding in a cellar' (PREM.7/3). Rougier saw Halifax on Oct 24, and WSC with Halifax on Oct 25. Before leaving the UK on Oct 28, he drafted an outline of arguments he would put to Gen. Weygand; Strang and Halifax inserted manuscript amendments, which Churchill approved. (Hickleton papers, A2.278.35). See too the war cabinet paper WP (40) 486, 'Contacts with the Vichy Government,' Dec 19, 1940. And FO.371/32077, from which a key item has been removed until 2018. While Halifax is careful to go on the record on Dec 15, 1942 – at the height of the ugly Darlan controversy – that in September 1940 'the government of Marshal Pétain wished to reach an agreement with HMG, were determined to prevent at any price the seizure by the Axis of the French fleet and bases, and were anxious to prepare the way for a large scale landing of Allied forces on African soil,' he also warned the FO that were Rougier to reveal this now it could only damage. 'It is a great pity that we ever had any dealings with this unpleasant man,' lamented one FO official, while Eden virtuously minuted, Dec 21, 1942: 'I don't think that I know this apparently nasty piece of work. But this reply [threatening Rougier with ugly consequences if he publishes] seems [the] only possible one.' See White Paper, *Despatch to HM Ambassador in Paris regarding relations between HMG in the U K and the Vichy Government in the autumn of 1940*, Cmd. 6662, published Jul 13, 1945.

¹³ Deakin to Strang, Feb 11, 1964 (Churchill College, Strang papers, 2/13); this file was closed until 1996. It includes a 'Chronological outline of events relating to M Rougier,' Oct 24, 1940 – Jun 15, 1964, by E M Young. On trial for his life in France on Feb 26, 1945, Pierre Flandin first publicly revealed the existence of this 'secret agreement' between Vichy and WSC's government. After the latter issued denials through Reuters on Feb 28 and

Mar 31, 1945, Rougier published a pamphlet in Canada, May 2, 1945, entitled 'Mission Secrète à Londres.' Kenneth de Courcy, the incorrigible *arriviste*, printed this in his *Review of World Affairs* that same month. Pétain, now on trial too, also made the agreement a corner stone of his defence. Speaking in the House on Jun 12, 1945 WSC had to deny for a third time any such agreement, but now admitted that negotiations had taken place in 'a neutral capital.' In a further book, *Les Accords Pétain–Churchill*, Rougier published in Jun 1945 some of the documents, forcing the outgoing Churchill government to publish a White Paper, during the Pétain trial, of which it sent copies to defence and prosecuting counsel. Its repudiation of the 'agreement,' noted the FO's E M Young, was couched in 'unduly strong,' meaning unwarranted, terms.

¹⁴ 'Hitler is anti-Christ. The whole fight is against anti-Christ.' Mackenzie King, memo on a conversation with FDR and WSC, May 20, 1943 (Mackenzie King papers).

¹⁵ WSC to Lord Halifax, Aug 3, 1940 (Public Records Office [hereafter PRO] file PREM.4/100/3).

¹⁶ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Aug 20, 1940; extracts published as *The Fringes of Power. 10 Downing Street Diaries 1939–1955* (London, 1985).

¹⁷ On Aug 15, 1940 (Hoover Libr., Edouard Táborsky papers).

¹⁸ Cf. Nigel Nicolson (ed.), Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters 1939–1945* (London, 1967), entry for Jan 22, 1941 [hereafter: Nicolson diary]. WSC spoke very similarly to Cecil King over luncheon on Feb 19, 1941 (Cecil King diary): as soon as one got away from platitudes when speaking about war aims, one ran into difficulties. Thus, recorded the newspaperman in his diary, Lord Vansittart wanted to oppress Germany after the war, while WSC believed in a European family of nations and would treat the Germans generously, while denying them any arms.

¹⁹ Lester B Pearson to Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Sep 11, 1943 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, MG.30, E.101).

²⁰ The Führer had enthused to his staff, 'War is the father of all things' on Aug 15, 1938, May 20, 1942, Jan 27, 1944, Jun 22, 1944, and Jan 9, 1945 and no doubt other occasions. David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London, 1991), 123.

²¹ OSS report 35343, Apr 10, 1943 (NA, RG.226, Records of the Office of Strategic Services).

²² Brooke diary, Oct 26, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers); some of the entries were published by Sir Arthur Bryant (ed.), *The Turn of the Tide* (London, 1957).

²³ P J Grigg to his father, Feb 23 and Jul 14, 1941 (Grigg papers, 2/4).

²⁴ Pound to Cunningham, May 30, 1943 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52561).

²⁵ Tovey to Cunningham, Oct 5, 1943 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52571).

²⁶ Clive Ponting, *Churchill* (London, 1994).

²⁷ John Charmley, *Chamberlain and the Lost Peace* (London, 1989), 54; Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Hitler* (London, 1995), 1–2, and 242. For the Focus files see Churchill College, CHAR.2/236 and /282–6.

²⁸ Quoted in Martin Gilbert, 'The most horrible crime,' in *Times Literary Supplement*, Jun 7, 1996, 5.

²⁹ WSC's mother the American beauty Jenny Jerome was 'outed' in the *Jerusalem Post*, Jan. 18, 1993: editorial columnist Moshe Kohn wrote: 'Cunning, no doubt, came to Churchill in the Jewish genes transmitted by his mother Lady Randolph Churchill, née Jenny Jacobson/Jerome.' As Prof. William Rubinstein of the Univ. of Wales has shown, the case of Winston's schoolfriend and later India Secretary, Leo Amery, was 'possibly the most remarkable example of concealment of identity in 20th century British political history.' In his 1955 autobiography he wrote that his father Charles Frederick Amery was English and that his mother was born Elisabeth Leitner, a Hungarian exile who had fled via Constantinople to England; Rubinstein's research establishes that she was born Erszebet Saphir in Pest, in the Jewish quarter of the Hungarian capital. *Ibid.*, Jan 12, 1999 ('Balfour Declaration's author was a secret Jew'). Both of her parents were Jews. Amery – later one of the authors of the 1917 Balfour declaration – changed his middle name from Moritz to Maurice when he entered Harrow c.1887. *History Today*, Feb 1999, and letter from Prof. Rubinstein, Nov 22, 2000.

³⁰ FDR to Col. The Hon and Mrs Arthur Murray, Argyll, Scotland Jun 2, 1941 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 53, 'Great Britain: Arthur Murray.')

³¹ Lord Moran [Sir Charles Wilson], *Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival, 1940–65* (London, 1966); hereafter: Moran, 'diary.' Compare for instance page 218 of Moran with page 841 of the British edition of Robert Sherwood's *The White House papers of Harry Hopkins*. Lord Moran's heirs did not grant our requests for access to his original notes, which are now in a medical library. In Lord Beaverbrook's papers is a letter from Moran quot-

ing from his World War One diary, which seems to be of the same style; on Feb 5, 1963 Moran wrote to Beaverbrook about finding an editor for the now finished Diaries (Beaverbrook papers, C.249).

³² Moran to Beaverbrook, Dec 11, 1962 (Beaverbrook papers, C.249).

³³ In his history of Naval Intelligence (Naval Historical Branch, London: Vice-Adm John H Godfrey papers).

³⁴ Martin Gilbert freely draws on the Moran 'diaries' in *Winston S Churchill*, vol. vii: *Road to Victory 1941–1945* (London, 1987) (hereafter: Gilbert, vol. vii), but seems to have suspected them after a while; initially, *e.g.*, 30, he would write of Moran, 'nothing in his diary later that day,' but later in the volume Gilbert no longer calls them 'diaries' *tout court*, but 'Sir Charles Wilson, notes relating to' etc., or 'diary and recollections.'

³⁵ Writing in *In Search of Churchill* (London, 1994).

³⁶ John Charmley, reviewing Gilbert, vol. vii, in 'The Gilbert and Churchill Show,' notes that Gilbert had 'a little naught[il]y' given the source of several documents in his companion volumes as 'the Norwich papers' when he had not in fact had access to those; they were in fact all quoted from the autobiography of Duff Cooper (Lord Norwich), with one exception, Cooper's account of the night before his resignation over Munich: Duff Cooper had sent it to Churchill in 1953, who refused him permission to publish it. 'Gilbert's copy comes from the Churchill papers,' Charmley concludes, 'not the Norwich papers.'

³⁷ *The Holy Fox – A Biography of Lord Halifax*.

³⁸ A J P Taylor, *English History 1914–1945* (London, 1965).

³⁹ Isaiah Berlin, 'Winston Churchill in 1940,' included in his anthology, *Personal Impressions*; published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1949 as 'Mr Churchill.'

⁴⁰ John Charmley, *Churchill – The End of Glory* (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1994).

⁴¹ Alan Clark, writing in *The Times*, in 1994. Reviewing Ponting's Churchill's biography in *The Spectator*, Apr 23, 1994, Clark calls vol. i of our biography 'underrated (as well as, in this country, effectively suppressed by the book trade).'

⁴² Paul Johnson, in *The Wall Street Journal*: 'A Revisionist's Look at World War II.' Readers familiar with Britain's political dependence on Washington ('the special relationship') and with the alien invasion inflicted on her by her governments since the 1950s, without any mandate from the people, will dissent from Johnson's smug concluding sentence, that Britain 'was

still democratic and independent at the end of the 20th century.'

⁴³ Diary of Walther Hewel, Ribbentrop's liaison officer to Hitler, Jun 2, 1941 (author's microfilm DI-75).

⁴⁴ John Charmley, *Churchill's Grand Alliance: The Anglo-American Special Relationship* (New York and London, 1995); see the splenetic review of this work by Eliot A Cohen, in *Wall Street Journal*, Oct 16, 1995.

⁴⁵ John Lukács, 'Revising the Twentieth Century,' in *American Heritage*, Sep 1994, 86. And see his study, *The Hitler of History* (New York, 1997), 26–27, 29, 229–31. A possible reason for his bias is to be found in John Toland's papers in the FDR Library. Lukács lamented in Mar 1972 that he had hoped to write a definitive biography of Hitler, but no mainline publisher would commission it since our *Hitler's War* had scooped the pool.

⁴⁶ Geoffrey Wheatcroft, 'The Saviour of His Country,' in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Feb 1994, 116ff.

⁴⁷ Re-released by Decca in 1983 as *Winston Churchill, a Selection of his Wartime Speeches, 1939–1945*. Decca claimed them to be 'historic recordings, taken from radio transcriptions dating from 1939 to 1945.' The BBC asked Decca to drop this claim.

⁴⁸ Barry Fox, 'We Shall Trick them in the Speeches,' in *New Scientist*, London, May 18, 1991. *The Independent*, London, May 16, 1991; *The Guardian*, Jul 4, 1991. Robert Berkovitz of Sensimetrics Ltd. summarised, 'Something very fishy has been going on.'

⁴⁹ Letter by Sally K Hine in *The Guardian*, Apr 22, 1991 ('Here in the Archive we have watched this story grow with great interest and some irritation'); she says that other wartime speeches were recorded in 1949 by WSC for the Decca twelve-record set. She told the Melbourne *Sun-Herald* that in their archives was also an interview with Shelley revealing that he stood in for Churchill's voice in broadcast speeches. The matter was resolved in our favour when a British newspaper reported that Shelley's son Anthony had just found among his father's possessions an original 78 rpm disc of the Jun 4, 1940 speech, stamped, 'BBC, Churchill: Speech. Artist Norman Shelley.' See *The Observer*, Oct 29, 2000: 'FINEST HOUR FOR ACTOR WHO WAS CHURCHILL'S RADIO VOICE.'

⁵⁰ Beaverbrook to Mrs Ince, Mar 3, 1942; and memo, Mar 16, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.448); PM's card.

⁵¹ P J Grigg to his father, Aug 15, 1941 (Grigg papers, 2/4).

⁵² John Barnes *et al.* (ed.), *The Empire at Bay. The Leo Amery Diaries, 1929–1945* (London, 1988) [hereafter: Amery diary], entry for Apr 28, 1941.

⁵³ Findings of the British Institute of Public Opinion, published in *News Chronicle*, Nov 4, 1941. WSC's acceptance ratings were as follows: 1940, Oct 89%, Nov 88%; 1941, Feb 85%, Mar 86%, Jun 87%, Oct 84%. For an expert analysis of WSC's popularity, see Tom Harrisson, head of Mass Observation, writing ('Who will win?') in *Political Quarterly*, vol. xv, No. 1.

⁵⁴ Gallup poll of Jul 11, 1941; Gallup asked the same question on Dec 15, 1941 and found little change.

⁵⁵ Sir Hugh Linstead (Conservative MP for Putney, 1942–64), Macmorren Lecture: 'The Infinite Adventure of Governing Men,' Oct 24, 1976, in *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, Dec 25, 1976, 598.

I: A VERY BIG AND VERY UGLY WAR

¹ Anthony Cave Brown, *The Secret Servant. The Life of Sir Stewart Menzies, Churchill's Spymaster* (London, 1988) (hereafter Cave Brown, *Menzies*), 315.

² Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Jun 22, 1941.

³ Ambassador Anthony Biddle to FDR, Jun 27, 1941 (FDR Libr).

⁴ Cecil King diary, Jun 26, 1941; and PM's appointment card, a copy of which is in our possession (hereafter: PM's card). The large •• x •• inch cards record WSC's daily appointments; we 'rented' these from a gentleman who acquired them under questionable circumstances, and we shall donate a set to the PRO (Author's microfilm DI-51, 'Prime Minister's desk diaries, 1939–45').

⁵ See e.g., Tokyo to Washington, No. 867, Dec 2, 1941; *British* intercept No. 098,540 dated Dec 4, 1941 (HW.1/297). For the suppression of references to FECB in the PRO, see e.g., Adm Sir Geoffrey Layton's file in which Section 280, 'Transfer of FECB from Singapore to Colombo,' has been physically chopped out of the bound vol. in 1971 before its release to the PRO as file ADM.199/1472a. As for the records of FECB (PRO series HW.4), the PRO would have us believe that records for 1941–3 'have not survived.'

⁶ Hinsley, vol. ii, 59f.

⁷ Sir Frank H Hinsley et al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations* (Cambridge, 1979–84), 3 vols. (hereafter Hinsley). Only late in 1994, and then very selectively, were the first 'BJ'-intercepts released to the PRO (they are in series HW.1). For typical 'BJ'-numbers see also FDR Library, Map Room file 166, Aug 1943, with its references to BJ.121,257, 121,258, 121,273.

⁸ Cadogan diary, Jun 28–9 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Sir Alexander Cadogan papers, ACAD.1/10) [hereafter: Cadogan diary]; and see David Dilks (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, O.M., 1938–1945* (London, 1971) [hereafter: Dilks]; and the diary of John Martin (WSC's Principal Private Secretary), Jun 28, 1941 (hereafter: Martin diary; in Sir John Martin's papers, complete copy in our possession).

⁹ WSC to Beaverbrook, M.683/1, Jun 30, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.417).

¹⁰ WSC to Portal, Jun 23 (PREM.3/11/1); and to Ismay, Jun 23, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1122f; cf. Eden to WSC, Jun 24, 1941 (Eden papers, FO.954/24).

¹¹ Martin diary, and letter, Jun 29; chiefs of staff meeting, Jun 23, 1941, COS (41) 225th.

¹² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jun 25, 1941, minute 8 (CAB.69/2; cf. PRO, CAB.44/54); tank statistics from COS aide-mémoire, (41) 123(O)

¹³ Pownall diary, Jun 30, Jul 23, 1941.

¹⁴ Personal and secret, Randolph Churchill to WSC, received Jun 7, 1941, in Winston S Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. iii: *The Grand Alliance* (London 1950) [hereafter Churchill, vol. iii], 311f.

¹⁵ PM's card; Lyttelton, 223ff (his dates are incorrect). WSC's paper was WP (41) 148, Jun 28, 1941. The PRO file on this is CAB.120/250.

¹⁶ WSC to Margesson and Dill, Jun 29, 1941, in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S Churchill*, vol. vi, *Finest Hour 1939–1941* (London, 1983) [hereafter: Gilbert, vol. vi], 1128.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Layton (Nel) diary, Jun 30, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1129; Martin diary, Jun 30, 1941. In general, Elizabeth Nel, *Mr Churchill's Secretary* (London, 1958).

¹⁸ WSC to Ismay, Jun 27, 1941 (PREM.3/119/2). The highly important files of this Special Secret Intelligence Centre were opened in 1995, PRO series CAB.121.

¹⁹ WSC to Dill, Jul 6, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1130; cf. defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jul 3, 1941 (CAB.69/2).

²⁰ Gen. Raymond Lee, letter, Jul 4; and diary, Jul 1–3, Aug 16, 1941, in James Leutze (ed.), *The London Observer. The Journal of General Raymond E Lee 1940–1941* (London, 1972) (hereafter: Lee diary).

²¹ Frank Owen, quoted by Cecil King diary Jul 7, 1941.

²² Cecil King diary Jul 3, 1941.

²³ Churchill, vol. iii, 340.

²⁴ MEW to Moscow, Jul 4 (CAB.65/18); cf. Hugh Dalton's diary, Jun 16, 1941.

²⁵ Cripps to FO, Jun 29, 1941 (PREM.3/401/1).

²⁶ *Daily Worker*, Jul 9, 1941. Marshal Philip I Golikov, *S'Voennoi Missiei v Anglii i SShA* (On a Military Mission to Great Britain and the USA) (Moscow, 1987) [hereafter: Golikov] 31.

²⁷ Golikov, *op. cit.*, 33ff. A formal Soviet military mission under Rear Adm Kharlamov was established in London in July: N M Kharlamov, *Difficult Mission* (Moscow, 1986).

²⁸ Golikov, *op. cit.*, 43f.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; and *New York Times*, Aug 1, 1941.

³⁰ WSC to Portal, M.712/1, Jul 7, 1941 (PREM.3/14/5; and AIR.20/2214).

³¹ WSC to Stalin, Jul 7, rec'd Moscow Jul 8, 1941 (PREM.3/401/1; Churchill, vol. iii, 340; and in *Correspondence between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Presidents of the USA and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain during the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945* (Moscow, 1957) [hereafter Stalin–Churchill Corresp.], vol. i, No. 1).

³² For the Soviet record of the Cripps–Stalin conversation, see *Sovetsko-angliiskie otnosheniya vo vremya velikoi otchestvennoi voiny, 1941–1945: dokumenty i materialy*, two vols., vol. i, 1941–1943 (Moscow, 1983), [hereafter *Sov.-angliiskiye*], vol. i, 69ff. We are indebted to Richard Ogdon for drafting translations of these documents.

³³ Harvey diary, Jul 9, 1941 (British Library); and see John Harvey (ed.), *The War Diaries of Oliver Harvey 1941–1945* (London, 1978) [hereafter: Harvey diary].

³⁴ Cadogan diary, Jul 9; WSC to Stalin, Jul 10, 1 A.M (PREM.3/170/1); WSC to Cripps, Jul 10, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 341f, and *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 76.

³⁵ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Jul 9, 1941.

³⁶ Lyttelton, *op. cit.*, 244ff.

³⁷ WSC to Attlee, Aug 6, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1157.

³⁸ Cecil King diary, Jul 19, 1941.

³⁹ Cecil King diary, Jul 17, 1941.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Nel, *Mr Churchill's Secretary* (London, 1958) [hereafter: Nel], 59f.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Layton (Nel) diary, Jul 18, 1941.

⁴² WSC to Cherwell, Jul 10, 1941 (PREM.3/22/4).

⁴³ Menzies diary, Mar 28, 1941 (National Library of Australia, Canberra, Robert Menzies papers, MS.4936/1/57).

⁴⁴ Cecil King diary Jul 17; cf. *Nicolson, diary*, Jul 18; and Martin diary, Jul 18, 1941: 'Active afternoon in connection with new ministerial appointments.'

⁴⁵ Pownall diary, Jul 25, 1941.

⁴⁶ WSC to Auchinleck, Jul 1, 1941 (PREM.3/291/1).

⁴⁷ Auchinleck to WSC, Jul 4, 1941 (PREM.3/291/1).

⁴⁸ WSC to Auchinleck, Jul 6, 1941 (PREM.3/291/1).

⁴⁹ Auchinleck to WSC, Jul 23, 1941 (PREM.3/291/1).

⁵⁰ Ismay to J Martin, Jul 26, 1941 (PREM.3/291/1).

⁵¹ Stalin to WSC, Jul 18, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1); *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 854; Churchill, vol. iii, 342; and in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 3.

⁵² Maisky to Molotov, Jul 19, 1941, in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 86ff.

⁵³ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 43 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

⁵⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 21, 1941 (Avon papers, 20.1.21). This manuscript is substantially more revealing than the few extracts published by Sir Anthony in *The Memoirs of Anthony Eden. The Reckoning* (London, 1965): hereafter, Eden, *Reckoning*.

⁵⁵ Lee diary, Jul 15; and cf. Jul 25, 1941. There are 118 microfilm reels of Hull's papers in the US Library of Congress. Averell Harriman, born Nov 15, 1891 in New York City to a wealthy railroad-building family, was chairman of the Illinois Central Railroad (1939-42) and chairman of Union Pacific. He died in 1986.

⁵⁶ As reported at COS (41) 254th meeting, minute 3 (cf. CAB.44/54, 84).

⁵⁷ Lee diary, Nov 12, 1940.

⁵⁸ Lee diary, Jul 21, 1941. Every room in the MI6 safe house near Aldershot where Hess was being held was bugged with hidden microphones.

⁵⁹ Minutes of war cabinet (defence committee) meeting (Supply), Jul 22, 1941, attended by Harriman and Hopkins: DC (S) (41) 6th Mtg (Hopkins papers; Sherwood collection, box 307, folder 'Hopkins returns to London, #2.'

⁶⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 21, 1941.

⁶¹ Harvey diary, Jul 21, 1941.

⁶² Dalton diary, Jul 21, 1941. The minutes are also in Hopkins's papers. Minutes of war cabinet (defence committee) Supply meeting Jul 23, 1941, 5 P.M.: DC(S) (41) 7th Mtg (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 307, folder 'Hopkins returns to London, #2.'

⁶³ Lee diary, Jul 21, 1941.

⁶⁴ War cabinet, Minutes of a Special Meeting held in Conference Room A, Ministry of Labour, on Jul 24, 1941, at 3 P.M, attended by Bevin, Hankey, etc., and Hopkins, Harriman, Lee, and Bridges; there were further meetings in Hankey's room on Jul 28 and 29 (*ibid.*). See too Churchill, vol. iii, 377ff; Lee diary, Jul 24, 1941; COS (41) 21st meeting (O), Jul 24, 1941; and Hopkins's version in Robert Sherwood, *The White House papers of Harry Hopkins*, two vols (New York, 1948–1949), 31ff.

⁶⁵ Harry Hopkins to FDR, Jul 25, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0387f; and FDR Libr., PSF, Hopkins).

⁶⁶ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Jul 24–5, 1941.

2: PRIME MINISTER WITH NOTHING TO HIDE

¹ Neville Butler of the North American dept. of the FO was informed on Sep 8, 1941 that 'all our [FO] files go to show that they had *not* met before.' However Cdr. C R Thompson, WSC's personal assistant, stated that 'the question was raised when they met, and it was decided conclusively that they *had* met before' (PREM.4/71/1).

² Churchill, vol. iii, 380.

³ PM's card, Jul 16; Cadogan diary, Jul 29, 1941.

⁴ Mackenzie King diary, Apr 20, 1941.

⁵ On relations with the United States at this time, see in general William Roger Louis, *Imperialism at Bay 1941–1945: The United States and the Decolonisation of the British empire* (Oxford, 1977); Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War against Japan, 1941–1945* (London, 1978), and David Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937–1941: A Study in Competitive Co-operation* (Chapel Hill, 1982).

⁶ Jacob diary, Aug 11, page 47: The Governor then hurried over by train to Placentia for lunch with WSC. See Malcolm Macdonald to FO, Aug 13, 1941: Mackenzie King felt that the Dominions should have been informed in advance of the charter. E E Bridges' file shows the trouble was taken to keep the Dominions in the dark on RIVIERA (CAB. 120/20).

⁷ WSC to King George VI, Jul 25, 1941; this and the king's reply are in PREM.4/71/1, 'Meeting between PM & President Roosevelt Aug 1941'; about 20 pages appear to have been blanked out in this file.

⁸ Hopkins, note on meeting with King George VI (Hopkins papers, microfilm); the passage was deleted from Sherwood's edition of the papers; the king made similar disparaging remarks at the time to Eleanor Roosevelt, Mackenzie King, and others. On Aug 7 Eden (diary) noted Sir Alec Hardinge's report that the king was 'nervy' (i.e. on edge) and found himself on Aug 8 that 'he is certainly "nervy" as Alec had warned me. I still do not find him easy to talk to. . .'

⁹ WSC to FDR, Jul 25, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0384f; and Churchill, vol. iii, 380).

¹⁰ WSC to FDR, Jul 26, 1941, *ibid.*

¹¹ Hopkins to FDR, Jul 25, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0387f; cf. undated postwar memo by R Sherwood in Beaverbrook papers, C.175.

¹² WSC to Stalin, Jul 28, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 91; in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 6; Churchill, vol. iii, 346).

¹³ On Cripps see Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Stafford Cripps' Mission to Moscow, 1940-1942* (Cambridge, 1985).

¹⁴ Harvey diary, Jul 28, 1941.

¹⁵ C R Thompson, MS (Thompson papers).

¹⁶ Elizabeth Layton to her parents, Jul 25, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1141.

¹⁷ Pownall diary, Jul 25, 1941.

¹⁸ Vincent Massey's report to Ottawa, Jul 31, 1941 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, William Lyon Mackenzie King papers). Massey became the first Canadian born Governor-Gen. of Canada.

¹⁹ WSC to FDR, May 29, 1941 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files).

²⁰ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jul 21, 1941 (CAB.69/2).

²¹ 'ULTRA History of US Strategic Airforce Europe vs. German airforce,' Jun 1945 (NA, RG.457, SRH-013).

²² WSC minute, Jun 28, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

²³ There was a sequel. After former SIS officer Harford Montgomery Hyde admitted the forgery in *The Daily Telegraph* in Oct 1979, the Bolivian government rehabilitated Belmonte at a military ceremony and promoted him to general. Hyde's papers are now housed in Churchill College – but the Intelligence items, including his history of William Stephenson's clandestine operations, have been sealed indefinitely.

²⁴ Stimson diary, Aug 13, 1941.

²⁵ Berle diary, Sep 5 (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers, VII/2/122f). Berle minuted to Sumner Welles on Sep 27, 1941: 'Mr Elliott . . . Stevenson's assistant in the British Intelligence is running Donovan's Intelligence service. You are familiar with the fact that we recently took up with the British Government the fact that British Intelligence had given us documents which they had forged. . . I believe that the British Intelligence probably has been giving attention to creating as many "incidents" as possible to affect public opinion here' (*ibid.*).

²⁶ Ankara to Tokyo, Tel. No. 150, Jul 28, reporting remarks by Papen on Jul 26; deciphered and translated by US army, Jul 29, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.13527).

²⁷ WSC to Pound, minute M.710/1, Jul 7, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

²⁸ Cecil King diary Jul 9, 1941; he would die in 1987 without seeing the American troops leave Britain. Cf. Lee diary, Jul 11, Nov 6, 1941.

²⁹ Martin MS, based on his diary.

³⁰ Mason-Macfarlane to War Office, Aug 1, 1941 (WO.216/124).

³¹ On Sep 4 Grand-Adm Karl Dönitz, the German U-boat commander-in-chief, personally expressed concern that the British were somehow fixing his U-boat positions with exactitude. The German decode of a British admiralty signal of Sep 6 contained 'an overview of probable U-boat locations which is absolutely spot-on and can only partly have been obtained by sightings and direction-finding.' Baffled, the German naval staff added, 'There can be no question of their having gained insight into our code materials.' *Kriegstagebuch der Seekriegsleitung*, Sep 19, 1941.

³² Pound to WSC, Jul 2, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

³³ WSC to Pound, Jul 5, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

³⁴ Pound to WSC, Jul 9, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

³⁵ Hinsley, Edward Thomas, and Patrick Wilkinson, in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed). *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 3, 33, 46, 64. This cypher yielded six hundred decrypts in July 1941.

³⁶ Harvey diary, Aug 4, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 361.

³⁷ Eden diary, Aug 2, 1941.

³⁸ WSC memo, Jul 31 (Beaverbrook papers, D.418). COS (41) 270th meeting, Jul 31, minute 2; and defence committee (Operations) meeting, Aug 1, 1941, minute 1 (PREM.3/286).

³⁹ Martin diary, Jul 26, 1941.

⁴⁰ Stewart Menzies MS, 1967, quoted in Cave Brown, *Menzies*, 317.

⁴¹ Brooke, quoted in Dalton diary, Feb 10, 1942.⁴² See *e.g.*, Amery diary, Oct 14, 1942: '... just after Winston had discussed it with me in his bath towel . . .'; and Cadogan diary, Aug 24, 1943: when Eden and Cadogan went up to see WSC at 11:30 A.M. to get final approval of recognition for de Gaulle's committee they found him stark naked, drying himself.

⁴³ This was on Aug 26, 1941. Elliott Roosevelt, in *Parade* magazine, Los Angeles, Oct 10, 1982.

⁴⁴ Mackenzie King diary, May 21, 1943.

⁴⁵ L C Hollis minute to WSC, Jul 28, 1941, and WSC's marginalia (PREM.3/485/6).

⁴⁶ HM Queen Elisabeth to WSC, and reply, Aug 3, 1941 (*ibid.*). For riviera, see the diary kept by Lieut-Col. E I C Jacob throughout (Churchill College archives, JACB.1/9).

⁴⁷ FDR to WSC, Jul 15, 1941 (NA, State dept. file 740.0011 European War 1939/14007-4/5).

⁴⁸ WSC to Bridges and Ismay, Aug 3, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.122; and (PREM.3/485/6; a truncated version is in Churchill, vol. iii, 383).

⁴⁹ T L Rowan note, Aug 5, 1941, on a meeting with C and others, *ibid.* This initially specified that the FO would be responsible for selecting which 'BJs' to send; the FO was replaced by 'Major Morton.'

⁵⁰ Martin diary, Aug 3, 1941.

⁵¹ J Martin to HV Morton, author of the subsequent book *Atlantic Meeting*, Dec 28, 1942 (PREM.4/71/1).

⁵² Lee diary, Aug 3-4, 1941.

⁵³ WSC to FDR, Aug 4, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 931; Churchill, vol. iii, 381).

⁵⁴ Author's interview of Sir John Langford-Holt, Feb 20, 1978.

⁵⁵ Jacob diary, Aug 7, 1941.

⁵⁶ Jacob diary, Aug 4, 1941.

⁵⁷ Transocean Radio Message, Aug 5, 8:15 P.M., and related minutes (PREM.4/71/1); Jacob diary Aug 7, 1941.

⁵⁸ Stimson diary, Aug 6, 1941: 'There is a wild rumor going around town tonight. . .'

⁵⁹ FDR to Hull, Aug 6, 1941 (Hull papers).

⁶⁰ Cadogan diary, Aug 7-8, 1941.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Aug 7; Jacob diary, Aug 7, 1941: 'I thought we had touched rock bottom with the film the previous evening, but this one, called *High Sierra*, was even worse.'

⁶² Jacob diary, Aug 8, 1941, 23.

⁶³ Arnold diary, Aug 1941; and in general 'Log of the President's Cruise on Board the USS *Potomac* and USS *Augusta*, Aug 3–16, 1941,' in FDR Libr., PSF, 'Atlantic Charter').

⁶⁴ Jacob diary, Aug 9. On Aug 11, 1941 he noted with anger that the visiting US naval officers had not made a single inquiry about *Prince of Wales*, her capabilities or equipment, or its part in sinking *Bismarck*. 'They do not appear in the least interested in the progress of the naval war . . . they seem to be much more concerned in getting a few drinks and in having a good time and getting back on shore.'

3: THE CHARTER THAT WAS NEVER SIGNED

¹ Undated postwar memo by R Sherwood in Beaverbrook papers, C.175.

² As Col. Jacob noted at the time, 'No-one has any idea of what the Prime Minister has been saying to the President' (diary, Aug 10). But see WSC, typescript draft report, 'Joint Anglo-American declaration of principle,' Aug 14, 1941 (CAB.120/21).

³ Arnold diary, Aug 10, 1941.

⁴ Arnold diary, Aug 7, 1941. Arnold also recorded the same FDR statement more fully as, 'If Japan goes into Thailand, the United States will not be overly concerned; but if it goes into Dutch East Indies, then we are vitally interested and must do our utmost to get them out.' The British chiefs of staff were aware of this American attitude. Pownall, Vice CIGS, noted on Aug 8 (diary), '*Siam*: Japan is obviously going to have her next crack there. . . It would be worth calling Siam a vital interest and going to war with Japan if she intrudes, *if* we were sure that America would come in at once on the same grounds. But it is quite certain that America would *not* go to war for Siam, and the last thing in the world we want to do is to have to take on Japan without America.' In general on this conference: 'Log of the President's Cruise on Board the USS *Potomac* and USS *Augusta*, Aug 3–16, 1941' (FDR Libr., PSF, 'Atlantic Charter').

⁵ Keynes, quoted by Kingsley Wood, in Dalton diary, Aug 25. Recently, Claude Wickard, secretary for agriculture, had also found FDR highly fatigued (diary, Jul 19, 1941).

⁶ Longwell to WSC, Apr 1, 1949 (Columbia University, New York, Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

⁷ Harriman letter, cited in A Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941–1946* (London, 1976), 75.

⁸ War cabinet, WM (41) 84, Aug 19, 1941, minute 19, 1941 (CAB.65/19).

⁹ Pownall diary, Aug 19, 1941.

¹⁰ HM King George VI diary, Aug 19, 1941, in J Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI: His Life and Reign* (London, 1958).

¹¹ WSC to Smuts, Nov 8, 1941 (PREM.3/476/3; Churchill, vol. iii, 529).

¹² Cabinet meeting of Roosevelt (hereafter: FDR) on Aug 21, in Wickard diary, manuscript, Aug 23, 1941 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers).

¹³ There is fleeting but seemingly unambiguous evidence that WSC and FDR had agreed on an unwritten *de facto* alliance committing the USA to war with Japan even if Japan did not attack US territory first; this evidence is to be found in the records of the (American) Joint Army and Navy Boards and committees chaired by Adm. Stark, especially the meetings dated Sep 4, 14, and Nov 3, 13, 1941 (NA, RG.225).

¹⁴ Cadogan on Aug 9, 1941, quoted in a Sumner Welles memo (NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14007–2/5).

¹⁵ Wickard diary, manuscript, Nov 8 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers). From Apr 21–27, 1941 there had been American–Dutch–British conversations in Singapore to agree contingency plans against Japan. In 1945 Washington asked permission to release the agreement; while the British chiefs of staff agreed to the document's release, the Cabinet Office objected, advising on Nov 18, 1945 that 'hostile propagandists' might represent it as proof 'we were preparing for war against Japan and that Japan had some justification for taking the first step.' That would be a complete travesty (FO.371/44667).

¹⁶ Hull, quoted by vice-president Henry Wallace in his diary, May 31, 1945; Hull had 'immediately pigeonholed' the proposal. John Morton Blum (ed.), *The Price of Vision. The Diary of Henry A Wallace, 1942–1946* (Boston, 1973).

¹⁷ WSC to Randolph Churchill, Aug 29, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1176f.

¹⁸ Arnold diary, Aug 14, 1941.

¹⁹ Lieut. Col. CW Bundy, memo, Aug 15, on WSC's speech of Aug 9 NA, RG.165, Army Operations/OPD Executive Files 1940–45, exec. 4, item 10).

²⁰ Churchill, vol. iii, 385, related that FDR made the 'helpful suggestion' that they draw up such a Declaration. This seems unfounded.

²¹ Capt. J R Beardall, US navy, to Cdr. C R Thompson, Aug 9 (PREM.4/71/1); Jacob diary, Aug 10, 1941, 39.

²² Original menu in FDR Libr: Safe File, Atlantic Charter meeting; and see the Arnold diary.

²³ Jacob diary, Aug 11, 1941, 49.

²⁴ The draft was by Cadogan. Churchill, vol. iii, 385ff, called it 'my text' and wrote that it 'was in its first draft a British production cast in my own words.' The 'original draft' reproduced by him is, incidentally, dated Aug 12, 1941.

²⁵ Declaration to Japan (PREM.3/485/1; Churchill, vol. iii, 390). See WSC's contemporary memo, 'Far East,' giving the history of his attempt to induce FDR to issue the warning to Japan (CAB.120/21). WSC later informed Eden, 'I remember that President Roosevelt himself wrote in, "There must be no further encroachment in the North," at the Atlantic Conference.' WSC to Eden, Nov 23, 1941 (PREM.3/156/6).

²⁶ WSC to cabinet, Aug 12, 1941; COS (41) 25th meeting (O), annex i; cf. CAB.44/54, fol. 93.

²⁷ Sumner Welles note in NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14007-2/5.

²⁸ L C Hollis, record of COS meeting, Aug 11, 1941, 9:30 A.M., COS(R[IVIERA])6 (Beaverbrook papers, D.122). WSC to Eden, Aug 11, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 389f.

²⁹ WSC minute, Aug 11 (Beaverbrook papers, D.122); and WSC to Eden, Aug 11, 1941, Churchill, vol. iii, 38ff.

³⁰ Record of Anglo-U.S. chiefs of staff conference, Aug 11, 1941 (NA, RG.18, item No. 293, in file 337b). This shows that the British chiefs of staff accepted the loss of the B-17s so meekly that it seems a fair conclusion that this was a quid pro quo for the United States agreeing to an unwritten alliance with Britain against Japan.

³¹ WSC, 'Far East' (CAB.120/21). Cadogan diary, Aug 11; and Cadogan to Eden, Aug 11, 1941, in Dilks, *op. cit.*, 399.

³² FDR, quoted *ibid.* Churchill, vol. iii, 387f.

³³ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 24, 1941.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Sumner Welles memo, Aug 11, 1941 (NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14007-3/5).

³⁶ Churchill, vol. iii, 388.

³⁷ Sumner Welles memo, Aug 11, 1941 (NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14007-4/5). Welles noted, 'The President said that he was entirely in accord with the redraft of Point Four which was better than he had thought Mr Churchill would be willing to concede.'

³⁸ Harold Smith diary, Sep 26, 1941.

³⁹ WSC to cabinet, Aug 11, 1:50 P.M.; cabinet to WSC, Aug 12, 4 A.M. (PREM.3/485/1); Churchill, vol. iii, 391; Jacob diary, Aug 12, 1941, 51.

⁴⁰ Arnold diary, Aug 12, 1941.

⁴¹ FDR speaking to his cabinet on Feb 13, as recorded in Ickes diary, Feb 15, 1942.

⁴² For the various versions of how Point Four came to be drafted, and the conflicting chronologies, see Churchill, vol. iii, 385ff; Sumner Welles, *Where Are We Heading?* (New York, 1946), 9-14; A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 480. The Sumner Welles notes suggest that Beaverbrook did *not* play a major part in softening Point Four, since he arrived after that battle was largely over.

⁴³ WSC had cabled to Attlee on Aug 11, 1941, 'The President wishes to issue . . . a Joint Declaration signed by him and me. . . '

⁴⁴ Churchill was aware of the significance of not signing it. This also explains the entry in Martin diary, Aug 14, 1942: 'This is apparently to be taken now as Atlantic Charter Day, being the anniversary of publication (not "signature").'

⁴⁵ Amery diary, Aug 14, 1941.

⁴⁶ Presidential press conference, Dec 19, 1944, in *FDR Press Conferences*, vol. 24, 266f (FDR Library). FDR had been finessed into signing a parchment copy of it by Truman's naval aide Lieut. Elsey, as a souvenir, and it irked him. Elsey had a printed copy of the Atlantic Charter which both men had (very reluctantly, he recalled) autographed for him. The press hinted at this, and White House files were ransacked for the offending item. Another copy was turned up with both men's names on it, both executed in FDR's handwriting! But Hitler's Battle of the Bulge had now begun, and the world had other preoccupations (Harry S Truman Library, Oral History of George M Elsey, Apr 9, 1970).

⁴⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, Dec 20, 1944; Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Dec 23, 1944 (Question by Mr H L Davies).

⁴⁸ Hurley, interview of WSC, Apr 1945 (Hoover Library, Patrick Hurley papers).

⁴⁹ Memo for US Ambassador, Feb 13, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 1, file 'Atlantic Charter').

⁵⁰ WSC to FDR, Aug 9, 1942 (PREM.3/485/9).

⁵¹ Eden to J H Peck, Jan 16, 1943 (PREM.4/71/1).

⁵² Jacob diary, Aug 19, 1941, 89.

⁵³ Arnold diary, Aug 12, 1941.

4: SHALL WE DANCE? ASKS MR CHURCHILL

¹ Dalton diary, Apr 7, 1943 (London School of Economics, Political Science Library: Hugh Dalton papers, I, file 28, 104–6).

² Ickes diary, Mar 17, 1938. Passing through Canton in 1941, Robert Menzies had found the local British Resident, a rather solitary gentleman in a grass skirt, living in a hut with his native wife.

³ FO.371/26199. FDR signed an executive order in May 1936 annexing Canton island. The file contains an original photo of the grass hut, with a large British flag which attracted 'caustic comment' from Pan Am passengers stopping-over on the long haul from San Francisco to Auckland.

⁴ Eisenhower handwritten note, ca Nov 5, 1942 (Butcher papers).

⁵ WSC to Ismay, Aug 30, 1940 (PREM.3/276); Menzies to WSC, Sep 29, 1940 (PREM.4/43b/1).

⁶ Mackenzie King diary, Jul 15, 1942.

⁷ HM King George VI to Queen Mary, Aug 17; and diary, Aug 18, 19, 1941.

⁸ Halifax diary, Aug 18, and secret diary, Oct 20; Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 [Churchill College, CLVL.1/5]: Aug 18, 1941. WSC's popularity did not extend to the USA yet: After the Atlantic conference US military Intelligence noted an increase in 'a rather promiscuous booing and hissing' by US army audiences when newsreels showed him together with FDR and Gen. Marshall. Report on conduct of enlisted men, Sep 4, 1941. 'Soldiers do not altogether realize seriousness of the act' (NA, RG.319, Records of the Army Staff, IRR file X814 6666, 'Winston Churchill').

⁹ Bridges memo, Aug 18, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.418).

¹⁰ Eden diary, Aug 19, 1941.

¹¹ At the defence committee on Aug 20, WSC decided that Britain would invade Iran as soon as the Russians were ready. 'He is really much more concerned with establishing a line of communication for helping the Russians than with getting out the Germans,' wrote Amery: diary, Aug 20. Pownall admitted on Aug 8, 1941 (diary), 'We really want not only that but

physical control over the Anglo-Persian Oil Company and the refinery at Abadan.'

¹² Eden diary, Aug 19, 1941.

¹³ Harvey diary, Aug 25, 1941.

¹⁴ WSC to Randolph Churchill, Aug 29, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 428.

¹⁵ HM King George VI diary, Aug 19, 1941.

¹⁶ Molotov to Maisky, Aug 24, 1941 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 104).

¹⁷ Smuts to WSC, Aug 23, 1941; copy in Mackenzie King diary.

¹⁸ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 7, 8, 1941. He was prime minister of Canada 1921–26, 1926–30, 1935–48. The diaries were published in a rigorously 'cleansed' edition by his loyal chief of staff John Whitney Pickersgill (1905–1997); we have always relied on the unedited archive originals.

¹⁹ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 13, 1941.

²⁰ Mackenzie King diary, Nov 9, 1941, special handwritten entry on his talk with FDR on Nov 1, 1941.

²¹ So Clementine said: Mackenzie King diary, Aug 24, 1941.

²² Winant to FDR, Aug 22, 23, 1941 (NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14241–2/3).

²³ WSC to Mackenzie King, Aug 20, 1941; Eden diary, Aug 22, 1941.

²⁴ Eden diary, Aug 22; WSC to Pound, Aug 22, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1172.

²⁵ Eden diary, Aug 23, 1941.

²⁶ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 57 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

²⁷ Cecil King diary, Aug 22, 1941.

²⁸ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 22, 1941.

²⁹ In his diary Mackenzie King wrote on May 13, 1943, 'Just before waking, I had had a rather remarkable vision in which it seemed that the people of England were anxious that I should run for Parliament there. . . I . . . saw myself elected a Member, the whole thing standing out as a great achievement. The Houses of Parliament seemed suddenly to visualise themselves like a bit of stained glass on the window with Gold as the prevailing colour. . . The moment I woke I instantly said to myself: that is an interesting vision, but I would never think of leaving Canada'

³⁰ Mackenzie King diary, Sep 17, 1944.

³¹ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 7, 1941 (*Ibid.*).

³² On Aug 11 and 12, 1943 he recorded full-length dreams about the Führer.

³³ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1944. On Apr 17, 1941 he dictated: 'When I had made this decision I looked at the little clock and the hands were exactly together at about 25 minutes to 8 – as happens so significantly with respect to every decision. I have felt over and over again that there was evidence of real guidance. I have thought frequently of the words, "My time is in Thy hands."'

³⁴ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 22–4, 1941.

³⁵ After FDR mentioned Japan at his cabinet meeting on Aug 29, 1941 the vice president Henry Wallace sent him a letter by courier urging him to 'take an exceedingly firm stand' in the current conversations with the Japanese, and to avoid anything smacking of appeasement. 'I do hope, Mr President, you will go to the absolute limit in your firmness in dealing with Japan' (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Far East.')

³⁶ GC&CS, report ZIS/MSGP.27, UG 21, 1941: 'Police Activities in Russia 3.7.–14.8.41, and Police Activities in Germany and the Occupied Countries' (HW.16/6, part 1). For WSC's support of GC&CS against the rival Radio Security Service which also monitored German police and agents, see CAB.163/11. Some of these intercepts will be found in the set released by the National Security Agency to the US National Archives in 1996 (NA: RG.457, box 1386, 'German WW2 Police & SSTraffic. GPD Atrocities.' See Dr John P Fox, 'British Intelligence Documents on Einsatzgruppen Operations 1941–42,' a paper read to a Berlin symposium on May 2–4, 1997. And see Hinsley, vol. ii, app. 5, 671; cf. M Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War* (New York, 1985).

³⁷ *Ibid.* A subsequent report (ZIP/MSGP.28) dated Sep 12, 1941 pointed out, 'Whether all those executed as "Jews" are indeed such is of course doubtful; but the figures are no less conclusive as evidence of a policy of savage intimidation if not of ultimate extermination.' This analyst speculated that listing the victims as 'Jews' was 'the ground for killing most acceptable to the Higher Authorities' (*ibid.*). This report cited intercepts – while warning that probably only half the messages were obtained – listing a total of 12,361 Jews killed in the four weeks covered by the report. See Ronald Headland, *Messages of Murder. A Study of the Reports of the Einsatzgruppen of the Security Police and the Security Service, 1941–1943* (London & Toronto, 1992); Omer Batov, *The Eastern Front, 1941–45. German Troops and the Barbarisation of Warfare* (London, 1985); and Theo J Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Berg, 1989).

³⁸ [Nigel] de G[rey], report, 'German Police,' initialled by WSC on Sep 2, 1941 (HW.1/40).

³⁹ [Nigel] de G[rey], MOST SECRET report, 'German Police,' Sep 11, 1941 (HW.1/62). He appended this note: 'The fact that the Police are killing all Jews that fall into their hands should be now sufficiently well appreciated. It is not therefore proposed to continue reporting these butcheries specially, unless so requested.' Cf. Hinsley, vol. ii, 671. These British intercepts dated Jul–Sep 1941 have now been released by the US National Security Agency. Prof. Richard Breitman 'revealed' their existence in *The Washington Post*, Nov 10, 1996; *Jewish Chronicle*, citing Dr Tony Kushner, Nov 15, 1996. Note that the precise massacre-locations and figures e.g., '367' and '4,200,' gained from the ULTRA intercepts are quoted without source ('many reports refer. . .') in the British Postal & Telegraph Censorship 'Report on Jewry,' Jan 22, 1942, 3, para ii (HO.213/953); such P&T reports had only CONFIDENTIAL classification and a wide circulation.

⁴⁰ GC&CS summary ZIP/MSGP.29, dated Oct 22, 1941 (HW.16/6, part i).

⁴¹ This item was decoded on Oct 9, 1941 (*Ibid.*).

⁴² [Nigel] de G[rey], 'German Police,' Oct 11, 1941 (HW.1/135).

⁴³ GC&CS summary ZIP/MSGP.29, dated Oct 22, 1941 (HW.16/6, part i).

⁴⁴ GC&CS German Police Section, [Nigel] de G[rey], 'German Police,' Oct 17 (HW.1/148); WSC ticked this paragraph on Oct 18, 1941.

⁴⁵ GC&CS summary ZIP/MSGP.30, covering period Oct 1 – Nov 14, 1941 (HW.16/6, part i).

⁴⁶ GC&CS summary ZIP/MSGP.29, dated Oct 22, 1941 (HW.16/6, part i).

⁴⁷ GC&CS, 'History of the German Police Section, 1939–45' (HW.3/155).

⁴⁸ He often recalled that 'dance.' Mackenzie King diary, Dec 26, 1941.

⁴⁹ WSC minutes in file PREM.3/••• CHECK INDEX CARDS.

⁵⁰ See Amery diary, Aug 25, 1941.

⁵¹ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 25; war cabinet minutes, Aug 25; and WSC to Randolph Churchill, Aug 29, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 428.

⁵² WSC to Stalin, Aug 28, rec'd Aug 30, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1 and (PREM.3/401/1); also in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 109ff; in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 9; and in Churchill, vol. iii, 403.

⁵³ Lindemann to WSC, Aug 27, 1941 (Cherwell papers, 'Tube Alloys'; original, with red sidelining by WSC, in CAB.121/271).

⁵⁴ WSC to Ismay for COS Committee, COS (41) 187(O), Minute D.246/1, Aug 30, 1941 (CAB.121/271; PREM.3/139/8a; Churchill, vol. iii, 730).

⁵⁵ Hollis to WSC, Sep 2 (PREM.3/139/8a); Ismay to Anderson, Sep 4, 1941 (CAB.121/271).

⁵⁶ FDR to WSC and to Dr Vannevar Bush, Oct 11 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0409ff; PREM.3/139/8a). On Nov 6, 1941 Bush briefed Henry Stimson (diary), about 'a most terrible thing' – clearly the atomic bomb project.

⁵⁷ WSC to Hopkins, Aug 28, 1941 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, file '711 War, U-Boats, Atlantic').

⁵⁸ WSC to Chancellor, minute M.839/1, Aug 28 (Beaverbrook papers, D.122, and PREM.4/71/1).

⁵⁹ Minute by J R C[olville], Sep 11, 1941 (PREM.4/71/1). The 'Declaration' now had a footnote, headed: 'A secret intimation,' and reading: 'For the purposes of this document the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations must be regarded as Nations.'

⁶⁰ WSC to Randolph, Aug 29, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 428; and PM's card.

⁶¹ Halifax diary, Aug 30. On Aug 31, 1941 he added, 'Talked to Anthony [Eden] and Winant in the morning, while Winston worked in bed. [Lord] Melchett [Chairman of ICI] came to luncheon to show Winston something he is producing for the Government. After luncheon Winston discoursed on the habits of the White Ant, applied to current political problems!'

⁶² Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Aug 30, 1941.

5: 'WE DID IT BEFORE – AND WE CAN DO IT AGAIN!'

¹ On Mar 8, 1942, after visiting Eton College, Eden privately wrote: 'Watched the boys troop in. We were not impressed. Dirty and sloppy, with an ever increasing percentage of Jews, was our conclusion!' (Avon papers, 20.3.8). See too his irritation with Henry Morgenthau and 'this German Jew's bitter hatred of his own land' (*Ibid.*, Sep 15, 1944; file 20.1.22). 'These ex-Germans,' he wrote in an official minute on Nov 19, 1944, 'seem to wish to wash away their ancestry in a bath of hate' (FO.371/391228).

² Bruce Lockhart, Jun 1943 and May 13, 1944 (Hoover Library, Sir R Bruce Lockhart papers). On Aug 15, 1944 he noted: 'The restaurant . . . was

crowded with a revolting looking Jew with an Old Etonian tie and a still more revolting family.' And on Jan 4, 1946: 'Here the reason [for increasing anti-Semitism in Britain] is the ability of the Jewish émigré to enrich himself even in exile.' And Aug 20, 1947: 'Hamish [Erskine] said . . . people were saying "Hitler was right" about our army of foreign Jews.'

³ The diaries of Oliver Harvey, Jul 14, and Aug 7, 1941.

⁴ Cecil King diary, Sep 23, 1941.

⁵ British Postal Censorship Reports, Secret, Series A, Jul 25, 1941: Home Opinion No. 19, pt.ii, endorsed in handwriting: 'PM to see.' Churchill handed it to Hopkins (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 307, folder 'Hopkins Returns to London').

⁶ Home Office Weekly Report, May 18–26, 1942, sent by Bruce Lockhart to Lord Beaverbrook (Beaverbrook papers, D.445).

⁷ Chaim Weizmann to WSC, Feb 7 (Weizmann Archives, Wix Library Building, Rehovot, Israel: Chaim Weizmann papers). Lord Moyne was appointed on Feb 8, 1941 and assassinated by Jewish terrorists in Nov 1944.

⁸ WSC to Lord Moyne, minute M.524/1, Mar 10, 1941 (PREM.3/348).

⁹ Letter signed 'J H Peck for J M Martin' to Weizmann, Feb 1941 (Weizmann Archives, Wix Library Building, Rehovot, Israel: Chaim Weizmann papers).

¹⁰ Weizmann, memo on visit to Downing St., Mar 12, 1941, 3:15 P.M. (*ibid.*).

¹¹ Harvey diary, Aug 27, 1941.

¹² Weizmann to WSC, Sep 10, 1941 (Weizmann Archives, Wix Library Building, Rehovot, Israel: Chaim Weizmann papers). The letter is also published in full in Barnet Litvinoff (ed.), *The Letters and papers of Chaim Weizmann*, vol. xx, series A, Jul 1940–Jan 1943 (Jerusalem, 1979), Doc. 182, 197–9. Samuel Landman wrote in a pamphlet, *Great Britain, The Jews And Palestine* (New Zionist Publications, London, 1936), 'The fact that it was Jewish help that brought the USA into the War on the side of the Allies has rankled ever since in German – especially Nazi minds – and has contributed in no small measure to the prominence which anti-semitism occupies in the Nazi programme.'

¹³ Amery diary, Sep 12, 1941, 715. Despite the burdens of war, WSC did not overlook those Jews who had sustained him during his ten poverty-stricken years when out of office. His appointment card shows on Oct 6 a luncheon date with 'Mr [Clark] Eichelberger, an American Jewish leader, and on Oct 30 luncheon with Sir Henry Strakosch, who had effectively

given him £20,000 in 1938, a sizeable fortune at that time. After much nagging from the usual quarters, WSC sent a grudging message to the *Jewish Chronicle* on its centenary, Nov 14, 1941, but asked for it to be kept secret: it read, 'On the occasion of the centenary of the *Jewish Chronicle*, a landmark in the history of British Jewry, I send a message of good cheer to Jewish people in this and other lands. None has suffered more cruelly than the Jew the unspeakable evils wrought on the bodies and spirits of men by Hitler and his vile regime. The Jew bore the brunt of the Nazis' first onslaught upon the citadels of freedom and human dignity. He has borne and continued to bear a burden that might have seemed to be beyond endurance. He has not allowed it to break his spirit; he has never lost the will to resist. Assuredly in the day of victory the Jew's sufferings and his part in the struggle will not be forgotten. Once again, at the appointed time, he will see vindicated those principles of righteousness which it was the glory of his fathers to proclaim to the world. Once again it will be shown that, though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small.'

¹⁴ Eden diary, Sep 12, 1941.

¹⁵ He said 'five hours' to Maisky. The PM's card records on Sep 3 a 6:30 P.M. 'Persian Railways Meeting' which can not have lasted beyond 10 P.M.

¹⁶ On the Hess affair, see Beaverbrook papers, D.443, which contains the transcript of Beaverbrook's conversation with Hess on Sep 6, 1941; the Bruce Lockhart diary, Sep 5, and 13, 1943; and in general David Irving, *Rudolf Hess. The Missing Years* (London, 1987). Hess sent to Beaverbrook a copy of his memorandum, 'Germany-England from the Viewpoint of the War against the Soviet Union.'

¹⁷ Eden diary, Sep 4, 1941; PM's card.

¹⁸ Pownall diary, Sep 5; cf. Maisky to Molotov, reporting his talk with Eden on Aug 27, 1941, in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 103ff.

¹⁹ Stalin to WSC, Sep 3. Original in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 111ff and in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 10; Churchill, vol. iii, 405. A somewhat inscrutable translation by the Russians is in PREM.3/401/1.

²⁰ Maisky to Stalin, Sep 5, (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 115ff. Cf. Eden to Cripps, No. 227, Sep 4, 1941, reporting the interview (PREM.3/170/1, and Eden papers, FO.954/24).

²¹ War cabinet, Sep 5, 1941, WM (41) 90th meeting, minute 1.

²² Churchill, vol. iii, 406.

²³ Eden diary, Sep 4, 1941.

²⁴ Eden diary, Sep 5, 1941.

²⁵ WSC to FDR, Sep 5: Churchill, vol. iii, 409. It is not included on the FDR Libr. microfilm of their letters. On Sep 5 Mackenzie King wrote, 'He [WSC] had the feeling that . . . a separate [German–Soviet] peace could not be altogether excluded.' And *cf.* Cadogan diary, Sep 5, 1941.

²⁶ Mackenzie King diary, Sep 5, 1941; Eden diary, Sep 5, 1941.

²⁷ For the file on Cripps' correspondence with WSC and Eden, Aug – Sep 1941, betraying his extreme reluctance to stay on in Moscow, see CAB.127/64. Eden pointed out to Cripps in Oct 1941 that it would be most undesirable for the British ambassador to seem to be fleeing from Moscow.

²⁸ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Sep 11, 1941, quoting Major Morton, who also told him that Stalin was only 'lukewarm' about continuing the fight against Hitler. On Soviet cyphers, see *e.g.*, Halifax to Beaverbrook, May 21, 1940 (Beaverbrook papers, D.29); the reference might be to telephone tapping; and the memo by Lieut. Cdr. W C Ladd, USNR, Oct 1, 1943, in (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 12, file '711 Political Intelligence OSS.'

²⁹ Eden diary, Sep 5, 1941.

³⁰ WSC to Stalin, No. 1202, Sep 4 (PREM.3/401/1). This is also the date given by Churchill, vol. iii, 407, but it was clearly despatched at midnight Sep 5–6. *Cf.* too FO.954/24, and *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 116f. Cripps handed it to Stalin on Sep 6, 1941. in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 11.

³¹ WSC to Cripps, Sep 5, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 409.

³² Eden diary, Sep 5, 1941.

³³ Martin diary, Sep 4–5, 1941.

³⁴ This was the Government Code & Cypher School (GC&CS) at Bletchley Park. Martin diary, Sep 6.

³⁵ The staff were provided by all three services and the FO A Feb 1942 document credits GC&CS with 'some 2,000 employees' (HW.14/28); and AD(S) wrote to C on Aug 9, 1942, 'We here have had to interview and engage over 2,000 people since the beginning of the War and we have not found it necessary to give them any information about the work at B.P.' (HW.14/48). For a description of Station X (Bletchley Park) and the layout of the Admiralty's operational Intelligence centre in The Citadel, see the transcript of the Apr 6, 1942 lecture by Captain H R Sandwith, RN, 'Discussion of British W/T Intelligence Organisation' (HW.14/46).

³⁶ Cadogan diary, Sep 6, 1941. Until the recent release by GCHQ of relevant files to the PRO, evidence of wartime work done by GC&CS on

foreign diplomatic cyphers was hard to come by. We interviewed Sir Leonard Hooper about this on Feb 7, 1984: Hooper joined the Air Ministry in 1938, heading first the Italian and then the Japanese Air Section at GC&CS. Security was so strict that he was 'astounded' to learn after 1945 that GC&CS had been reading German *diplomatic* cyphers as well as military. For Spanish cyphers, see the Dalton diary, Jan 29, 1942 ('The Duke of A[lba] thinks he has made a discovery. . .'). For Italian cyphers, see *e.g.*, Hinsley, vol. i, 354, 363, 368, 410.

³⁷ Denniston to 'C,' Oct 28, 1941 (HW.14/45). The reading of American cyphers is confirmed in *e.g.*, HW.1/66, the decrypt of Tel. No. 527 from the US minister in Budapest to the State dept., Washington, Sep 12, 1941 (GC&CS decrypt No. 095510); see too WSC's letter to FDR, Feb 24, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, 'Gen. Marshall'); on which see too David Kahn, *The Codebreakers* (New York, 1967, 1996), 492.

³⁸ Group Capt. R Humphreys, 'The Use of "U" in the Mediterranean and Northwest African Theatres of War,' Oct 1945 (NA, RG.457, file SRH.037).

³⁹ Hinsley, vol. ii, 58ff.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Hinsley, vol. ii, 655ff; and Cave Brown, *Menzies*, 397ff.

⁴¹ Martin diary.

⁴² Cripps to FO, Sep 7, 1941 (PREM.3/401/1).

⁴³ WSC to Auchinleck, Sep 6, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 367.

⁴⁴ WSC speaking to Balfour, quoted in Chips Channon diary, Sep 17, 1941.

⁴⁵ WSC to Auchinleck, Sep 17: Churchill, vol. iii, 368; and to Fadden, Sep 29, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1191.

⁴⁶ Nicolson diary, Sep 9, 1941.

⁴⁷ War cabinet, WM (41) 92, minute 4, and annex.

⁴⁸ WSC to Smuts, Sep 14, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 459.

⁴⁹ PM's card. Maisky to Moscow, Sep 15, 1941, *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 119ff.

⁵⁰ Stalin to WSC, Sep 13, 1941, in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 118; in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 12; COS (41) 204(O); 954/24; Churchill, vol. iii, 411f.

⁵¹ On Sep 12, 1941 Gen. Brooke (diary) had visited WSC at Chequers, where the PM 'also discussed plans for operations in Norway.' WSC had begun to hanker for the capture of Trondheim, and it would take all of Brooke's powers to ride him off this project.

⁵² Lee diary, Sep 15, 1941.

⁵³ War cabinet meeting, WM (41) 90, minute 3. Lord Beaverbrook's account, DO (41) 11. Cf. CAB.44/54.

⁵⁴ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Sep 22, 1941.

⁵⁵ Lee diary; diary of John Martin, and PM's card, Sep 19, 1941.

⁵⁶ Harold Balfour, in *The Times*, Sep 28, 1965.

6: CARRY A BIG STICK

¹ Churchill, vol. iii, 514ff, especially 516: 'I do not pretend to have studied Japan.'

² Churchill, vol. iii, 522.

³ WSC to First Lord, Sep 15, 1940.

⁴ COS (40) meeting, Sep 19, 1940; extracts in CAB.44/54.

⁵ WSC to Cadogan, Feb 16 (PREM.3/252/6a); WSC to FDR, Feb 15, 1941.

⁶ Tokyo to Moscow, Mar 19, 1941; translated by US navy, Mar 25, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.10612); and Berlin to Tokyo, No. 308, Mar 26; translated by US navy, Mar 29, 1941 (*ibid.*, SRDJ.10685); cf. Göring diary, Mar 26, 1941 (Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich).

⁷ Sir Robert Craigie, final report on Tokyo mission, 1943 (FO.371/35957); see Prof. Donald C Watt's article on this, 'Was War with Japan Necessary?' in *The Daily Telegraph*, Jul 15, 1972.

⁸ FO file on Anglo-Japanese relations, Sep – Oct 1941 (PREM.3/252/5). As Prof. Warren F Kimball pointed out, all references to MAGIC were systematically removed from both the FDR Library's Map Room series except for three 1944 items dated Jan 16, 19, 22, and from the PRO's files of WSC–FDR correspondence. Although many British files of MAGICs have been belatedly released to the PRO since the mid-1990s, scholars will note significant gaps in the sequence, and the absence of any 'Japan' file in the Avon papers in both the PRO and Birmingham University library, leaving only a handful of items in a residual 'Far East' file (FO.954/6).

⁹ See Cdr. Alastair Denniston's untitled study, 21 pages, on GC&C's antecedents, dated Dec 2, 1944 (Churchill College, DENN.1/4).

¹⁰ According to Rear Adm. Edwin T Layton, *And I was There* (New York, 1985), one of the American MAGIC machines supplied to Britain in 1941 had originally been earmarked for his unit at Pearl Harbor. For the exchange agreement, see vol. i of this biography, page 22. Gen. Marshall was

only distantly involved, informing FDR on Jul 11, 1942, 'We find that an interchange of cryptanalytic information [with the British] has been in progress for over a year' (FDR Libr., Hopkins papers). In general, see *The Magic Background to Pearl Harbor* (US dept. of Defense, Washington DC, 1977), 8 vols., hereafter: *MBPH*.

¹¹ See WO.208/882.

¹² *MBPH*, vol. ii, Nos. 491 and 110f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 499.

¹⁴ Tokyo to Washington, No. 1256, Jun 14, transl. Jun 17, 1941, in *MBPH*, vol. ii, No. 512.

¹⁵ Eden paper for war cabinet, Jul 7, WP (41) 154; war cabinet WM (41) 66th meeting, minute 7. Significantly, Eden's French phrase figures in the intercept of Tokyo's Jul 2, 1941 dispatch to Berlin, translated on Jul 3 and filed as SIS.19018: it instructed Gen. Oshima to notify Ribbentrop that 'the Japanese Government have decided to secure "*points d'appui*" in French Indo-China to enable Japan further to strengthen her pressure on Great Britain and the United States of America' (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.12722).

¹⁶ Stimson diary, Jul 5; and *cf.* Jul 7, 8, 1941.

¹⁷ On Apr 16, 1941 MAGIC deciphered a message from Prince Konoye, the prime minister, to Oshima in Berlin, reporting in the PURPLE cypher that foreign powers were reading Japanese cyphers including I (an auxiliary code), SO (code P-1), and ORTE (code PAK2), and that 'to insure secrecy' Oshima was to use machine- or TSU-cyphers (what the Americans called the J-series). On May 6 the US navy translated an intercepted telegram from Oshima, No. 482, sent from Berlin on May 3, reporting in PURPLE-CA (what the Americans called JD-1) that Ribbentrop's liaison officer to Oshima, Heinrich Georg Stahmer, had confirmed that the US government was known to be reading Ambassador Nomura's cypher messages from Washington. On May 5 Japanese foreign minister Matsuoka asked the German ambassador for his source on this leakage; Matsuoka also notified Washington by PURPLE of these suspicions but Nomura replied the same day, in PURPLE, that he did not share them. Tokyo nevertheless instructed its embassies including those in Washington, Bangkok, and Rome (still in PURPLE) to 'use 1941 regulations for A and B code machines until further notice.' On May 20 Nomura then confirmed to Tokyo (by Tel. No. 327, again in PURPLE) that he had now confirmed that the US were 'reading some of our codes'; this message was translated the next day by the US codebreakers (NA, RG.457, file SRH.118). Surely after reading these exchanges Japan's

opponents should have viewed with a jaundiced eye any message encyphered in PURPLE. See too Dr Ruth Harris, 'The MAGIC leaks of 1941 and the Japanese-American Relations,' in *Pacific Quarterly*, vol. lxi, Feb 1981, 77-96; and NA, RG.457, file SRH.118.

¹⁸ Lord Halifax wrote in his secret diary on Jul 10, 1941: 'I still think, though, myself that they [the Japanese] are cautious people, and I shall not feel sure until they have actually done it.'

¹⁹ Adm William D Leahy diary, Jul 12, 1941 (Libr. of Congress, Manuscript Division, Fleet Adm William D Leahy papers, reel 1) [hereafter: Leahy diary].

²⁰ Cadogan diary, Jul 14-15, 1941.

²¹ Pownall diary, Jul 15, 1941.

²² War cabinet, Joint Planning Staff, report, 'Japanese Southward Move,' JP (41) 550, Jul 15; Pound to Eden, Jul 16; J C Sterndale Bennett, minute, Jul 16, 1941 (FO.954/6). *The Times*, Jul 15, 17 (Diplomatic Correspondent's report), 18, 1941. We shall meet Sir John Sterndale Bennett (1895-1969) again: he headed FO Far Eastern dept. 1940-2; unidentified role, presumably Intelligence, 1942-4; again FE head 1944-6.

²³ WSC to Ismay for COS Committee, M.745/1, Jul 16, 1941 (PREM.3/252/6a).

²⁴ Wickard diary, manuscript, Jul 19, 1941 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers). It is evident from the papers of Ickes, FDR's Secretary of the Interior (and 'Petroleum Coordinator'), that he was also one of the prime movers behind the subsequent oil embargo against Japan. FDR assured Ickes that his idea was only to 'slip the noose around Japan's neck and give it a jerk now and then.' Ickes diary, Jun 23, 30, 1941.

²⁵ Cited in Congress of the United States, Seventy-Ninth Congress, *Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attacks* (Washington, 1946) [hereafter *Pearl Harbor Hearings*], part 14, 1398f.

²⁶ Halifax diary, Jul 12, 1941

²⁷ War cabinet, Jul 21, 1941, confidential annex, minute 19 (CAB.65/...).

²⁸ Cadogan diary, Jul 21, 1941.

²⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 21, 1941.

³⁰ Ashley Clarke, Far Eastern dept., FO, 'From the Burma Road Crisis to Pearl Harbor,' Feb 1943, para. 67 (FO.371/35957).

³¹ *Ibid.*, para. 68.

³² Wickard diary, manuscript, Jul 24, 1941 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers); cf. *MBPH*, vol. ii, Nos. 514–5. FDR had also assured Ambassador Nomura that he did not want the embargo to include supplies of oil to Japan.

³³ Jock Colville diary, Jul 24–5 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5).

³⁴ Hopkins to FDR, Jul 25, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 386ff); cf. Hopkins to WSC, Jul 27, 1941 (PREM.3/156/1). Churchill, vol. iii, 523, etc., repeatedly gave the impression that FDR had singlehandedly initiated the embargo against Japan, and that Britain and Holland had merely joined in. The passages in which he examines cause (389) and effect (521ff) are widely separated in his memoirs, and they make no reference to his own and Hopkins's role in egging FDR on.

³⁵ Tokyo (Toyoda) to London, No. 233, Jul 26; repeated to Ottawa, No. 513, transl. Aug 6, 1941. *MBPH*, vol. ii, No. 513. Nomura (Washington) to Tokyo, Jul 28, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.13573).

³⁶ COS paper, Jul 27; cf. CAB.44/54.

³⁷ Ashley Clarke, see note 30.

³⁸ Neville Butler, head of the FO's North American dept., minuted in Jan 1942, 'This [the July 1941 imposition of sanctions] was the decisive step.' In a highly significant memorandum, he recommended that they 'record where the initiative lay.' J O Ashley Clarke suggested, 'The initiative for making the measure so rigid as to amount to an embargo came from the U.S.' 'It wd. be of historical interest,' Butler however defined on Jan 6, 1942, 'to have on record where the initiative mainly lay for the decision in July to freeze Jap. assets and impose the embargo. My impression is that it was ourselves and the U.S. thinking alike' (FO.371/27914).

³⁹ *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 9.

⁴⁰ Wickard diary, manuscript, Aug 2, 1941 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers).

⁴¹ Churchill, vol. iii, 522f.

⁴² Eden to Halifax, Aug 1, 1941, cited in CAB.44/54, fol. 91.

⁴³ Ismay, minute, Aug 8 (PREM.4/71/1); COS (41) 479 and COS (41) 282nd meeting, minute 2 (CAB.44/54); and Amery diary, Aug 7, 1941: '[Tom] Phillips, for Admiralty, opposed [to warning the Japanese] and suggested that even if they occupied Kra we should do nothing, as we are so helpless at sea out there, and wait till the Americans came in. . . ! I would certainly sack Pound and Phillips at once..'

⁴⁴ Welles used the word in a memo on his talk with Cadogan, Aug 9 (NA, State dept. files, 740.0011 European War, 1939/14007-4/5); see too L C Hollis, record of conversations between WSC and FDR, Aug 11, 1941 (COS(R)8, in Beaverbrook papers, D.122).

⁴⁵ Stimson diary, Aug 8, 9, 1941.

⁴⁶ Record of Anglo-US chiefs of staff conference, Aug 11, 1941. This also shows the British chiefs of staff endorsing Stark's suggestion that Lend-Lease be 'rearranged' so that the B-17s earmarked for Britain should stream across the Pacific to the Philippines instead (NA, RG.18, item No. 293, file 337b).

⁴⁷ WSC related FDR's remarks to his chiefs of staff the next day: L C Hollis, record of COS meeting, Aug 11, 9:30 A.M. (COS(R)6, in Beaverbrook papers, D.122); cf. WSC to Eden, Aug 11, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 389f. And see US dept. of State, *FRUS*, Japan, 1941, vol. ii, 355.

⁴⁸ Cadogan to Eden, Aug 11, 1941, in Dilks, *op. cit.*, 399.

⁴⁹ Col. Frank Knox to his wife, Aug 17, 1941 (Library of Congress, Frank Knox papers, box 3: 'Letters Frank to Annie Knox, 1940-44').

⁵⁰ Stimson diary, Aug 19, 1941.

⁵¹ A note on his talk with Hull is in Henry Wallace's diary, May 31, 1945. John Morton Blum (ed.), *The Price of Vision. The Diary of Henry A Wallace, 1942-1946* (Boston, 1973).

⁵² FDR to WSC, Aug 18, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0026).

⁵³ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 23, 24, 1941

⁵⁴ Dalton diary, Aug 25, 1941.

⁵⁵ See Craigie's telegram from Tokyo to the FO, Aug 26; on Sep 2, 1941 he added that the Japanese foreign minister had officially protested about WSC's references to Japan, and the FO's minutes indicate that they agreed that the prime minister's remarks were 'not helpful' (FO.371/27893). On Aug 11 Craigie talked with foreign minister Adm Tijiroy Toyoda and became convinced, as he reported to London, that Toyoda remained well disposed toward Britain, and sincerely hoped, 'insofar as the situation would permit,' to prevent any break with Britain. Craigie added that he was more than ever convinced that the policy of 'keeping Japan guessing' was a mistake under present conditions, and that Britain could gain more by a frank and open discussion of their mutual difficulties. See Grew's report to State dept., No. 1235, Tokyo, Aug 14, 1941; reprinted in *FRUS*, 1941, vol. iv, *The Far East*, 856-7. On Dec 11, 1945 the State dept. asked the US embassy in London to secure FO permission to use Grew's report for the Pearl Harbor

investigations (misfiled in NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 27, file '711 EAC').

⁵⁶ Grew quoted the Japanese editorials in his telegram to the State dept., Aug 25, 1941.

⁵⁷ Dalton diary, Aug 26, 1941. The minutes of WSC's briefings of his non-war cabinet ministers are in CAB.65/57.

⁵⁸ Dalton diary, Aug 28. Halifax had used the same disparaging phrase to describe the US system of government on Mar 13, 1941 (PREM.4/27/9).

⁵⁹ *MBPH*, vol. iii, No. 201.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 719.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 731ff.

⁶² *Ibid.*, No. 746.

⁶³ Berlin (Oshima) to Tokyo, No. 1027, Aug 15, 1941; British intercept No. 094723, dated Aug 23, 1941 (HWI/25). WSC noted in his own handwriting to 'C,' 'In view of the fact that the Americans themselves gave us the key to the Japanese messages, it seems probable the President knows this already. But anyhow it is vy desirable he shd know it. . . wsc, 24.viii.' 'The Americans,' confirmed 'C,' 'have had this message.'

⁶⁴ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 23, 24, 1941.

⁶⁵ Edwards diary, Aug 24–5 (Churchill College); WSC to Pound, Aug 25, 1941 (ADM.199/1934); cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 523ff and appendix K, 768ff.

⁶⁶ Menzies to WSC, Aug 11, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1255. Cf. Edwards diary, Aug 12, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Ralph Edwards papers, REDW.2/3).

⁶⁷ WSC to Pound, M.820/1 (CAB.120/611) and M.819/1, Aug 25, 1941 (ADM.10/10).

⁶⁸ WSC to Pound, M.819/1, 'ACTION THIS DAY,' Aug 25, 1941 (ADM.10/10). Pound, alarmed, wrote the next day to his staff, 'Please let me have detailed reasons based on experience of *KGV* & *P of W* why it would not sound for a new ship of this class to be sent abroad before she had had a thorough working up.'

⁶⁹ Edwards diary, Aug 27; Pound to WSC, Aug 28, 1941 (ADM.199/1934).

⁷⁰ WSC to Pound, Aug 29, 1941 (PREM.3/183/2; and First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/10); and Churchill, vol. iii, 524 and 773.

⁷¹ WSC to Pound, Aug 29, 1941 (PREM.3/183/2; and First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/10); and Churchill, vol. iii, 524 and 773.

⁷² Eden diary, manuscript, Sep 12, 1941 (Avon papers, 20.1.21).

⁷³ Eden to WSC, Sep 12, 1941, with WSC's marginal comments (PREM.3/252/6a).

⁷⁴ Stimson diary, Sep 12, 25, 30, 1941.

⁷⁵ Halifax to WSC Oct 11, 1941, 'secret and personal' (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.11).

⁷⁶ Halifax to WSC, Oct 10, 1941, 'not sent' (*ibid.*).

⁷⁷ Stimson to FDR, Oct 21, 1941 (FDR Libr., PSF). A copy is also in NA, RG.107, Stimson Safe file, folder: 'White House Correspondence.' See too the memorandum for Gen. Marshall, 'Strategic Air Offensive Against Japan,' dated Nov 19, 1941, in NA, RG.165, Marshall's files.

⁷⁸ FDR to Hopkins, Oct 25, 1941 (FDR Libr., PSF).

⁷⁹ Stimson diary, Oct 28, 1941.

7: THE 'NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE'

¹ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Sep 28, 1941.

² Harvey diary diary, Sep 18, 23, 29, 30, Oct 1, 1941.

³ Operational Record Book, RAF Fighter Command, War Room log (AIR.16/698; and see files 388, 473).

⁴ WSC to Stalin, Sep 21, 1941 (PREM.3/401/7; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 126ff).

⁵ WSC to Beaverbrook, Sep 21 (CAB.120/689); WSC directive for Anglo-American-Russian conference, Sep 22, 1941 (CAB.69/3).

⁶ Eden diary, Sep 22, 1941.

⁷ For the text of the disputed Brazzaville interview of Aug 26, 1941, see PREM.3/121/1; WSC issued it confidentially to the British press on Jun 12, 1943. For a British survey, 'Relations with Gen. de Gaulle,' Jun 1940 – Jun 1943, see WP (43) 34 of Aug 7, 1943 (PREM.3/121/5).

⁸ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Aug 27, Sep 11, 1941.

⁹ Note by Morton for WSC, Aug 28, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁰ Phone call, Morton to W H B Mack, Aug 30, 3:15 P.M. (FO.371/28545).

¹¹ Minute by W Strang, Aug 31, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹² Eden to WSC, Aug 31, 1941 (FO.371/28545; and PREM.3/120/10b: the latter file on relations with de Gaulle, Aug 1941–May 1942 was closed until 1995.

¹³ WSC minute M.862/1, Sep 1, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁴ Morton to Cadogan, Sep 3, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁵ WSC to de Gaulle, Sep 2, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁶ De Gaulle to WSC, Sep 3, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁷ The orders were repeated in Apr 1942 (PREM.3/120/10b).

¹⁸ Minute by W H B Mack, Sep 6, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

¹⁹ WSC to Lord Gort, Sep 7; C in C Gibraltar to War Office, Sep 9, received Sep 10, 1941 (PREM.3/120/10c, 'De Gaulle, anti-British activities'; this file was kept closed until 1995).

²⁰ The editor was André Labarthe. T Cadett forwarded Labarthe's report to D Morton, Sep 10, 1941 (PREM.3/120/10c).

²¹ W H B Mack minute, Sep 10; and record of a meeting between the PM and Gen. de Gaulle at No. 10 Downing-street on Sep 12, 1941 (FO.371/28545 and PREM.3/120/4; the latter file contains de Gaulle's note too). WSC gave the cabinet a short account of this on Sep 15, with the proposed Council as 'the main point of interest.'

²² Morton to Mack, Sep 19, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

²³ Morton to Mack, Sep 17, 1941 (FO.371/28545).

²⁴ At this point two lines of Morton's report have been blanked out under Section 3(4) of the Public Records Act, 1956. Morton to WSC, Sep 23, 1941 (PREM.7/6, '[Morton] minutes to PM, 1940-45.' This file was closed until 1996; several Sep and Oct 1941 items have been removed, but can now be seen in PREM.3/120/4.

²⁵ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Sep 24, and PM's card, Sep 23, 1941. On Oct 1, 1941, it records Gen. de Gaulle and Major Morton seeing WSC.

²⁶ Morton to WSC, Sep 24, 1941 (FO.371/28545). See too the papers in PREM.3/120/4.

²⁷ WSC to Eden, M.935/1, Sep 26, 1941 (PREM.3/120/4).

²⁸ Halifax secret diary, Sep 23, 1941. He kept this record separately from the informal daily typed record which he circulated to his family (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19) [hereafter: Halifax secret diary].

²⁹ Martin diary, Sep 25, 1941, and letters.

³⁰ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5); and PM's card.

³¹ For the Coventry raid see: Operational Record Book, RAF Fighter Command, War Room log (AIR.16/698; and see files 388, 473); and Martin diary, Nov 14, 1940.

³² WSC to Portal, Sep 27, 1941 (Portal papers, 2; AIR.8/440 and CAB.120/300).

- 33 Portal to WSC, Oct 2, 1941 (Portal papers, 2; AIR.8/440).
- 34 War cabinet, Oct 16; Portal to Sinclair, Oct 19, 1941 (AIR.8/424).
- 35 Cecil King diary, Oct 9, 1941.
- 36 WSC to Portal, M/973/1, Oct 7 (AIR.19/186, Sinclair's file on bombing policy, 1940-2; PREM.3/11/11a and CAB.120/300); Churchill, vol. iii, 451. Telegram from D Kelly (Berne) to FO, Oct 10, 1941, passed to Portal and Air Chief Marshal Pierse, C-in-C, Bomber Command, for observations.
- 37 PM's card, Oct 8.
- 38 Portal to WSC, Oct 13, 1941 (AIR.19/186). The PM's card records that Portal was due to see WSC at 6 P.M. on Oct 8.
- 39 Portal to WSC, Oct 14, 1941 (PREM.3/11/11a).
- 40 L C Hollis to J M Martin, Oct 12, 1941 (PREM.4/69/1).
- 41 Tedder to Portal, Oct 13, 1941 (Arthur Tedder papers, courtesy of Prof. the Lord Tedder).
- 42 Tedder to his wife, Oct 15, 1941 (Tedder papers).
- 43 WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 16, 1941 (Tedder papers).
- 44 Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Oct 15, 1941 (CAB.44/54).
- 45 Portal to Tedder, Oct 15; WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 16 (Tedder papers); WSC notified Auchinleck of Freeman's visit by telegram on Oct 15, 1941.
- 46 *E.g.*, CX/MSS/329/T14, Oct 12, 1941 H.1/135).
- 47 Lord Hankey diary, Oct 15, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers, HNKY.1/7).
- 48 PM's card. WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 16; in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1216ff.
- 49 WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 16, 1941 (Tedder papers).
- 50 Auchinleck to WSC, Oct 21, 1941: 'I have full confidence in Tedder and earnestly request you not to consider any change at the present time' (Tedder papers).
- 51 Cadogan diary, Oct 9; Inspector G F Scott, hand-written register of weekend guests at Chequers (hereafter: Chequers register), Oct 10-11, 1941.
- 52 Pownall diary, Sep 30; WSC to COS, Oct 4, 1941, in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1212f.
- 53 For the Russian record on Beaverbrook's Moscow conferences see *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 137ff; the British records are in CAB.99/7. Cf. Harriman, vol. i, 140.

- ⁵⁴ WSC to FDR, Oct 4, 1941. Not on the FDR Libr., microfilm series.
- ⁵⁵ WSC to Stalin, Oct 6, 1941 (PREM.3/179/1/1; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 150f). Churchill, vol. iii, 418.
- ⁵⁶ Eden diary, Oct 10, 1941.
- ⁵⁷ Bruce Lockhart diary, Oct 19, 1941.
- ⁵⁸ Beaverbrook and Harriman stayed at Chequers Oct 10–11, Bridges Oct 11–12, 1941. Chequers register.
- ⁵⁹ Lord Hankey diary, Oct 15, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers, HNKY.1/7).
- ⁶⁰ P J Grigg to his father, Oct 1, 1941 (Grigg papers, 2/4).
- ⁶¹ Jock Colville diary, Jun 1 – Sep 30, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/5): Sep 28, 1941.
- ⁶² Lyttelton to WSC, Oct 4, 1941; in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1234.
- ⁶³ Eden diary, Oct 8, 1941.
- ⁶⁴ Pownall diary, Oct 2, 1941.
- ⁶⁵ Harvey diary, Oct 3, 1941.
- ⁶⁶ Brooke diary, Oct 3, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c, and MS 4/1/84). WSC's file on AJAX is PREM.3/40.
- ⁶⁷ Chequers register; Martin diary, Oct 3, 1941: 'To Chequers in afternoon. Three chiefs of staff and Sir Alan Brooke there. Discussion of AJAX.'
- ⁶⁸ Pownall diary, Oct 5, 1941.
- ⁶⁹ Brooke diary, Oct 4, 1941.
- ⁷⁰ WSC to Keyes, Oct 4, 1941; Martin diary.
- ⁷¹ Pound to Adm A B Cunningham, Jan 27, 1941 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52561).
- ⁷² Pownall diary, Sep 20, 1941.
- ⁷³ *The Keyes papers* (London, 1981), vol. iii, 2112f. Keyes to Ismay, Oct 30, 1941 (Kings College London, Ismay papers, IV/KEY, 8/2b).
- ⁷⁴ Pound to Cunningham, Nov 25, 1941 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52561).
- ⁷⁵ WSC to Mountbatten, Oct 10, 1941 (PREM.3/330/2); Churchill, vol. iii, 481. Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten* (London, 1985), chapter 11.
- ⁷⁶ Cadogan diary, Oct 6, 1941.
- ⁷⁷ Harvey diary.
- ⁷⁸ Elizabeth Layton to her parents, Oct 12, 1941; quoted in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1214f.
- ⁷⁹ Chequers register, Oct 12, 1941.

⁸⁰ WSC to Stalin, Oct 12, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1); *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 151f; and in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 18; Churchill, vol. iii, 431.

⁸¹ Brooke diary, Oct 12; and notes, 3/A/iv. Pownall diary, Oct 12–13; Harvey diary, Oct 14, 1941.

⁸² Eden diary, Oct 15, 1941.

⁸³ For Gen. A G L McNaughton's correspondence with Mackenzie King see McNaughton's papers in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG.30, E133, vol. 267; for Ralston's, see *ibid.*, MG.27, III, B.11, vol. 61.

⁸⁴ WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 18, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 481f.

⁸⁵ WSC to FDR, initialed 'WSC 15.X.[1941]' (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0029). The enclosed extract from Auchinleck's letter to WSC is endorsed in FDR's hand, 'Brought to me by A***, man from WSC, Oct 21, 41.'

⁸⁶ Eden diary, Oct 20, 1941.

⁸⁷ WSC to FDR, Oct 20, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0551ff); *cf.* Churchill, vol. iii, 482ff. **[or 428ff check••]**

⁸⁸ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Oct 15, 1941 (CAB.69/4). *Cf.* COS history, CAB.44/54, fol. 111.

⁸⁹ Cadogan diary, Oct 20, 1941.

⁹⁰ Pownall diary, Oct 20; Brooke notes on Oct 20, 1941. *Cf.* Gen. Sir Frederick Pile, *Ack-Ack* (London, 1949), 208. The PM's card shows a twice-postponed visit by WSC to the AA in Richmond Park with Gen. Pyle [*sic*] on Oct 17; Inspector G F Scott's hand-written register of weekend guests at Chequers records Pile staying there that night with Nye and Lieut. Gen. G M MacReady (Asst. CIGS), and again on Nov 7, 1941.

⁹¹ Harvey diary, Oct 29, 1941.

⁹² A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 500, citing Crozier's note on the interview in Beaverbrook papers.

⁹³ WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 21, 1941 (PREM.3/282).

⁹⁴ Randolph Churchill to WSC, Oct 20, 1941; quoted in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1220.

⁹⁵ WSC to Auchinleck, Oct 24, 1941; cited in Gilbert, vol. vi, 1222; *cf.* WSC to Lyttelton, Oct 25: Churchill, vol. iii, 486ff.

⁹⁶ WSC to Lyttelton, Oct 25: Churchill, vol. iii, 486ff.

⁹⁷ Cadogan diary, Oct 21–3; Harvey, Oct 25; Bruce Lockhart; War cabinet meeting, Oct 23, 1941. PM's card, Oct 23, 1941.

⁹⁸ WSC memo, Mar 30, 1942 (CAB.120/744).

⁹⁹WSC to FDR, Oct 20, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0551ff); Churchill, vol. iii, 482.

¹⁰⁰ Pownall diary, Oct 29, 1941.

¹⁰¹ Harvey diary, Oct 27, 1941.

¹⁰²WSC to Cripps, Oct 25; Churchill, vol. iii, 413. WSC to Cripps, Oct 28, 1941 (*ibid.*, 420f). Harvey diary, Nov 1, 1941.

¹⁰³ Greenwood told Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, who repeated it to Cecil King: diary, Oct 23, 1941.

¹⁰⁴WSC to Randolph Churchill, Oct 30, 1941; cited by Gilbert, vol. vi, 1227. The hand-written register of weekend guests at Chequers, shows Harvie-Watt there on Oct 27 10:30–10:45 A.M.; the PM's card shows at 11 A.M. a 'Demonstration' at No. 10 Downing-street.

¹⁰⁵ Somerville diary, Oct 24–5, 1941 (Churchill College, SMVL. 1/34).

¹⁰⁶ Somerville's letters to Adm Cunningham are in the Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563. He confuses the dates and omits the year, but begins the letter of 'Oct 4' (in reality perhaps Nov 4) with the words, 'That was a pretty wet project I was called home to discuss,' and he mentions the presence of 'Alex & Steve' (Alexander and Stevenson). Their presence is established his diary, and by the hand-written register of weekend guests at Chequers, Oct 24, 1941.

¹⁰⁷ Somerville to Cunningham, 'Jun 12,' (?) (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563).

¹⁰⁸ See the description of Brooke in Jacob's diary of the Casablanca conference, 80 (JACB. 1/20).

¹⁰⁹ Sir Hastings Ismay, interviewed by Sir Arthur Bryant (Alanbrooke papers, 12/xi/1/3).

¹¹⁰ Brooke, quoted by Lady Brookeborough in letter to MCL, Jul 1954 (Alanbrooke papers, 12/xi/2/12).

¹¹¹ Brooke notes on Oct 26, 1941.

¹¹² Churchill, vol. iii, 488; WSC to Ismay, Oct 28, 1941, *ibid.*, 489.

¹¹³ Cadogan diary, Oct 27; Somerville diary, Oct 27; Somerville to Cunningham, 'Oct 4' (Nov 4?), 1941 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563).

¹¹⁴ Cited in Leahy diary, Oct 27, 1941. FDR also spoke of another document in his possession which 'revealed' Hitler's plans to abolish all religions and impose *Mein Kampf* in place of the Bible. 'In place of the Cross of Christ will be put two symbols, the swastika and the naked sword.' When the White House required the War dept. to produce the originals of these alleged documents however, they could not be found. Adolph Berle (diary,

FDR Library) learned to his dismay that the source was William Stevenson ('INTREPID'), head of British Intelligence operations in North America. Warning Cordell Hull about these British forgeries, Berle wrote, 'I believe that the British Intelligence probably has been giving attention to creating as many "incidents" as possible to affect public opinion here. . . . Consequently before we shoot off I think we should have some check.' Cf. Anthony Cave Brown, *Menzies* (London, year, ●●●), 368.

¹¹⁵ The New York *Daily Mirror* had first published such a map on Aug 25, 1941, 'said to be identical with maps found in a raid on a German welfare association headquarters in Rosario, Argentina on Aug 1,' showing South America divided into only three zones; after FDR's broadcast the New York *PM* reproduced on Oct 28, 1941 a map published by the 'Munich Institute of GeopolitiC's dividing South America into five numbered zones. For a file on the (unsuccessful) search for the original of the 'secret map made in Germany by Hitler's Government' see FDR Libr., PSF, box 44, folder 'Germany 1940-41.' This includes a map of 'Südamerika 1950,' divided into four zones, torn out of Otto Tannenbergs 1911 book *Großdeutschland*; Donovan was notified that Professor Karl Haushofer's *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* had been searched for such a map without luck.

8: REALLY NOT QUITE NORMAL

¹ Craigie to F.O., No. 2186, Nov 1, 1941 (CAB.121/114). He added that Shigemitsu had recently told him that the British government had confirmed before he left London that they were leaving the conduct of Far East policy to Washington. 'I have received no record of such a statement,' complained Craigie.

² War cabinet Oct 27, WM (41) 106, Minute 2, confidential annex; cf. COS (41) 398, annex ii. On Sep 19, 1941, inviting Canada to supply two battalions of troops to strengthen the garrison at Hongkong, he expressed the belief that the Japanese were showing 'a certain weakness' in their attitude, which made it seem less forlorn to reinforce such a little 'outpost.'

³ Churchill, vol. iii, 531.

⁴ Stimson wrote in his diary on Oct 6, 1941: 'I told him [Hull] we needed three months to secure our position and to be protected from an explosion of the Japanese army' while the USA was reinforcing the Philippines; cf. his diary entries for Oct 26, Nov 6, 25, 26, 1941.

⁵ Stark to Kimmel, Oct 16, 1941 (*Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xiv, 1402). Rear Adm Edwin T Layton, *op. cit.*, 159, 169.

⁶ Tokyo to Honolulu, Sep 24; translated Oct 9, 1941 (*Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 261ff).

⁷ The Washington 'specialists' were Captain Alan Kirk, Director of Naval Intelligence; Captain Howard Bode; and Cdr. Laurance Safford. Turner had usurped the ONI's responsibility for the *dissemination* of Intelligence.

⁸ On that date Safford warned Kimmel that 'PURPLE showed that' the Japanese embassies had been ordered to destroy their secret papers.

⁹ Tokyo to Honolulu, No. 113, Nov 18, 1941; translated by US army, Dec 5, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17270). Honolulu's reply to Tokyo, No. 222, dispatched on Nov 18, 1941, was deciphered by the US army on Dec 6, 1941.

¹⁰ WM (41) 103rd meeting, Minute 3, confidential annex.

¹¹ Pound wrote to WSC on Mar 7, 1942, accepting responsibility (PREM.20/57; Roskill, *Admirals*, 200). WSC tried to shift the blame in 1953 onto Phillips, writing to his reluctant naval ghost writer G R G Allen that his intention had been that the task force should merely show its face at Singapore and then 'disappear into the immense archipelago.'

¹² Pound to Cunningham, Oct 10, 1941; Francis Brown to Pound's secretary, Oct 12, 1941 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/10).

¹³ Hart diary, Dec 5, 1941 (Hart papers). He was C-in-C, Asiatic Fleet, based at Manila. On Phillips see also Adm Godfrey's manuscript, 29 (Naval Historical Branch, London: Vice-Adm John H Godfrey papers), and the entry by Adm H G Thursfield in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁴ Phillips to Pound, Oct 17, 1941: in Roskill, *Admirals*, 197.

¹⁵ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Oct 17, 1941 (CAB.69/3).

¹⁶ Halifax to FO, Oct 18, 1941 (PREM.3/252/6a, fol. 82).

¹⁷ WSC to FDR, Oct 20, 1941 (PREM.3/486/2).

¹⁸ Tokyo to Nomura, Oct 18, 1941 (*Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 76); Layton, *op. cit.*, 169. Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Oct 17, 1941 (CAB.69/3).

¹⁹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Oct 20, 1941 (CAB.69/3).

²⁰ WSC to Ismay, chiefs of staff, and Dominions Secretary, D.291/1, Oct 31 (CAB.121/284). Ismay pointed out, Oct 31, that under a long-stand-

ing arrangement covering such fleet movements, Washington had already been informed of *Prince of Wales*' departure on Oct 22, 1941.

²¹ PM's card.

²² PM's minute in PREM.3/330/2.

²³ FDR to WSC, Oct 15; and to Mountbatten, Oct 16, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0398f.). The letter concluded, 'Dicky will tell you of a possibility for your people to study – to be used only if Pétain goes and Weygand plays with us.' WSC would however minute to Ismay on Oct 28, referring to FDR's 'lively interest in Tangier,' that he himself foresaw complications with the Spaniards and the French. Churchill, vol. iii, 489.

²⁴ Quoted by Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten*, 151ff. Mountbatten to Lady M., Nov 11, 1941 (*ibid.*).

²⁵ WSC to DMI (Maj. Gen. F H N Davidson), M.1014/1, and reply, Oct 24, 1941; Davidson appended a secret memo, 'Autumn–winter weather conditions in Russia' (CAB.163/11).

²⁶ Cabinet meeting, Oct 27, 1941. WM (41) 106, Minute 2, conf. annex. PM's card: '5 p.m. cabinet (First Sea Lord and First Lord staying on to talk to PM). 10 p.m. D.O. meeting.'

²⁷ War Office to C-in-C, Far East and C-in-C, China, Oct 30, 1941, 2:30 A.M (Special Secret Intelligence Centre papers, CAB.121/14).

²⁸ Halifax secret diary, Oct 30, 1941.

²⁹ WSC to FDR, Nov 1, 1941.

³⁰ WSC to Smuts, Nov 2, 1941 (ADM.199/1934).

³¹ WSC to Stalin, Nov 4, 1941 (FO.954/24; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 169ff; Churchill, vol. iii, 468f).

³² Ashley Clarke (see chap. 6, note 30).

³³ Roskill to Cunningham, Mar 30, 1953 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563).

³⁴ Roskill to Cunningham, Sep 18, 1953 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563).

³⁵ Roskill to Cunningham, Sep 28, 1953 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52563). On Dec 30, 1953 he wrote: 'My first vol. is still firmly jammed by Churchill.' After it was published, Roskill wrote on Jun 16, 1954, 'Except for WSC (who exploded with wrath) everyone has been most kind' (*ibid.*).

³⁶ Churchill, vol. iii, pag 524.

³⁷ Pound to WSC, Mar 7, 1942 (PREM.20/57).

³⁸ Dalton diary, Feb 19, 1942.

³⁹ Chequers register, Nov 9, 1941.

⁴⁰ WSC to Pound, Nov 11, 1941 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/10). On Nov 1, 1941, he had complained to Pound that *Prince of Wales* was taking 'a very long time' to reach Capetown (CAB.121/114).

⁴¹ Amery diary, Oct 14, 21, 24, 30, 31, Nov 3, 4, 5, 1941. On Jan 7, 1942 US Naval Intelligence informed the COS that U Saw was due back in Bangkok on Jan 10. 'He plans on arrival to get into touch with Japanese and with their assistance to set up Quisling or Free Burma government.' Hollis cabled to Ismay that WSC would want India to hold U Saw's aircraft pending investigation (CAB.120/29). For U Saw's visit and subsequent detention see too PREM.4/54/1 and /2. He was hanged in 1948.

⁴² Amery diary, Oct 29, 1941.

⁴³ PM's card. His afternoon appointments were all postponed or cancelled.

⁴⁴ WSC to FDR, Nov 2, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0031).

⁴⁵ See for instance the letter of Ralph Ingersoll, editor of *PM*, to Bill Donovan, Oct 21, 1941. 'There is a smell of trouble in the air. . . I found my friends in the Tory Party smug' (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Far East'); Cecil King diary Aug 2, 1941; John Martin letters and Raymond Lee diary, *passim*.

⁴⁶ Raymond Lee diary, Nov 3, 1941.

⁴⁷ WSC to Pound, Nov 2, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

⁴⁸ Eden diary, Nov 4, 1941.

⁴⁹ WSC to Stalin, Nov 4, 1941 (FO.954/24; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 169ff; Churchill, vol. iii, 468f; WM (41) 108, Minute 8, conf. annex).

⁵⁰ Pownall diary, Nov 5, 1941.

⁵¹ WSC to Ismay for COS Committee, Nov 5, 1941, minute D.298/1 (PREM.3/398/3).

⁵² C to WSC, Nov 12 (CAB.120/766); cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 492.

⁵³ Cadogan diary, Nov 11, 1941 (Churchill College).

⁵⁴ WSC to Sinclair and Portal, M.1038/1, Nov 11, 1941 (PREM.3/11/3; also in AIR.19/186); Churchill, vol. iii, 748. Sinclair argued that despite the 'most painful' bomber losses he hoped WSC would not ban further raids on Berlin. He spoke in a draft reply, not sent, of the 'moral effect' of 'a good attack on Berlin just when their troops are bogged outside Moscow and Leningrad and of blowing in windows and smashing windows just when the winter is coming on' (*ibid.*). See also the Special Secret Intelligence Centre file on bombing policy (CAB.121/1).

⁵⁵ WSC to Sinclair and Portal, Nov 14, 1941 (AIR.19/186, Sinclair's file, 'Bombing Policy, 1940-2').

⁵⁶ Portal to WSC, Nov 16, 1941 (CAB.121/1).

⁵⁷ Amery diary, Nov 8, 12, 1941.

⁵⁸ Amery diary, Nov 20, 1941.

⁵⁹ WSC to Lord Linlithgow, Nov 12, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 748.

⁶⁰ Amery diary, Nov 17, 1941.

⁶¹ Amery diary, Nov 22, 1941.

⁶² Amery diary, Nov 24, 1941; and *cf.* Cadogan diary.

⁶³ Amery diary, Nov 3, 5, 1941.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Layton diary, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 1146.

⁶⁵ Cecil King diary, Nov 18, 1941, reporting a conversation with Sinclair.

⁶⁶ WSC to Alexander and Pound, Nov 14, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 749. He asked for the actual figures and planned a special meeting on the crisis.

⁶⁷ Eden diary, Nov 13, 1941.

⁶⁸ Stalin to WSC, Nov 8, 1941 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 171f; English translation in PREM.3/170/1).

⁶⁹ PM's card, Nov 11; Eden diary, Nov 11, 1941.

⁷⁰ Cabinet meeting, Nov 11, 1941. WM (41) 111, Minute 8, conf. annex (revise).

⁷¹ Eden diary, Nov 11, 1941.

⁷² Eden diary, Nov 11, 1941.

⁷³ Pound to WSC, Nov 18, 1941 (CAB.121/114 and ADM.205/10).

⁷⁴ Smuts to WSC, Nov 18, 1941 (PREM.3/163/3).

⁷⁵ Lord Camrose to his son, Nov 14, 1941, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 1238.

⁷⁶ WSC to Dowding, Nov 5; and note by Dowding on his stay at Chequers, Nov 14-15, 1941 (RAF Museum, Hendon: Sir Hugh Dowding papers).

⁷⁷ Harvie-Watt, *Most of My Life* (London, 1980), 63.

⁷⁸ Amery diary, Nov 13; Eden diary, Nov 12, 1941. 'There was talk of Nye to succeed him, and P.J. [Grigg], rather unexpectedly, favoured this.'

⁷⁹ Sir Hastings Ismay, interviewed by Sir Arthur Bryant (Alanbrooke papers, 12/xi/1/3). Chequers register. Pownall diary, Nov 19, 1941: 'It is hardly a credible tale, and really rather unworthy. . . But the PM is like that; he exercises his patronage in very peculiar directions and with little regard to the ordinary decencies.'

⁸⁰ Brooke diary, Nov 16; Lord Hankey diary, Nov 19, 1941, reporting a conversation with Dill (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers).

⁸¹ WM (41) 114, Minute 1, conf. annex.

⁸² Lord Hankey diary, Nov 19, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers).

⁸³ Eden diary, Nov 14, 1941.

⁸⁴ Cripps to WSC, and reply, Nov 15, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1).

⁸⁵ WSC to Stalin, Nov 21, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 471.

⁸⁶ Eden diary, Nov 21, 1941.

⁸⁷ Stalin to WSC, Nov 23, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1). WSC refers to a meeting between Maisky and Eden on Nov 20: Churchill, vol. iii, 470. For Maisky's account, Nov 24, 1941, see *Sov.-angliiskiye*, vol. i, 179f. The PM's card indicates a further meeting with Maisky on Nov 25, 1941, but there are no Soviet or British accounts of this.

⁸⁸ WSC to Mannerheim, Nov 28, forwarded via the US Legation in Helsinki (PREM.3/170/1); Cadogan diary, Nov 28, 1941.

⁸⁹ WSC to Eden, Nov 29, 1941 (*ibid.*, and Churchill, vol. iii, 473).

⁹⁰ Eden to WSC, Nov 29, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1).

⁹¹ WSC to Eden, Dec 3, 1941 (*ibid.*).

⁹² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Dec 3 (CAB.69/3). Amery diary, Dec 3. The PM's card has these entries: Dec 3: '5:30 [~~deleted: Cabinet~~] Defence Ctee.' Dec 4: '6 P.M. Cabinet . . . 7:30 Maisky. 10 P.M. staff conference.' Dec 5, 1941: '12:30 M Maisky.' (The 'staff conference' was a term first used by WSC to describe 'O' (Operations) meetings of the COS Committee on Dec 1. It first appears on the PM's card on Dec 4).

⁹³ Amery diary, Dec 4, 1941.

⁹⁴ Mannerheim to WSC, Dec 2, received 7:10 P.M., Dec 4 (PREM.3/170/1). Churchill, vol. iii, 474 oddly says he received it Dec 2, 1941.

⁹⁵ Eden to WSC, Dec 5, 1941 (PREM.3/170/1).

⁹⁶ Halifax to FO, Dec 5, received 10 P.M.; J M M[artin], minute, Dec 6, 12:25 A.M. (*ibid.*).

9: WESTWARD LOOK

¹ WSC to FDR, Oct 20; Churchill, vol. iii, 428f. **or 482ff, •• check.** WSC to FDR, Nov 18, 1941, midnight (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0551ff; 0487); it went at triple priority (NA, RG.84, Records maintained by Ambassador John G Winant, 1938–48).

- ² Rommel to OKW, Nov 9, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 492f.
- ³ ULTRA intercept OL.2008, Nov 17, 1941; cited in Hinsley, vol. ii, 303.
- ⁴ Martin diary, Nov 18, 1941; PM's card.
- ⁵ Lord Hankey diary, Nov 19, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers).
- ⁶ WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 19, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1239.
- ⁷ Auchinleck and Tedder to WSC, Nov 19, 1941 (Tedder papers).
- ⁸ Lord Hankey diary, Nov 20 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers); Nicolson diary, Nov 20, 1941: 'I dread these forecasts.'
- ⁹ Auchinleck to WSC, Nov 21, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 504; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1241.
- ¹⁰ WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 25, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1242.
- ¹¹ Intercept CX/MSS/470/T.16, Nov 23, 1941 (HW.1/267). 'Attached messages were taken over to PM direct, by CSS, 27.11.41'
- ¹² WSC to Adm Cunningham, Nov 23, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 508; cf. Hinsley, vol. ii, 321f.
- ¹³ CX/MSS/462/T.21, Nov 24, 1941 (HW.1/267).
- ¹⁴ Auchinleck to WSC, Nov 24, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 505.
- ¹⁵ Lyttelton to WSC, Nov 25, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1242; Lyttelton, 265f.
- ¹⁶ WSC to Lyttelton, Nov 25; Churchill, vol. iii, 506; Eden diary, Nov 25, 1941.
- ¹⁷ WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 25, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 506.
- ¹⁸ Amery diary, Nov 24, 28, 1941.
- ¹⁹ Amery diary, Dec 1, 1941: '. . . A most unnecessary waste of time and generation of heat owing to Winston's refusal to accept things as they are and not as they were in 1895.'
- ²⁰ WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 27, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1245.
- ²¹ WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 27, 1941, 7:27 P.M.; Churchill, vol. iii, 510. He wrote wholly untruthfully, 'Neither I nor the CIGS was convinced, but we did not press our point.'
- ²² WSC to Auchinleck, Nov 29, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1246.
- ²³ Forwarded in signal Auchinleck to WSC, Nov 30, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 511.
- ²⁴ Barrington-Ward diary, Dec 1; and PM's card.

¹ Prof. Donald Cameron Watt, 'Was War with Japan Necessary?' in *The Daily Telegraph*, Jul 16, 1972.

² A pencilled entry in Morgenthau diary, Nov 4, 1944 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. •• [number follows], 1458).

³ The British government has still (Aug 2000) withdrawn fol. 24 from the First Sea Lord's 'Report on the Loss of the *Prince of Wales*,' dated Jan 25, 1942 – the Appendix II which reproduces 'signals giving information on the movements of the Japanese fleet' around Dec 8 and 9, 1941 (PREM.3/163/2). A second copy of the same report (ADM.199/1149) refers on fol. 197 to Appendix II, but again the Appendix is missing. There is a third copy of the report in the same file, differently typed, circulated to the Board of Admiralty by HV M[arkham] with an index on fol. 209 listing: 'Appendix II. Copies of Important Signals made just prior to and after Force Z sailed.' This is a different Appendix II to the one which has been withdrawn.

⁴ Stimson diaries, *passim*. The retyping was perhaps done in November 1944 – by a secretary using a different typewriter, indenting eleven character-spaces instead of five, leaving three spaces after each period, and with other idiosyncrasies quite different from Stimson's 1941 private secretary. Historians should also note that there are two versions of Stimson's letter to FDR dated Nov 25, 1941: one version in his 'Philippines' file (Yale Univ. Library) and in the Cordell Hull papers (Library of Congress), and quite another with significant additions in his file of correspondence with FDR, dated Nov 26, 1941.

⁵ Probably in September 1944. Hopkins's memo on the events of Dec 7, 1941 is in the Hopkins papers, microfilm 19. It emphasises FDR's more angelic qualities, *e.g.*, 'The President discussed at some length his efforts to keep the country out of the war and his earnest desire to complete his administration without war. . . .' On Sep 26, 1944 Hopkins would write to FDR: 'I was sorry to learn from Bob Patterson that you had been worried by rumors as to what the Army Pearl Harbor Board might find in its report. The Congressional Joint Resolution directing the creation of such a board was passed while I was in Europe, and the Board was appointed before I returned. . . I found awaiting me a request to appear before it. I postponed my appearance until now in order that I should have time to make a careful study of the documents and thus make an appearance which would answer any possible false rumors that have arisen.' He continued, 'This morning I was before the Board for two hours and a half. . . I felt at the end of the hearing that they were satisfied with my account of the sequence of events.'

I had the advantage . . . of having kept a daily account of my meetings and work during the critical period. . . For myself I can hardly imagine a picture of more close co-operation and anxious desire to warn our outposts of impending attack than was shown by this documented record.' He recalled that FDR was 'painstaking on the job throughout that period' (FDR Libr., PSF, box 44, folder 'Germany 1944-45').

⁶ PRO files, DEFE.3 series.

⁷ Ministry of Defence to the late John Costello, quoted in *The Sunday Telegraph*, Aug 22, 1982; Foreign & Commonwealth Office to the late James Rusbridger, Sep 12, 1985. The 'weederers' removed even the most innocuous 'BJs,' e.g., from PREM.4/68/6b, 'Movements of Jap Minister for Foreign Affairs,' Feb 1941. The special messages to which Ismay referred in this file, clearly MAGICS or 'BJs,' were sealed until the year 2019. This file has been re-sealed for 75 years since we reviewed it.

⁸ Henry Pownall diaries, *op. cit.* A box of Pownall's original diaries is in Churchill College, Cambridge – but not those for the war years.

⁹ PREM.3/252/5, also closed for 75 years. Warren F Kimball, in 'Churchill and Roosevelt: The Personal Equation,' in *Prologue*, Washington DC, Fall 1974, 171f, also finds that these 'omissions from the PREMIER 3 records are suggestive.' File PREM.3/252/6a, which is open, is catalogued as containing records from Sep 1940 to May 1945, but includes only those from Dec 22, 1940 to Jul 22, 1944.

¹⁰ PRO series FO.954. The foreign office has been unable to provide any explanation to us. The file is also missing from the Avon papers.

¹¹ *The Times* commented on Nov 26, 1993 that James Rusbridger and the Far East codebreaking expert Cdr. Eric Nave (based during the war in Melbourne) had claimed in *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* that British codebreakers had intercepted Japanese signals which alerted them to an imminent Japanese attack on Hawaii; Rusbridger was not invited to comment on the PRO files, and inexperienced newspaper journalists perhaps did not know what to look for. Cdr. Denniston wrote to Taylor on Dec 12, 1941 that he knew little about the work being done by the FECB at Singapore; the bureau was still functioning under Shaw, he wrote, but not enjoying much success except with the Japanese consular codes. 'That is why we and Washington are concentrating on research into Japanese naval and military cyphers' (HW.14/45).

¹² This was Anthony Best, lecturer in international history at the LSE, quoted in the *Daily Telegraph*, Jul 31, 1994.

¹³ WSC to FDR, Nov 26, 1941; this was transmitted as US embassy tel. 5670 to Washington at six A.M (NA, State dept. file 711.94/2472); despatched from the FO to Washington as No. 6462, Nov 26, 1941, 3:20 A.M (FO.371/27913). In the State dept's card index of telegrams received from its embassy in London there are two items not accounted for between telegrams No. 5,670 (six A.M.) and No. 5,700 (midnight), namely telegrams No. 5,672 and No. 5,688.

¹⁴ Gilbert, vi, 1260. There is a tell-tale reference in the next paragraph to Nov 26, 1941 as 'the same day.'

¹⁵ For the record, the seven 'BJs' were Nos. 097,969, 097,973, 097,977, 097,983, 097,988, 097,989, 097,993 (HW.1/240).

¹⁶ For the American files see *l.g.*, NA, RG.457, file SRH.210, papers released in 1982.

¹⁷ GC&CS report for 1940, Jan 31, 1941 (HW.14/11).

¹⁸ Unsigned memorandum to GC&CS director, Oct 1, 1940 (HW.14/7).

¹⁹ C to DNI and ACAS(I), C/5392, Nov 22, 1940 (HW.14/45).

²⁰ Admiralty to C-in-C, Home Fleet, and others, Dec 18, 1940 (ADM.199/1156).

²¹ Admiralty to C-in-C, Mediterranean, Jan 13, 1942. 'Our sources of intelligence and most secret methods of acquiring it should not be divulged' to US representatives (ADM.199/1156).

²² Draft signal by C to AOC-in-C Middle East, Jun 28, 1942; Group Capt. FW Winterbotham to Hut 3, undated (HW.1/674).

²³ Butler, Washington, Tel No. 3154 to FO, Dec 18, 1940 (HW.14/45). Signal DNI to Flag Officer Commanding, 3rd Battle Sqdn, Halifax, ca Dec 30, 1941: 'A party of US officers consisting of Lieut. Col. Freeman [*sic*. Friedman], Lieut. Col. Rosen, Lieut. Currier, USNR, and one other naval officer, together with six cases of very valuable mechanical equipment will shortly arrive from Washington for embarkation in *Royal Sovereign* or *Revenge* for UK. . . ' (HW.14/9).

²⁴ Denniston to Maj G Stevens, Nov 4, 1942 (HW.14/57).

²⁵ Denniston, notes, Aug 4, 1941 (HW.14/45).

²⁶ In HW.14/45. On July 8, Capt. Harold G Hayes, the American Signals Corps custodian of codes, turned over a bundle of technical papers to the British – mostly World War I code books and items. including 'The Zimmermann Telegram of Jan 16, 1917 and its Cryptographic Background.'

²⁷ Denniston, notes, Aug 4, 1941 (HW.14/45).

²⁸ Denniston to Hastings, Aug 5, 1941 (HW.14/45).

²⁹ Denniston (see note note 29).

³⁰ Report by Lieut. Col. J H Tiltman on his visit to North America during March and April 1942 (HW.14/46).

³¹ Denniston's report on US trip, Oct 31, 1941 (HW.14/45). Denniston later said he found the Americans – apart from their magnificent work on PURPLE – scratching at the outside of the Italian, French, and South American problems. He subsequently sent them all he knew about these as well as the French Colonial, Brazilian, Portuguese, Swedish, and other cyphers they had penetrated. Denniston to Maj G Stevens, Nov 4, 1942 (HW.14/57). Denniston's complaint was that the U.S. war dept. kept him in the dark as to what further progress they had made.

³² Notes on conference held Aug 15, 1941 (HW.14/45); for further 1942 messages between Bletchley Park and Cdr. Nave in Melbourne, relating to his work on Japanese naval codes, see also /46, /47 and /48. Nave appears to have operated on a loose rein. On May 2, 1942 he reported success with the naval code NIGORY.

³³ Notes by Cdr. A G Denniston after his return from USA, Aug 1941 (HW.14/45).

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Denniston to Hastings, Oct 9, 1941 (HW.14/45).

³⁶ Denniston to C, Oct 28, 1941 (HW.14/45).

³⁷ Adm Sir Charles Little, British Admiralty Delegation, Washington, to Pound, 'most secret,' Dec 2, 1941 (ADM.205/9).

³⁸ Hastings (Washington) to CSS, Tel. CXG No. 105–108, Nov 27 (HW.14/45). The Nov 26, 1941 meeting was also attended by Gen. Olmstead and Captain Wilkinson.

³⁹ CSS to Hastings (Washington), CXG No. 105 – 109, Dec 1, 1941 (HW.14/45). Hastings was due to leave Washington shortly.

⁴⁰ [Hastings] telegram Washington to CSS, CXG No. 115–117, Nov 27, 1941 (HW.14/45).

⁴¹ Adm Sir Charles Little (BAD) Washington to Pound, 'most secret,' Dec 2, 1941 (ADM.205/9).

⁴² [Denniston], untitled manuscript (Churchill College, Denniston papers, 1/4).

⁴³ *Ibid.* It is significant that on May 21, 1942 Ismay suggested to WSC that they suppress the phrase 'based on our own best sources in Melbourne' in a message about Intelligence on imminent Japanese naval operations

(‘those against Midway Island are certain’) (PREM.3/158/6). Nave, the Australian based at Melbourne, had lived in Japan in the 1920s and helped to found the Japanese section of GC&CS in 1927, the forerunner of Bletchley Park. For references to the work and ‘some success’ of Nave and ‘two young Australian military officers’ and a math professor from Melbourne University, see Col. G E Grimsdale’s report on his visit to Australia, Oct 10–23, 1941 (WO.208/2062).

⁴⁴ GC&CS comments on 16 of draft history, ‘Comments on “The American Alliance,”’ 23.11.1949 (HW.3/93).

⁴⁵ See NA, RG.457, file SRH.149, 14, and SRH.355, 297ff. Layton, *op.cit.*, 534, quotes the opinions of three experts on this and on 548 cites a memo by Laurence F Safford dated May 17, 1945, to be found in NA, RG.80, Pearl Harbor Liaison Office files, box 49.

⁴⁶ James Rusbridger and Eric Nave, interviewed in *The Independent*, London, Mar 9 and 11, 1989, based on the MS of their unpublished book *Codebreaker Extraordinary*.

⁴⁷ Rusbridger, interviewed by *Daily Telegraph*, Aug 1, 1984.

⁴⁸ Denniston to Hastings, Dec 5, 1941 (HW.14/45). At this stage the GC&CS liaison on PURPLE seems to have been with the US navy dept. only; the US war dept. was not supplied with British data for several months. On one message from Sir William Stevenson to ‘C,’ dated Feb 14, 1942, Bletchley Park noted: ‘I do not know if the American Army cryptographic party know that we are reading Japanese BJs.’ On Feb 19, 1942, GC&CS minuted that their co-operation with the US war dept. on PURPLE was ‘complete’ (HW.14/29).

⁴⁹ WSC’s 1941 file on Japanese oil stocks was closed until 1992; access was repeatedly refused to us even then. In 1997 it was listed as ‘missing,’ then located in the PRO safe room, and finally released relabelled ‘1942 Japan’ and containing only two innocuous items: Admiralty to Adm. Little, Mar 9, requesting data on Japanese oil stocks in Philippines; and the reply, Mar 13, 1942, endorsed: ‘Surely you won’t bother the PM with this?’ (PREM.3/252/6b). Quite so.

⁵⁰ Tokyo to Nomura, Nov 2, 1941; SIS.24292, translated by US army, Nov 3, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16190).

⁵¹ *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 92 and 97. More specifically the US army had intercepted one part of a three-part message Tokyo to Washington, No. 725, Nov 4, 1941; translated by US army Nov 4, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16214). Stimson summarised these Japanese messages in his diary

on Nov 5, 1941: the Japanese, he noted, were sending an emissary with 'a proposal impossible of acceptance.' It seemed to him that matters were coming to a head. He discussed it with FDR on the sixth; the president indicated that he would think up something to say to the emissary which would 'give us further time.'

⁵² Tokyo to Nomura, Nov 5, 1941, intercept SIS.24373, translated by US army, in *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 92, 98, 99, 100.

⁵³ Churchill, vol. iii, 532. See *e.g.*, the *British MAGIC* intercept No. 094723, dated Aug 23, 1941 of Oshima (Berlin) to Tokyo, No. 1027, Aug 15, 1941 (HWI/25). WSC noted, 'In view of the fact that the Americans themselves gave us the key to the Japanese messages, it seems probable the President knows this already.'

⁵⁴ Pownall diary, Nov 15, 1941.

⁵⁵ Cf. Halifax secret diary, Oct 31, 1941: 'The Americans claim to have sure information that the Japanese are going to start an attack on Yunnan on the 2nd November. I am told that this does not cause the Chinese much anxiety. . . '

⁵⁶ Chiang Kai-shek to WSC: Churchill, vol. iii, 526.

⁵⁷ Cabinet meeting, Nov 5, 1941. WM (41) 109, minute (2), confidential annex.

⁵⁸ WSC to FDR, Nov 5, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0403); Churchill, vol. iii, 526f.

⁵⁹ FDR's cabinet of Nov 7, in Wickard diary, manuscript, Nov 8, 1941 (FDR Libr., Claude R Wickard papers). 'Several times during the discussion,' Wickard's note continues, 'the President indicated that he did not expect to declare war against Germany or Japan but intended to carry on undeclared war by shooting on the seas to protect American commerce.'

⁶⁰ Possibly the *MAGICS* had been brought to WSC by Sir William Stevenson himself; there is a 'Mr Stevenson' recorded on the PM's card at 7:15 P.M. on Nov 4, 1941. Any conversation with FDR is likely to have been on the fifth, because on the next two days WSC was away from the London end of the transatlantic radiotelephone link, touring Midlands cities.

⁶¹ Because WSC specifically mentioned this aspect to his War cabinet, WM (41) 11 confidential annex (CAB.65/24).

⁶² Wickard diary; Stimson diary, Nov 7, 1941: cabinet feeling, he wrote, 'would have been much stronger if the cabinet had known – and they did not know except in the case of Hull and the President – what the Army is doing with the big bombers and how ready we are to pitch in.'

⁶³ Brigadier Gen. Laurence S Kuter, memorandum, Nov 21, 1941 (NA, RG.165, War dept., Chief of Staff, Army 1941-3, 'Philippines project').

⁶⁴ On Nov 5, 1941 Marshall and Stark sent to FDR a memorandum advising against issuing any further warnings to Japan that the United States could not back up with force. *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xvi, 2222.

⁶⁵ FDR to WSC, Nov 9 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 405ff); this reply had been drafted by Hull, Nov 6 (*ibid.*). Cf., with minor differences, Churchill, vol. iii, 527. What Lord Halifax made of this exchange of telegrams, in his secret diary of Nov 10, 1941, was: 'Chiang Kai-shek has made an impassioned appeal . . . for all-out help. . . Winston has asked the President what he is going to do about this, and has had rather a cautious reply. The President evidently feels that anything too drastic may push the thing over on the other side, and the Americans . . . don't think the Japanese can do anything in Indo-China for quite a long time, and therefore aren't as excited as we are.'

⁶⁶ Marshall grasped it, recommending *e.g.*, in his memo of Nov 5 (see note 64) 'certain minor concessions which the Japanese could use in saving face.'

⁶⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 22, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶⁸ Churchill, vol. iii, 528f; he wrongly says the speech was at the Guildhall.

⁶⁹ Japanese embassy in London to Washington and Tokyo, No. 735, Nov 11, 1941; translated by US navy Nov 14 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16562f). See too the Japanese broadcasts of Nov 11, *e.g.*, at 10:30 p.m. to Germany) and 11 p.m. to England: 'Informed circles here think the British prime minister's utterances peculiar and incomprehensible.' BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, No. 848, Nov 13, 1941.

⁷⁰ The codebreakers soon furnished a similar message from the Japanese Legation in Thailand, telling Tokyo that Churchill's speech amounted to a boast that he was ready to fight them. Japanese Legation in Bangkok to Tokyo, Nov 12, 1941; translated by US army, Nov 14, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16501).

⁷¹ Tokyo to Washington, No. 764, Nov 11, reporting the interview with Craigie; translated by US navy, Nov 12, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16564-6).

⁷² Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 5, 1941 (*Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 94, 98, 99, 100).

⁷³ Letter and telegram of Lieut-Col. S A Greenwell, US Assistant Military Attaché in London, to US War dept., Nov 21, 1941: summarising the British Joint Intelligence Committee report of Nov 18, 1941. Greenwell asked Washington not to divulge to the British that he had obtained the JIC report (Hopkins papers, box 193, 'Far East docs., xv').

⁷⁴ Cadogan's unpublished diary, Oct 14, 27, 1942 (Churchill College archives, ACAD, 1/11).

⁷⁵ Craigie to Eden, Feb 4, 1943; H Ashley Clarke, minute, Sep 21, 1943 (FO.371/35957).

⁷⁶ Sir H Ashley Clarke, 'From the Burma Road Crisis to Pearl Harbor,' May 10, 1943 (FO.371/35957). It makes no reference to MAGIC, but does refer to sensitive items including WSC's 'thin diet' telegram of Nov 26, 1941 (on which Washington blamed their own fateful actions) and the British plan to invade southern Thailand (MATADOR).

⁷⁷ WSC to Eden, Sep 19, 1943 M.588/3 (FO.371/35957). As Richard Lamb pointed out in a letter in *The Times*, Jan 20, 1993, neither J Charmley nor M Gilbert nor Churchill's own memoirs mentions the Craigie episode. Meeting Craigie in September 1943, Lord Halifax found him 'much obsessed with the view that if he had been able to get more into the picture of the Japanese negotiations of 1940 [*sic*] and if we had been willing to lift the Economic Sanctions in return for the Japs getting out of South Indo-China, and reduce their numbers in North Indo-China, they would not have gone for war. It may be so, but I am inclined to think that it would never have been a secure world, with the point that the Japs had reached, without a showdown.' Halifax diary, Sep 3, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A7.8.13).

11: A SORRY PASS

¹ FDR to WSC, Oct 24; Donovan to WSC, Oct 27; Maj W D Whitney to WSC, Nov 4, 1941; Morton to Ismay, Jan 18; Ismay to Morton, Jan 19, 1942 (CAB.120/815); Halifax to Eden, Oct 31, Nov 3, 1941 (FO.954/24, fols. 31-3). For Whitney's work with Harriman's staff earlier in 1941 see PREM.3/217/4.

² Chequers register, Nov 7-10, 1941 (in the author's possession; author's microfilm DI-89).

³ Whitney to W J Donovan, London, Nov 12, 1941 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 141, folder 'Coordinator of Information, 1941').

⁴ Whitney to W J Donovan, London, Nov 12, 1941 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 141, folder 'Coordinator of Information, 1941'). Two days later at his 5:30 P.M. cabinet WSC would again say that Britain had to avoid becoming embroiled in war with Japan 'without the assurance of American participation.' WM (41) 112, confidential annex.

⁵ Ismay to WSC, Nov 19; note by WSC, Nov 22 (CAB. 120/815); cf. Cave-Brown, *Menzies*, 361–5. Around Nov 24, 1941 WSC directed that Morton and Ismay collaborate with Whitney on civil and military affairs respectively.

⁶ Ismay to Whitney, Nov 24; Ismay to Capel-Dunn, Nov 29, 1941 (CAB. 120/815). In OSS-chief Donovan's files are letters from him to Halifax, Nov 17, and 29, and reply, Nov 21, 1941 about Donovan receiving British daily operational reports (USAMHI, Carlisle, Donovan papers, vol. 34).

⁷ Amery diary, Nov 11, 1941.

⁸ JIC report, Nov 18, 1941 (see above); for similar speculation on Japan's intentions, see the Pownall diary, Nov 15, 1941.

⁹ Tokyo to Nomura, Nov 5, 1941, intercept sis.24373, translated by US army, in *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 92, 98, 99, 100.

¹⁰ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 13, 1941; translated by US army Nov 17, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16626).

¹¹ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 15, 1941; translated by US army Nov 19, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16772).

¹² Tokyo to Nomura, Nov 15, 1941; translated by US army Nov 15, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16576).

¹³ Tokyo to Kurusu, Nov 15, 1941; translated by US army Nov 17, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16617).

¹⁴ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 17, 1941; translated by US army Nov 22, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16844).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Halifax to FO, Nov 17, 1941 (FO.371/27914).

¹⁷ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 18, 1941; sis.25806, translated by US army Nov 21, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16777).

¹⁸ Nomura to Tokyo, No. 1137, Nov 19, 1941; translated by US navy Nov 25, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16901).

¹⁹ Togo (Tokyo) to Nomura, Nov 19, 1941. In full: 'You may point out that the empire can decide independently as to whether or not there had been an attack without being bound to the interpretation of the other coun-

tries involved in the Tripartite Pact Treaty.' This intercept was produced by the Prosecution Section as Document 1532-D(6) at the International Military Tribunal, Far East. At the Tokyo Liaison Conference of Nov 20, 1941, Togo stated that he had that morning directed Nomura once again to tell the American government, 'Although the United States says that Japan will be a tool of Germany, Japan intends to act on her own.'

²⁰ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 18 and 19, 1941; translated by US army Nov 22 and 24, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16823 and 16875).

²¹ *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 155.

²² *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 158.

²³ Nomura to Tokyo, Nov 20, 1941; SIS.25716, translated by US army Nov 24, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16855). At lunch with his Secretary of the Interior Harold F Ickes on Nov 21, FDR said that Kurusu had still not put his cards on the table. 'I am not sure whether Japan has a gun up its sleeve.' When Ickes argued for a defensive – meaning pre-emptive – war, FDR remarked that Japan was too far away to be attacked. 'It seemed to me,' noted Ickes that day in his diary, 'that the President had not yet reached the state of mind where he is willing to be as aggressive as Japan.'

²⁴ Our added emphasis. Tokyo to Nomura, No. 812, Nov 22; translated by US army Nov 22, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16816).

²⁵ Tokyo to Singapore, Nov 20, 1941, translated Nov 26; and to Bangkok, Nov 20, translated Nov 22, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16931 and 16799).

²⁶ Tokyo to Washington, No. 2398, Nov 15, 1941; translated by US army Nov 25, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.16889 and 16910).

²⁷ D C Watt emphasises this (see chap. 6, note 7): 'Whatever he said later . . . Hull wanted to accept it.' In written testimony to the Pearl Harbor hearings, Hull admitted that he had, that weekend, hoped for a temporary accommodation (NA, RG.80, Pearl Harbor Liaison Office files; and *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. ii, 544).

²⁸ See Halifax secret diary, Nov 23, 1941, evidently referring to the previous day: 'I still remained completely sceptical about the Japs meaning to do this sort of thing, but I am quite prepared to be proved wrong at any moment.'

²⁹ TV Soong, quoted in Morgenthau diary, Nov 26–27, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers).

³⁰ *FRUS*, 1941, vol. ii, 755; also in FDR to WSC, Nov 25, 1951 (see below).

³¹ Stimson diary, Nov 25, 1941.

³² Chequers register. The evidence that FDR sent to WSC a message, not yet released to public files, late this day, Nov 23, 1941, is moderately strong. In Churchill, vol. iii, 531, the prime minister wrote, '[Hull] did not even mention to these [Japanese emissaries] the *modus vivendi* about which the President had telegraphed to me on the 23rd.'

³³ WSC Minute M.1061/1 to Eden, Nov 23, 1941 (PREM.3/156/6 and CAB.121/114). The former file does not contain the Washington message on which the PM is commenting. After the war WSC would write merely, using the – here convenient – passive voice, 'We were informed of the Japanese Note [of Nov 20, 1941] and asked for our views.' Churchill, vol. iii, 529.

³⁴ Harvey diary, Nov 24; he was Eden's private secretary. Eden's diary this day records only, 'Told [Winston] of my worries about Thailand. Encouraged me to bring proposals for more help to the cabinet' (Avon papers).

³⁵ Amery diary, Nov 24, 1941.

³⁶ PM's card.

³⁷ TV Soong, quoted in Morgenthau diary, Nov 26–27, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers).

³⁸ *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xiv, 1194.

³⁹ Lee diary, Nov 25, 1941; PM's card, three P.M.

⁴⁰ Hull to FDR, Nov 24, 1941 (on which FDR wrote, 'OK. See [my] addition. FDR'). The enclosure, a draft telegram, went to London as FDR to WSC, Nov 24–25, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0409ff); a US embassy messenger delivered it with a covering letter from Jacob D Beam to John Martin at No. 10 Downing-street on the morning of Nov 25 (PREM.3/156/5). Lord Halifax forwarded a copy to the FO, which received it at 1:20 P.M. (PREM.3/469 and FO.371/27913).

⁴¹ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 27, 1941.

⁴² Foreign Minister, Tokyo, to Japanese chargé d'affaires, London, etc., circular Tel. No. 2363, Nov 19; British intercept No. 098,127, translated Nov 25, 1941. It is noteworthy that this crucial item is not among the *British* MAGICS released to the PRO in 1993 (HW.1). Our copy comes from *Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack*, Seventy-Ninth Congress of the United States (Washington, 1946), part 35: Investigation [into the GC&CS files] by Lieut. Col. Henry C Clausen, US army, Exhibit 8, 686ff ('The following documents comprise intercepts obtained from British sources. They consist of 41 documents extending over

the period' Nov 21–Dec 22, 1941); and see especially *ibid.*, part 36, 4335ff. Before 1993, these forty-one British MAGICS were the only ones known for certain to exist.

⁴³ At six P.M. on Nov 28, 1941 Capt. Laurence F Safford, head of the US navy's Communications Security Division, drafted a listening directive to the naval radio monitoring posts on Hawaii and the Philippines; this signal went out at 11:01 P.M., followed at 11:15 P.M. by directives to two other monitoring posts at Cheltenham, Maryland, and on Bainbridge Island, Washington (their station logs confirmed this). The War dept. and the Federal Communications Commission made their own listening arrangements at their San Francisco and Oregon stations respectively. Safford, testimony, Dec 4, 1945 and Jan 25, 1946 (NA, RG.457, file SRH.210, a collection of historical papers about the WINDS message released in 1982).

⁴⁴ Layton, 206–7.

⁴⁵ Affidavit of Col. George W Bicknell, Army G–2 at Hawai, Feb 25 (Clausen inquiry). Appendix 'A' to affidavit of Major Gen. CA Willoughby, Douglas MacArthur's G–2, May 8, 1945 (*ibid.*). As Willoughby testily pointed out, the casual reference to 'a Col. Wilkinson' in the affidavits of Jack E Russell, president of the trading firm's head office in Hawaii, and Harry Dawson (MI6 chief in Hawaii) was misleading.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Sir Josiah Crosby, Minister in Bangkok, to FO, No. 861, Nov 27, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁴⁷ The message concluded, 'American military and Naval Intelligence informed.' Message received by Wilkinson in Manila on Nov 26 (Nov 25, 1941, UK time): *Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack*, Seventy-Ninth Congress of the United States (Washington, 1946), part 35: Clausen investigation, 148: memorandum by JAGD for Stimson, Sep 14, 1945. Wilkinson's journals 1942–45 are now in Churchill College, heavily censored by the British security authorities. Gen. Willoughby testified in 1945 to Clausen that when he took over as G–2 in the Philippines he found that Wilkinson had his own code systems; this world-wide network of British spies was 'still in operation,' and were 'loyal to no one but themselves and the Empire.' London gave Wilkinson a military rank in case of capture; as the Japanese advanced, he attached himself to MacArthur's forces, leaving his wife and children to be interned. MacArthur sent him to Wavell as liaison officer. He made his way back to London. Despite his 'complete lack of military knowledge,' as Willoughby remarked, he enjoyed WSC's absolute support. Promoted to colonel, he

attempted to return to MacArthur's headquarters. 'We declined to have him,' huffed Willoughby; the Englishman found himself shuffled off to Stephenson's headquarters in New York.

⁴⁸ Clausen obtained a file of Wilkinson's reports to Theo Davies & Co in Honolulu. Affidavit of Col. George W Bicknell, assistant G-2 at Hawaii. This version was supported by the affidavit of Col. Joseph K Evans, at the time US army G-2, Philippine dept. The local MI6 office gave him the same warning as he left Manila for Washington on Nov 27, 1941, adding that the Japanese naval forces were concentrating near the Marshall Islands. Evans' ship was re-routed to avoid that area. And see the testimony of Capt. Wilfred J Holmes, usN, Apr 18, 1945 (Clausen inquiry).

⁴⁹ Halifax secret diary, Nov 26, 1941.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* That Eden sent the message to Halifax is evident from the sentence in WSC's message to FDR on Nov 26 – 'on which [Eden] has sent some comments' – which has been omitted from the text in Churchill, vol. iii, 530. Cordell Hull told Lord Halifax on Nov 28 that 'contributory causes to his decision [to drop the proposal] were Chinese reaction, suggestions of [HMG] which did not appear capable of inclusion in interim agreement. . . ' Halifax to FO, Nov 28, 1941 (PREM.3/156/5). Hull told FDR the reasons were 'opposition of the Chinese government and either the half-hearted support or the actual opposition of the British, the Netherlands, and the Australian governments, and in view of the wide publicity of the opposition. . . ' Oral statement, Nov 26, 1941, noted in Hull papers, microfilm 42.

⁵¹ Eden diary, Nov 25, 1941.

⁵² WSC to FDR, Nov 26, 1941. The carbon copies in PREM.3/156/5 and in Churchill's papers, 20/45 (*cf.* Gilbert, vol. vi, 1261) say that it was dispatched at 3:20 A.M.; it was despatched from the FO to Washington as No. 6462, Nov 26, 1941, at 3:20 A.M (FO.371/27913); the corresponding US embassy tel. No. 5670 went off to at six A.M. Washington where it was received at (local time) 12:55 A.M (NA, State dept. file 711.94/2472). An edited text is in Churchill, vol. iii, 530.

⁵³ Bevir to Beam, Nov 26, 1941 ('I am so sorry to trouble you at this hour'); original in NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, '701.US.'

⁵⁴ Sterndale Bennett, minute, Jan 10, 1946 (FO.371/44667). We made a two year search for Sterndale Bennett's private papers – it is known that he wrote manuscript memoirs – but despite assistance from his descendants,

the FO Library, and Lewes Record Office, we drew a blank; perhaps a later researcher will be more fortunate.

⁵⁵ Minute by Neville Butler, head of the North American dept. of the FO, Jan 6, 1942 (FO.371/27913). Sterndale Bennett of the Far Eastern dept. instructed on Jan 8, 1942 that a memorandum be prepared on the negotiations with the Japanese since early 1941: 'But a good deal of the information is non-publishable,' he wrote, probably referring to the *MAGICS*, 'and I am arranging for paragraphs in the memorandum based on such material to be clearly marked in some manner.' A first draft of the history was submitted on Feb 18, 1942. It has not been found in the public domain files.

⁵⁶ Morgenthau diary, Nov 26, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 466, 1020). He also describes the efforts of the Chinese that day to scupper the talks.

⁵⁷ Historians are on shifting sands here, as two versions of Henry Stimson's diary exist for this passage, both doctored: the one in NA, RG.80, Pearl Harbor Liaison Office files and the other in Yale University Library (Henry L Stimson papers, microfilm •• reel 6???). Stimson to FDR, 'Japanese Convoy Movement towards Indo-China,' Nov 25, 1941. An original copy for Hull is in the Libr. of Congress (Cordell Hull papers, microfilm 21). Stimson diary, Nov 26, 1941: FDR 'jumped into the air, so to speak, and said that he hadn't seen it and that that changed the whole situation because it was evidence of bad faith on the part of the Japanese that while they were negotiating for an entire truce – an entire withdrawal – they should be sending this expedition down there to Indo-China.'

⁵⁸ JIC report, Nov 21; Stimson to FDR, Nov 25, and Watson to Stimson, Nov 27, all bearing as Layton, 202, observes, 'the same fold creases.' FDR's aide, Major-Gen. Edwin M 'Pa' Watson, returned this item to Stimson on Nov 27, 1941, saying he had found it 'in the inside pocket of a very distinguished gentleman,' no doubt FDR himself. Stimson buried it in his most secret file, as it contradicted his later version to the Pearl Harbor inquiry (NA, RG.107, Formerly Top Secret Correspondence of Secretary of War Stimson Safe File, 'Philippines'). As for the memorandum from Stimson to FDR of Nov 25, 1941, there is a carbon copy 'for Secretary of State' in Hull's papers, microfilm 21 (Library of Congress).

⁵⁹ Conference in the Office of the Chief of Staff [Marshall] 10:40 a.m., Nov 29, 1941 (NA, RG.165, file WDSCSA/381).

⁶⁰ State dept., Memorandum for the President, Nov 26, 1941, with a typed signature and the apparent endorsement: 'Delivered orally and agreed

to by the President – HULL.’ This stated that in view of the widely publicised Chinese, British, and other opposition ‘through utter lack of an understanding of the vast importance . . . of the *modus vivendi*’ Hull desired ‘very earnestly’ to recommend handing the Japanese emissaries the Ten Points instead (Hull papers, microfilm 42).

⁶¹ Halifax telegrams to FO, Nov 26, rec’d 10:30 P.M.; and Nov 26, 11:32 P.M., rec’d 6:40 A.M. next day (FO.371/27913).

⁶² H Montgomery Hyde, who worked for Sir William Stevenson at the Rockefeller Center in New York, reported in *Room 3603* (London, 1962), 293, that FDR sent his son Col. James Roosevelt round to Stevenson to hand him this message for WSC (and see our chap. 2, note 23). Stevenson confirmed it to author John Costello in 1982.

⁶³ Nomura to Tokyo, No. 1189, Nov 26; translated by US army Nov 28 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17036). We do not know whether WSC ever saw an intercept of this, but since FO officials shortly criticised the State dept. for offering such terms ‘unsweetened’ they appear to have learned the details. Minute by J O Ashley Clarke, Nov 27, 1941 (FO.371/27913).

⁶⁴ Halifax secret diary, Nov 27, 1941.

⁶⁵ Hornbeck to Hull, Nov 27, 1941; from Kimmel’s papers, quoted by Layton, 200. It is not in Hornbeck’s papers at the Hoover Library.

⁶⁶ Sir William Hayter to Ashley Clarke, Sep 18, 1943 (FO.371/35957).

⁶⁷ Halifax secret diary, Nov 29, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19); cf. Cordell Hull desk diary, Nov 29, 9:30 A.M (Hull papers).

⁶⁸ Lee diary, Nov 27, 1941, quoting Desmond Morton.

⁶⁹ Sarah to Clementine Churchill, Apr 9, 1948 (copy in our possession).

⁷⁰ Halifax to FO, Nov 26, 10:09 P.M., rec’d 6:40 A.M. next day (FO.371/27913).

⁷¹ COS (41) 38th meeting (O), Nov 28, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁷² Minute by Sterndale Bennett on the above, Nov 27, 1941 (*ibid.*).

⁷³ Minute by J O Ashley Clarke, Nov 27, on Tel. Halifax to FO, Nov 26, 10:09 P.M (FO.371/27913).

⁷⁴ Halifax to FO, Nov 27, 12:38 P.M., rec’d 7:25 P.M (FO.371/27913).

⁷⁵ Halifax to FO, Nov 28, 12:42 P.M., rec’d 7:45 P.M (FO.371/27913).

⁷⁶ Minute by Ashley Clarke, Dec 1, 1941 (FO.371/27913).

⁷⁷ Adm Thomas B Hart, US naval commander in the Philippines (as C-in-C, Asiatic Fleet), had written in his diary on Nov 26, 1941: ‘Today, I learn from Washington – straight from the horse’s mouth – that the tension between Japs and ourselves is very far from having eased up. . . The storm

pretty much *must* break, somewhere. It's really a war warning.' On Nov 27, he continued: 'The plot grows thicker and thicker – today our communications system brought Sayre *his* war warning right straight from the very biggest horse's mouth. It was very specific and . . . made him shy like a scared filly. . . Well, *it looks like rain*' (Hart papers).

⁷⁸ OpNav signal to C-in-Cs of Asiatic and Pacific Fleets, and for information to SpeNavO (Adm Ghormley) in London, Nov 27, 1941, 2:42 P.M. (NA, RG.80, Pearl Harbor Liaison Office files, box 45); Layton, *op. cit.*, 524. The Hart diary, Nov 29 (equivalent to Nov 28, US time) 1941, confirms: 'We got our "war warning" last night. . . ' (Thomas B Hart papers).

⁷⁹ Marshall to Short, Nov 27, 1941, 5:12 P.M. (Hull papers, microfilm 21). Stimson's diary for that afternoon, Nov 27, 1941, states that Marshall was in the south on manoeuvres; Stimson phoned FDR, who approved his proposal that they send to MacArthur 'the final alert,' which the committee then drafted 'very carefully.' – For the message to MacArthur see *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. iv, 1407. A copy exists in Marshall's files (NA, RG.165, Army Operations/OPD Executive 4, envelope 14).

⁸⁰ Nomura to Tokyo, No. 1206, Nov 27, 1941; translated by US army Nov 29, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17079f). Hull's diary indicates that FDR called him to the White House for an hour at 2:25 P.M. (Hull papers).

⁸¹ Halifax to FO, Nov 28, 12:05 A.M., rec'd 7:14 A.M. (FO.371/27913).

⁸² Capt. C A Lockwood, of the office of US Special Naval Observer, to Pound, Nov 28, 1941, quoting war warning from CNO to C-in-C, Asiatic and Pacific for action and to C-in-C, Atlantic for information (CAB.121/114).

⁸³ Quoted in Sir J Crosby, Bangkok, to FO, No. 861, Nov 27, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁴ COS meeting (41) 38th (O), Nov 28, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁵ Admiralty to C-in-C, China, SO Force 'G', C-in-C, East Indies, Nov 29, 1941, 00:06 a.m. (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁶ (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁷ War Office to C-in-C, Far East, Nov 29, 1941, 11 P.M. (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁸ FO to Halifax, Nov 28, 1941, 9:50 P.M. (FO.371/27913).

⁸⁹ Halifax to FO, No. 5471, Nov 28 (PREM.3/156/5); quoted in Dominions office to Dominions prime ministers, Tel. 405, Nov 29, 1941, 10 P.M. (CAB.121/114).

⁹⁰ COS (41) 402nd mtg., Nov 29, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁹¹ Draft telegram, in report COS (41) 265(O), 'Situation in Siam,' Nov 29, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁹² Ismay to WSC, Nov 29, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁹³ See his remarks at Staff conference, Dec 1, 1941, 12:15 P.M (CAB.121/114).

⁹⁴ FO to Washington, No. 6584, Nov 29, 1941, 10:05 P.M (CAB.121/114).

⁹⁵ The FO notified Bangkok, Nov 30, 1941, 1:35 A.M., in a summary repeated to COIS Singapore for C-in-C, Far East, that a Japanese attack against Thailand was possible (FO.371/27913).

⁹⁶ Halifax to FO, No. 5474, Nov 29, 1941, 2:11 P.M., received 9:40 P.M (CAB.121/114).

⁹⁷ Eden diary, Nov 29, 1941.

⁹⁸ Halifax to FO, No. 5491, Nov 29, 1941, 9:55 P.M., received Nov 30, 5:15 A.M (CAB.121/114).

⁹⁹ Minute by Cadogan, Dec 1, 1941 (FO.371/27913).

¹⁰⁰ Halifax to FO, No. 5520, Dec 2, 00:05 A.M (FO.371/27914; CAB.121/114).

¹⁰¹ Halifax to FO, No. 5539, Dec 2, 1941, 7:36 p.m (CAB.121/114).

¹⁰² Halifax to FO, No. 5539, Dec 2, 7:36 P.M.; No. 5540, 11:47 P.M., rec'd 8:15 A.M. Dec 3 (FO.371/27914). A lengthy hand-written comment, no doubt expressing little affection for the USA, has been blanked out on the PRO copy of this telegram. As H Ashley Clarke, head of the FE dept. remarked in his Feb 1943 survey, 'From the Burma Road Crisis to Pearl Harbor,' para. 50: 'This latter [the general statement of Nov 26] was not communicated to HM ambassador until six days after it was given to the Japanese.' Apart from this the *only* documents on their negotiations with the Japanese which the US Govt. communicated textually to the British were the Japanese proposal of Aug 6 and the Kurusu compromise of Nov 20, 1941 (FO.371/35957).

12: DAY OF PERFIDY

¹ Cf. Lee diary, Nov 28, 1941, ten A.M.: Ghormley, in conference with the naval attachés, reads out the warning, in the American embassy in London. It is quoted by Churchill, vol. iii, 532.

² Tokyo to Washington, circular telegram No. 2353, Nov 19; translated by US navy Nov 28, JD.1, No. 6875 (NA, RG.457, file SRH.118; and

SRDJ.17025; and *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. xii, 154). It was also intercepted by the Dutch at Bandoeng, Java; on Dec 3 at 10:30 A.M. Col. Thorpe, the senior US army intelligence officer on Java, forwarded the 'code intercept' to Washington. On Dec 4, 1941 at 9:19 A.M. the State dept. received a similar intercept from Mr Foote, their consul general in Bandoeng. The Dutch East Indies War dept. had provided it to him. Foote however commented, 'I attach little or no importance to it and view it with suspicion. Such have been common since 1936' (NA, RG.457, file SRH.118).

³ The version which Hart received had some variations. It read: 'If diplomatic relations are on verge of being severed following words repeated five [sic] times at beginning and end of ordinary Tokyo news broadcasts [in Morse code] will have significance as follows: — *Higashi* if the target is USA; *Kita* if the target is British empire including occupation of Thailand or invasion of Malaya and Dutch East Indies. Hart to OpNav, Nov 28, 2:30 P.M (NA, RG.457, file SRH.210, 44). His signal added, 'British and ComSixteen [US Naval District 16, Philippines] monitoring above broadcasts.'

⁴ Tokyo to Washington, No. 843, Nov 27: JD.1, No. 6899 (NA, RG.457, sis.25466). There was also a circular telegram relating to code phrases in Morse broadcasts: Tokyo to Washington, No. 2354, Nov 19, JD.1, No. 6850, translated by US navy Nov 26, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRH.118).

⁵ Tokyo to Washington, No. 844, Nov 28, 1941; translated by US army Nov 28, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17048).

⁶ Takushiro Hattori, *Dai-toa senso zenshi* (A Complete History of the Greater East Asia War), vol. i (Tokyo, 1953), 229; Nobutake Ike (ed.), *Japan's Decision for War. Records of the 1941 Policy Conferences* (Stanford, 1967), 260ff; and testimony of Tojo in *International Military Tribunal in the Far East*, 36,077ff.

⁷ Chequers register, Nov 29, 1941.

⁸ Halifax to FO, Nov 29, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 532.

⁹ Chiefs of staff meeting, Nov 29, 1941 (CAB.79/16).

¹⁰ Harvey diary, Nov 29.

¹¹ FO to Halifax, Nov 29, 1941, 10:05 P.M.; WM (41) 122, minute 3, conf. annex (PREM.3/156/5).

¹² Dominions Office to Dominions, Nov 30, 1941, 2:30 A.M (PREM.3/156/5). The replies here quoted are in the same file; they are also summarised in WM (41) 122, minute 3, conf. annex (PREM.3/156/5).

¹³ As the chiefs of staff's own history observed, 'It is not clear whether this periphrasis meant that we should actually go to war!' (CAB.44/54, fol. 128).

¹⁴ Cf. Mackenzie-Cecil King diary, Nov 30, Dec 1, 1941.

¹⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 1, 1941, ten P.M.

¹⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 30, 1941.

¹⁷ WSC to FDR, T.902, Nov 30, 1941, three P.M. (FO.371/27913). T L Rowan made a hand-written annotation on the file copy: 'On PM's instruction I read this over to Mr Eden who thought it excellent. No. 10 informed and asked to despatch 2:00 P.M. TLR 30.xi.41' (PREM.3/256/6). It went off as No. 5770 from the US embassy in London at four P.M. to Washington, received there at 1:18 P.M. (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 38f). The FO copied it on Nov 30, 4:30 P.M. to Halifax; on Dec 1 to Curtin, Australia, and the other Dominion leaders.

¹⁸ Before going away to Warm Springs, Georgia, FDR had independently weighed the idea of sending a warning to Hirohito. Stimson had chided him, 'One does not send warnings to an Emperor,' and the idea was dropped. Stimson diary, Nov 28, 1941.

¹⁹ Amery diary, Nov 30, 1941.

²⁰ Report by Major B A Tormey, US military observer, Singapore, to US War dept., Dec 2, 1941 (Hopkins papers, box 193).

²¹ FO to Washington, No. 6600, Nov 30, 1941, 9:20 p.m. (CAB.121/114).

²² Halifax No. 5494 to FO, Nov 30, 1941, 5:40 p.m., received Dec 1, 1:55 a.m.; Eden to Halifax, No. 6610, Dec 1, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

²³ WSC to Eden, Dec 3, 1941 (PREM.3/156/6).

²⁴ Chiefs of staff 39th meeting, confidential annex, Dec 1, 1941 (CAB.121/114); PM's card. The minutes termed it a 'staff conference,' an expression not previously used to describe an operations meeting of the chiefs of staff.

²⁵ Ed Murrow was shocked by the anti-British feeling he found in the USA even after Pearl Harbor, particularly the wealthier middle classes who disliked the dislocation to their lives. Halifax diary, Mar 19, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

²⁶ Staff conference, Dec 1, 1941, 12:15 P.M. (CAB.121/114).

²⁷ Admiralty to S O Force G, Dec 1, 1941, 18:43A (CAB.121/114).

²⁸ WM (41) 122, minute 3, War cabinet, Dec 1, six P.M.; Cadogan diary, Dec 1, 1941. On the document's publication see the diaries of Bruce Lockhart and Oliver Harvey.

²⁹ Halifax diary, Nov 30, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.9).

³⁰ PM's card.

³¹ Admiralty to COIS Singapore, Summary FE.49, Dec 1. For Chiang Kai-shek's version of events, see A Clark Kerr (Chungking) to FO, Dec 1, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

³² Signal from OpNav to C-in-C, Asiatic Fleet (Adm Hart), Dec 2, 1941, 11:56 P.M. (NA, RG.80, Pearl Harbor Liaison Office files, box 45). This macabre order to form a 'defensive information patrol' specified: 'Minimum requirements to establish identity as US men-of-war are command by a naval officer and to mount a small gun.' See Rear-Adm Kemp Tolley, 'Pearl Harbor Revisited,' in *Shipmate*, the journal of the US Naval Academy Alumni Association, vol. 44, No. 10, Dec 1981. Tolley was the officer selected to command one such schooner, *Lanikai*.

³³ Halifax to FO, No. 5519, Dec 1, 1941, 11:29 P.M.; received in London Dec 2, 7:20 A.M. (PREM.3/156/6; and see CAB.121/114). Halifax diary, Dec 1, 1941, reports that FDR had phoned him to come round; Hopkins was also present (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.9). Afterwards, on Dec 2, the ambassador noted in his other, secret, diary: 'I feel pretty clear that if we get into war with Japan we can count on the United States.' (*Ibid.*, file A.7.8.19).

³⁴ Annex II to COS (41) 41st meeting (O), Dec 2, 1941 (CAB.121/114). Cadogan noted earlier this day, '11:30 talk with A [Eden] about Far East,' and after the 5:30 P.M. chiefs of staff meeting, '6:30 to No. 10 to discuss with PM Russian visit & Far East. (Quite a good message from Pres).'

³⁵ Cecil King diary, Dec 2, 1941.

³⁶ One of the journalists reported this to Casey. Halifax to FO, Dec 1, 11:29 P.M.; received in London 7:10 A.M. Dec 2, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

³⁷ Tokyo circular, No. 926, Nov 30, 1941; SIS.25554f, translated by US army Dec 1, 1941 (NA, RG.457); Layton, *op. cit.*, 529.

³⁸ Tokyo to Berlin, No. 986, Nov 30; SIS.25554ff, translated by US army Dec 1 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17114ff), and (paras. 2 and 3 only, which did not contain the phrase 'insulting clause') by GC&CS on Dec 7, 1941 as No. 098633 (HW.1/310).

³⁹ Tokyo to Washington, Dec 1; translated by US army Dec 1, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17159).

⁴⁰ Adm Sir Charles Little, Washington to Pound, 'most secret,' Dec 2, 1941 (ADM.205/9).

⁴¹ C to Wilkinson, Dec 2; Wilkinson to Theo H Davies & Co, Honolulu, Dec 3, 1941; cited in US Congress Pearl Harbor Investigation, part 36, Clausen investigation, 4335f. After the war Lieut. Col. H C Clausen of the US Judge-Advocate General's dept. investigated this in London; C responded to his man in the USA on Aug 31, 1945, that the data was 'based on BJ [intercepts]. Wilkinson was unaware of source and passed information to Honolulu as he appreciated that I possessed no direct communication.' *Ibid.*, 4337f; cf. Cave-Brown, *Menzies*, 378ff (evidently not appreciating that the 'BJs' were essentially British decrypts of *Japanese* messages).

⁴² John E Russell to Lieut. Col. H C Clausen, Apr 10, 1945 (Exhibit to Clausen inquiry).

⁴³ Testimony of Robert L Shivers, FBI chief at Honolulu, Apr 10, 1945 (Clausen inquiry). On Dec 5, 1941 he cabled to J Edgar Hoover: 'Japanese consul-general Honolulu is burning and destroying all important papers. shivers.'

⁴⁴ No. 2387 circular, Togo to Oshima and ambassador in Rome, Nov 24, 1941, translated Dec 1, 1941: (HW.1/310). "The Japanese – American negotiations [? are ? seem to be] [approaching their final stage]. In the event of the breakdown of the negotiations we shall be face to face with a rupture of relations with Britain and America, and the necessity is likely to arise for the sudden tightening up of the relations which had hitherto prevailed for co-operation between Japan, Germany, and Italy.'

⁴⁵ Tokyo to Berlin, No. 985, Nov 30. The British translation, 'BJ' No. 098452, is dated Dec 2 and initialled 'WSC, 2.xii' (HW.1/288). But the admiralty had an advance copy of this decode already by Dec 1 and immediately tipped off Washington by signal: 'Tokyo to Berlin No. 985 of immediate interest.' The different American text, also translated on Dec 1, has greater colour and urgency: Oshima was instructed to say 'that there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms and add that the time of the breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.' sis.25552f, translated by US army Dec 1, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17112; Nuremberg document 3598–PS, in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. vi, 308ff). No doubt for security reasons Churchill, vol. iii, 533, quotes verbatim the *American* translation of this, but wrongly suggests that it was 'already before' Hull and FDR on Nov 30. 'I received the decode of the telegrams [sic] on December 2,' he correctly added. The Sep 1944 'Streamlined Index of Translations. . . ' by Lieut. Cdr. Joseph J Rochefort of Op-20–G confirms

that the British Admiralty sent it to Washington at '011530,' i.e., on Dec 1 at 3:30 P.M. GMT. Cf. Layton, *op. cit.*, 529, and ND: 3598-PS, in *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. vi, 308ff.

⁴⁶ Bangkok to Tokyo No. 872, Nov 29, referred to in Denniston to Hastings, Dec 2, and War Office to C-in-C, Far East and C-in-C, India, Dec 2, 1941 (CAB. 121/114). There is a hint at the withholding of these intercepts implicit in Denniston to Taylor, Dec 12, 1941: 'The Foreign Office occasionally wish that the Ambassador should see certain "BJs" and to avoid the danger and delay of telegraphing them across, we are trying to establish a routine by which we ask Hastings to get copies from our friends of such telegrams as the Foreign Office indicate and he passes them to the Ambassador. This has as yet only occurred once. . . .' On Dec 17, 1941 this system was devised: C or his secretary Kathleen Pettigrew would phone Mr E E Smith at GC&CS to notify the British six-digit serial number of the telegram the FO wished to be shown to Ld Halifax. 'You will send to Gen. Hill (Codes) the original Japanese number of the telegram and ask him to telegraph this number to Hastings' (HW.14/45).

⁴⁷ C-in-C, Japanese Combined Fleet, to Combined Fleet, Dec 2, 5:30 P.M. (Tokyo time); intercepted by American S.I. on Dec 2 at nine P.M. but not decrypted by the Americans *for three years*, until 1945 (NA, RG.457, file SRN.115376). For evidence that the British and Dutch had made progress on JN.25 see Hinsley, vol. ii, 27f.

⁴⁸ They passed this information to the British naval mission in Moscow. Admiralty to C-in-C, Eastern Fleet and COIS Singapore, Jan 3, 1942 (HW.14/26).

⁴⁹ Signal in JN.25, dated Dec 4, 1941; not translated by the US navy until Dec 1945 (NA, RG.457, file SRN.129616).

⁵⁰ Cecil King diary, Dec 17, 1941: 'Hugh [Cudlipp]'s most sensational item was that we had given the Americans five days' warning on Pearl Harbor, but he did not know whether the message was ignored in Washington or further along the line.' Cudlipp, formerly editor of the *Sunday Pictorial*, was chairman of Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. On occasion, Fleet-street newspapers did obtain access to, and even publish, the Intelligence gained by codebreaking. After *The Daily Telegraph* on Oct 14, 1940 reported that local police in Stuttgart had placed an urgent order for hundreds of steel helmets after air raids, GC&CS complained, 'This information would appear to have been taken directly from our MSGP. 14 [summary of German police cypher signals] of Sep 12, 1940' (HW.16/6).

⁵¹ Tokyo to London, Dec 1, translated by GC&CS as No. 098509 on Dec 3, 1941 (HW.1/290). The American translation, dated Dec 5, has: 'Please discontinue the use of your code machine and dispose of it immediately.' SIS.25787 (NA, RG.457). *MBPH*, vol. iv, page A321. On Dec 3, 1941 Adm 'Betty' Stark made this signal to Admirals Hart, Kimmel, and the naval commanders in the Philippines and Hawaii: 'Categoric and urgent instructions were sent yesterday to Japanese diplomatic and consul posts at Hongkong, Singapore, Batavia, Manila, Washington, and London to destroy most of their codes and cyphers at once and to burn all other important confidential and secret documents' (MIS, 'Study of Pearl Harbor Hearings,' Jan 24, 1947. NA, RG.457, file SRH.128, 2131). The preceding 'BJ,' No. 098509, was sent to the director of Naval Intelligence on Dec 3 and is not in open PRO files. On Dec 6, 1941 Hawaii notified Stark, 'Believe local Consul has destroyed codes' (*ibid.*, 839ff). And Lord Halifax wrote in his secret diary, Dec 4, 1941: 'Everything looks exactly like the Japanese balloon going up in the course of a day or two – cyphers being burnt, secret messages in that sense, etc.'

⁵² Note on 'BJ' No. 098509 (HW.1/290).

⁵³ WSC to Eden, M.1079/1, Dec 2, 1941 (PREM.3/156/6, PREM.3/395/3; CAB.121/114; and Beaverbrook papers, D.89).

⁵⁴ Harvey diary, Dec 2, 1941.

⁵⁵ Pownall diary, Dec 9, 13, 1941; and PM's card.

⁵⁶ WSC to Evatt, Nov 27, 1941 (ADM.205/10). WSC originally drafted '900 lives,' but Pound corrected the error.

⁵⁷ Cunningham to Pound, Alexandria, Dec 4, 1941 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

⁵⁸ Harvey diary, Dec 3, 1941.

⁵⁹ WSC to Ismay for chiefs of staff committee, D.307/1, Dec 2, 1941 (PREM.3/395/3).

⁶⁰ Chiefs of staff meeting, Dec 3, 1941 (CAB.79/16).

⁶¹ Brooke diary, Dec 3, 1941.

⁶² Cabinet, Dec 3, 1941, 12:30 P.M (CAB.65/24); cf. Hollis, quoted by Bruce Lockhart diary, Dec 4, 1941.

⁶³ PM's card.

⁶⁴ Defence committee (Operations) 71st meeting, Dec 3, 1941 (CAB.121/114; PREM.3/156/6; and Beaverbrook papers, D.89).

⁶⁵ Amery diary, Dec 3, 1941.

⁶⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 3, 1941.

⁶⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 4, 1941.

⁶⁸ Amery diary, Dec 4, 1941.

⁶⁹ Brooke unpublished diary, Dec 4, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁷⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 4, 1941.

⁷¹ C to WSC, C/8244, Dec 4; Oshima (Berlin) to Tokyo, No. 1393, Nov 29; translated by Bletchley Park as intercept No. 098541 on Dec 4, and initialled 'WSC, 4.xii' (HW.1/297). GC&CS furnished a copy to the Clausen inquiry in 1945 (*op. cit.*, 675f). The Americans' own MAGIC intercept is in NA, RG.457, files SRDJ.17117ff and SRH.118.

⁷² Togo (Tokyo) to Japanese ambassador, Hanoi, etc., No. 2444 circular, Dec 1. Translated by Bletchley Park on Dec 4, and sent as an advance telex as 'BJ/88' by ACAS(I) [Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Intelligence, Air Vice Marshal F F Inglis], and shown to WSC, Dec 4; the telex, which is timed Dec 4, 1941, 4:52 P.M., ends, 'Typed copy of this message will leave B.P. 0730/5th December for Foreign Office, Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry' (HW.1/298). This and other files indicates that WSC often received advance texts of intercepts by telex a day previously.

⁷³ Tokyo to Nomura (Washington), No. 867, Dec 2; SIS.25640, translated by US army and US navy, Dec 3 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17184). British intercept No. 098540 (also 'BJ/87'), translated on Dec 4, and initialled 'WSC, 4.xii' (HW.1/297). The British translators noted that the Japanese word used for 'discard,' *haiki*, could mean 'cease to use,' 'abolish,' or 'discard'; it was not the normal word for 'destroy' (HWI/297). Cf. the similar Tokyo to Washington circular No. 2436, Dec 1, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17106).

⁷⁴ ACAS(I), advance telex with 'BJ/88': Togo (Tokyo) to Japanese ambassador, Rome, No. 2447 circular, Dec 2, 1941, translated on Dec 4, and shown to WSC, Dec 4, 1941 (HW.1/298).

⁷⁵ Capt. Laurence F Safford, testimony, Jan 25, 1946 (NA, RG.457, file SRG.210). Much has been written about the 'WINDS-EXECUTE' message. Safford also testified before the Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee on Dec 4, 1945 and Jan 25, 1946 to the effect that on Dec 4, 1941, the naval radio monitoring station at Cheltenham, Maryland, heard the message broadcast on Dec 4, 1941 at 1:30 P.M. GMT (*i.e.*, 8:30 A.M. local time); his chief at the US navy dept. had telephoned the gist to the War dept., to every person on the MAGIC distribution list, and to John R Beardall, FDR's naval aide. Several secret signals went out between 5:54 P.M. and 8:19 P.M. local time in direct consequence; these survived, and confirm the date beyond doubt,

although every other trace of the 'winds—execute' message would vanish from American files (NA, RG.457, file SRH.210; Army Pearl Harbor Board, report of Oct 20, 1944; and review of transcripts by Major-Gen. Myron C Cramer, Judge Advocate General, in Yale University Libr., Henry L Stimson papers). One of the points Col. Clausen was directed to investigate was what Mr Justice Roberts and his Commission had done with the original of the Navy dept. message and translation. Clausen surfaced one telegram from Gen. Miles to the Army G-2 at Honolulu, No. 519, dated Dec 5, 1941: 'Contact Commander Rochefort [the naval cryptanalyst at Honolulu] immediately thru Commander Fourteen Naval District regarding broadcasts from Tokyo reference weather.' Not surprisingly, Hawaii did not know what to make of this text (Clausen inquiry exhibits).

⁷⁶ FO to Sir J Crosby, Bangkok, No. 574, Dec 5, 3:30 A.M.; a pencil endorsement suggests it was drafted Dec 4, 1941, 7:30 P.M. (CAB.121/114).

⁷⁷ PM's card.

⁷⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 4 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5); Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 4, 1941. Eden too wrote: 'Eventually, after a long pause he closed the meeting without tackling the rest of the agenda.'

⁷⁹ Japanese consul-general, Capetown, to Togo (Tokyo), No. 81, Nov 29, 1941. Intercept 098529, translated on Dec 4, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 4.xii' (HW.1/296).

⁸⁰ ACAS(I), advance telex with 'BJ/89': Togo (Tokyo) to Japanese consul in Mombasa, etc., No. 2446 circular, Dec 2, translated on Dec 4, and shown to WSC, Dec 4 (HW.1/298). The telex from ACAS(I)'s office, which is timed Dec 4, 11:50 P.M., ends, 'Typed copy of this message will leave B.P. 5th December, 1315 for FO, Admiralty, War Office, and Air Ministry.'

⁸¹ PM's card; Martin diary, Dec 5, 1941; Chequers register.

⁸² WSC to Eden, Dec 5, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 475.

⁸³ Maisky to Stalin, in Russian, Dec 5, (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, i, 181ff); PM's card.

⁸⁴ Morgenthau diary, Dec 3, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 467).

⁸⁵ FO to Halifax, No. 6672, Dec 3, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁶ Halifax diary, Dec 3, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.9); and Halifax to FO, Dec 4, 1941, 2:45 A.M., received 11 A.M. (FO.371/27914 and CAB.121/114).

⁸⁷ Chiefs of Staff to C-in-C, Far East, No. FE 50, Dec 5, 03:35 A.M. (a handwritten note on the draft reads 'agreed: PM, FS, 1SL, CAS, VCIGS'); phoned for immediate despatch 01:50, Dec 5, 1941 (CAB.121/114).

⁸⁸ US Naval Attaché, Capt. John M Creighton, to Adm Hart, Dec 6, 1941, 3:26 P.M. GMT: Joint Committee Transcript, 13,520f (Hull papers, microfilm 42); here it is paraphrased as, 'We have now received assurance of American armed support in cases as follows: (a) [if] we are obliged to execute our plans forestall Japs landing Isthmus of Kra or take action in reply to Nips invasion any other part of Siam; (b) if Dutch Indies are attacked and we go to their defence; (c) if Japs attack us the British. Therefore without reference to London put plan into action if, first, you have good info. Jap expedition advancing with the apparent intention of landing in Kra; second, if the Nips violate any part of Thailand. If N.E.I. are attacked put into operation plans agreed upon between British and Dutch.'

⁸⁹ Hart wrote in his private diary, Dec 7, 1941: 'What is worse is that my Government has assured the British of armed support in any one of four contingencies . . . and not a word to me about it.' Normally, he continued, he would have resigned on the spot (US navy, Classified Operational Archives, Washington DC, Adm Thomas B Hart papers).

⁹⁰ *Pearl Harbor Hearings*, vol. x, 4802.

⁹¹ Halifax diary, Dec 4, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.9). 'Anyhow,' he entered in the other, secret, diary, that day, 'if [war] does come it looks pretty clear now that the United States, the Dutch, and ourselves shall all be immediately together' (*ibid.*, A.7.8.19).

⁹² Halifax to FO, No. 5603, Dec 5, 1941, rec'd 3:04 p.m. (CAB.121/114).

⁹³ Halifax to FO, Dec 4, 1941, received Dec 5, 3:04 P.M. (FO.371/27914).

⁹⁴ Cadogan diary, Dec 6, 1941. WSC informed the Dominions of FDR's promise of armed support. 'Please treat President's attitude with utmost secrecy,' he telegraphed to Curtin on Dec 5, 1941.

⁹⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 6, 1941.

⁹⁶ Berlin (Oshima) to Tokyo, No. 1407, Dec 3, 1941; translated by US navy Dec 6 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17323).

⁹⁷ Tokyo to Washington, No. 896, Dec 5; translated by US navy Dec 6, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17331).

⁹⁸ Tokyo to Washington, No. 901, Dec 6, 1941; SIS.25838, translated by US army Dec 6, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17330).

⁹⁹ Tokyo to Washington, No. 904, Dec 6, 1941; SIS. 25844, translated by US army Dec 6, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ. 17350).

¹⁰⁰ Chequers register; and 'Mr Winant's visitors to Chequers,' extracts from the Chequers Visitors Book (FDR Libr., Winant papers, box 189, 'Chequers').

¹⁰¹ Postal censorship report on Home Opinion, No. 21, Dec 1 (PREM.4/100/1). Directing Bridges to circulate it on Dec 6, 1941 under MOST SECRET cover to the ministries, WSC remarked only on references to public feeling about the manpower position and hostility to the labour-conscription of women.

¹⁰² Togo (Tokyo) to London, No. 2409 circular, Nov 27, intercept No. 098602, translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 6.xii' (HW. 1/303); printed in Clausen, 678. For the American version of the same telegram No. 2409 ('are not in accordance with expectation') see Pearl Harbor Committee exhibit No. 1, 186–8.

¹⁰³ Togo (Tokyo) to consul-general in Singapore etc., No. 2461 circular, Dec 3, intercept No. 098602, translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 6.xii' (HW. 1/303). 'Dept. Note: These [code words] are presumably those given in our No. 098127' – which was Tokyo to London, No. 2363 circular, Nov 19, translated Nov 25, 1941; printed in Clausen, 669.

¹⁰⁴ Togo (Tokyo) to London, No. 2421 circular, Nov 29, intercept No. 098603, translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 6.xii' (HW. 1/303); printed in Clausen, 679.

¹⁰⁵ Togo (Tokyo) to London, No. 2445 circular, Dec 2, intercept No. 098603, 'BJ/90', translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 6.xii' (HW. 1/303).

¹⁰⁶ Japanese chargé in London to Togo (Tokyo), No. 790 circular, Dec 2, intercept No. 098603, 'BJ/90', translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'WSC, 6.xii' (HW. 1/303).

¹⁰⁷ C-in-C, China to War Office, MOST IMMEDIATE, Dec 6, 1941, 07:45 GMT, rec'd 1:12 p.m. (CAB. 121/114). The RAAF Hudson making the sighting was piloted by Flight-Lieut. J C Ramshaw.

¹⁰⁸ Col. Brink (Singapore) to the US War dept., Dec 5, 5:13 P.M.; received there on Dec 6, 1941, 4:29 P.M. Washington time (Hopkins papers, box 193, 'Far East docs., xv'). The War Diary of Adm Sir Geoffrey Layton, C-in-C, Eastern Fleet, Singapore, reported on Dec 6, 1941: '14.40. Reports were received at Singapore from reconnaissance aircraft of three separate forces of Japanese warships and auxiliaries off the South coast of

Indo-China.' He transmitted these sightings immediately to the Admiralty, to Hart, C-in-C, Netherlands naval forces and others. At 2:31 P.M. GMT he signalled to the Admiralty that air reconnaissance had lost sight of these forces (ADM.199/1185).

¹⁰⁹ Hart diary, Dec 7, 1941 (Hart papers).

¹¹⁰ Cadogan diary, Dec 6, 1941.

¹¹¹ Winant, draft typescript memoirs, chapter 13, 'Pearl Harbor' (NA, RG.54, John G Winant papers, box 1).

¹¹² Winant's telegram reached the State dept. at 10:40 A.M. on Dec 6, 1941; a second telegram from him about the convoys came at 3:05 P.M.

¹¹³ Edwards diary, Dec 6, 1941 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Ralph Edwards papers).

¹¹⁴ Cadogan diary, Dec 6, 1941.

¹¹⁵ COS meeting, (41) 44th meeting, Dec 6, 3:45 p.m.; with Cadogan present (CAB.121/114). Chiefs of staff to WSC, Dec 6, 1941 (*ibid.*; and PREM.3/158/6).

¹¹⁶ Harriman and Abel, *op. cit.*, 111; and Sherwood, *op. cit.*, 427.

¹¹⁷ On Dec 7, 1941 the Admiralty received at 1:15 P.M. a message from COIS, Singapore, about the wireless traffic of the convoys' escorts. 'During last 24 hours majority of signals originated by [Japanese] C-in-C, Combined Fleet, whereabouts unknown.' Ismay commented to WSC, 'It looks as though the strength of the Japanese expedition is nearer to two divisions than one' (PREM.3/158/6).

¹¹⁸ C-in-C, China to Admiralty etc., MOST IMMEDIATE, Dec 6, 1941, rec'd 5:16 P.M. (CAB.121/114).

¹¹⁹ Togo (Tokyo) to Bangkok, Nov 27, intercept 098,583, translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'wsc, 6.xii' (HW.1/303). The message added that Consul-General Asada was bringing encyphered instructions to Bangkok.

¹²⁰ Bangkok to Togo (Tokyo), Nov 28, No. 871, intercept 098,606, translated on Dec 6, 1941, and initialled 'wsc, 6.xii' (HW.1/303).

¹²¹ In his diary Mackenzie King noted on Dec 7, 1941 that to describe the independence of Thailand as a British interest was unfortunate wording; but he agreed that the Canadian Legation in Tokyo might 'associate itself' with the warning.

¹²² British embassy in Washington, memo, Dec 7, 1941, and enclosure (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 415ff).

¹²³ WSC to prime minister of Thailand, Dec 7, 1941, 1:40 A.M. (PREM.3/158/6). The suggested text originally telephoned to Eden at 6:30 P.M. and notified to Washington and Bangkok at 8:45 P.M. on Dec 6 read: 'There is imminent danger of Japanese move against your country. If you are attacked, defend yourselves. We shall come to your aid to the utmost of our power & will safeguard the independence of your country whatever happens.'

¹²⁴ Halifax to FO, No. 5651, Dec 6, 1941, 7:50 P.M., received Dec 7, 2:45 A.M. (CAB.121/114).

¹²⁵ Halifax to FO, No. 5653, Dec 6, 1941, received 4:45 A.M. (PREM.3/158/6). At his cabinet on Dec 5, 1941, FDR had read out the Japanese reply, 'that they were staying within their agreement with the French and . . . merely seeking to have enough troops there to defend themselves from a threat from the Chinese. The President of course ridiculed the idea.' So the US secretary of agriculture recorded the meeting in his diary on the sixth, even adding: 'It seemed to be the consensus that the Japs were a little less warlike than a few days ago' (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers).

¹²⁶ Adm Little, British delegation Washington, to Admiralty, Dec 6, 1941, 7:51 P.M., rec'd Dec 7, 2:40 A.M. (CAB.121/114).

¹²⁷ This was by 9:15 A.M. on Dec 7, 1941. Note by John Martin (PREM.3/158/6).

¹²⁸ WSC to Ismay for chiefs of staff (and Eden), Dec 7, 1941 (CAB.121/114; original in PREM.3/158/6). WSC was equally optimistic when he passed the news from Washington on to Gen. Auchinleck in Cairo, Dec 6, 6:25 P.M. 'This is an immense relief,' he said, 'as I had long dreaded being at war with Japan without or before the United States. Now I think it is all right.' Gilbert, *op. cit.*, vol. vi, 1266.

¹²⁹ Based on Winant, draft typescript memoirs, chapter 13, 'Pearl Harbor' (NA, RG.54, John G Winant papers, box 1); and cf. Winant, *A Letter from Grosvenor Square. An Account of a Stewardship* (London, 1947), 196ff.

¹³⁰ Chiefs of staff minute to WSC, Dec 7, 1941; annex to report of Jan 27, 1942 (PREM.3/163/2). Brooke says (diary) that they sent off this minute 'after their morning meeting,' 11:30 A.M. to 2:15 P.M.; the evening meeting was from five to seven P.M. (CAB.79/16).

¹³¹ WSC to Halifax, draft, Dec 7, 1941 (PREM.3/156/6).

¹³² This is not among the British intercepts released to the PRO in 1993. Evidently, Clausen did not obtain a copy from Bletchley Park either. James Rusbridger argues that the British would have translated it much faster than

the Americans, and that WSC would therefore have had the first thirteen parts late on Saturday Dec 6, 1941, before midnight GMT.

¹³³ Tokyo to Washington, No. 902, Dec 6, 1941; SIS.25843, translated by US army Dec 6, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17336). For the full text, see *Dept. of State Bulletin*, vol. v, No. 129, Dec 13, 1941.

¹³⁴ Berle diary, Dec 6, 1941. The US army's G-2 had reported the Navy's intercept of this fourteen-part message, SIS No. 25843, to Berle by 7:30 P.M. (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers). Col. Carlisle Clyde Dusenbury testified (by affidavit to the Clausen inquiry) that 'the fourteenth part, being the final part of the message, was received about 12 that night,' Washington time; failing to appreciate the significance, Dusenbury went home to bed, held the long message overnight and began distributing it only at nine A.M. on Sunday morning, delivering the State dept. copy last – just as Kurusu and Nomura were arriving at one P.M.

¹³⁵ Tokyo to Washington, No. 907, Dec 7 (Tokyo time), 1941; intercepted by Maryland, at 4:37 A.M. When did the British translate it? It was not translated by the US army (as intercept SIS.25850) until a day later, Dec 7, USA time (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17357).

¹³⁶ Tokyo to Washington, No. 908, Dec 7 (Tokyo time), 1941, translated by US army, Dec 7, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17360).

¹³⁷ Tokyo to Washington, No. 910, Dec 7 (Tokyo time), 1941, translated by US army, Dec 7, 1941 (NA, RG.457, file SRDJ.17361).

¹³⁸ Togo (Tokyo) to London, No. 2363 circular, Nov 19, translated Nov 25, 1941 as No. 098127; printed in Clausen, 669.

¹³⁹ Togo (Tokyo), No. 2494 circular to London and elsewhere, Dec 7, 1941, 11:50 A.M. GMT, 8:50 P.M. Japanese time. Translated as 'BJ/91,' intercept No. 098694, Dec 8, 1941, initialled 'WSC, 8.xii' (HW.1/307). Col. Clausen also procured a copy of this British intercept from Bletchley Park in 1945 (Clausen report, 686); he did so although the US navy had also deciphered it on Dec 7, 1941, perhaps because they interpreted it only as 'Relations between [Japan] and [England] are not in accordance with expectation' – no mention of the United States. SIS.25856 (*ibid.*, SRDJ.17363; Pearl Harbor Committee exhibit No. 142-B). The US army in Mar 1944 translated the same message as: 'Relations between Japan and [] are approaching a crisis (on the verge of danger): England, United States' (*ibid.*, Committee exhibit No. 142-B).

¹⁴⁰ Sir MYoung, Governor of Hongkong, cabled the purport of the telegram to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as a MOST IMMEDIATE

telegram on Dec 8, 1941 (Hongkong time) and it was received in London at eight a.m. (FO. 371/27893) and in Singapore at 1:25 P.M. (ADM. 199/1472a).

¹⁴¹ GC&CS secret history, typescript, chap. ix, 'The Japanese War,' 4 (HW. 3/102).

¹⁴² The operative phrase is no doubt '*in this country*.' The US embassy in London inquired of the FO on Nov 8, 1945, on behalf of the Joint Congressional Committee inquiring into Pearl Harbor, whether the 'winds' message – the so-called 'winds–execute' message – had been monitored, particularly between Nov 27 and Dec 7, 1941 inclusive, by US, Australian, Dutch, or British agencies and if so when? J C Sterndale Bennett, head of the Far Eastern dept., replied for the FO on Dec 4, 1945: 'None of the code messages were [*sic*] heard in this country until the morning of December 8th 1941. . . It appears that a broadcast made by the Japanese containing code messages was relayed by Hongkong to Singapore, where it arrived about six hours after the Pearl Harbor attack.' – This inquiry and the FO's response have survived 'weeding' because they were misfiled in NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 29, file 711.4, 'Imperial PoW Committee,' now held at Suitland, Maryland. No trace of them survives in *British* archives; Sterndale Bennett's file (FO. 371/44667) on a parallel State dept. request to allow the production of British documents to the Congressional inquiry contains a slew of other letters dated Nov 9, 1945 – Jan 10, 1946. The file contains a dozen important 1941 items, with 1945 marginal notes of some of the main FO players. The FO asked WSC, by then retired as prime minister, on Nov 21, 1945 if he objected to the publication of his telegrams to Halifax dated Nov 26 and 30, 1941; he did not. The FO was concerned that publication of certain other documents would reveal that WSC had been planning to invade Siam in violation of their non-aggression pact (*e.g.*, Tel to Washington No. 7506). Adm William D Leahy would note in his diary on Dec 4, 1945, that Congressman Keefe of the Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee had requested to be given messages that passed between the two leaders between Nov 24 and Dec 7, 1941, regardless of subject matter. Leahy advised President Truman to refuse to permit access to any FDR messages *not* bearing on Pearl Harbor.

¹⁴³ Information from the late James Rusbridger, Mar 29, 1989.

¹⁴⁴ A hand-written note on the top of the draft reads, 'PM approved of desp. of this telegram 8:30 P.M. 7.12.41. Subsequently in view of news of Japanese commencement of hostilities instructions were given to cancel it. JMM, 7.12.41.'

¹⁴⁵ Halifax diary, Dec 7, 1941: FDR phoned him at 2:15 P.M. (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.9). By 4:30 P.M. Halifax had notified Ottawa of FDR's phone call. Mackenzie King diary, Dec 7, 1941.

¹⁴⁶ FO to Washington, No. 6600, Nov 30, 1941, 9:20 p.m. (CAB.121/114).

¹⁴⁷ How he recalled those few infuriating seconds, years later! 'I turned on my small wireless set shortly after the nine o'clock news had started.' – Churchill, vol. iii, 537. The dinner party was memorialised by both Harriman and Winant in their autobiographies, as no doubt WSC had intended. For a reference to these American wireless sets see WSC's cable to Halifax dated Oct 17, 1941: 'Could you please send three complete sets of valves for the small wireless sets' (PREM.4/69/1).

¹⁴⁸ Those first fifteen seconds of the news bulletin included these words: 'Here is the News, and this is Alvar Lidell reading it. President Roosevelt has just announced Japanese air attacks on American bases in the Hawaiian Islands: the Japanese envoys in Washington are now at the State dept. In Libya . . .' (BBC Written Archives, Caversham). Had WSC left the set on a few seconds after the announcement about Bartlett he would have heard the report of the attack on Hawaii repeated. 'No further details are yet available.'

¹⁴⁹ Martin, typed memo, Dec 7, 1941 (PREM.3/158/1). Perhaps for reasons of vanity, Churchill, vol. iii, 537f, has himself speaking first, then Winant; this passage bears the stamp of WSC's personal authorship. WSC summarised this telephone conversation briefly to the War cabinet next day, conclusions 125 (41) (FO.371/27893); cf. Sir Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*, (London, 1971), vol. ii, 177.

¹⁵⁰ C-in-C, Far East to War Office, Dec 8, 1941, 5 A.M., rec'd 00:15 A.M. (FO.371/28057). At 2:20 A.M. on Dec 8 (Dec 7 London time), two hours after the invasion of Malaya began, the defenders of Kota Bahru shelled and sank a Japanese troop transport, *Awagisan Maru*.

¹⁵¹ The last news from C-in-C, Far East rec'd by the War Office at 8:45 P.M. read: 'Malaya is at first degree of readiness and MATADOR force standing by. Some road blocks are reported in construction by the Thais on the road between Kedah frontier and Singgora [Songkhla] and on Kroh road near Betong' (CAB.121/115).

¹⁵² News of this, in a signal timed 2054Z (i.e., GMT) reached the Admiralty at 10:23 P.M. from C-in-C, China, 'Most Immediate. Air attack by 18 aircraft carried out in Singapore island at 2030Z/7' (CAB.121/115).

¹⁵³ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 7, 1941.

¹⁵⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 8; Cadogan diary, written up three weeks later; and Harvey diary, Dec 8, 1941.

¹⁵⁵ Churchill, vol. iii, 540.

¹⁵⁶ Brooke diary (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

Part II

13: AT THE WHITE HOUSE

¹ Summary of Home Intelligence, Weekly Report, Dec 8–15, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.445). On Dec 9, WSC initialled intercepts of several German army messages from the Moscow front: one to OKH, Ia, (operations officer, German Army High Command) reporting on Dec 5 at 8:30 P.M. the suspension of the attack on Tula and preparation of the Don–Shat–Upa line. ‘The severe cold (up to minus 35° C) has rendered useless many weapons, tanks and motor vehicles, and this together with the strained position as regards supplies renders any further prosecution of the offensive *without prospect*. To continue the attack in these conditions would imperil the . . . and thereby endanger our defence during the winter.’ Churchill ringed in red ink ‘without prospect’, and ‘breaks through’ on the next sheet – a report by *Heeresgruppe Mitte* (Army Group Centre) on Dec 5 that the Russians had broken through *en masse*. In another intercept *Panzergruppe 3* was seen reporting to higher echelons that everything was ‘frozen up’ in the cold and they intended ‘to break off the attack and pass to the defence.’ GC&CS intercepts CX/MSS/509/T.15, T.19, T.20, T.32 (HW.1/309).

² On Dec 8 Ribbentrop radioed to Ott in Tokyo and to Mackensen in Rome the draft of a ‘Nichtsonderfriedensvertrag’ (Ausw. Amt. St. Sekr., file ‘Krieg Amerika’). On Dec 10, Ribbentrop instructed Thomsen, in Washington, to hand the German declaration of war to Cordell Hull at 3:30 P.M. on Dec 11, 1941 (*ADAP* [D], vol. xiii, No. 572). Cf. the postscript of WSC’s letter to the king, Dec 8, 1941 in Churchill, vol. iii, 541).

³ ACAS(I), advance telex with Diplomatic BJ/92: Oshima (Berlin) to Tokyo, No. 1432 ‘MOST IMMEDIATE,’ Dec 8. The telex from ACAS(I)’s office, which is timed Dec 8, 5:15 P.M., ends, ‘Typed copy of this message will leave B.P. 0730/9th December for Foreign Office, Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry’ (HW.1/307). This shows that WSC received by telex rushes of intercepts a day ahead of the typed hard copy: the typed copy of the same Oshima telegram No. 1432, now stamped MOST IMMEDIATE and serial-num-

bered No. 098722, Dec 9, 1941, and endorsed 'Shown PM 9/12/41' is in HW.1/310.

⁴ Churchill, vol. iii, 539.

⁵ Chequers register, Dec 8, 1941.

⁶ Winant to Hull for FDR, Tel. 5929, Dec 8, 4 P.M. (*sic*. A.M.), received Dec 7, 10:27 P.M. (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0418).

⁷ FDR to Winant, Dec 8, 7:30 A.M. (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 0420).

⁸ Churchill, vol. iii, 540.

⁹ Signal, BAD Washington to Admiralty, London, Dec 7, 8:29 P.M. (PREM.3/158/6; several pages have been blanked out).

¹⁰ Eden, *Reckoning*, 285; Cadogan and Harvey diaries, Dec 8, 1941.

¹¹ Cabinet meeting, Dec 8, 12:30 P.M. WM (125) 41 (CAB.65/20).

¹² WSC to the king, Dec 8, 1941. Churchill, vol. iii, 540f. It is not clear why Gilbert in vol. vii, 2 cites his source as 'Royal Archives.'

¹³ Nicolson diary, Dec 8; Cecil King diary Dec 9, 1941. Cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 543.

¹⁴ Cadogan diary, written up three weeks later; and Harvey diary, Dec 8, 1941.

¹⁵ FDR to WSC, Dec 8, 1941 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0439).

¹⁶ Summary of Home Intelligence, Weekly Report, Dec 8–15, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.445). Cecil King diary Dec 9, 1941.

¹⁷ British Admiralty Delegation, Washington (Adm. Little) to Pound, Dec 8, 1941 22:41 (ADM.205/10).

¹⁸ Vice Adm. R L Ghormley, US Special Naval observer in London, to Pound, Dec 8, 1941 (ADM.205/9).

¹⁹ Note by H R M[oore] to Pound, Dec 9, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

²⁰ Halifax secret diary, Dec 9, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13). Not until Jan 8, 1942 could Adm. Pound notify WSC of his unofficial information on the damage, 'which is considerably more than [released] by Colonel Knox' (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

²¹ H M King George VI diary, Dec 9. PM's card. On Dec 17, Lord Halifax was still uncertain of the true losses. That day Knox reassured a press conference that they had lost only one battleship. Halifax believed the true situation was 'one . . . blown up and sunk; two . . . resting on the bottom; two pretty badly damaged; two slightly damaged; one undamaged' (secret diary). The British consul-general in Honolulu reported on Dec 10, that after the 'inexplicable lapse of vigilance' on Dec 7, 1941 'according to reliable but unofficial reports' four American capital ships were total losses or

seriously damaged, and one hundred aircraft destroyed, including every B-17 Flying Fortress (FO.371/28060).

²² Eden to WSC, Dec 9, 1941, 7:31 P.M. Gilbert, vol. vii, 1.

²³ WSC to FDR, Dec 9, 1941. Not found in US files, but sent as FO Tel. 6812 (PREM.3/458/5; Churchill, vol. iii, 541).

²⁴ Lord Halifax to FO, No. 5695, Dec 9. Gilbert, vol. vii, 2. Brooke diary, Dec 10, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).

²⁵ COS (41) 45th meeting, Dec 9, 1941 (CAB.121/115). Beside the chiefs of staff, those present included AV Alexander, Moore, Harwood, and Ismay.

²⁶ There is some uncertainty about this telegram from WSC to Eden. Churchill, vol. iii, at 553f, dates it Dec 10; but it makes no mention of the loss of *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*. Auchinleck's 'tide turned' message to WSC was early on Dec 9, 1941.

²⁷ Hastings to Denniston, Dec 10 (HW.14/45). Adm. John H Godfrey (DNI) stated to the VCNS on Dec 19 that Adm. Stark was being given all codebreaking Intelligence of use or interest to him. Godfrey added: 'The American Officers when they were over here [Feb 1941] were informed of all our methods and shown our machines [the *bombes*]. Our methods are not adaptable to them, as they have not got the machines. The American cryptographers consider, however, that they can achieve the same results by different methods and in order to try this out, they were supplied in October with information by GC&CS [Bletchley Park]. . . A message has been received by Denniston from his opposite number [Noyes] indicating that the Bureau in Washington are quite content with what they have received' (ADM.205/9). At a discussion of Anglo-US intelligence exchanges at the COS meeting on Dec 30, 1941 'C' continued to oppose any further codebreaking revelations to the Americans, but added that this did not apply to the Far East, where GC&CS was working closely with them (CAB.121/284).

²⁸ FO to Halifax, Jan 4, 1941 (ADM.205/10).

²⁹ WSC to Pound, Jan 6; and reply, Jan 8, 1942 (ADM.205/10).

³⁰ H M King George VI diary, Dec 6–8, 1941.

³¹ C-in-C, Eastern Fleet, to Admiralty, Dec 10, 1941, 6:15 GMT; in the First Sea Lord's report on the warships' loss (PREM.3/163/2); Churchill, vol. iii, 551.

³² HM King George VI to WSC, Dec 10, 533.

³³ Churchill, vol. iii, 551. The Japanese news agency Domei had announced the successful action by 'Japanese aircraft' against the British Far Eastern Fleet at 8:23 A.M., Dec 10, 1941 (PREM.3/163/2).

³⁴ WSC to FDR, Dec 10, 1941 (PREM.3/458/5); US embassy Tel. 5976, 6 P.M. (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0492).

³⁵ FDR to WSC, Dec 10, 1941, 6:30 P.M. Sent as OpNav's Dec 11, 00:30 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0441f). FDR's first draft is very reluctant indeed: *ibid.*, 0448f. In general see also *The Conferences at Washington 1941-1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

³⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 10, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

³⁷ Amery diary, Dec 10, 1941.

³⁸ Brooke to WSC, Dec 9, commenting on ULTRA MK.508 (CAB.163/11); initialled by wsc, Dec 10, 1941.

³⁹ Brooke to Auchinleck, Dec 10, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 4(c); and MS, 3/A/V, 328). Cf. Winston S Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate* [hereafter Churchill, vol. iv], 18-30, 260-79.

⁴⁰ Auchinleck to WSC, Dec 8-10; and to CIGS, Dec 11, 1941 (PREM.3/290/1).

⁴¹ Duff Cooper to cabinet, Tel. 89, Dec 20, 1941 (PREM.3/158/6).

⁴² Ismay at COS meeting, Dec 11, 1941, quoted by Brooke, diary. COS(417)41 Meeting, Dec 11, 1941. WSC informed Auchinleck in a telegram on Dec 12, of the diversion of the 18th Division and the change in theatre boundaries (PREM.3/290/1).

⁴³ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. •••, columns 1686-97; Churchill, vol. iii, 552.

⁴⁴ Cecil King diary Dec 11, 1941.

⁴⁵ J Peck to Eric Seal, Dec 11; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1273. Martin diary, Dec 11, 1941.

⁴⁶ Summary of Home Intelligence, Weekly Report, Dec 8-15, 1941 (Beaverbrook papers, D.445).

⁴⁷ Report by Harvie Watt, Dec 12, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vii, 5.

⁴⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 11, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁴⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 12, 1941: 'I hope to God that there is nothing wrong with him' (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁵⁰ Churchill, vol. iii, 555.

⁵¹ Cecil King diary, Dec 16, 1941.

⁵² WSC to Attlee and Lord Woolton, Dec 12, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 755.

⁵³ WSC to FDR, Dec 12, 1941, 11 A.M (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0497).

⁵⁴ WSC to Curtin, Dec 12, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vii, 4.

⁵⁵ WSC to Smuts, Dec 12, 1941 (PREM.3/158/6).

⁵⁶ WSC to Wavell, Dec 12, 1941 (PREM.3/290/1).

⁵⁷ WSC to Eden, Dec 12, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 554 and 557.

⁵⁸ WSC to Governor and Defenders of Hongkong, Dec 12, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 562.

⁵⁹ Note in Princeton University, Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Arthur Krock papers.

⁶⁰ In Churchill, vol. iii, 556 he wrote, 'We passed within four hundred miles of Brest.' His letter to Clementine, Dec 21, 1941, is more specific: '5 or 600' (Gilbert, vol. vii, 18).

⁶¹ Churchill, vol. iii, 558ff. Smuts to WSC, Dec 15 (PREM.3/158/6); Duff Cooper to WSC, Dec 17 (Gilbert, vol. vii, 8); Auchinleck to WSC, Dec 17, 18, 19, 1941 (PREM.3/290/1). Seeing the fate of Malaya sealed, on Jan 6, 1942, WSC humanely extricated his friend; he cabled to Duff Cooper that the Washington decisions 'necessarily bring your Mission to an end,' and he should return home 'by whatever is safest and most suitable route.' The Government were 'entirely satisfied' with Duff's work (CAB.120/29).

⁶² WSC to Clementine, Dec 21, 1941; Gilbert, vol. vii, 19.

⁶³ In Churchill, vol. iii, 574 he wrote that FDR had made no 'formal reply' to his letter of Oct 20, 1941. But the copy in FDR's files, in an envelope marked 'Lord Privy Seal' (Attlee), is endorsed: 'Handed to the President by Winston Churchill Jan 2 or 3, 1942' (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0551ff).

⁶⁴ Cecil King diary; and Dalton diary, Dec 19, 1941.

⁶⁵ Nicolson diary, Dec 17, 1941.

⁶⁶ Clementine to WSC, Dec 19, 1941; Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill* (London, 1979), 311.

⁶⁷ Attlee to WSC, Dec 20, 1941.

⁶⁸ WSC to Clementine, Dec 21, 1941; *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ WSC to Smuts, Dec 20, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 562.

⁷⁰ PM's card, Dec 10, 1941: lunch with Lord Derby, Lord and Lady Crewe, Gen. and Madame de Gaulle.

⁷¹ WSC minute to Hollis for COS Committee, Part I, 'The Atlantic Front,' Dec 16, 1941: text in Churchill, vol. iii, 547ff, and FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0503ff.

⁷² Ditto, Part II, 'The Pacific Front,' Dec 17, 1941; not in Churchill, vol. iii, but on FDR Libr. microfilm 1, 0516ff.

⁷³ WSC to Ismay, Dec 15, 1941. The text in Churchill, vol. iii, 565 stated '1st,' while Gilbert, vol. vii, 7, has '9th Australian Division.'

⁷⁴ WSC to Ismay, Dec 19, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 565f.

⁷⁵ WSC minute to Hollis for COS Committee, Part III, 'The Campaign of 1943,' Dec 18, 1941; Churchill, vol. iii, 582ff; FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0524ff.

⁷⁶ On Dec 18, 1941 WSC radioed ahead to Washington on the points to which he hoped to reach agreement, primarily the raising and redistribution of Anglo-American forces for victory and setting up joint control machinery (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Churchill visit, Dec 1941.')

⁷⁷ COS meeting, Dec 18, 1941, 11 A.M (PREM.3/458/2); Churchill, vol. iii, 585.

⁷⁸ For the liaison through Rougier see PREM.3/185/5. In March 1941 there were further contacts. See FO.371/32077.

⁷⁹ Morton to WSC, Mar 25, 1941 (PREM.4/69/1).

⁸⁰ Abetz informed Ribbentrop of this in Tel No. 2975, Oct 1, 1941.

⁸¹ PM's card. The message is in PREM.3/186a/7. The intermediary was probably André Poniatowski, who would have come to London with Pétain's agreement (information from Darlan biographer Captain Claude Huan, Mar 13, Apr 13, 1991).

⁸² FO to WSC, TAUT No. 73, Dec 19, 1941, 16:41A (PREM.3/186a/7).

⁸³ While this message was shortly forwarded via C to France, the further sentence, in the original message ('You may add, if you think fit, . . . The above come from Churchill himself') was left out. Memo by Joihn Martin, Oct 18, 1942. See too WSC to Attlee, Dec 24, 1941 (CAB.120/28).

⁸⁴ WSC minute, Dec 20, 1941; in full on (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0532ff; the version (entitled 'The Pacific Front') in Churchill, vol. iii, 578ff, omits (581) the sentences recommending fire raids on Japan.

⁸⁵ Unsigned notes [by Pound, Portal, and Dill], Dec 20, 1941 (PREM.3/399/2).

⁸⁶ Eden to WSC, Dec 21 (PREM.3/290/1); see too his diary, Dec 17, 18, 1941.

⁸⁷ Conversations between Stalin, Molotov, and Eden, Dec 18, 1941 in *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 196ff.

⁸⁸ WSC to Attlee, Dec 20, 1941 (PREM.3/399; Churchill, vol. iii, 559).

⁸⁹ WSC to Eden, Dec 20, 1041; Churchill, vol. iii, 560. On the telephone with WSC a few days later Lord Halifax mentioned that he had been 'interested to see his very sharp reply to Anthony [Eden] about Stalin's desires to have the 1941 boundaries of Russia recognised.' WSC replied that 'he had been greatly surprised with Anthony.' He was equally surprised that the ambassador did not agree with Eden. Halifax secret diary, Jan 8, 1942

⁹⁰ WSC to Eden, Jan 7, 1942 (PREM.3/399/6).

⁹¹ Cf. Tel. WSC to Governor of Hongkong, Dec 21, 1941, in Churchill, vol. iii, 563, calling for prolonged resistance.

⁹² WSC to Clementine, Dec 21, 1941; *op. cit.*

⁹³ WSC to COS Committee, Dec 21, 1941 (PREM.3/399/2).

⁹⁴ See the schedule in PREM.10/1.

⁹⁵ Martin diary, Dec 22, and letter home, Dec 27; Halifax diary, Dec 22, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13); Churchill, vol. iii, 587f.

14: SOME CHICKEN

¹ Brooke unpublished diary, Dec 24, 1941 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c; and notes, 3/A/V). Gilbert, vol. vii, 23ff, devotes a chapter to WSC's sojourn in the United States without referring to American sources once.

² Churchill, vol. iii, 587f, and other sources.

³ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 46 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

⁴ Sir Walter Raleigh: so WSC himself wrote in Churchill, vol. iii, 588.

⁵ Halifax diary, Dec 22 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13); British record of conversation, Dec 22 (PREM.3/458/7); WSC Tel. to War cabinet, and COS Committee, Dec 23, 1941: Churchill, vol. iii, 588ff. He states that FDR 'had evidently thought much about my letter of October 20.' In fact FDR did not receive it until Jan 2, 1942.

⁶ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 22, 25 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

⁷ FDR and WSC evidently told Ambassador Litvinov in Jan 1942 that their forces would land in strength in Europe if there was danger of a collapse. See Forrest Davis, 'The January Promise,' in *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb 20, 1943; he claimed in 1958 that FDR had told him this himself.

⁸ *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 608. According to Hull's memoirs, vol. ii, 1485, 'no conclusions were arrived at.'

⁹ WSC to FDR, Feb 25, 1942. The letter in the FDR Library PSF files is not even signed, let alone 'burnt.'

¹⁰ GC&CS draft history, chap. viii: 'The Russian liaison' (HW.3/101).

¹¹ Tel. WSC to War cabinet, Dec 24 [sic], 1941: Gilbert, vol. vii, 24. Churchill, vol. iii, 588ff, omits this passage. The Dominion representatives present were South Africa's R W Close, Australia's Richard Casey, Canada's Leighton McCarthy, and New Zealand's F Langstone.

¹² Washington war conference, 12 noon, Dec 23 (PREM.3/458/4). Cf. Halifax diary, Dec 23, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13): 'I think he got them [the Dominion representatives] into quite a good temper. He was very cheerful and optimistic about Libya and Russia.'

¹³ Record of press conference, Dec 23, 1941, four P.M (PREM.4/71/2); and Halifax diary.

¹⁴ Frank McNaughton manuscript, Dec 26, 1941 (Harry S Truman Libr., Frank McNaughton papers).

¹⁵ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Nov 29, 1951.

¹⁶ Author's interview of George Odey, M.P (Cons)., Apr 11, 1978.

¹⁷ Lord Moran, quoted by Randolph Churchill, in Bruce Lockhart diary, Jun 11, 1947.

¹⁸ Daniel Longwell to *f.y.i.* [*Life* in-house magazine], Oct 16, 1953 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

¹⁹ Butcher diary, Aug 26, 1942.

²⁰ WSC to Eden, Feb 5, 1944; in Dilks, *op. cit.*, 602n.

²¹ Clementine to Mary Churchill, Dec 23, 1941; in Mary Soames, *op. cit.*, 311.

²² Memo, 'Dates Mr Hopkins lunched and dined with President and Prime Minister [Dec 24–Jan 14].' (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Churchill visit, Dec 1941').

²³ So FDR told Molotov, on May 29, 1942 (*ibid.*).

²⁴ FDR related this at a JCS meeting on Feb 20, 1944, adding that WSC had explained that the UK looked on France as a bulwark ('against the Russians,' FDR surmised).

²⁵ Stimson diary, Dec 23, 1941.

²⁶ WSC to Clementine, Dec 21, 1941.

²⁷ G C Marshall, Notes of meeting at White House with the President and the British PM presiding, Dec 23, 1941 (NA, RG.165, Army Operations/OPD Executive Files 1940–45, box 22, file 4, item 13).

²⁸ Arnold diary, Dec 23, 1941.

²⁹ Washington War Conference, Second Meeting, Dec 23, 1941 (CAB.99/17).

³⁰ Halifax diary, Dec 24, quoting Lord Beaverbrook (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13). For typical criticisms, see Amery diary, Dec 17: Clement Davies out to attack WSC; Dec 18, Crowder, secretary of 1922 Committee, on Tory restlessness; Dec 23, Stuart memo.

³¹ Cunningham to Pound, Dec 28, 1941 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

³² Attlee to WSC, Jan 9 (CAB.120/32); reply, Jan 11 (CAB.120/28). See Churchill, vol. iii, 512. Briefed by Adm Pound, Lord Halifax noted in his secret diary, Jan 11, 1942, 'We are keeping all this very dark, in order that the Italians may not know to what extent they have got command of the Mediterranean if they would only take it.'

³³ Stimson diary, Dec 24, 1941.

³⁴ Halifax diary, Dec 24, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

³⁵ Smuts to WSC, through British High Commissioner in Pretoria and Lord Halifax, Dec 24, received in Washington at 9:28 A.M (PREM.3/158/6).

³⁶ Auchinleck to WSC, Cairo, Dec 24, 8 A.M. and 4 P.M (PREM.3/290/1).

³⁷ Text in Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Churchill visit, Dec 1941'; cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 593f.

³⁸ Moran, 'diary,' 12.

³⁹ Martin diary, Dec 25, 1941; Lieut.-Col. E I C Jacob, diary of Washington conference, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 28.

⁴⁰ Halifax secret diary, Dec 26, 1941: 'He [Casey] was not comforted by my telling him that I didn't know either' about the talks

⁴¹ Cf. A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972); and Beaverbrook memo, Sep 11, 1946 (Beaverbrook papers, D.480).

⁴² 'Harry Hopkins looked like a mere wraith – so thin, but quite joyous in appearance, like a living flame.' Mackenzie King diary, Dec 28, 1941.

⁴³ Ickes diary, Feb 1, 1942.

⁴⁴ Stimson wrote on Jan 25, 1942, '[Hull] has been very gloomy of late because he feels that the President has rather sidetracked him in the recent negotiations with the British.' *Ibid.*, Dec 23, 1941. And memo, 'Churchill speaking,' Apr 14–17, 1955 (DDE Library, C D Jackson papers, box 32, 'Churchill'); and see Churchill, vol. iii, 590f ('Hull . . . did not seem to me to have full access at the moment to the President').

⁴⁵ WSC to de Gaulle, Dec 30, 1941 (CAB.120/28). The State dept. file on this, 851.00/3411 1/2, was opened in the NA in Mar 1981. Muselier decided to resign as Commissaire Nationale à la Marine on his return to London 'so as to have no longer a political position in a movement where the will of a single man could prevail against wiser counsels.' Cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 590f ('Strongly urged by our foreign office, I supported General de Gaulle. . .'). Halifax diary, Dec 25, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

⁴⁶ Hopkins, memo, Dec 29, 1941 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Churchill visit, Dec 1941').

⁴⁷ WSC to Auchinleck, T.1071, Dec 25 quoted in Gilbert, vol. vii, 28f. And WSC to Curtin, T.1072, Dec 27, 1941 (PREM.3/158/6 and file CAB.121/115). These 'direct messages from Winston to Auchinleck and to Australia' vexed his cabinet colleagues in London: Amery diary, Dec 27, 1941.

⁴⁸ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 39 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

⁴⁹ Note by Brigadier Hollis, Dec 24, 1941 (PREM.3/458/7).

⁵⁰ Stimson diary, Dec 25, 1941.

⁵¹ Moran, 'diary,' 14.

⁵² Martin diary, Dec 25, 1941.

⁵³ Beaverbrook related this to Lord Halifax: diary, Dec 25, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

⁵⁴ Morgenthau diary, Dec 26, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers).

⁵⁵ Gilbert, vol. vii, 29, states that the movie was *Oliver Twist*. Lord Moran, *op. cit.*, 14, and the Morgenthau diary agree that it was a war documentary.

⁵⁶ Halifax diary, Dec 25, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

⁵⁷ Based on the McNaughton manuscript cited above.

⁵⁸ Moran, 'diary,' 15.

⁵⁹ For the British government's authentic text of WSC's speech, see FO.371/30655. Gilbert, vol. vii, 30, while citing 'Churchill papers, 9/153' as his source, does not quote a line more than does WSC himself in Churchill, vol. iii, 595f.

⁶⁰ Ickes diary, Dec 26, 1941.

⁶¹ Randolph Churchill to WSC, Jan 6, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 30. Clementine to WSC, Dec 27, 1941 (CAB.120/29). Lord Halifax was less impressed. 'Personally I did not think it so very good, but naturally I kept the opinion within a narrow circle' (diary, Dec 26); and see his letter to the

king, Jan 15, 1942: 'Personally, I thought his [WSC's] speech at Ottawa was the better of the two, but this was not the general opinion' (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.8).

⁶² Ickes diary, Dec 27; and see the *Daily Telegraph*, Dec 27, 1941.

⁶³ Harold Smith diary, Dec 26, 1941 (FDR Library, Harold Smith papers).

⁶⁴ Wickard diary, manuscript, Dec 26, 1941 (FDR Library, Claude R Wickard papers).

⁶⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 27, 1941.

⁶⁶ On Dec 28, 1941, Hull bluntly asked WSC 'to induce [de Gaulle] to withdraw his troops.' WSC pointed to the damage this would inflict on his relations with the 'Free French': Hull memoirs, vol. ii, 1132f. 'I thought,' wrote Lord Halifax to Eden on Jan 5, 1942, 'he was a little light-hearted about de Gaulle and St. Pierre!' (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15).

⁶⁷ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 27, 1941.

⁶⁸ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 26, 1941. Pierre Dupuy (b. 1896) had been first secretary at the Paris legation; after the fall of France he became Canadian charge d'affaires in London to the governments of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. On Nov 2, 1940 Lord Halifax invited Mackenzie King to send Dupuy to Vichy to establish contact with Pétain; Dupuy returned on Dec 16 with word that Pétain was still hoping for Germany's defeat. He returned twice more to Vichy in Feb and Aug 1941, and remained optimistic. In Jul 1942 WSC turned down his proposal for a further trip to Vichy. See documents released on the Canadian govt website www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/hist/Dupuy.asp

⁶⁹ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 26, 1941.

⁷⁰ Moran, 'diary,' 16f. In Churchill, vol. iii, 612, WSC wrongly places this incident on Jan 3, 1942.

⁷¹ Conference at the White House, Dec 26, 1941, 4:30 P.M (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Churchill visit, Dec 1941'). Texts of these conferences are also in the Library of Congress, H H Arnold papers, box 180. For the British record, see Washington conference, Fourth Meeting, Dec 26, 1941, 4:30 P.M (CAB.99/17).

⁷² Curtin to FDR, Dec 26, 1941: Churchill, vol. iv, 5f.

⁷³ Melbourne *Herald*, Dec 27, 1941; Churchill, vol. iv, 7. Amery (diary, Dec 28, 1941) called the article a 'low down utterance,' and described the Australians as 'in a howl of unreasoning panic.'

⁷⁴ Curtin to WSC, No. 8276, Dec 30; WSC had to lecture him in his reply, Jan 4, 1942, that 'the whole naval situation has been upset by the losses of the United States Fleet at Pearl Harbor and our own naval losses' (CAB.121/115). WSC to Attlee, Dec 29, and to Hughes, Dec 30, 1941 (CAB.120/28).

⁷⁵ COS Committee, 7 P.M., Dec 26, 1941 (PREM.3/458/2).

⁷⁶ Churchill, vol. iii, 597. Lord Moran records in his 'diary' (*Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival, 1940–65* [London, 1966], 17), that on Dec 26 WSC was sure the plan was 'neither workable nor desirable,' a remarkable coincidence with the wording in Churchill, vol. iii, 597, first published in 1950.

⁷⁷ The formal British record (CAB.99/17) shows that Pound, Dill, and Portal all opposed Marshal's proposal for a British Supreme Commander, since American public opinion would blame the inevitable coming reverses on the British; and that the PM felt that it would be 'sounder' if they allowed an American Adm. command of 'all the Naval forces.'

⁷⁸ Mackenzie King listed McCarthy, Ralston, Power, and Macdonald for Canada, along with the representatives of India and South Africa and Casey. Diary, Dec 26, 1941.

⁷⁹ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 27, 1941.

⁸⁰ This telegram to Attlee, published in Churchill, vol. iii, 597f, is the probable source of the meeting between WSC and Marshall on 'Dec 28' described by Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival, 1940–65* (London, 1966); in fact the telegram was written on Dec 27 ('I leave to-morrow afternoon for Ottawa. . .') although dated Dec 28, 1941. Gilbert, vol. vii, 32, consequently falls into the same error.

⁸¹ Ickes diary, Feb 1, 1942, quoting Baruch.

⁸² Stimson diary, Dec 28, 1941; *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

⁸³ Halifax diary, Dec 28, 1941 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13); COS Committee, Dec 28, 1941, 12:30 P.M (CAB.99/17). If WSC had really spent 'five hours' receiving diplomatic representatives (Gilbert, vol. vii, 32) this would have involved a 7:30 A.M. start – in WSC both commendable and unusual.

⁸⁴ PM's movements (PREM.10/1). Jackie Martin of the *Chicago Sun* wrote that the train comprised locomotive, baggage car, club car, four Pullmans, a diner, three more Pullmans, and the observation car in the rear.

⁸⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 28, 1941.

⁸⁶ Schedule in PREM.10/1.

⁸⁷ Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill. The Struggle for Survival, 1940–65* (London, 1966).

⁸⁸ John Martin letter home, Jan 11, 1942.

⁸⁹ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 29, 1941.

⁹⁰ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 29, 1941.

⁹¹ Canadian Government print of WSC's speech, Dec 30, 1941, in Mackenzie King's papers. It is also printed in full in the Canadian Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Wednesday, Jan 21, 1942, vol. lxxix, No. 105, 4839–43; copy in FO.371/30655.

⁹² Mackenzie King to WSC, Jan 9, and reply, Jan 28, 1942 (Mackenzie King papers, MG.26, J1, vol. 322).

⁹³ Mackenzie King diary, Dec 30, 1941.

⁹⁴ WSC to Attlee, Dec 30, 1941; in Churchill, vol. iv, 8.

⁹⁵ Summary of press conference, Dec 31, 1941 (PREM.4/71/2).

⁹⁶ Schedule in PREM.10/1. Gilbert errs in writing that WSC left Ottawa the previous night.

⁹⁷ Jackie Martin, letter to a friend, Jan 1942; printed in 'A Night to Remember,' Evening Star, Washington, Jan 26, 1965. Cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 603. Halifax diary, Jan 1, 1942: WSC told him he 'had gone in in his romper suit, and drunk toasts and sung Auld Lang Syne, and enjoyed it immensely' (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

15: THE COMPLETEST INTIMACY

¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 29–30, 1941 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 336f). War cabinet, Dec 29; COS meetings, Dec 29, 30, 1941.

² Amery diary, Dec 29, 1941.

³ PREM.10/1.

⁴ Berle diary, Jan 3, 1942 (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers).

⁵ Halifax to Eden, Jan 5 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15, and FO.954/29); and diary. FDR repeated this account later in the year to Ld Halifax: diary, Dec 26, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11). Desmond Morton also related it, e.g., to Gen. Everett S Hughes: 'Winnie took a bath and was parading about naked when comes a knock on the door. In comes FDR in chair. W held up hands and said – "As we said last night, we have nothing to conceal." Morton says W naked looks like kewpie,' a cheap plaster Cupid doll often won at fairground side-shows. Hughes diary, Nov 18, 1943 (Library of Congress, Everett S Hughes papers; transcribed by us).

⁶ Arthur Krock, quoting 'Mr Jones, a clerk with the British mission.' This was W R Jones, secretary to Lieut.-Colonel J C Hollis. 'There was the Prime Minister, fresh from the bath, without a stitch. I started to back out; there was squeak behind me and in wheeled the President' (Princeton University, Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Arthur Krock papers). Jones also relates this in James Leasor, *War at the Top* (London, 1959), 29. Ian Jacob has it that Jones had wangled his way into the White House on a pretext, carrying a secret document for WSC. 'What should he see coming towards him but the President in his wheeled chair, unaccompanied by anyone. Jones stood rooted to the spot, and the President addressed him saying, "Good morning. Is your Prime Minister up yet?" "Well Sir," said Jones, who had a stilted way of speaking, "it is within my knowledge that the Prime Minister is at the present moment in his bath." "Good," said the President, "then open the door."' Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 67–8 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

⁷ Churchill, vol. iii, 605: 'The President was wheeled in to me on the morning [*sic*] of January 1. I got out of my bath, and agreed to the draft [U.N. Declaration.]'

⁸ Berle diary, Jan 3. Berle added: 'The President did not call to Churchill's attention the analogy to the "United States" – a name worked out by a somewhat similar process of mind in 1776' (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers, VIII/1/54ff). WSC invited Eden in M.34/2 of Feb 11, 1942: 'Will you kindly meanwhile draw me up a list of the candidates for election [to the UN] and mark those you want blackballed?' (CAB.120/26).

⁹ Halifax diary, Jan 1, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19); and *cf.* Leasor, *op. cit.*, 30.

¹⁰ Martin diary, Jan 1, 1942 (in the author's possession).

¹¹ Hopkins memorandum, Jan 6, 1942 (in *FRUS* ●●).

¹² Reporting by telegram to Attlee on Dec 31, WSC had remarked: 'Litvinov is a mere automaton, evidently frightened out of his wits after what he has gone through.' WSC made much of the declaration later (Churchill, vol. iii, 605f); Cecil King (diary, Jan 3) called it 'the usual verbiage' and found that even *The Times* gave it only 'a single column top.'

¹³ Eden to WSC, Jan 4 (CAB.120/31). WSC to Hull, Jan 3, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308).

¹⁴ WSC to Attlee, Jan 4, 1942 (CAB.120/29); *cf.* A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook*.

¹⁵ WSC to Attlee, Jan 3, 1942, Churchill, vol. iii, 608. He also praised FDR's breadth of view, resolution, and loyalty. 'There is not the slightest

sign here of excitement or worry about the opening misfortunes, which are taken as a matter of course and to be retrieved by the marshalling of overwhelming forces of every kind. There will, of course, be a row in public presently.'

¹⁶ Stimson diary, Jan 4; and Conference at the White House, 5:30 P.M., Jan 4, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308); FDR had held a meeting with his Joint Chiefs on Jan 2 without inviting the British (*ibid.*).

¹⁷ Stimson diary, Jan 5, 1942. Marshall had to take the overnight train back to Washington. 'It was only due to the President's urging that he did not decline Churchill's invitation.'

¹⁸ Martin diary, Jan 5, 1942; Moran, *op. cit.*, 21; Churchill, vol. iii, 612; and PREM. 10/1. Gilbert, vol. vii, 36, is wrong in writing that WSC was accompanied 'only by his doctor.' According to Colonel Jacob (*ibid.*), WSC himself was worried about arousing jealousies from FDR's staff if he outstayed his welcome.

¹⁹ Cdr. C R Thompson MS. In Churchill, vol. iii, 613 WSC wrote that he cabled to Attlee on Jan 7: 'Please make sure no notice is issued in England.' The original is clear — 'D-notice' (CAB. 120/29).

²⁰ Halifax diary, Feb 18, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

²¹ In violation of ancient treaties, Mr Churchill had in March 1941 ordered the important RAF airstrip at North Front extended into the neutral zone between Gibraltar and the Spanish frontier. Gen. Franco's government was assured that it would be used only in an 'emergency'; a word of which Mr Churchill however had his own definition. 'In one sense, the war itself constitutes an emergency,' he told his ambassador in Madrid. 'In a narrower sense, an emergency is created by the fact that aeroplanes cannot safely fly direct to the Middle East.' He ordered the planes to arrive 'singly and unostentatiously,' and told his ambassador in Madrid not to inform the Spaniards of the airfield construction. There were 52,418 aircraft movements during 1943, and 34,231 in 1944. Air Headquarters, Gibraltar, Intelligence Section, 'Flying from the Rock: The Story of Aviation at Gibraltar,' (RAF Gibraltar files). The quotations are from a letter from WSC to Sir Samuel Hoare, ambassador in Madrid, Mar 1941. For papers on the airfield and storing munitions for a war with Spain, see AIR.8/554.

²² WSC to FDR, Jan 5, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308).

²³ WSC to Attlee, Jan 7, 1942 (CAB. 120/29; Churchill, vol. iii, 64f).

²⁴ WSC to Ismay and Sinclair, Jan 7, 1942, Churchill, vol. iii, 614).

²⁵ WSC to Pound, Jan 9, 1942 (*ibid.*). Pound described the human torpedo attack to Lord Halifax (diary), Jan 11, 1942: 'They hope to have the *Valiant* out again by 1st May, but until they get her out of Alexandria dock they can't find out how much the *Queen Elizabeth* is damaged. . . We are keeping this very dark, in order that the Italians may not know to what extent they have got command of the Mediterranean if they would only take it.'

²⁶ Mackenzie King diary, Jan 6, 1942.

²⁷ Diary of Gen. Joseph W Stilwell, Jan 6, 8, 1942 (Hoover Libr., Stilwell papers). On Jan 11, 1942 Stilwell added: 'To Betty's [Adm. Stark's] office at 3 – Holcomb, Turner, Stark, King, etc. Self satisfied gnats, preening themselves on their pretty Gold lace. . . All sore over England's hogging everything.'

²⁸ War cabinet, Jan 1, 1942; Amery diary, Jan 1, 1942; Dalton diary, Jan 5 and 13. Dalton recorded on Jan 13, 1942 that Eden had found Stalin 'very straight, direct, and reasonable.' Stalin never harangued like Hitler and Mussolini – altogether 'quite a nice gentlemanly fellow!'

²⁹ Moran, 'diary,' 32.

³⁰ WSC to Eden, Jan 8, 1942 (CAB.120/29; cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 615f, and Cadogan diary, Jan 8, 1942, Churchill College, Cambridge: Sir Alexander Cadogan papers). Eden's secretary noted on Jan 8: 'I'm afraid we're going to have great difficulty over this. Winston is au fond a die-hard imperialist – bad about India (much trouble coming to us here over his refusal to countenance Dominion status) and bad about Russia.'

³¹ Halifax diary, Jan 8, 1942 (Hickleton papers, ●●).

³² WSC to Ismay and the defence committee, Jan 10; FDR Libr., microfilm 1; (PREM.3/499/1; cf. Churchill, vol. iii, 619).

³³ Hankey to WSC, Dec 6; minute by WSC, Dec 9; chief of staff committee, (41) 419th meeting, Dec 12, 1941 (CAB.121/103).

³⁴ Ismay to Col. C R Price, Dec 13, 1941 (CAB.121/103).

³⁵ DO (42) 1st Meeting, Jan 2; and confidential annex, VEGETARIAN, Jan 2; Ismay to WSC, Jan 3, 1942 (CAB.121/103). Hankey, informed of a subsequent change of codename to ALADDIN, grumbled: 'I always forget the code word and have to go back to the real thing. It is all rather a fad.'

³⁶ Sir John Martin, notes on his diary; Churchill, vol. iii, 617.

³⁷ PREM.10/1.

³⁸ WSC to Auchinleck, Jan 11, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 20. Brooke Notes on diary, Jan 9, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v). On Jan 21 Brooke wrote to Auchinleck that his Intelligence staff's 'highly coloured optimistic reports' had of late frequently been confounded by events. 'These reports are apt to create a spirit of unwarranted optimism amongst politicians, which is followed by one of doubt as to the veracity of our statements.' (*Ibid.*, 4[d]).

³⁹ Halifax to WSC, Jan 11, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.11).

⁴⁰ WSC to Stalin, Jan 11, 1942. *Sovetsko-angliiskiy otnosheniya* does not include this.

⁴¹ A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook*.

⁴² Curtin to WSC, Jan 11, 1942, rec'd 3:50 P.M. (PREM.3/158/6; cf. Churchill, vol. iv, 9).

⁴³ WSC to Curtin, Jan 13, 1942 (*ibid.*); Churchill, vol. iv, 10 dates it Jan 14.

⁴⁴ WSC to Eden, Jan 12, 1942, 3:50 A.M. (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308). This remarkable exchange is missing from Gilbert's volumes.

⁴⁵ Attlee to WSC, Jan 12, 11:54 P.M.; and Eden to WSC, Jan 12, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308).

⁴⁶ On Jan 20, 1942, Donovan informed FDR that his agents in London predicted an imminent showdown between WSC and de Gaulle who was flirting with Moscow and stating he would 'never deal with the Americans again' (FDR Libr., PSF, boxes 163-4, folder 'OSS-Donovan Reports').

⁴⁷ Stimson diary, Jan 8-11, 1942.

⁴⁸ Churchill, vol. iii, 624.

⁴⁹ 'Conference at the White House, Jan 12, 1942, 5:30 P.M.' (Hopkins papers, box 308). There was also some discussion of MAGNET, and of the consequential reduction in PQ convoys to North Russia. Washington War Conference, Jan 12, 1942, 5:45 P.M. (CAB.99/17); Gilbert, vol. vii, 39 has 5:45 A.M., an obvious misprint.

⁵⁰ Stimson diary, Jan 12, 1942: those present were WSC, Beaverbrook, Stimson, Hull, Morgenthau, Knox, Jesse Jones, Hopkins, and Donovan.

⁵¹ Churchill, vol. iii, 624.

⁵² Warren F Kimball, 'Lend-lease and the Open Door: The Temptation of British Opulence, 1937-1942,' in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 86, No. 2. Article VII of the American draft read: 'The terms and conditions upon which the United Kingdom receives defense aid . . . shall provide against

discrimination in either the United States or the United Kingdom against the importation of any product originating in the other country.'

⁵³ Smith diary, Jan 13, 1942 (FDR Library, Harold Smith papers, box 13).

⁵⁴ WSC to Attlee, Jan 13, 1942 (CAB. 120/29).

⁵⁵ Wavell to chiefs of staff, Jan 14, 1942. Churchill, vol. iv, 41f; Gilbert, vol. vii, 41, says it was addressed to WSC.

⁵⁶ WSC to Curtin, Jan 14, 1942 (PREM.3/1258/6; Churchill, vol. iv, 11).

⁵⁷ WSC to Wavell, Jan 15, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 42;); Gilbert, vol. vii, 41, dates it 'Jan 14.'

⁵⁸ WSC rebuked Attlee, Dec 30, 1941: 'It would be most unfair to make him [Brooke-Popham] a scapegoat. If Malay Peninsula has been starved for sake of Libya and Russia no one is more responsible than I, and I would do exactly the same again.' When Canberra applauded the 'belated' removal of the officer, Churchill on Dec 30 reminded Mr Hughes: 'You will see that the [Australian] Government of which you are a member . . . sent most fervently eulogistic letter to him assuring him of their utmost confidence' (CAB. 120/28). Attlee, Sinclair and Bracken insisted it was 'inadvisable to include Brooke-Popham in the New Year's Honours' (CAB. 120/31). Robert Menzies diary, Jan 29, 1941 (National Library of Australia, Canberra, Robert Menzies papers, MS.4936).

⁵⁹ WSC to FDR, Jan 14, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308; and FDR microfilm 6, 0040).

⁶⁰ FDR, quoted in Stettinius Mission diary, Mar 17, 1944 (NA, RG.59, Edward R Stettinius papers).

⁶¹ Meeting at the White House, Jan 14, 1942, 5:30 P.M. (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308).

⁶² Stimson diary, Jan 14, 1942.

⁶³ Stilwell diary, Jan 16, 1942.

⁶⁴ Stimson diary, Jan 14, 1942.

⁶⁵ Churchill, vol. iii, 625.

⁶⁶ Note by Hopkins, Jan 15, 1942, cited in *FRUS*, 1942, ..., page

⁶⁷ Halifax diary, Jan 27, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

⁶⁸ Halifax diary, Feb 18, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

⁶⁹ Martin diary, Jan 15, 1942; Churchill, vol. iii, 625ff; Moran, 'diary,' 22f.

⁷⁰ Kelly-Rogers, bulletin, Jan 16, 1942 10 P.M (Sir John Martin papers, copy in our possession).

⁷¹ Winston S Churchill, *My Early Life* (London, •••); the river, at Pretoria, South Africa, is in fact a rivulet, only inches deep.

⁷² James Leasor, *War at the Top* (London, 1959), 24ff; Gilbert, vol. vii, 42 and 56. Kelly-Rogers was an experienced navigator and never came within ninety miles of the Flak at Brest; see his letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, Apr 13, 1950, and E B Haslam's account of the discrepancies in *RAF Quarterly*, vol. xii, nos. 2 and 3.

⁷³ Reported in War cabinet, Jan 17, 1942 (CAB.65/25).

⁷⁴ *Daily Express*, Jan 17, 1942. Moran, 'diary,' 24.

⁷⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 17, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁷⁶ Martin diary, Jan 17, 1942; cf. Bruce Lockhart diary, Jan 17, 1942.

⁷⁷ Cecil King diary, Jan 18, 1942. On Jan 23, he added: 'He returned home in very complacent mood, ready to receive the plaudits of the politicians. . . [On Jan 17] there was a cabinet meeting . . . the atmosphere was very different from . . . expected.' Beaverbrook accused Attlee later of having failed to warn WSC of the storm brewing while he was away in Washington. The PM had 'at first thought he could ride the storm' by firmness and refusing to budge (Halifax secret diary, Mar 25, 1942, Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19).

⁷⁸ War cabinet, Jan 17, 1942 (CAB.65/25).

⁷⁹ Amery diary, Jan 17, 1942.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan 3, 1942.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Dec 31, 1941.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Jan 17, 1942.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Jan 18, 1942.

⁸⁴ Press Association, quoted in Cecil King diary, Jan 19, 1942.

⁸⁵ WSC to Attlee, Jan 11, 1942 (CAB.120/29); Amery diary, Jan 12, 1942.

⁸⁶ War cabinet, Jan 12, 19 (CAB.65/25); Amery diary, Jan 19. Eden opposed recording the House speech as setting an undesirable precedent: Harvey diary, Jan 20, 22, 1942.

⁸⁷ Wavell to WSC, Jan 16, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 42. Gilbert, vol. vii, 46 has WSC receiving Wavell's telegram of Jan 19 (Churchill, vol. iv, 44f) on the morning of the 16th.

⁸⁸ Sir Hastings Ismay, *The Memoirs of Lord Ismay* (London, 1960) [hereafter: Ismay], 247.

⁸⁹ WSC to chiefs of staff, Jan 19, 1942. Churchill, vol. iv, 44f. Gilbert suppresses WSC's introductory reference to 'Wavell's telegram of thre 16th.'

⁹⁰ H M King George VI diary, Jan 19, 1942.

⁹¹ Amery diary, Jan 19, 1942.

⁹² Cadogan diary, Jan 19, 1942; and Harvey diary, Jan 19, 1942, quoting Eden: 'PM . . . is in the highest spirits and the most truculent mood.'

⁹³ WSC to Curtin, Jan 19, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6); Churchill, vol. iv, 13f; circulated to defence committee (CAB.69/4).

⁹⁴ WSC to Wavell, despatched Jan 20, 1942, 4:30 A.M. Churchill, vol. iv, 46f.

⁹⁵ Cecil King diary, Jan 20, 1942; Nicolson diary, Jan 20, 21, 1942: Randolph Churchill observed that the reception was nothing like that for Chamberlain upon his return from Munich.

⁹⁶ Home Intelligence secret report for week ending Jan 26, 1942, quoted in Donovan to FDR, Jan 31, 1942: 'Unfair for Churchill to try to reduce criticism by injection [of] personal popularity into the picture' (FDR Libr., PSF, box 163-4, folder 'OSS-Donovan Reports').

⁹⁷ Amery diary, Jan 21, 1942.

⁹⁸ Wavell to WSC, Jan 19 and 20, 1942 in Churchill, vol. iv, 47ff.

⁹⁹ WSC to chiefs of staff, COS (42) 22(O), Jan 21, 1942, (CAB.121/115); and Churchill, vol. iv, 49f.

¹⁰⁰ Chiefs of staff meeting, Jan 21, 1942 (CAB.79/56 and CAB.121/115).

¹⁰¹ Defence committee meeting, Jan 21 (CAB.69/4 and CAB.121/115); Amery diary, Jan 21. Brooke wrote that the meeting climaxed in 'arrival of wire from Australia disagreeing with all the arrangements PM had made with USA concerning higher direction of the war!' (Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 21; and MS, 3/A/v. Curtin to WSC, Jan 22, 1942 2:20 A.M., CAB.121/115). WSC was surely wrong in writing that Page was not invited to this defence committee meeting. Churchill, vol. iv, 50.

¹⁰² Amery diary, Jan 22, 1942.

¹⁰³ Eden diary, Jan 21, 1942. Eden, *Reckoning*.

¹⁰⁴ Charles Peake, report on the meeting, Jan 22, 1942 (NA, State dept. file 851.00/3114.5); PM's card. WSC reported his 'severe conversation' with de Gaulle to FDR on Jan 24 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 44). Hopkins noted on Jan 24, 1942 that FDR had shown him a dispatch from WSC who had told de Gaulle 'to get the hell out of those islands'; if consultation with Vichy was required, WSC desired the State dept. to handle it (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308,).

¹⁰⁵ Donovan to FDR, Feb 4, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 16, folder 'Donovan Reports').

¹⁰⁶ WSC to Pound, Jan 22, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM. 205/13; and Churchill, vol. iv, 40).

¹⁰⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 22, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6).

¹⁰⁸ Cecil King diary, Jan 23, 1942.

¹⁰⁹ Martin diary, and Chequers register, Jan 23–27, 1942 (copies in the author's possession).

¹¹⁰ See Churchill, vol. iv, 50; Gilbert, vol. vii, 49, uncritically parrots WSC's version. Amery's diary, Jan 21, 1942, confirms that Page was present, as do the minutes in CAB.69/4.

¹¹¹ Curtin to WSC, Jan 23, 1942, received Jan 24, 1942. Churchill, vol. iv, 50f. At his next cabinet, on Jan 26, WSC 'ungraciously' accepted that Australia should be represented on the cabinet, until a new telegram arrived from Curtin demanding even closer involvement in the War cabinet's decisions. 'Winston,' wrote Amery, 'at once took this as meaning interference with our domestic affairs and exploded.'

¹¹² Lord Hankey diary, Jan 4, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers).

¹¹³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 28, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6).

¹¹⁴ Chequers register, Jan 23–27, 1942.

¹¹⁵ Clementine to WSC, 'Thursday' perhaps Jan 29, 1942: cited in Mary Soames, *op. cit.*, 313f.

¹¹⁶ Beaverbrook memo, Feb 28, 1942; and Cripps to WSC, Jan 29, 1942, quoted therein. Beaverbrook met Cripps that day and tried to persuade him, but Cripps insisted on a seat in the cabinet (Beaverbrook papers, D.448).

¹¹⁷ WSC to Auchinleck, T.129/2, Jan 28, 1942 (CAB.163/10). Churchill, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate* (London, 1951), 24ff.

¹¹⁸ Martin diary, Jan 26, 1942. Hollis noted that day, 'I am casting around for something to relieve the gloom and am unable to do so' (CAB.120/26). In the National Archives, Washington, is a 43 page 'Log of Messages' between PRIME and POTUS (the prime minister and the president of the US); the first item, on Jan 27, is timed: 'In 550P, our 554P, clear WU 557P, with the remark: 'PM ready for test. Not answered.'

¹¹⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/7; and MS, 3/A/v, 348).

¹²⁰ Oshima (Berlin) to Togo (Tokyo), No. 69, Jan 15, intercept # 100577, translated Jan 27 (HW. 1 / 374). Ribbentrop had seen him for an hour on Jan 14, 1942.

¹²¹ WSC to Duff Cooper, Jun 12, 1940 (PREM.4/83/1a).

¹²² Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jan 27, 1942, columns 591ff. Diaries of King and Nicolson.

¹²³ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jan 29, 1942, columns 1017f. Diaries as above, and Chips Channon, Jan 29, 1942.

¹²⁴ Beaverbrook to Hopkins, Feb 2, 1942, cited by A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, 506f.

16: POOR WINSTON

¹ Home Intelligence Summary, week ending Feb 2, 1942, cited by Donovan to FDR, Feb 8 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 163, folder 'Donovan Reports').

² Harvey diary, Feb 9, 1942.

³ Attlee chaired the defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jan 30, 1942 (CAB.69/4); cf. Brooke diary.

⁴ Clementine to Hopkins, Feb 2 (Hopkins papers, microfilm 11). Readers of Gilbert, vol. vii, 51ff will search in vain for the events between Jan 30 and Feb 7, 1942.

⁵ British MAUD Technical Committee, draft report, Jun 23, 1941. According to Conant to Bush, Mar 25, 1943, a member of this committee 'unofficially' gave a copy of this to his American colleagues.

⁶ Cherwell to WSC, Aug 27, 1941 (Cherwell papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS').

⁷ WSC to Ismay for chiefs of staff, Aug 30, 1941 Churchill, vol. iv, 340.

⁸ FDR to WSC, Oct 11, 1941. See WSC's memo, Feb 27, 1943 on the history of the atomic project, in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Quebec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

⁹ Cadogan diary, Feb 2, 1942; and Harvey diary, Feb 3, 1942.

¹⁰ Brooke diary, Feb 2, 1942.

¹¹ Amery diary, Feb 2, 1942. On Feb 6, Eden was again 'impassioned in his demand for complete surrender,' although WSC, Beaverbrook, and Amery all concurred that FDR was insisting on Article VII only to 'oblige' Hull.

¹² FDR to WSC, Feb 4, 1942, in *FRUS, 1942, I*, 529. In a memo that day, Dean Acheson had alerted FDR to a confidential cable from Winant to Hull (*ibid.*, 527ff) reporting the British cabinet's rejection of Article VII; Winant

and Hull believed that this personal message from FDR to WSC was 'the only hope' for getting the draft accepted (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 584).

¹³ Winant to Hull, Feb 9, 1942 in 534f. R N Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy*, (London, 1956) 60–61. Chequers register, 6–9, 1942; and 'Mr Winant's Visits to Chequers,' Extracts from Chequers Visitors' Book (FDR Library, John G Winant papers, box 189, 'Chequers').

¹⁴ FDR to WSC, Feb 11, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 59of, 632ff; and *FRUS*, 1942, I, 535ff).

¹⁵ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Apr 21, 1944.

¹⁶ Oshima (Berlin) to Togo (Tokyo), No. 80 urgent, Jan 18, translation No. 101022, Feb 8, 1942. On WSC's instructions, GC&CS wired Capt. E Hastings in Washington to ensure that FDR saw it (HW.1/378).

¹⁷ Admiralty to Tovey and others, Jan 24, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁸ COS (42) 37th meeting, Feb 3, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁹ Capt. G E Colpoys RN, 'Admiralty Use of Special Intelligence in Naval Operations,' MOST SECRET—ULTRA, chapter vii, 84ff (ADM.223/88).

²⁰ J Eccles, report, Jun 10, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

²¹ Amery diary, Sep 4, 8, 1941.

²² Moran, 'diary,' 31.

²³ Frankfurter memo to Richard Casey, Jan 8, 1943 Frankfurter diary, May 26, 1943 (Library of Congress, Felix Frankfurter papers, box 126).

²⁴ Halifax to Eden, Sep 14, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15).

²⁵ War cabinet, Feb 5, 1942. Amery diary, Feb 5, 1942.; Cadogan diary, Feb 5, 1942. Amery to Lord Linlithgow, Feb 9, 1942, in N Mansergh and E V R Lumby (ed.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols. [hereafter: Mansergh] vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970). '... With an occasional eye-wink at me, Winston suddenly propounded [his] great scheme.'

²⁶ Halifax diary, Nov 22, 1942, quoting Walter Layton and Beaverbrook (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11).

²⁷ Chequers register, Feb 7, 1942; Amery diary, Feb 7. Martin diary, Feb 7, 1942, records 'talk with Mrs Churchill about [WSC's] proposed flight' to India.

²⁸ Eden diary, Feb 9; Harvey diary, Feb 9, 1942; PM's card.

²⁹ War cabinet, Feb 9, 1942. Cadogan diary, Feb 9, 1942; Brooke diary, Feb 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, 3/A/v, 352, 355).

³⁰ WSC to Wavell, Feb 10, 1942, one-thirty A.M.: Churchill, vol. iv, 87f. WSC had on Jan 19, 1942 already demanded in a minute to the chiefs of

staff that the Commander, Staffs and principal Officers 'are expected to perish at their posts.'

³¹ Moran, 'diary,' 26.

³² Beaverbrook memo, Feb 28, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.448); Chequers register, Feb 6, 1942.

³³ WSC to Beaverbrook, Feb 10, 1942 in Churchill, vol. iv, 64f.

³⁴ For Beaverbrook's critique of bombing policy, see the draft paper for the defence committee, Feb 14, 1942 in Beaverbrook papers, D.425: the results had not justified Bomber Command's losses of 2,075 airmen and 376 bombers in the last half of 1941 alone, he said; the squadrons would be better used in the Middle and Far East. 'The policy of bombing Germany, which in any event can yield no decisive results within any measurable period of time, should no longer be regarded as of primary importance.'

³⁵ Beaverbrook memo, Feb 28 (*op. cit.*); and Beaverbrook to WSC, Mar 3, 1942, 'Controversy over Russia' (Beaverbrook papers, D.94).

³⁶ Eden diary, Feb 6, 1942.

³⁷ Pacific War Council meeting, Feb 10, 1942 (CAB.99/26); and Amery diary, Feb 10, 1942.

³⁸ Hopkins memo, Feb 11, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136).

³⁹ PM's card; Amery diary, Feb 11, 1942.

⁴⁰ Churchill, vol. iv, 63ff.

⁴¹ Nicolson diary, Feb 12, 1942.

⁴² WSC to Hopkins, Feb 6, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate*, 102.

⁴³ Amery diary, Feb 11, 1942. Donovan to FDR, Feb 15, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 164, folder 'OSS—Donovan Reports').

⁴⁴ Wavell to WSC, Feb 11, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 88.

⁴⁵ Edward Thomas in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed). *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 43.

⁴⁶ Colpoys (see note 19).

⁴⁷ B Ramsay, 'Passage of German Battle Cruisers through the Dover Strait,' Feb 16, 1942 (ADM.199/620).

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Layton to her mother, Feb 16, 1942, quoted in Gilbert, vol. vii, 56.

⁴⁹ Beaverbrook memo, Feb 27, 1942, *op. cit.*; PM's card, Feb 12, 1942. — Garfield Weston quoted in Cecil King (diary, Mar 26, 1942).

⁵⁰ Cadogan diary, Feb 13, 1942.

⁵¹ Harvey diary, Feb 14, 1942.

⁵² Bruce Lockhart diary, Feb 14, 1942.

⁵³ Halifax diary, Feb 17, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10)

⁵⁴ James R Wilkinson, US Consul in Birmingham, report, Mar 24, 1942 (NA, State dept. papers, 841.00/1583).

⁵⁵ Wavell to WSC, Feb 14, 1942; received 10:40 A.M.: Churchill, vol. iv, 91f.

⁵⁶ WSC to Wavell, Feb 14, 1942 (*ibid.*, 92). Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 14, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5). The naval liaison officer (to III Corps) was the later Vice Adm. Sir John Hayes; see his obituary, *Daily Telegraph*, Sep 23, 1998.

⁵⁷ Jock Colville diary (Churchill College, CLVL.1/6); cf. Cadogan diary, Feb 15, 1942, and Harvey diary, Feb 15, 1942.

⁵⁸ Nicolson diary, Feb 16, 1942. For the FO's agonising over WSC's phrase, 'that is what I have dreamed of, aimed at and worked for,' see Eden's files, FO.954/29, fols. 422ff. It attracted much criticism. When Eden sent to WSC on Apr 30, 1942 a draft text designed to spike their critics' guns, Churchill replied: 'I don't think there's much in this. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse. Qui s'explique se complique*' (*ibid.*, fols. 432f).

⁵⁹ Beaverbrook expressed the same view to Lord Halifax (secret diary, Mar 25, 1942): The Channel episode was 'nearer home and more suggestive of uncomfortable thoughts about Invasion.' 'Where had we been so deficient in leadership that thousands of men could surrender and seem quite happy in marching to a Japanese concentration camp while they still had ammunition and water?' (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19)

⁶⁰ Home Intelligence Summary, week ending Feb 16, 1942, cited by Donovan to FDR, Feb 22 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 164, folder 'Donovan Reports'). Cecil King diary, Feb 16, 1942; on Feb 19 King added, 'Sinclair told [. . .] yesterday that Churchill was in a towering passion on Monday [Feb 16] over the criticism of his administration, and said he "hated the newspapers worse than the Nazis"!.'

⁶¹ Eden diary, Feb 16; Harvey diary, Feb 17, 1942.

⁶² Hinsley, vol. ii, 179ff.

⁶³ WSC to FDR, Feb 16, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 757ff).

⁶⁴ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 16, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers 5/5).

⁶⁵ Attlee to WSC, Feb 16 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13). Amery diary, Feb 16; defence committee (Operations) meeting, Feb 16, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

⁶⁶ WSC to Dorman Smith, Feb 16, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 135.

⁶⁷ Winant to FDR, Feb 17, 1942 (NA, State dept. papers).

⁶⁸ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Feb 17, 1942, columns 1671ff; cf. Nicolson diary, Feb 17, and Harvey diary; Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 17, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁶⁹ H M King George VI diary, Feb 17, 1942.

⁷⁰ Beaverbrook to WSC, Feb 17, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers); A J P Taylor, Beaverbrook (London, 1972), 514, and Churchill, vol. iv, 73f.

⁷¹ Weizmann to WSC, Feb 12, 1942 (The Weizmann Archives, Wix Library Building, Rehovot, Israel: Chaim Weizmann papers).

⁷² Eden to Winant, May 1, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, confidential files, box 10, file '820.03 Jewish Army').

⁷³ Note on a brief talk between WSC and Weizmann who was about to leave for the USA in 1942 (Princeton University, Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Bernard Baruch papers).

⁷⁴ Pacific War Council, Feb 17 (CAB.99/26); Amery diary, Feb 17, 1942.

⁷⁵ Pim manuscript, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 62.

⁷⁶ Winant, quoted in a report by William L Langer, 'British cabinet changes,' Feb 22, 1942: OSS R&A report No. 246 (NA, RG.226, Records of the Office of Strategic Services).

⁷⁷ Eden diary, Feb 18; and Harvey diary, Feb 18, 1942.

⁷⁸ Eden diary, Feb 18, 1942.

⁷⁹ Lord Reith diary, Feb 18, 1942, in *Sunday Express*, Sep 4, 1949.

⁸⁰ Beaverbrook memo, Feb 28, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.448); cf. A J P Taylor, Beaverbrook (London, 1972), 514. Beaverbrook told Halifax he believed that Eden had been willing to give up the Foreign office to Sir John Anderson and had persuaded WSC to make him Leader of the House instead; but that Cripps had 'got round Winston at a private luncheon' and persuaded him to give him the Leadership. Beaverbrook taxed the prime minister with this 'but could not get him to admit it.' Halifax secret diary, Mar 25, 1942

⁸¹ Eden diary, Feb 19, 1942.

⁸² W P Crozier, cited in A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 517; cf. PM's card, Feb 20, 1942.

⁸³ Beaverbrook memo, Feb 28, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.448); PM's card, Feb 24, 1942.

⁸⁴ Beaverbrook to WSC, Feb 26, 1942. Gilbert, vol. vii, 64, with WSC's reply.

⁸⁵ Frank Bellenger MP told Cecil King on Feb 19, 1942 (diary) of a heated Labour Party meeting that morning where even Attlee had been greeted by catcalls. 'Unless something pretty drastic is done with the Government, the Labour Members will be instructed to withdraw.' Garro-Jones told King the meeting had sent WSC an ultimatum to this effect.

⁸⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 19, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁸⁷ Halifax secret diary, Feb 21, 1942

⁸⁸ Harvey diary, Feb 20, 1942; Amery diary, Feb 19–20, 1942. Cf. Cecil King diary, Feb 19: 'We were promised a statement about cabinet changes for 6 P.M. . . . At last Greig rang up from the MOI [with the details].'

⁸⁹ Winant to FDR, Feb 19, 1942: 'I am using your special wire to transmit this information'; received 5:53 P.M (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 760f).

⁹⁰ FDR to WSC, No. 106, Feb 18, 1942; received in London, Feb 19 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 630ff).

⁹¹ WSC to FDR, Feb 20, 1942, rec'd Feb 19, 9:01 P.M (*ibid.*, 764).

⁹² Colpoys (see note 19).

⁹³ GC&CS Naval Section report, Feb 20, 'Mining of *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*,' read by WSC, Feb 21; Godfrey (DNI) to CNO Washington, Feb 22. Pound minuted to WSC on Feb 22, 1942: 'I think the above information will have been given to the President' (HW.1/382).

⁹⁴ FDR to WSC, Feb 11, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 53ff). The letter is not referred to by Churchill or by his latest biographer, Martin Gilbert; the carbon copy is in FDR's confidential files.

⁹⁵ WSC's painting of Lavery vanished for seventy years, and was found in the possession of Geraldine Fairfax-Cholmondeley, of Hindon, Wiltshire, in 1988; it is now on loan to Chartwell. *Sunday Times*, Jan 17, 1988.

⁹⁶ Professor Thomas Bodkin, 'Churchill the Artist,' in: Charles Eade (ed.), *Churchill by his Contemporaries* (New York, 1953), 361. WSC is known to have exhibited five landscapes in Paris in 1921, selling four for £30 each. Bodkin says his 'Maurin' period was just before World War Two.

⁹⁷ Roger Gounot, *Charles Maurin, 1856–19814: essai sur le peintre at catalogue de l'exposition de 1978*, Le Puy, Musée Crozetier de Puy, 1978. The present author's first publisher William Kimber, who put him on this trail, owned a genuine Maurin (but wished it were a Churchill).

⁹⁸ Edward Bruce to FDR, Dec 23, 1941, enclosing a letter to WSC as Charles Marin (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 53ff).

⁹⁹ FDR note to Ed Watson, Jan 20, 1942 (*ibid.*, 57)

¹⁰⁰ Angus McDonnell, British embassy, to Ed Watson, Feb 4, 1942 (*ibid.*, 59). 'Morin' might be an English phonetic rendering of 'Maurin.'

¹⁰¹ FDR to WSC, Feb 11, 1942 (*ibid.*, 53ff).

¹⁰² Bracken to Eisenhower, Oct 4, 1948 (Dwight D Eisenhower Library, file 13).

17: CHURCHILL UP AND CHURCHILL DOWN

¹ Martin diary, Mar 8; Cecil King diary, Feb 19, 25; Channon diary, Feb 20 (Robert Rhodes James [ed.], 322–3); Harriman to Hopkins, Mar 7, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

² Harvey diary, Feb 27, 1942; and Dalton diary, Mar 5, 1942 (London School of Economics, Political Science Library, Hugh Dalton papers).

³ Oshima (Berlin) to Tojo (Tokyo), No. 309, Feb 28; intercept No. 102096, translated Mar 8, 1942 (HW.1/396).

⁴ Oshima (Berlin) to Tojo (Tokyo), No. 304, Feb 28; intercept No. 102109, translated Mar 8, on his talks with Ribbentrop on Feb 18, 22, and 23, 1942 (HW.1/396).

⁵ So Cripps said. Cecil King diary, Apr 30, 1942.

⁶ Margesson, quoted in Cecil King diary, Feb 25; Garfield Weston, citing Beaverbrook, in Cecil King diary, Mar 26. AV Alexander's former principal private secretary Lord Winster (formerly Commander Fletcher MP) told King (*ibid.*, Mar 26, 1942) that Pound braced himself to a 'sort of swagger' before seeing WSC, who still thought of the Adm. as he was twenty years earlier; after leaving WSC, Pound deflated again.

⁷ Halifax secret diary, Jul 15, 1942

⁸ Eden diary, Feb 4, 16; Amery diary, Feb 23, 1942.

⁹ Quoted by Beaverbrook in Halifax (secret diary, Apr 4). Lord Hankey diary, May 1, 1942: 'I have no intention of coming back merely to be muzzled and in a subordinate position.'

¹⁰ Halifax diary, Sep 8, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.111).

¹¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 3, 18; and *cf.* Mar 24, 1942: 'COS till lunch, Dudley Pound fast asleep most of the time' (Alanbrooke papers, 5/7; and MS, 3/A/vii).

¹² Lord Hankey diary, May 1, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge); Hankey claimed the credit, with his contributions to recent Lords debates.

¹³ Cecil King diary, Mar 23, 1942.

¹⁴ Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten* (London, 1985), 168; PM's card.

¹⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 5 and 7, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5). He spelt the name 'Mount Batten.'

¹⁶ WSC to Pound, Mar 5, 1942 (PREM.3/330/2).

¹⁷ WSC to Ismay, Mar 6, 1942 (PREM.3/330/2).

¹⁸ Pound to WSC, Mar 7, 1942 (PREM.20/57; Roskill, *Admirals*, 200; in Roskill papers, quoted by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 168f).

¹⁹ WSC to chiefs of staff and Ismay, Mar 8, 1942 (PREM.3/330/2).

²⁰ Menzies to WSC, Feb 18, 1942 (National Library of Australia, Canberra, Robert Menzies papers, MS.4936/1/57).

²¹ WSC to Menzies, Feb 23, 1942 (National Library of Australia, Canberra, Robert Menzies papers, MS.4936/1/57).

²² Cross to WSC, received Feb 26, 1942 (PREM.4//50/15).

²³ Attlee to WSC, Feb 26, with WSC's note, Feb 28, 1942 (PREM.4/50/15).

²⁴ WSC to Curtin, Mar 13, 1942, *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy*, vol. v, No. 412. Casey did not inspire much confidence in those who met him. On Mar 22, 1942 FDR cabled to WSC about 'the Casey business' which was getting all out of proportion (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 828f).

²⁵ WSC paper, 'Notes 1942,' Jul 12, 1949, written preparing his history (Kings College London, Sir Hastings Ismay papers, II/3/165).

²⁶ Home Intelligence report for the week ending Feb 23, 1942, summarised in Donovan to FDR, Mar 2, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 164-5, folder 'OSS-Donovan Reports').

²⁷ Lyttelton's mother told Judith Listowel he had drunk three quarters of a bottle of Green Chartreuse to prepare himself for the press conference on clothes rationing: Cecil King diary, Apr 3. On Eden, see *ibid.*, Apr 18, 1942, among many other sources including his own diaries.

²⁸ Amery diary, Mar 1, 1942.

²⁹ H M King George VI diary, Feb 24, 1942.

³⁰ Bruce Lockhart diary, Feb 25 and 27, 1942.

³¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 25, 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

³² Eden diary, Feb 20, 23, 25, 1942.

³³ Harvey diary, Feb 25, 1942. Six police-constables were held in reserve at Chequers, but no guests arrived. Chequers register, Feb 25-6, 1942.

³⁴ No defence committee (Operations) meetings took place between Feb 16 and Mar 2, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

³⁵ Harvey diary, Mar 2, 1942. Cadogan diary, Mar 2, 1942.

³⁶ Amery diary, Feb 26, 1942.

³⁷ P J Grigg to his father, Oct 1, 1941 (Churchill College Cambridge, P J Grigg papers, 2/4).

³⁸ Harvey diary, Feb 27, 1942.

³⁹ Mary Churchill's diary, Feb 27, 1942: Soames, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁴⁰ The PM's card shows just 'DP'.

⁴¹ Clementine Churchill to her sister Nellie Romilly, Feb 28, 1942: Soames, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁴² WSC to Auchinleck, Feb 26, and reply, Feb 27, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 261ff.

⁴³ Moran, 'diary,' 46.

⁴⁴ Harvey diary, Feb 28, 1942.

⁴⁵ Harvey diary, Mar 3, 1942.

⁴⁶ Garfield Weston, quoting Beaverbrook, in Cecil King diary, Mar 26, 1942.

⁴⁷ Beaverbrook, 'Winston Churchill's False Prophecies and Some Economic Consequences' (Beaverbrook papers, D.480). The latest item is dated Jan 27, 1942.

⁴⁸ Dalton diary, Mar 5, 1942, quoting Bevin.

⁴⁹ Harvey diary, Feb 22, 1942.

⁵⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 18, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁵¹ PM's card, Mar 3; Cecil King diary, Mar 23, 1942.

⁵² See the discussion by historian Robert O'Neill on 'Churchill, Japan, and British Security in the Pacific,' in *Churchill* (Oxford, 1993). At the Austin, Texas conference on which O'Neill's book is based, D C Watt said ironically that for WSC the Pacific was 'a far away country of which he knew nothing.'

⁵³ Butcher diary, May 31, 1943, unsealed. (In May 1977 we obtained the release of 209 pages of the diary which had formerly been sealed; identified hereafter in these notes as 'sealed').

⁵⁴ As the Chief of the Australian General Staff pointed out to Curtin. Curtin to WSC, Feb 23, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 144.

⁵⁵ WSC to Ismay, Feb 17, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 125.

⁵⁶ WSC to FDR, Feb 20, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 765).

⁵⁷ WSC to Curtin, Feb 20: Churchill, vol. iv, 138. Replying to this on Feb 22, Curtin pointed out that his message about 'an inexcusable betrayal' had been dated Jan 23, *after* WSC's telegram dated Jan 14 informing him that the 18th Division would arrive in Malaya Jan 13–17, 1942.

⁵⁸ Chiefs of staff meeting, Feb 20 1942 (CAB.79/56).

⁵⁹ WSC to FDR, Feb 20, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 765).

⁶⁰ FDR to WSC, Feb 21, enclosing his message to Curtin: Churchill, vol. iv, 141. Brooke wrote, in an unpublished passage of his diary: 'The night continued to be as damnable as the day! Barely was I asleep when the First Sea Lord called me up at 1:45 A.M. about the destination of the convoy with the 7th Australian Division on board. It is at present between Colombo and Rangoon, marking time pending approval from Australians to use it in Burma. An approval which we are unlikely to obtain in spite of appeals from PM and from President of USA. As a result we shall probably lose Burma!' Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 22, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁶¹ Curtin to WSC, Feb 22, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 141.

⁶² WSC to Curtin, Feb 22: Churchill, vol. iv, 143; Amery diary, Feb 22–3, 1942.

⁶³ Curtin to WSC, Feb 23, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 144.

⁶⁴ WSC to Curtin, Feb 23, 1942, *ibid.*, 145.

⁶⁵ WSC to Dorman-Smith, Feb 25, 1942, *ibid.*, 146.

⁶⁶ WSC to Ismay, Feb 23, replying to the chiefs of staff's new appreciation 'in the light of recent events,' dated Feb 21, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).

⁶⁷ Lend–lease Agreement, Washington, Feb 23, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 772ff).

⁶⁸ R J Moore, *Churchill, Cripps, and India, 1939–1945* (Oxford, 1979) [hereafter: Moore]. The underlying tone can be judged from FDR's message drafted on Feb 25 but evidently not sent: he spoke of Britain's 'mistaken policy of master and servant,' in her colonies and Dominions in the Far East. 'The people of India feel that delay follows delay,' he wrote. Britain must recognise world change. He suggested recognising a 'small group' in India at once as a temporary Dominion Government. 'For the love of Heaven,' this draft ended, as did his message sent on Mar 10, 'don't bring me into this. It is, strictly speaking, none of my business except insofar as it is part and parcel of the successful fight you and I are making' (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 651ff).

⁶⁹ Churchill, vol. iv, 185.

⁷⁰ The United States were experiencing a series of race riots. Halifax secret diary, Mar 8 and 12, 1942

⁷¹ Linlithgow to Amery, Feb 16; Amery diary, Feb 17, 1942.

⁷² Amery diary, Feb 18, 22, 1942.

⁷³ Amery diary, Feb 26, 1942.

⁷⁴ Beaverbrook, quoted by Margesson: Cecil King diary, Feb 25, 1942.

⁷⁵ Amery diary, Feb 27–28, 1942.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar 1, 1942.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Mar 2, 1942.

⁷⁸ WSC to Bridges, Feb 28, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 185.

⁷⁹ WSC to Eden, Feb 28, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 68.

⁸⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 2, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

⁸¹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Mar 2 (CAB.69/4); Harvey diary, Mar 3, 1942.

⁸² Eden diary, Feb 27, 1942

⁸³ Cadogan diary, Feb 24 and 25, 1942.

⁸⁴ Cadogan diary, Feb 28, 1942.

⁸⁵ There is no message in Soviet archives from WSC between those dated Feb 11 and Mar 12, 1942 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i.

⁸⁶ Harvey diary, Mar 6, 1942.

⁸⁷ Harriman to Hopkins, Mar 7, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

⁸⁸ Wavell to WSC, Feb 21; and reply, Feb 22, 1942 (CAB.121/115).

⁸⁹ WSC to Ismay, Feb 28, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 129ff.

⁹⁰ PM's card. As Gilbert has hardly troubled to use the Royal archives reserved to him exclusively for his Churchill biography, we do not know what passed between monarch and his first minister this day. But see Amery diary, Mar 4, 1942.

⁹¹ Cadogan diary, Mar 4, 1942.

⁹² Halifax to Eden, Mar 3, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15).

⁹³ Memo by Adolph Berle, Mar 10, 1942, State dept. file 841.20211/36. There are twelve files of records on the operation of the 'PRIME–POTUS' [prime minister – president of the US] special-circuit channel in NA, RG.165, Records of the War dept. General and Special Staffs.

⁹⁴ Memo by Adolph Berle, Mar 10, 1942, State dept. file 841.20211/36.

⁹⁵ These were WSC telegrams Nos. 34, 35, 36, 37, to FDR, Mar 4, 1942.

- ⁹⁶ WSC to FDR, Mar 4, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 903ff).
- ⁹⁷ WSC to FDR, Mar 7, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 926ff).
- ⁹⁸ Amery diary, Mar 4, 1942.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar 3, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Mar 4, 1942.
- ¹⁰¹ WSC to FDR, Mar 4, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 882ff).; and Churchill, vol. iv, 185f.
- ¹⁰² Dalton diary, Mar 5, 1942; Cadogan diary, Mar 5, 1942.
- ¹⁰³ War cabinet, Mar 5, 1942, midday (CAB.65/25).
- ¹⁰⁴ Amery to WSC, Mar 5, 1942, in Mansergh, vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970), 240.
- ¹⁰⁵ Butler to Hoare, Mar 6, 1942 (Cambridge University Libr., Templewood papers, xiii, 19).
- ¹⁰⁶ PM's card.
- ¹⁰⁷ War cabinet, Mar 5, six P.M (CAB.65/25).
- ¹⁰⁸ Cadogan diary, Mar 5, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 6, 1942; he noted later that although WSC made no reference to this crisis in his memoirs, he himself had a vivid recollection of that dinner. 'After dinner,' the diary continued, 'discussion of offensive in France to relieve pressure on Russians' (Alanbrooke papers, 5/7; and MS, 3/A/v).
- ¹¹⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 5, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5); in his MS Notes, 366, he expressed bafflement at finding no hint of this crisis in Churchill, vol. iv, chapter xii.
- ¹¹¹ Harvey diary, Mar 6, 1942.
- ¹¹² Halifax secret diary, Mar 8, 1942
- ¹¹³ WSC to FDR, Mar 7, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 782ff and 788ff).
- ¹¹⁴ WSC to Stalin, Mar 9, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 293; it reached Stalin at Kuibyshev on Mar 12, 1942: in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 35.
- ¹¹⁵ Harriman to FDR, Tel. 2112, Mar 6, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 0922). In Washington, Winant was complaining to Hopkins that WSC saw more of Harriman than of him. Halifax secret diary, Mar 7, 1942
- ¹¹⁶ Harriman to FDR, Mar 7 (FDR Libr., PSF, 'Harriman'). Gilbert, vol. vii, 72, citing Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941–1946* (London, 1976), dates the letter Mar 6, 1942.
- ¹¹⁷ Harriman to Hopkins, Mar 7, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308).
- ¹¹⁸ Mary Churchill diary, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 69.

¹¹⁹ Later Sir John Parkinson (1885–1976); his only son, a Fleet Air Arm officer, had just been killed in the aerial dogfights as *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* broke through the Channel.

¹²⁰ War cabinet, Mar 7, 1942, 10:30 A.M. (CAB.65/25); Amery diary, Mar 7, 1942.

¹²¹ WSC to FDR, Mar 7, 1942; enclosing copies of the telegrams from Linlithgow and Wavell (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 928ff).

¹²² Eden diary, Mar 7, 1942.

¹²³ Chequers register, Mar 6–9, 1942.

¹²⁴ Note by Sir Stafford Cripps, Mar 8, 1942, in Mansergh, vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970), 281. For the Churchill–Cripps correspondence on India, see PREM.4/48/4.

¹²⁵ Harrison to Heath, Apr 2, 1942: India Conciliation Group papers at Friends House, London: Cripps file; R J Moore, 81.

¹²⁶ Amery diary, Mar 8, 1942.

¹²⁷ Eden diary, Mar 9, 1942.

¹²⁸ Amery diary, Mar 10; and see WSC to Linlithgow, Mar 10, 1942 (PREM.4/48/4).

¹²⁹ Chequers register, Mar 8, 1942. Dudley Saward, *Bomber Harris. The Authorised Biography* (London, 1984); one of this century's most prolific 'serial killers,' Harris would die in his bed on Apr 5, 1984.

¹³⁰ Jacob diary, record of ARCADIA conferences, Dec 1941, 55 (Churchill College, JACB.1/12).

¹³¹ Sinclair, memo, 'Bombing Policy,' DO (42) 14, Feb 9, 1942 (CAB.69/4 and CAB.121/1). The War cabinet had decided on a policy to conserve bombers at its 64th, 84th, and 111st meetings in 1941.

¹³² Halifax secret diary, Mar 25. Beaverbrook, Draft paper for defence committee, Feb 14, 1942, evidently not circulated (Beaverbrook papers, D.425).

¹³³ Sir A Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (London, 1947) 152.

¹³⁴ WSC to Sinclair, Feb 14, 1942, in Dr Noble Frankland & Sir Charles Webster, *The Strategic Air Offensive against Germany* (HMSO, London, 1961) vol. iv, 322.

¹³⁵ Sinclair to Portal, Feb 14, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

¹³⁶ Air Staff directive, signed by Sir N Bottomley, to Bomber Command, Feb 14, 1942, *ibid.*, vol. i, 322f.

¹³⁷ Portal to Bottomley, Feb 15, 1942, *ibid.*, vol. i, 324.

¹³⁸ Sir A Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (London, 1947) 151; and author's interview in 1961.

¹³⁹ Harris to Sir Arthur Bryant, Feb 19 (1959?) (Alanbrooke papers, 5/I/84).

¹⁴⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

¹⁴¹ Stimson diary, Mar 5, 7, 8, 1942.

¹⁴² FDR to WSC, Mar 9, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 795ff).

¹⁴³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 10, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5). The Pacific War Council discussed it again on Mar 12, 1942. Amery (diary) warned that the Pacific/Indian Ocean boundary must be regarded as a strategic, not geographic one. 'Winston fully saw the point.'

¹⁴⁴ Dill to WSC, Mar 7, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

¹⁴⁵ Attlee to WSC, Jan 8, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁴⁶ COS to COS Cttee, Jan 9, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁴⁷ Appendix 'F' to JIC (42) 117(O), 'Effect of Bombing Policy,' Apr 6, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁴⁸ Leahy diary, Mar 4–5 (Libr. of Congress, Manuscript Division, Fleet Adm. William D Leahy papers, reel 2). M Rochat initially told Leahy that the raid had killed 5,000 and injured 1500 persons. The final death roll is stated in Leahy to FDR, Mar 10 (*ibid.*). 'To murder, for political motives, women, children and old people, is a method of Soviet inspiration,' protested Adm. Darlan, his dormant anti-British feelings aroused, to Leahy in a letter on Mar 8, 1942. He ordered reprisals against British subjects in French North-West Africa.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Mar 7, 1942.

¹⁵⁰ WSC to Dill, Mar 14, 1942, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 75.

¹⁵¹ WSC to Stalin, Mar 9, and reply, Mar 14, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 293f; in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, Nos. 35, 36.

¹⁵² WSC to Portal and Sinclair, M.93/2, Mar 13, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

¹⁵³ Cadogan diary, Mar 16, 1942.

¹⁵⁴ Brooke diary, Mar 19, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

¹⁵⁵ Chequers register, Mar 22, 1942.

18: HUMILIATION VALLEY

¹ WSC to Pound, Jan 22, 1942 (PREM.3/191/1).

² WSC to Ismay, No. D.9/2, Jan 25, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Mar 2, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

⁴ David Irving, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ.17* (revised and updated edition, London, 1980) [hereafter: Irving, *PQ.17*], 19ff. These ULTRA intercepts were first made available by the admiralty for the hearing of a 1970 libel action against the author. Writing this work in the 1960s, he was allowed by the admiralty to copy the entire grid-map – by hand.

⁵ GC&CS Naval headlines No. 248, Mar 8, 1942, 11 A.M (HW.1/396).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21f; S Roskill, *The War at Sea* (London, 1956), vol. ii, 120ff; *Vorstoß Tirpitz (BdS) mit 5. Z.Fl. nach der Bäreninsel 6. bis 9. März 1942, a study by German Admiralty Historical Branch*, issued in *Operation und Taktik* (Heft 13), Aug 1944.

⁷ WSC to Pound, Mar 13, and reply, Mar 15, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁸ Harriman to FDR, Mar 7, 1942 (loc. cit). Cadogan diary, Mar 9, 1942.

⁹ Cecil King diary, Mar 12, 1942.

¹⁰ Robin Barrington-Ward diary, Mar 30, 1942, quoted in Donald McLachlan, *In the Chair: Barrington Ward of 'The Times'* (London, 1971), 194f. PM's card.

¹¹ PM's card; and Chequers register, Mar 12–18, 1942 (copies in the author's possession; author's microfilm DI–89).

¹² Eden diary, Mar 16; Harvey diary, Mar 15; Cadogan diary, Mar 16, 1942. Lord Moran's 'diary' made no mention of this medical episode. Sir Thomas Peel Dunhill (1876–1957) was a pioneer of thyroid gland surgery. He would also repair WSC's hernia in 1947, and treat burns on his hand in 1953.

¹³ So WSC told FDR on Mar 7, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 926ff).

¹⁴ A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 525.

¹⁵ PM's card; Beaverbrook to WSC, Mar 12, 1942. A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 523.

¹⁶ Beaverbrook memo, Mar 16, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.448). He cabled to Stalin direct on Mar 19, 1942: 'I am leaving for Washington in the morning for the purpose of discussing the 1941 [Soviet] boundaries with the President.' And WSC cabled to Hopkins to impress on the president that Beaverbrook was his intimate political associate. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 524f.

¹⁷ WSC to Stalin, Mar 20, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 294.

¹⁸ Eden diary, Mar 16; Harvey diary, Mar 17, 1942.

¹⁹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Mar 18, 1942 (CAB.69/4); Amery diary, Mar 18, 1942.

²⁰ WSC to Stalin, Mar 21, 1942, and reply, Mar 29, 1942, in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, Nos. 37 and 38.

²¹ Defence committee (Operations) meetings, Apr 17 (chaired by Attlee) and Apr 28 (chaired by WSC), 1942 (CAB.69/4).

²² Cadogan diary, Apr 9, 1942.

²³ Amery diary, Mar 11, 1942.

²⁴ FDR to WSC, Mar 10, 1942, received Mar 11, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 799ff and 804ff); and Churchill, vol. iv, 188f.

²⁵ Cripps to WSC, Apr 4, 1942, in Mansergh, vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970), 519.

²⁶ WSC to Auchinleck, Mar 8, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 262. Moran, 'diary,' 46, 'diary' for Mar 14, 1942. Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 24, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

²⁷ Brooke diary, Mar 13, 1942.

²⁸ WSC to Auchinleck, Mar 15 and 16, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 262f; quoted imperfectly by Gilbert, vol. vii, 76.

²⁹ Brooke diary, Mar 25, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; compare the published version, Bryant, 339).

³⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 26, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, 3/A/v, 374). Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Mar 26, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

³¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 25, 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

³² Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 27 1942.

³³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 25, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).

³⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Mar 19, 1942.

³⁵ Halifax secret diary, Mar 26, 1942; Beaverbrook memo: A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London 1972), 525.

³⁶ Halifax secret diary, Mar 25, 1942.

³⁷ Halifax diary, Mar 26, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

³⁸ Halifax secret diary, Apr 1, 1942.

³⁹ 'News received from the Upper War Room, Admiralty, 9 A.M., Mar 29, 1942' (PREM.3/376).

⁴⁰ Nel, *op. cit.*, 82.

⁴¹ The German naval staff war diary states that sixty Frenchmen were killed in the explosion.

⁴² WSC – or Mountbatten – also writes inspiringly of how the Germans inflicted 'severe punishment' on the brave Frenchmen 'who on the spur of

the moment rushed from every quarter to the aid of what they hoped was the vanguard of liberation.'

⁴³ SW Roskill, *The War at Sea* (London, 1956), vol. ii, 173. He also wrote that 'a large number of German officers' had just gone aboard *Campbeltown* when she blew up, 'and casualties among them were heavy.' 'These repeated explosions, combined with the loss of so many of their officers, caused German troops to panic, and in the ensuing indiscriminate firing many hundreds of their fellow-countrymen, and unhappily many French workmen, were killed.' This is not supported by records in the German naval archives.

⁴⁴ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 30, 1942.

⁴⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 31, 1942.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Dr Hugh L'Etang, *Fit to Lead?* (London, 1980), 32.

⁴⁷ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 18, 1942 (CAB.69/4) and COS(4)103(O) Final; and Philip Ziegler, Mountbatten, chapter 14.

⁴⁸ WSC to Sinclair, Apr 14, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 84.

⁴⁹ Cherwell to WSC, Mar 30, 1942 (Cherwell papers); circulated as DO (42) 38 to defence committee, Apr 9, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

⁵⁰ DO (42) 38, Apr 9, 1942.

⁵¹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 6, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

⁵² Tizard to Cherwell, Apr 15 and 20, 1942 (Cherwell papers). For Cherwell's reply, Apr 22, 1942, see AIR.8/424.

⁵³ Cherwell to Tizard, Apr 22, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁵⁴ Bridges to Lord Simon, Apr 15; and to Singleton, Apr 16, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

⁵⁵ GC&CS Police Section, 'German Police,' report No. 30/42, signed ACT, Apr 29, quoting Rostock police report of Apr 26, 1942 (HW.1/536).

⁵⁶ Turkish foreign minister, Ankara, to ambassador in London, No. 136, May 4, translated as #104111, May 7, 1942 (HW.1/551).

⁵⁷ H M King George VI diary, Apr 30, 1942.

⁵⁸ papers on 'LMF' ('lack of morale fibre') and 'W' (waverers) cases – aircrew who forfeited the confidence of their CO's – Jul 1941–Nov 1959, are closed for 75 years (AIR.19/632).

⁵⁹ Geoffrey Shakespeare to Sinclair, May 21, and reply, May 26, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁶⁰ WSC to chiefs of staff in London, Dec 29, 1941, 10:20 P.M. GMT (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13); and see PREM.3/47/1.

⁶¹ Admiralty to BAD, for Pound, Dec 31, 1941 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁶² Chiefs of staff to WSC, Jan 5, and Pound to VCNS, Jan 6, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁶³ WSC to Ismay, Jan 7, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁶⁴ Pound to WSC, Jan 29, 1942, and reply, Feb 3, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13). The original in the First Sea Lord's records (ADM.205/13) was destroyed in 1949 for reasons of discretion, but WSC's copy survives in PREM.3/47/1.

⁶⁵ Cunningham to Adm. J H Godfrey, May 17(?), 1956, quoted by Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals*, 142.

⁶⁶ Described by A B Cunningham in a letter to his aunt, Jun 11, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52575, vol. xix). The date of his visit to Chequers is confirmed by Chequers register, Apr 10–13, 1942.

⁶⁷ Cunningham to Roskill, Sep 9, 1961. Cunningham related this exchange at the time: Halifax secret diary, Sep 6, 1942.

⁶⁸ Dalton diary, Apr 6, 1943.

⁶⁹ WSC to Pound and A V Alexander, Mar 10, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13; WSC's file PREM.3/324/14); Churchill, vol. iv, 154.

⁷⁰ WSC to FDR, Apr 1, 1942. Rare papers by Britain's Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) on probable German and Japanese intentions will be found in the US army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, William Donovan papers, box 92a, scattered through vol. 23, 'JIC Pacific.'

⁷¹ WSC to FDR, Mar 23, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 958).

⁷² FDR to WSC, Mar 26, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 1, 830).

⁷³ WSC to Australian representative in Washington, Apr 1, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 82.

⁷⁴ A V Alexander to WSC, Jun 7, 1942, referring specifically to 'special intelligence' (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14); WSC says Somerville received this information on Mar 28, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 157.

⁷⁵ Pound to WSC, Apr 12, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁷⁶ A V Alexander to WSC, Jun 7, 1942, referring specifically to 'special intelligence' (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁷⁷ Marshall was contemptuous. He seems to have told told Stimson: 'The British . . . got a false report of the size and newness of the Jap battle-ships which were there and that scared them.' Stimson diary, Apr 20, 1942. In his memoirs, vol. iv, 157, WSC attributed this information to a Catalina reconnaissance plane; the plane was piloted by Squadron Ldr Leonard Birchall of the RCAF; Birchall radioed his sighting back to base before be-

ing shot down. The Japanese rescued him, but failed to extract from him the location of Somerville's fleet.

⁷⁸ Somerville diary, Mar 27–Apr 4, 1942 (Churchill College, Somerville papers).

⁷⁹ Martin diary, Apr 4, 5; Somerville diary, Apr 5, 1942.

⁸⁰ Pound to WSC, Apr 12, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13).

⁸¹ WSC, personal minute D.107/2, Jun 1, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁸² Pound to A V Alexander, Jun 6, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁸³ WSC to Cripps, Apr 5, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 85.

⁸⁴ WSC to FDR, Apr 7, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 159f.

⁸⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Apr 16, 1942.

⁸⁶ Mackenzie King diary, Apr 16, 1942.

⁸⁷ Rear Adm L H K Hamilton to his mother, Apr 12, 1942 (National Maritime Museum, Hamilton papers); Irving, *PQ.17*, 50.

⁸⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 11, 1942.

⁸⁹ Linlithgow to Amery, Apr 7, 1942. Amery papers, quoted in. Amery replied wrote that WSC was determined at all costs to honour his obligations to Russia.

⁹⁰ Wavell to chiefs of staff, Apr 12, 1942.

⁹¹ FDR to WSC, Mar 10, 1942. *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 615–16.

⁹² Hopkins's visit had been preceded by a luncheon on Mar 25 between himself, FDR, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to discuss the report submitted by the (notoriously anti-British) Joint Planners' on strategy. Like WSC, the president had hitherto shown more interest in the Middle East and the Mediterranean basin, but Marshall edged him out again into the Atlantic. On Mar 27 he urged the president to send the JCS plan over to WSC by his most trusted messenger, bypassing the Joint Staff Mission in Washington (Stimson diary, Mar 25, 27, 1942).

⁹³ Hopkins to WSC, Apr 2, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, April 1942').

⁹⁴ FDR to WSC, Apr 2, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 280.

⁹⁵ Churchill, vol. iv, 191; Gilbert, vol. vii, 87f.

⁹⁶ R J Moore, 93.

⁹⁷ Cripps to WSC, Apr 1, 1942. Nicholas Mansergh and E V R Lumby (eds.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970) [hereafter: Mansergh, vol. i], 484; and PREM.4/48/4.

⁹⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 1, 1942.

⁹⁹ War cabinet, Apr 2, 1942 (CAB.65/26); Mansergh, vol. i: *The Cripps Mission* (London, 1970), 500.

¹⁰⁰ WSC to Cripps, Apr 2, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 502.

¹⁰¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 2 1942.

¹⁰² Linlithgow to Amery, Apr 2, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 503. Amery diary, Apr 2, 1942. [hereafter: Amery diary].

¹⁰³ R J Moore, 97.

¹⁰⁴ Linlithgow to Amery, Apr 3, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 512.

¹⁰⁵ WSC to Linlithgow, Apr 4: Mansergh, vol. i, 522. Amery diary, Apr 5, 1942.

¹⁰⁶ R J Moore, 98.

¹⁰⁷ Amery diary, Apr 6, 1942.

¹⁰⁸ Cripps to WSC, Apr 4, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 519.

¹⁰⁹ Chequers register, Apr 4–5, 1943.

¹¹⁰ WSC to Linlithgow, Apr 5, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 100; and PREM.4/48/4.

¹¹¹ Linlithgow to Amery and WSC, Apr 6, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 530 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹¹² Cable to Cripps, Apr 6, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 103 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹¹³ Johnson's papers are in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia.

¹¹⁴ Cripps to WSC, Apr 9, 1942 (PREM.4/48/4).

¹¹⁵ WSC to Cripps Apr 9, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 563 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹¹⁶ Hopkins's note on meeting with WSC, 10:30 A.M. TO 12, Apr 9 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, file 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'); Robert E Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History* (New York, 1948), 524; and see Hopkins's to FDR, Apr 9, 1942, in *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 629–30.

¹¹⁷ WSC to Cripps, Apr 9, 1942, in Mansergh, vol. i, 564 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹¹⁸ War cabinet meeting, midday, Apr 9, 1942 (CAB.65/26); in Mansergh, vol. i, 566. Cf. Amery diary, Apr 9, 1942: 'This was the first we had heard officially of Johnson's intervention.'

¹¹⁹ War cabinet to Cripps, Apr 9, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 567, and PREM.4/48/4. These were drafted by Simon and Amery.

¹²⁰ Cripps to War cabinet, Apr 10, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 577 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹²¹ Johnson to FDR, Apr 11, 1942, in *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 631–2.

¹²² Clementine Churchill to Hopkins, Apr 10, 1942 (Hopkins papers, microfilm 11).

¹²³ FDR to WSC, Apr 3, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 281.

¹²⁴ Printed in Churchill, vol. iv, 281f.

¹²⁵ Hopkins, unsigned memo, Apr 8, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹²⁶ Cf. Brooke diary, Apr 8, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers).

¹²⁷ Hopkins memo, Apr 8, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'). The British transcripts of the Hopkins–Marshall discussions in London are in PREM.3/333/6, fols. 373–9.

¹²⁸ Hopkins memo, Apr 9, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹²⁹ Chiefs of staff meeting, Apr 9, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

¹³⁰ Brooke diary, Apr 9, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers).

¹³¹ Eden diary, Apr 10, 1942.

¹³² Brooke diary, Apr 10, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers).

¹³³ Hopkins to FDR, Apr 11, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹³⁴ WSC to FDR, Apr 12, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 283 and PREM.4/48/4.

¹³⁵ War cabinet, Apr 13, 1942 (CAB.65/26).

¹³⁶ Hopkins to FDR, Apr 11, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹³⁷ Azad to Cripps, Apr 10, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 587; R J Moore, 120. Cripps to WSC, Apr 11, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 191f and PREM.4/48/4.

- ¹³⁸ Churchill, vol. iv, 192.
- ¹³⁹ Amery diary, Apr 10, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 10, 1942.
- ¹⁴¹ WSC to Cripps, Apr 11, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 88.
- ¹⁴² FDR to Hopkins for WSC, Apr 11, 1942, *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 633–4. The text in Churchill, vol. iv, 193 is essentially the same but paraphrased.
- ¹⁴³ WSC to FDR, Apr 12, 1942, *FRUS*, 1942, vol. i, 634–5; Churchill, vol. iv, 195. Harvey diary, Apr 14, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁴ From Amery to Linlithgow, Apr 3, 1942: Mansergh, vol. i, 517.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ickes diary, Aug 8, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁶ WSC to Hopkins for FDR, May 31, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136; Henry Wallace diary, Jun 15, 1942).
- ¹⁴⁷ H M King George VI diary, Jul 28, 1942, 703.
- ¹⁴⁸ Chiefs of staff meeting, Apr 14, 1942 (CAB.79/56).
- ¹⁴⁹ PM's card.
- ¹⁵⁰ Hopkins to FDR, Apr 14, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').
- ¹⁵¹ Marshall to Stimson, Apr 15, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').
- ¹⁵² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 14, 1942 (CAB.69/4; and Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'); also largely published in Churchill, vol. iv, 283ff.
- ¹⁵³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 15, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5); Martin diary, Apr 15, 1942.
- ¹⁵⁴ Marshall to WSC, Apr 28, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 91n.
- ¹⁵⁵ WSC to FDR, Apr 17, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 286f.
- ¹⁵⁶ War dept. to Marshall, passed on to WSC on April 13, 1942 (HW.1/505).
- ¹⁵⁷ Draft telegram, GC&CS to US Navy dept., Apr 17, 1942 (HW.1/504). The file has a note from Denniston to C: 'Would you approve of a copy of this being sent to the Navy dept.? If so, I will arrange to send through the usual channels.' Marginalia indicate that it went to WSC, was 'approved' and 'sent by GC&C'S.
- ¹⁵⁸ WSC to Ismay, Mar 13, 1942, quoted in Gilbert, vol. vii, 74f.
- ¹⁵⁹ Curtin to WSC, Apr 17, 1942 (CAB.120/611).
- ¹⁶⁰ WSC to FDR, Apr 15, 1942.
- ¹⁶¹ WSC to Attlee, Apr 16, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 92.

¹⁶² Hopkins memo, Apr 18 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'); Eden (diary, Apr 18) established that the story was based on a newspaper report. According to Gen. Gustave Bertrand, *Enigma* (Paris, 1973), 127-8, in Feb 1942 he received a signal from C over his CADIX link (CADIX being his Vichy codebreaking unit which liaised with the SIS) requesting him to convey a personal invitation from Churchill to Weygand to take command of a landing in French North-West Africa. Weygand rebuffed Bertrand, saying that he had given his word to Pétain not to go against the latter's policies.

¹⁶³ Hopkins memo, Apr 21 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'); Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 18, 1942.

¹⁶⁴ WSC to FDR, No. 74, Apr 20, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹⁶⁵ FDR to WSC, No. 138, Apr 21, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'); it was drafted by Hopkins, who admitted it 'is a rather evasive answer but it may be all you [FDR] want to say to the Prime Minister at the moment.'

¹⁶⁶ WSC to FDR for Hopkins, Apr 20, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

¹⁶⁷ Stimson diary, Apr 20, 1942.

¹⁶⁸ Stimson diary, Apr 22, 1942.

¹⁶⁹ Halifax secret diary, Apr 21, 1942.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Halifax secret diary, Apr 24, 1942. Told this, Beaverbrook said exactly the same was true for FDR, and 'one of these days Winston and he would quarrel.'

19: THREE MEN AND A BABY

¹ Minute to C-in-C, Home Forces, Apr 7, 1942: phone call from Cdr. [C R] Thompson (wo. 199/303).

² Beaverbrook, quoted by Halifax secret diary, Apr 1, 1942.

³ Author's interview of Kay Halle, Washington, Jun 2, 1983. 'If only Randolph had married her [Kay Halle], all this would never have happened,' she quotes WSC as saying in 1955. Randolph, aged 19, had first proposed to her; suspecting he had a drinking problem she turned him down.

⁴ Winston S Churchill, *His Father's Son. The Life of Randolph Churchill* (London, 1996) [hereafter: W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*], 187. Long

delayed, Randolph's divorce came through a few months after VE day. Pamela married Leland Hayward, divorced him and became the third wife of the then 80-year old Harriman in 1971; he died on Jul 27, 1986, she died Feb 5, 1997, being accorded a state funeral in Paris].

⁵ Cf. Richard Hough, *Winston and Clementine: The Triumph of the Churchills* (London, 1990).

⁶ Cecil King diary, Feb 19; Jock Colville diary, Apr 17, 1941 (Churchill College, CLVL.1/4).

⁷ Cecil King diary, Oct 30, 1942. 'London society,' he recorded, 'is buzzing with an affair between Averil [sic] Harriman and Mrs Randolph Ch!' — The PM's card shows that Harriman and Kathleen had drinks with WSC on the previous evening at 8:30 P.M.

⁸ Randolph Churchill to WSC, Jul 5 (W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 191; Gilbert, vol. vi, 1127); and to Pamela, Jul 5, 1941 (W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 201).

⁹ Chequers register, Feb 6–9, 13–16, 1942; and extracts from the Chequers Visitors Book (FDR Libr., Winant papers, box 189, 'Chequers').

¹⁰ Chequers register, Mar 17–18, 1942.

¹¹ Anita Leslie, *Cousin Randolph* (London, 1985), quoted by W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 201.

¹² W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 202f.

¹³ Clementine to WSC, Apr 11, 1942. Richard Hough, *Winston and Clementine: The Triumph of the Churchills* (London, 1990) reduces the phrase 'Parachute Jumper' to 'parachutist.' The original text will be found in Mary Soames (ed.), *Speaking for Themselves: The Personal Letters of Winston and Clementine Churchill* (London, 1998).

¹⁴ WSC to Randolph Churchill, Apr 12, 1942, in W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 204.

¹⁵ Pamela Churchill to Beaverbrook, [Apr 9?] 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, C.87, 'Pamela Churchill').

¹⁶ Beaverbrook kept close watch on the mounting debt and his staffer A G Millar wrote occasionally to Harriman reminding him; by Apr 1944 Beaverbrook had paid out £1,029 like this, of which Harriman had reimbursed £550 in Jul 1943 via the Royal Bank of Canada in Montreal.

¹⁷ KH to WSC, Apr 25, 1942, endorsed, 'Show to Mrs Churchill' (PREM.3/217/4).

¹⁸ Hopkins (via H Freeman Matthews) to WSC, Apr 29; and reply, WSC to Hopkins, T.652a/2 Apr 29 (PREM.3/217/4). Pamela Churchill was at

Chequers on Apr 18 for the weekend; as was Lady Cripps, whose husband arrived back from India three days later. Martin diary, Apr 18, 1942;

¹⁹ Cecil King diary, Jun 19, 1943. There is an undated note in Pamela's handwriting in Beaverbrook's file reading, 'I do want to thank you for the wonderful presents to Baby Winston and myself.' On Dec 13, 1943 Beaverbrook sent her £100, joking: 'I hope you will spend the money on his religious instruction' (Beaverbrook papers, files C.86, 87).

²⁰ WSC to Randolph, May 2, 1942, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 101; and in W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 206f.

²¹ Beaverbrook to WSC, Oct 5, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, C.87, 'Pamela Churchill').

²² Beaverbrook to WSC, Oct 7, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, C.87, 'Pamela Churchill').

²³ Harriman, Moscow, to Beaverbrook, Apr 5, 1944. 'Pamela is settling up [daughter] Kathleen's and my accounts in London and needs this to carry on. I hope that you won't mind turning it over to her' (Beaverbrook papers, C.158, 'Harriman'). The 'Harriman funds' (including with the arrears in fact £1,700) arrived and were paid into Beaverbrook's Westminster Bank account. The system continued after the war, with Harriman relying on Beaverbrook's credit and repaying the debt from time to time. On Mar 25, 1947 the debt was £629, and he paid £700 in July. In Nov 1947 Pamela's Grosvenor Square apartment was costing £230 per quarter. Beaverbrook memo, Nov 25, 1947; and ltr to Harriman, Dec 30, 1947 (*ibid.*).

²⁴ Elizabeth Layton letter home, Apr 16, 1942: cit Gilbert, vol. vi, 93.

²⁵ Nicolson diary, Apr 23, 1942; he told Bruce Lockhart that Churchill's success in the speech was 'terrific.' Bruce Lockhart diary, May 18, 1942.

²⁶ The conduct of the large British force in Singapore, recorded Nicolson, 'does not seem to have been in harmony with the past or present spirit of our forces.' Nicolson diary, Apr 23, 1942.

²⁷ Dalton diary, Apr 23, 1942 (London School of Economics, Political Science Library, Hugh Dalton papers).

²⁸ *Life*, Jan 28, 1946; copy in Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942.'

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ WSC to Randolph Churchill, May 2, 1942, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 95.

³¹ G M Thomson to Beaverbrook, Apr 24, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.517).

- ³² P J Grigg to his father, Apr 26, 1942 (Grigg papers, 2/4).
- ³³ Halifax secret diary, Apr 24, 1942.
- ³⁴ Cecil King diary, Apr 11, 1942.
- ³⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 24, 1942.
- ³⁶ Arthur Christiansen, of *Daily Express*, to Beaverbrook, Apr 27, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.517).
- ³⁷ G M Thomson wrote to Beaverbrook on Apr 24, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.517).
- ³⁸ Martin diary, Apr 24, 1942.
- ³⁹ Note by Matthews of US embassy, Apr 24, 1942 (NA, RG.59, papers of H Freeman Matthews).
- ⁴⁰ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 22, 1942 (CAB.69/4).
- ⁴¹ Churchill, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate*, 273; for signals relating to the use of the Wasp, see ADM.205/13.
- ⁴² WSC to Randolph, May 2, 1942, in Gilbert, vol. vii, 99.
- ⁴³ War cabinet, Apr 24, 1942, confidential annex (CAB.65/30).
- ⁴⁴ Chiefs of staff meeting, Apr 24 (CAB.79/56); and Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 24, 1942.
- ⁴⁵ Morton to WSC, Apr 15; minutes by WSC, Apr 16 and 25; WSC to Morton, Apr 24. Desmond Morton to Sir Wilfrid Freeman (Vice CAS), Apr 27, 1942: 'Of course it would be disastrous if Gen. de Gaulle knew that we were taking precautions of any kind'; to Vice Adm H R Moore, Apr 27; and to Sir David Petrie (MI5), Apr 27, 1942 (PREM.3/120/10b; the file was closed until 1995).
- ⁴⁶ Eden diary, Apr 24, 1942; cf. Eden, *Reckoning*, 326.
- ⁴⁷ Stalin to WSC, Apr 22, 1942 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 40; and in PREM.3/403.
- ⁴⁸ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jul 30, 1941, vol. 373, column 1504.
- ⁴⁹ Note from Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs to all Missions in Moscow, Jan 6, 1942, in *Documents on Polish–Soviet Relations, 1939–1945*, vol. i, 1939–1943 (London, 1961) [hereafter: *Polish Documents*], 260.
- ⁵⁰ Conversation between Sikorski and Cripps, Jan 26, 1942, in *Polish Documents*, 269–71.
- ⁵¹ Conversation between Sikorski and WSC, Jan 31, 1942, in *Polish Documents*, 274–6.

⁵² Conversation between Sikorski, WSC, Eden, Bevin, Sinclair, Commander Thompson, Dr Retinger, and Captain Zamoyski, Mar 11, 1942, in *Polish Documents*, 295–9.

⁵³ Conversation between Sikorski and FDR, Mar 24, 1942, in *Polish Documents*, 310.

⁵⁴ PM's card, Apr 26, 1942. Alexander Ushakow, *Das Erbe Stalins in den deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen* (Cologne, 1970), 30.

⁵⁵ Cecil King diary, May 2, 1942.

⁵⁶ American censors intercepted a telegram from Beaverbrook to Brown on Apr 16, 1942, reading: '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. Sgd.: Max Beaverbrook.' An American hand notes on the intercept that Robertson was 'Business manager, *Daily Express*, and Beaver's handyman' (NA: State Dept. file 841.00/1589).

⁵⁷ James Leasor, *War at the Top* (London, 1959), 177.

⁵⁸ *Sunday Times*, Apr 26; Christiansen to Beaverbrook, Apr 27, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers, D.517). 'I expect this uproar will continue and increase.'

⁵⁹ So thought Hopkins and Halifax, who wrote: 'I think that Max is yielding to wishful thinking.' Halifax secret diary, Apr 21, 1942.

⁶⁰ Halifax secret diary, Apr 24, 1942.

⁶¹ Halifax secret diary, May 1, 1942.

⁶² Halifax to WSC, No. 2558, and to Eden, No. 2559, May 2, 1942 (FO.954/29).

⁶³ Hopkins to WSC, Apr 24, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

⁶⁴ WSC to Hopkins, Apr 26, cited by Gilbert, vol. vii, 97; FDR to WSC, Apr 26 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942'). Dated Apr 27, 1942 in Churchill, vol. iv, 231.

⁶⁵ WSC to FDR, Apr 28, 1942, received 11:13 A.M (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

⁶⁶ FDR to WSC, Apr 30, 1942.

⁶⁷ WSC to FDR, May 2, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 231f.

⁶⁸ FDR to WSC, May 3, 1942, *ibid.*, 232.

⁶⁹ Stalin to WSC, May 6, 1942 (*ibid.*, 232f; and PREM.3/403).

⁷⁰ WSC to Stalin, May 9, 1942 in Churchill, vol. iv, 233.

⁷¹ Stalin to WSC, May 13, 1942 (*ibid.*; and PREM.3/403).

- ⁷² Eden diary, manuscript, May 1, 1942.
- ⁷³ *E.g.*, Mackenzie King's record of Pacific War Council meeting, Washington, Apr 15, 1942; annex to his diary (Mackenzie King papers).
- ⁷⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, May 2, 1942.
- ⁷⁵ Chequers register, Oct 17; Amery diary, Oct 11, 14, 21, 24, 30, 31, Nov 3, 4, 1941, Jan 7, 8, 12, 1942; and PREM.4/54/1 and /2.
- ⁷⁶ WSC to FDR and note by FDR, Feb 15, 1942 (FDR Libr., microfilm 6, 61f); and see FDR to WSC, Apr 16, 1942 (*ibid.*, 66).
- ⁷⁷ WSC to Randolph, May 2, 1942, quoted by Gilbert, volume vii, 101.
- ⁷⁸ Martin diary, May 2, 1942; King diary, May 2, 1942 (Boston Univ., Mugar Library, Cecil King papers).
- ⁷⁹ WSC to Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, May 3, 1942, in Gilbert, volume vii, 101.
- ⁸⁰ WSC to Wavell, May 3, 1942, in Gilbert, volume vii, 102.
- ⁸¹ WSC to Brooke, memo M.183/2, May 14, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁸² WSC to Ismay, D.112/2, Jun 7, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).
- ⁸³ WSC to FDR, May 12, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').
- ⁸⁴ Smuts to WSC, May 18, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁸⁵ Halifax secret diary, May 20, 1942.
- ⁸⁶ Ismay to WSC, May 21, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁸⁷ WSC to Wavell, May 21, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁸⁸ WSC to Smuts, drafted May 27, 1942, sent as T.775/2 on May 28, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁸⁹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 28, 1942 (CAB.69/4).
- ⁹⁰ Halifax secret diary, Apr 28, May 5, 1942.
- ⁹¹ FDR to WSC, Apr 29, 1942; and reply.
- ⁹² Brooke diary, unpublished, May 4, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5).
- ⁹³ Eden, quoted by Bruce Lockhart diary, Jul 14, 1946.
- ⁹⁴ Pacific War Council meeting, May 5, 1942 (CAB.99/26).
- ⁹⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 6, 1942.
- ⁹⁶ Morton to WSC, May 8, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).
- ⁹⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, May 11.
- ⁹⁸ Harvey diary, May 18, 1942.
- ⁹⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, May 30; and *cf.* Jun 7, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 1, 1942.

¹⁰¹ Eden to WSC, May 20, 1942 (PREM.3/186a/7).

¹⁰² Brooke diary, unpublished, Jun 1, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers); such passages were sanitised from the text published by Sir Arthur Bryant.

¹⁰³ WP (43) 34 of Aug 7, 1943, 'Relations with Gen. de Gaulle,' Jun 1940–Jun 1943 (PREM.3/121/5).

¹⁰⁴ Morton to W Strang, Jun 11; minute by W H B Mack, Jun 12, 1942 (FO.371/32097). WSC told Morton he had no intention of writing a record of their talk, but the file contains the French record.

¹⁰⁵ WSC paper, 'Franco-German co-operation in North Africa, &c,' printed on Jun 5, 1942 as WP (42) 239 (PREM.3/186a/7).

¹⁰⁶ Eden to WSC, draft response, Jun 11, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁷ WSC to Eden, minute M.248/2, Jun 14 (PREM.3/186a/7). De Gaulle's intercepted telegram of Jun 6 to Gens. Catroux, Leclerc and de Larminat was removed by GCHQ from WSC's files in 1960; WSC initialled it on Jun 12. The next day Eden wrote (diary): 'Usual difficult interview with De G., tho' I always feel a sympathy with the man in his difficulties.' On Jun 19 Catroux informed C-in-C, Med. of the telegram, termed de Gaulle 'unbalanced,' and expressed the fear that his lack of faith in the Allies had 'become an obsession' (CAB.163/10).

¹⁰⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 9, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 438).

¹⁰⁹ Cadogan diary, Sep 19, 1942.

20: MOLOTOV AND THE MONGOLIAN SMILE

¹ Arnold diary, May 25, 26, 30, 1942.

² *Ibid.*

³ Martin letter home, Sep 20, 1942.

⁴ Martin diary, Jul 23, 1942: 'Meals more expensive now in spite of 5s [five shilling] limit.'

⁵ Cecil King diary, May 2, 1942: Frank Owen questioned the head waiter. 'It is disgraceful that the PM should behave like this,' noted Cecil King privately. 'At least he should contain his greed in public.'

⁶ Cripps, quoted by Cecil King diary, Apr 30, 1942.

⁷ Beaverbrook, quoted by Halifax secret diary, Apr 21, 1942.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Apr 30, 1942.

⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 27, 1942.

¹⁰ Dalton diary, May 12, 1942.

¹¹ Amery diary, Jun 27, 1941.

¹² Halifax secret diary, Jul 15, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A7.8.19).

¹³ Amery diary, Jun 9, 1941.

¹⁴ Hankey diary, Aug 31, 1942. He heard several Royal Navy captains at the United Services club grouching about this on Aug 29. 'They kept us there again late into the Middle Watch. And as usual at these late meetings their decisions were so bad that we shall somehow or other have to get them reversed, and that's no joke!' It was evident to Hankey that these naval officers had a low opinion of the War cabinet (Churchill College, Cambridge: Lord Hankey's papers).

¹⁵ Rawlings to Cunningham, Dec 1, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Dec 18, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, p.586).

¹⁷ Hankey diary, May 1, 1942.

¹⁸ Amery diary, May 10, 1942.

¹⁹ For the full passage omitted from this 'broadcast speech, 10.5.42 (*not used*)' see Gilbert, vol. vii, 107f.

²⁰ British Home Intelligence report for week ending May 11, quoted in report by W J Donovan to FDR, May 16, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, box 165-6, folder 'OSS-Donovan reports').

²¹ Because it alluded to Michael Foot's seminal work, *Guilty Men*, published anonymously in 1941 by Foot, Frank Owen, and Peter Howard. *Tribune's* editor was Aneurin Bevan.

²² Note by S A Moore, District Intelligence Office, Peekskill, NY, Jun 29, 1942 (NA, RG.319, Records of the Army Staff, IRR file X814 6666, 'Winston Churchill').

²³ Harvey diary, May 6, 12, 15, 1942. Told of WSC's intent by Eden, Cadogan could only comment: 'Ye Gods!' Cadogan diary, May 15, 1942

²⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, May 12. On May 2, 1942 Eden had recorded that Beaverbrook had made 'no impression whatever' on FDR.

²⁵ WSC to Hopkins, May 12, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136). Harvey diary, May 12, 1942.

²⁶ Hopkins to WSC, May 16 (Hopkins papers, box 136); Harvey diary, May 16, 1942.

²⁷ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, May 16, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 108.

²⁸ Not the 15th, as Gilbert, vol. vii, 108, says. Martin diary, May 14-16, 1942.

²⁹ Chiefs of staff meeting, May 15; and Brooke, Pound, and Portal to WSC, May 16, 1942 (CAB.79/21).

³⁰ WSC to chiefs of staff, May 17, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 109.

³¹ War cabinet, May 18, confidential annex (CAB.65/30). Brooke diary, unpublished, May 18, 1942; Amery diary, May 18, 1942.

³² WSC to Stalin, May 19, 1942, in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i.

³³ H M King George VI diary, Apr 22, 1942.

³⁴ WSC to Auchinleck, Apr 26, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 103.

³⁵ GC&CS intercepts CX/MS/934/T.6 and T/8, initialled 'WSC, 30.4.' (HW.1/536).

³⁶ WSC to Auchinleck, Apr 30, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 103.

³⁷ Hinsley, vol. ii, 361.

³⁸ Harvey diary, May 7, 1942.

³⁹ Hinsley, vol. ii, 362.

⁴⁰ WSC to Wavell, May 5, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 102.

⁴¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 7, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 395).

⁴² Churchill, vol. iv, 275. Chiefs of staff meeting, May 8; Brooke diary, unpublished, May 8, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 395).

⁴³ War cabinet, May 8, 1942 (CAB.65/30).

⁴⁴ WSC to Auchinleck, May 8, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 275.

⁴⁵ WSC to Auchinleck, May 10; reply, May 19, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 275f.

⁴⁶ Auchinleck to WSC, May 19, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 276f.

⁴⁷ WSC to Auchinleck, May 20, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 277.

⁴⁸ Harvey diary, May 6, 1942. Cadogan diary, May 7, 1942

⁴⁹ War cabinet, May 21, 1942, 5:30 P.M (CAB.65/

⁵⁰ Molotov to Stalin, Russian, May 21, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 221ff).

⁵¹ King George VI to Queen Mary, May 31, 339f. Brooke diary, unpublished, May 22, 1942.

⁵² Minutes of Anglo-Soviet Conference at Churchill's Home, Russian, May 22, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 223ff).

⁵³ Minutes of Anglo-Soviet Conference at Churchill's Home, Russian, May 22 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 223ff). For a British record, '22 May 1942, 11 A.M., Operations on the Continent, 1942–43,' enclosed in WSC to FDR, May 28: cf. Gilbert, vol. vii, 111.

⁵⁴ Note by Hopkins on Molotov's after-dinner talk with FDR, May 29, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

⁵⁵ WSC to Stalin, May 23, 1942 (PREM.3/399/6).

⁵⁶ Molotov to Stalin, Russian, May 23, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 23 of).

⁵⁷ Cadogan diary, May 23, 1942.

⁵⁸ Cadogan diary, May 25; Winant to FDR, Jun 3 (FDR Libr., PSF, folder 'Winant'); Harvey diary, May 23–25, 1942. See too Winant's remarks quoted in Henry Wallace diary, Feb 12, 1943.

⁵⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, May 24, 1942.

⁶⁰ Note on a conversation between Molotov and Eden, Russian, May 25, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 232).

⁶¹ Note on a conversation between Molotov and Eden, Russian, May 25 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 232). Eden's record reads: 'We spoke of progress of war & told them of Libya and our production & other matters. Molotov drew plans of the most anxious sectors of the front for Russia, Leningrad, Moscow & Kharkov. We also spoke of Treaty when M said that he had received authority to sign. We discussed drafts together. Winston talked American to them, rather too much I thought. Anyway, I put in that our war production was still greater than theirs, for Winston spoke almost as tho' we were doing scarcely anything.' Eden diary, manuscript, May 25, 1942.

⁶² Brooke diary, unpublished, May 26, 1942. The embassy's guests were WSC, Eden, Attlee, Cripps, Lyttelton, Evatt (the Australian representative), Bevin, Anderson, and the chiefs of staff.

⁶³ Eden diary, manuscript, May 26, 1942.

⁶⁴ Martin diary, May 26, 1942. Orme 'Moley' Sargent sent a hand-written note round to Winant with the final treaty text: 'It is to be signed at 5:30 P.M. at the F.O.' (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 7, file 'Anglo-Russian Relations'). For the text of the political and military treaties, see CAB.66/24.

⁶⁵ Amery diary, May 26; Cadogan diary, May 26; Harvey diary, May 26, 1942: 'Bouquets, bouquets all round!.'

⁶⁶ WSC to Smuts, drafted May 27, sent as T.775/2 on May 28, 1942 (PREM.3/158/6).

⁶⁷ Memo by 'W R' on Molotov's visit, Jun 10 (Hoover Libr., Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart papers, box 5, file: 'World War II, 1942.')

⁶⁸ Halifax secret diary, May 29, 1942.

⁶⁹ FDR to WSC, No. 152, May 31 (FDR Libr., Map Room files); as Warren F Kimball notes in 'Churchill and Roosevelt: The Personal Equation,' in *Prologue*, Washington DC, Fall 1974, 179, FDR often used *BOLERO*, the codeword for the pre-invasion build-up, to refer to the invasion.

⁷⁰ Churchill, vol. iv, 305.

⁷¹ Quoted in the minutes of the Jul 22, 1942 meeting.

⁷² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Apr 18, 1942 (CAB.69/4) and COS(4)103(O) Final; and Philip Ziegler, Mountbatten, chapter 14.

⁷³ COS (42) 36(O), May 5 (CAB.79/56); see Mountbatten's formal history of The Dieppe Raid, Oct 15, 1942, CAB.98/22.

⁷⁴ COS 166th mtg, Jun 1 (extract in AIR.19/187); WSC aproved the proposals on May 30, 1942.

⁷⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 23, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, MS, 3/A/v, 401); *Turn of the Tide*, 372f.

⁷⁶ Manuscript note by WSC, May 26, 1942, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vii, 112.

⁷⁷ Chiefs of staff meeting, May 27, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

⁷⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 27, Jun 5, 8, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, 3/A/v, 403, 407).

⁷⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, 3/A/v, 403).

⁸⁰ Minutes of meeting between WSC, Hopkins, Cherwell, Marshall, Nye, Mountbatten, Apr 11 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins in London, Apr 1942').

⁸¹ WSC to chiefs of staff, minute D.91/2, May [June?] 1. He appears to have sent the identical text as D.106/2 on Jun 1; Gilbert quotes both without comment in vol. vii, 100f and 115, from the same file in Churchill papers.

⁸² Pound to Director of Plans, May 27 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/21).

⁸³ Memorandum in First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/22a.

⁸⁴ Joint Planning Staff, report, 'Operation JUPITER,' Jun 5 (CAB.79/21).

⁸⁵ Chiefs of staff meeting, Jun 8, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

⁸⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 7, 1942; Eden, *Reckoning*, 331.

⁸⁷ Journal of James E Akins, of the freighter *Carlton*, written in German prison camp; quoted in Irving, PQ.17, 29. For PQ.16 see too Graeme Ogden, *My Sea Lady – the Story of HMS Lady Magdeleine* (London, 1963).

⁸⁸ German naval staff war diary, May 27, 1942.

⁸⁹ WSC to FDR, May 27; War cabinet, Jun 1 (CAB.65/30); PM's card, Jun 1, 2, 1942.

⁹⁰ JIC report, 'The possible course of the Russian Campaign and its Implications,' Jun 1, 1942 (CAB.79/21).

⁹¹ chiefs of staff meeting, Jun 1, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

⁹² FDR to WSC, Jun 1, 1942.

⁹³ WSC to chiefs of staff, Jun 5, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 116.

⁹⁴ Winant to FDR, Jun 3, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, folder 'Winant').

⁹⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jun 11, 1942.

21: ONE THOUSAND BOMBERS

¹ WSC at chiefs of staff meeting, 5:30 P.M., May 27, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

² Frantisek Moravec, *Master of Spies* (London, 1981), 192.

³ Eden to WSC, Feb 23, Apr 5, 7, 1942 (FO.954/24).

⁴ WSC to Selborne and Morton, M.209/2, May 27, 1942 (CAB.120/827).

⁵ Ray R Cowdery, *Reinhard Heydrich: Assassination!* (Lakeville, USA, 1994).

⁶ Tábor's diary, Jun 15, 1942 (Hoover Libr., Edouard Tábor'sky papers, box 2).

⁷ Benes to WSC, Jun 15, 1942 (Hoover Libr., Edouard Tábor'sky papers, box 6).

⁸ Harris to WSC, Jun 15, 1942 (Bomber Command papers, AIR.14/3507).

⁹ Portal to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942 (AIR.8/424).

¹⁰ Minutes by Portal, Jun 17, and Sinclair, Jun 18, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

¹¹ F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed). *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 4.

¹² Brooke diary, unpublished, May 25–26, 1942. For part of the unsent telegram, see Churchill, vol. iv, 278f. GCHQ plucked the full text from his files in 1960: it is in CAB.163/10.

¹³ Winant to FDR, Jun 3, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, folder 'Winant.')

¹⁴ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 29, 1942.

¹⁵ Auchinleck and Tedder to WSC, Jun 1, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 320f.

¹⁶ CX/MSS/1036/T16. PzArmee Ia report dated May 31, 9 pm; and CX/MSS/1036/T29, Kesselring order, Jun 2, 1942. These intercepts were passed as MK/6181 to Auchinleck (HW.1/614).

¹⁷ CX/MSS/1037/T12 (*ibid.*).

¹⁸ CX/MSS/1037/T6, read by WSC June 2, 1942 (HW.1/615).

¹⁹ First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/13.

²⁰ Tovey wrote to Pound on Jun 7, 1942, protesting at the 'gross understatement' of his remarks in the minutes (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/22a).

²¹ WSC to AV Alexander, minute M.227/2, Jun 4, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

²² WSC to AV Alexander, Jun 6, 1942 (PREM.3/324/17).

²³ Roskill, *Churchill and the Admirals*, 130.

²⁴ Pound to Alexander, Jun 8, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

²⁵ WSC minute, Jun 9 (PREM.3/478/4); PM's card, Jun 9, 1942.

²⁶ AV Alexander diary, Jun 10–21, entry for Jun 10, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge: AV Alexander's papers, 6/1).

²⁷ J Robertson (Treasury) to Bridges, May 21; enclosing Singleton's report, DO (42) 48, May 20, 1942, 'The Bombing of Germany' (CAB.121/1).

²⁸ COS (42) 171(O), Jun 16, 1942, 'The Bombing of Germany' (CAB.121/1).

²⁹ Lord Hankey diary, May 22, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge).

³⁰ JSM Washington to COS London, May 20, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³¹ Harris to WSC May 13, 1942 (Bomber Command papers, AIR.14/3507).

³² Harris to WSC, May 30, 1942 (Bomber Command papers, AIR.14/3507).

³³ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, May 29, 1942 (CAB.69/4).

³⁴ Arnold diary, May 26, 1942.

³⁵ Chequers register, May 29–Jun 1, 1942; and 'Mr Winant's Visits to Chequers,' Extracts from Chequers Visitors' Book (FDR Library, John G Winant papers, box 189, 'Chequers').

³⁶ Arnold diary, May 30, 1942.

³⁷ Hopkins memo, May 30, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136); Sherwood, *op. cit.*, 582.

³⁸ Cadogan diary, Jun 1, 1942.

³⁹ Arnold diary, May 27, 1942.

⁴⁰ WSC to FDR, Jun 1, 1942.

⁴¹ WSC to Portal, M.221/2, Jun 2, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁴² Portal to WSC, Jun 3, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁴³ Sinclair to Vice-CAS, Jun 12, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁴⁴ Eden to Sinclair, Jun 9, 1942 (AIR.19/187).

⁴⁵ Portal to WSC Jun 17, 1942 (AIR.19/187). The eight targets included Norsk Hydro's aluminium plant in Norway, a diesel engine factory in Copenhagen, the Rotterdam port area, the Phillips work at Eindhoven, and industrial plants in Belgium.

⁴⁶ WSC to FDR, Jun 7, 1942.

⁴⁷ Hinsley, vol. iii, part i (London, 1983), 269.

⁴⁸ Churchill, vol. iv, 323.

⁴⁹ Chinese embassy transcript of the meeting in PREM.3/158/6; PM's card, Jun 3, 1942.

⁵⁰ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*.

⁵¹ Office of War Information, Bureau of Intelligence, 'Anti-British Feeling in the United States,' Jul 10, 1942 (NA, RG.84, Records Maintained by Ambassador John G Winant, 1938-48, box 5, file 'Morale/Public Opinion'); and Cecil King diary, Jun 3, 1942

⁵² Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 7, 1942; Eden, *Reckoning*, 331 wrongly dates this Jun 4.

⁵³ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 9, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 325.

⁵⁴ Eden diary, Jun 9, 1942; Eden, *Reckoning*, 330.

⁵⁵ Harvey diary, Jun 10, 1942.

⁵⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 9, 1942.

⁵⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 9, 1942.

⁵⁸ Molotov to Stalin, in Russian, Jun 10, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 244ff; there seems to be no British official transcript.

⁵⁹ Chiefs of staff 'aide-mémoire,' Jun 10, 1942 (CAB.120/684).

⁶⁰ Cadogan diary, Jan 11, 1943.

⁶¹ Of interest for the routing of these secret 'phone jobs': the notification went as Cable No. 2802 from London (Mr Grenwell) to MIS in Washington, who were to notify the White House (NA, RG.319, Records of the Army Staff, IRR file X814 6666, 'Winston Churchill').

⁶² Harris to WSC, Jun 5, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁶³ Harris to WSC, Jun 8, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁶⁴ A V Alexander diary, Jun 20, 1942.

⁶⁵ Harris to WSC, Jun 17, 1942 (Bomber Command papers, AIR.14/3507).

⁶⁶ WSC to A V Alexander, Pound, Ismay, M.257/2, Jun 15, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁶⁷ Auchinleck to WSC, Jun 10, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 326–7.

⁶⁸ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 11, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 327.

⁶⁹ Auchinleck to WSC, Jun 11, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 327.

⁷⁰ Brooke diary, Jun 14, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 410).

⁷¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 17, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/5; and MS, 3/A/v, 387); Casey's important diary is now in the National Library of Australia, Canberra.

⁷² Casey to WSC, Jun 14, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 328f.

⁷³ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 14, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 331.

⁷⁴ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 14, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 331.

⁷⁵ Auchinleck to WSC, Jun 15: Churchill, vol. iv, 331; Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 15; Amery diary, Jun 15, 1942.

⁷⁶ WSC to A V Alexander, Pound, and Ismay, M.261/2, Jun 16, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁷⁷ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 15, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 332.

⁷⁸ John Martin to Sir Alexander Hardinge, Jun 13, 1942 (PREM.3/459).

⁷⁹ Brooke diary, Jun 13, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 410).

⁸⁰ WSC personal minute to Ismay and chiefs of staff, D.121/2, Jun 15, 1942, COS (42) 69(O); Churchill, vol. iv, 316ff; and comments in the papers of Capt. Robert M Ellis, who was from Apr 1942 to Sep 1943 Assistant Chief of Combined Operations at the Admiralty.

⁸¹ Hassett diary, Jun 17–18, 1942. He was a White House presidential secretary (FDR Libr., William D Hassett papers).

⁸² Cecil King diary, Jun 19, 1942.

⁸³ WSC to the king, Jun 16, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 337.

⁸⁴ Martin diary, Jun 17, 1942. The PM's party consisted of Brooke, Ismay, Brigadier G M Stewart (director of plans), Martin, Thompson, Kinna, Sir Charles Wilson, and Sawyers the valet. Martin to Cdr. the Hon R D Coleridge, Jun 25, 1942 (CAB.122/586).

⁸⁵ C R Thompson, MS (Thompson papers); and Jacob diary, Jun 18–25, 1942 (Churchill college, JACB.1/14).

⁸⁶ War cabinet Office to Joint Staff Mission, Jun 17, 1942 (CAB.122/586).

⁸⁷ Halifax secret diary, Jun 14, 1942.

⁸⁸ Stimson diary, Jun 17, 1942.

⁸⁹ Hopkins to Clementine Churchill, Jun 24, 1942 (Hopkins papers, microfilm 11).

⁹⁰ Stimson diary, Jun 19, 1942.

⁹¹ Stimson diary, Jun 19; and see Minutes of CCS meeting, Jun 19, 1942, 12:30 P.M. in Jacob papers (Churchill college, JACB.1/14).

⁹² Marshall to FDR, Jun 19, 1942, in *The Conferences at Washington, 1941–1942, and Casablanca, 1943* (Washington, 1968).

⁹³ Hassett diary, Jun 20, 1942.

⁹⁴ Stimson diary, Jun 20, 1942.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Jun 21, 1942.

⁹⁶ Schedule in PREM.10/1.

⁹⁷ Hassett diary, Jun 19, 1942; Martin's diary records that Jimmy Roosevelt came to lunch, then they took 'tea' – in quotation marks – with Miss DelaNo.

⁹⁸ Hassett diary, Jun 19, 1942.

⁹⁹ Ismay, 254; and see WSC's version in Churchill, vol. iv, 339.

¹⁰⁰ WSC to Hopkins, T.234/2, Feb 27, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a); for a different summary of this telegram, see *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

¹⁰¹ W A Akers to Cherwell, Jun 22, 1942 (Cherwell papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'). We found these papers in 1964 in a filing cabinet in the basement of Nuffield College Library, in a red leather deed-box which had once been locked, but broken open; the file has since been screened by British government 'weederers.' On Heisenberg see David Irving, *The Virus House* (London, 1967), and more recently Thomas Powers, *Heisenberg's War* (New York, 1993). Revealing transcripts of Heisenberg's conversations in British captivity are in WO.208/5019; in the NA: RG.77, Manhattan Project, Entry 22, The Farm Hall Transcripts.

¹⁰² Anderson to WSC, Jul 30, 1942 (PREM.3/139/8a); 'The primary reason for this proposal,' Anderson repeated to WSC on Jan 11, 1943, 'was the discovery that the full-scale production plant would have to be on such a scale as to bring an intolerable dislocation to our war effort if erected in this country. It was also felt, however, that a combined effort was more likely to bring quick results.'

¹⁰³ Anderson to WSC, Jul 30, 1942 (PREM.3/139/8a; PREM.3/139/

8a).

¹⁰⁴ Hassett diary, Jun 20, 1942.

¹⁰⁵ Hassett diary, Jun 20, 1942.

¹⁰⁶ Hassett diary, Jun 20, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ Ismay to Spears, Jul 21, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Gen. Sir E L Spears papers). Ismay added that the trip to the USA was 'curtailed by the news of Tobruk.'

¹⁰⁸ C to Hollis for WSC, C/9799, Jun 19, 1942 (HW.1/658). Some intercepts were abstracted for WSC, Jun 28, 1942.

¹⁰⁹ C to Hollis for WSC, C/9804, Jun 20, 1942 (HW.1/659). The actual intercept was abstracted for WSC, Jun 28, 1942.

¹¹⁰ WSC memo for FDR, secret, Jun 20, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 342f.

¹¹¹ Brooke MS, 3/A/v, 426.

¹¹² Combined Chiefs of Staff meeting, Jun 20, 1942. *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

¹¹³ John Martin letter home, Jun 26–27; Stimson diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹¹⁴ Kesselring signal, Jun 20, 3 p.m., intercepted as CX/MSS/1102/T23, June 20, 8:56 p.m.; summarised in C to Hollis for WSC, C/9810, Jun 21, 1942 (HW.1/660). Some intercepts were abstracted for WSC, Jun 28, 1942.

¹¹⁵ Sherwood to Beaverbrook, undated (Beaverbrook papers, C.175); Halifax secret diary, May 29, 1942.

¹¹⁶ Hopkins to Clementine Churchill, Jun 24, 1942 (Hopkins papers, microfilm 11).

¹¹⁷ The news had broken in London at 4:15 P.M., and was announced on the BBC's six P.M. bulletin: Tobruk had surrendered with 25,000 men 'and many generals.' Nicolson diary, Jun 21, 1942. Ismay, *op. cit.*, 254–5.

¹¹⁸ Churchill, vol. iv, 343.

¹¹⁹ Henry Wallace diary, Jul 28, 1942.

¹²⁰ WSC's account: Churchill, vol. iv, 344. Marshal told Stimson. 'The news of Tobruk's fall came in while they were up there,' wrote Stimson, 'and of course that was a terrific blow to the Prime Minister and to all the British.' – Stimson diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹²¹ Stimson diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹²² Stimson diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹²³ Ismay's note is reproduced in Churchill, vol. iv, 344f.

¹²⁴ Harvey diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹²⁵ PM's card, and Jacob diary, Jun 22, 1942: 'Eisenhower . . . was delighted with his interview with the Prime Minister and expressed astonishment at the width of his technical and military knowledge.' Brooke believed he first met Eisenhower on Jul 1, 1942 in London. Unimpressed, Brooke would write: 'If I had been told then of the future that lay in front of him I should have refused to believe it.' Brooke MS (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/v, 432). For Eisenhower's recollections, see *Crusade in Europe* (London, 1948), 58. As for Mark Clark, Patton noted, he had 'made a big impression on the prime minister.' Gen. George S Patton, diary, Oct 21, 1942, in Martin Blumenson (ed.), *The Patton papers*.

¹²⁶ Jacob diary, Jun 21, 1942.

¹²⁷ Notes of a meeting between WSC and FDR, Jun 21, 1942 (Churchill college, Jacob papers, JACB.1/14).

¹²⁸ Notes of meeting between WSC and FDR, Jun 21, 1942 11:30 p.m (Churchill college, Jacob papers, JACB.1/14).

¹²⁹ Stimson diary, Jun 22, 1942.

¹³⁰ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 22, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 346; Churchill college, Jacob papers (JACB.1/14).

¹³¹ Hassett diary, Jun 20–24, 1942.

¹³² G C Marshall to FDR, Jun 23, 1942 *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

¹³³ *Plain Dealer*, Cleveland (Ohio), Jun 22, 1942.

¹³⁴ Office of War Information, Bureau of Intelligence, 'Anti-British Feeling in the United States,' Jul 10, 1942 (NA, RG.84, Records Maintained by Ambassador John G Winant, 1938–48, box 5, file 'Morale/Public Opinion').

¹³⁵ Hansard, *House of Lords Debates*, Jun 9, 1942, vol. 123, col. 201.

¹³⁶ Jewish Telegraphic Agency release, Aug 30, 1942; and note by J Martin on visit by Namier, Sep 1, 1942 (PREM.4.52/3).

¹³⁷ Weizmann to WSC, Jun 25, 1942 (Weizmann Archives, Rehovot, Israel: Chaim Weizmann papers).

¹³⁸ WSC was said to have left the USA before it arrived; his private secretary John Martin sent it to Weizmann's deputy Prof. L B Namier on Aug 7, commenting that Sir James Grigg had made a statement in the House on Aug 6, 1942, and that Weizmann would probably expect no answer. The official files reveal that wherever possible Churchill had Martin intercept and answer letters from Weizmann and Namier.

- ¹³⁹ Minutes by Roger Allen and A Randall, Aug 19, 1942 (FO.371/30917).
- ¹⁴⁰ F K Roberts to Godfrey Liss, Min of Inf., Aug 21, 1942 (*ibid.*).
- ¹⁴¹ Martin to WSC, Oct 29; and see CThornley to Martin, Nov 9, 1943 (PREM.4/52/3).
- ¹⁴² Martin to Namier, Mar 28, 1943 (PREM.4.52/3).
- ¹⁴³ Halifax secret diary, Dec 5, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A7.8.3).
- ¹⁴⁴ Morgenthau diary, Nov 26, 1941 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 466, 1020).
- ¹⁴⁵ See FDR's remarks to Gen. Noguès, Jan 17, 1943, in *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968), 608.
- ¹⁴⁶ See *e.g.*, Postal & Telegraphic Censorship, 'Report on Jewry,' Jan 22; Oct 21, 1942; and Feb 9, 1943 (213/953).
- ¹⁴⁷ Halifax diary, Oct 1, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁸ Halifax secret diary, Jan 29, Jul 26, Sep 13, Oct 1, 1942; Jan 19, 27, 1943.
- ¹⁴⁹ Morgenthau diary, Jul 3, 1942.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Jul 7, 1942.
- ¹⁵¹ Grace Tully to Felix Frankfurter, Jul 17, 1942 (Library of Congress, Felix Frankfurter papers, box 98, 'Roosevelt').
- ¹⁵² Eden to WSC, Mar 3, 1943 (PREM.4.52/3).
- ¹⁵³ WSC to Eden, M.139/3, Mar 9, 1943 (PREM.4.52/3).

22: THE BLAME FOR TOBRUK

- ¹ Stimson diary, Jun 22, 1942.
- ² John Spurling to Lieut. Col. W Stirling, Apr 27, 1942 (CAB.121/284).
- ³ Table Talk, Jun 28, 1942, midday. Henry Picker (ed.), *Hitlers Tischgespräche* (Stuttgart, 163), 419; David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox*, 152, 195, 213, Rommel's intelligence officer Hans Behrendt confirmed to us, 'We knew them as the Good Source.' Reference to these Cairo intercepts will be found in Walther Hewel's ledger of items shown to Hitler, Feb 21 (NA microfilm T120, roll 1073) and the German naval staff's war diary, Apr 30, 1942. Originals of the Fellers dispatches from Cairo are in Gen. Marshall's daily log, in NA, RG.218, file 'CCS 311.3 (5 May 1942).'
- ⁴ Signal to *Fliegerführer Afrika*, Ic (Intelligence), May 29, intercept CX/MSS/1027/T17, May 30, 1942 (HW.1/641).
- ⁵ Portal to WSC, Jun 2; WSC minute, Jun 4, 1942 (HW.1/641).

⁶ CX/MSS/1037/T6, read by WSC June 2, 1942 (HW.1/615). A pencil note on WSC's letter reads: 'See XG 363 to Washington, 313 from Washington 3.6.42'; this implies that the content of the decrypt was immediately brought to the American authorities' attention.

⁷ CX/MSS/1062/T17, read by WSC June 10, 1942 (HW.1/636).

⁸ C's covering letter C/9723, Jun 10, 1942, in this file is only a Xerox copy, the original having been withdrawn Oct 18, 1993 under section 3(4) of Public Records Act, 1958.

⁹ C to WSC, C/9743, Jun 12, 1943 (HW.1/641).

¹⁰ CX/MSS/1069/T19, read by WSC June 13, 1942 (HW.1/643).

¹¹ C to Portal, C/9744, Jun 12, 1942 (HW.1/642).

¹² C to WSC, C/9761, Jun 12, 1943 (HW.1/646).

¹³ C to Portal, C/9782, Jun 16, 1942 (HW.1/653).

¹⁴ C to WSC, C/9779, Jun 16, 1942 (HW.1/652). C considered that the Germans had succeeded in photographing the American cypher book.

¹⁵ *Panzerarmee Afrika* signal, Jun 23, intercepted as CX/MSS/1122/T9, translated Jun 26, with WSC's minute, Jun 27; C to WSC, Jun 29, 1942 (HW.1/676).

¹⁶ *Panzerarmee Afrika* signal, Jun 23, intercepted as CX/MSS/1122/T9, translated Jun 26, with WSC's minute, Jun 27; C to WSC, C/9761, Jun 29, 1942 (HW.1/676).

¹⁷ David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox*, 195.

¹⁸ David Irving, *The Trail of the Fox*, 213. For more on 'the Cairo débâcle' see Geoffrey [Kendrick?] to 'John', Jul 31, 1942 (HW.14/47).

¹⁹ GC&CS, Hut 3, to ACAS(I), Jun 28, 1942 (HW.1/674).

²⁰ Draft signal by C to AOC-in-C Middle East; Gp Capt. F W Winterbotham to Hut 3, undated (HW.1/674). Brereton was to discuss the messages with nobody whatsoever other than authorised British officers. 'Any document falling into enemy hands or any message enemy might intercept or any word that might be revealed by a Prisoner of War or any ill-considered action based on information leading to suspicion in enemy mind would cause immediate cessation of source which would vitally affect conduct of war on all fronts.'

²¹ Martin's diary notes only, "P.M. had various conferences and left in evening. . ."

²² PM's card. Doris Castleroose to WSC, Jun 23, 1942; the letter arrived after WSC left, and Hopkins snaffled it (Hopkins papers, box 136, 'Churchill and family.')

²³ Conclusions of a meeting held at the White House, at 2:45 P.M., Jun 23, 1942 (Churchill college, Jacob papers, JACB.1/14).

²⁴ Churchill, vol. iv, 347; Inspection Programme, Camp Jackson, South Carolina (Churchill college, Jacob papers, JACB.1/14).

²⁵ WSC to Stimson, Jun 25, 1942.

²⁶ Stimson diary, Jun 23–5, 1942.

²⁷ Berle memo, Jun 30, 1942 (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers, 'diary').

²⁸ Halifax diary, 'July 24' [should be Jun 24], 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

²⁹ Butcher diary, p.A.175, Jan 20, 1943, unsealed.

³⁰ Halifax Tel. No. 133 to FO, Jan 7, 1943 (FO.371/34184). Eden discussed it with WSC and Beaverbrook, but they discouraged further action.

³¹ Auchinleck to WSC, Jun 24, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 348.

³² Brooke to WSC, Jun 25; Minutes of CCS meeting, Jun 25, 1942, 9:30 A.M. 1942 (Churchill college, Jacob papers, JACB.1/14).

³³ WSC to Auchinleck, Jun 25, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 349.

³⁴ PM's card. Mackenzie King diary, Jun 23, 1942. Those present included Lord Halifax, Field Marshal Dill, Walter Nash, New Zealand; Sir Girja S Bajpai, India; Sir Owen Nixon, Australia; and Mr Close, South Africa.

³⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Jun 23, 1942.

³⁶ Frank McNaughton, memo to James McConaughty, Jun 25, 1942, on WSC's remarks to Congressional leaders (Harry S Truman Library, Frank McNaughton papers).

³⁷ Letter to WSC, Jun 19, 1942 (FBI Archives, Washington DC: Classified File, 'Winston Churchill').

³⁸ Intercepted letters dated Jul 1 and 6, 1942, in Postal & Telegraph Censorship Report on the USA, No. 1, Sep 11, 1942 (FO.371/30656, 'United States, 1942').

³⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 27, 1942.

⁴⁰ John Martin letter home, Sep 20, 1942: 'The PM . . . has been caught in this way.' On Mar 24, 1943, Churchill opened his minute on an interview with the American Archbishop Spellman, 'The Archbishop answered satisfactorily the question "Are you a Short-Snorter?" and produced his credentials, which were in due form' (4/84/2a).

⁴¹ Brooke recorded in an unpublished segment of his diary for Jul 13, 1942 that a very disturbed telegram was received that day from Smuts about

the court of inquiry. 'Eden then suggested that I should wire off to Wilson that he should cook his court of inquiry to ensure this S A commander should be exonerated!' Brooke told Eden that the court of inquiry 'must report true verdict,' but it could be kept secret by the government and 'dealt with as they thought best' (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a)

⁴² Smuts to WSC, Jun 30, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

⁴³ Harvey diary, Jul 2, 1942.

⁴⁴ Cadogan diary, Jun 29, 1942; Harvey diary, Jun 29, 1942.

⁴⁵ C to WSC, Jun 28, 1942, initialled 'WSC, 30.vi.' enclosing CX/MSS/1118/T13, 1110/T23, 1110/T19, 1107/T28, 1104/T21, and others (HW.1/672).

⁴⁶ PM's card, Jun 29–30, 1942.

⁴⁷ Hughes-Hallett, unpublished MS, 155, quoted by Ziegler, *op.cit.*, 189; DEFE.2/551, fol.6. Field Marshal B M Montgomery, *Memoirs* (London, 1956), 75f.

⁴⁸ Chiefs of staff meeting, Jun 1, 1942 (CAB.79/56); J R M Butler, *Grand Strategy*, vol. iii, 621.

⁴⁹ WSC to chiefs of staff, Jun 8, 1942, Gilbert, vol. vii, 117; chiefs of staff meeting, Jun 8, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

⁵⁰ War cabinet, Jun 11, 1942, confidential annex (CAB.65/30); Cecil King diary, Jul 1, 1942.

⁵¹ DEFE.2/551, fol.7.

⁵² Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 'Operation JUBILEE: The Place of the Dieppe Raid in History,' lecture on Sep 28, 1973 in Toronto, published in the Royal United Services Institution *Journal*, March 1974, 25ff. Hughes Hallett, *op.cit.*, 165f.; Ziegler, *op.cit.*, 190.

⁵³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jun 30, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vi, 429f).

⁵⁴ Martin diary, Jul 1; WSC to Auchinleck, Jul 1, 1942 (CAB.163/10).

⁵⁵ Nicolson diary, Jul 2, 1942.

⁵⁶ Cecil King diary Jul 1–3, 1942: 'So Churchill wins one more meaningless parliamentary victory.'

⁵⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 2, 1942.

⁵⁸ Sir Hugh Linstead (Conservative MP for Putney, 1942–64), Macmorren Lecture: 'The Infinite Adventure of Governing Men,' Oct 24, 1976, in *The Pharmaceutical Journal*, Dec 25, 1976.

⁵⁹ Ismay to Spears, Jul 21, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Gen. Sir E L Spears papers).

⁶⁰ GC&CS intercept of Alba's Tel. No. 186, to Madrid, Jul 3, 1942 (HW. 1/710).

⁶¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 2. Or as Cadogan (diary, Jul 3) had it: 'You think I would be like a fat old bluebottle on a cowpat'; Harvey diary, Jul 3, 5, 1942.

⁶² COS meeting, (42) 195th, Jul 2; COS(W) 215 to C-in-C, Mediterranean, repeated to JSM, Washington, Jul 2, 1942, 14:20 GMT (CAB. 121/284).

⁶³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 3, 1942.

⁶⁴ Amery diary, Jul 3, 1942.

⁶⁵ Brooke MS (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 433).

⁶⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 3, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 432f).

⁶⁷ Martin diary, Jul 4, 1942.

23: THE KNIGHT'S MOVE

¹ Capt. Henry Denham to admiralty, Jun 18, reporting intercepted signal of the German Flottenchef, Jun 14; quoted in Irving, PQ. 17, 36; cf. Tovey, Despatch, Jan 3, 1943, published in *London Gazette*, Oct 17, 1950.

² CX/MSS/1146/T4, /T8 and /T13, Jul 2; the summary is endorsed to C's secretary Miss Pettigrew – the model for 'Miss Money Penny' in the James Bond stories – '1.30 A.M. (à la P.M.). Attached have been taken over by "C" to P.M. & returned. They will probably be required for BONIFACE' (WSC required 24-hour clock times to be amended to 'P.M.' and 'A.M.'). There is a slip reading 'Miss Pettigrew. 2 A.M. Attached [were] read over to "C" whilst in PM's office,' attached to the intercepts 'read over' – a planned attack by ten Ju 88s on Alamein on Jul 2, congratulations from Jeschonnek to *Fliegerführer Afrika* Hoffmann von Waldau on his *Ritterkreuz*, and complaints about RAF activity (HW. 1/692).

³ Irving, PQ. 17, 100f. It was not until Jul 6 that WSC read and initialled C's file C/9937 containing the GC&CS Naval Section's 'Naval headlines No. 366,' issued at 11 a.m. the day before. This summarised that Adm. Ciliax, the German fleet commander, had arrived in Alta fjord in *Tirpitz* at 7 A.M. on Jul 4, joining *Scheer*, 5 destroyers and an oiler. The U-boats had been instructed on Jul 3 to keep shadowing the convoy; one of them had briefly sighted Hamilton's cruisers by 2 p.m. on Jul 3; at 9:30 a.m. on Jul 4 all U-boats were ordered to treat his squadron as their main target if met

(HW.1/701). WSC probably received 'rushes' of each intercept by landline earlier than Jul 5, as soon as it was translated.

⁴ Pound to Cunningham, Aug 24, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

⁵ WSC to Pound, Jul 13 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14). This did not identify the precise signal from Tovey that WSC objected to. The signals concerned are however clearly admiralty to Hamilton, Jul 4, 12:30 P.M., and Tovey to Hamilton, 3:12 P.M. (Signals appendix to Hamilton's preliminary report, Jul 6, 1942; Tovey, *Despatch*, and London signal log. Irving, PQ.17, 101ff). It unlikely that WSC should have bothered himself with such minutiae, *unless he had originated the admiralty signal himself*.

⁶ CX/MSS/1153/T.16. *Fliegerführer Lofoten* to *Luftflotte 5* at Kemi, Jul 4, 1942, 2:15 P.M.: 'A/c torpedo attack with 23 He 111 of I/KG.26. Probable time of attack from 6 P.M.' Intercept telexed to London at 7:10 P.M.; shown to WSC the next day (HW.1/700).

⁷ GC&CS Naval Section 'Naval Headlines No. 364,' datelined 11 a.m., Jul 3, 1942; initialled by WSC, Jul 4 (HW.1/699).

⁸ Author's interviews of Adm Sir N E Denning, Lord Justice Winn, Capt. G R G Allen (WSC's naval ghost-writer), Adm E L S King, Rear Adm E J P Brind, Vice Adm Sir Henry Moore, Rear Adm H B Rawlings, in 1963.

⁹ Halifax diary, Jul 7, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13). Cadogan had written in his private diary on Nov 11, 1941: 'Long discussion on Ethiopia, during which I – like Pound – went actually to sleep, I think' (Churchill college, Cadogan papers).

¹⁰ A V Alexander to WSC, Jun 28, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14). On Jul 8 Alexander proposed Adm. Kennedy-Purvis.

¹¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 5, 1942. He added, 'I know little of him [Tovey] but it always seemed to me a waste to send Cunningham to America.

¹² Amery diary, Jul 6, 1942.

¹³ Office of War Information report, 'Anti-British Feeling in the United States,' Jul 10, 1942 (Federal Records Center, John G Winant papers, box 5).

¹⁴ Ismay, *op. cit.*, 259; Dwight D Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (London, 1948), 78f; hereafter: Eisenhower.

¹⁵ WSC to chiefs of staff, D.125/2, Jul 5, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14). Although WSC claimed credit for the idea for a descent on North-West Africa, Brooke hotly argued that it had originated with the chiefs of staff. Sir James Grigg, interviewed by Sir Arthur Bryant (Alanbrooke papers, 12/xi/1/4).

¹⁶ Stimson diary, Jul 10, 1942.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jul 12; the nonchalant memorandum by Marshall, King and Arnold, 'Pacific Operations,' Jul 12, 1942, under-estimated the task that faced them in that theatre (Stimson papers).

¹⁸ Stimson diary, Jul 12, 1942.

¹⁹ Stimson diary, Jul 13, 1942.

²⁰ WSC to FDR, Jul 14, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

²¹ Stimson diary, Jul 15, 1942.

²² Instructions to Marshall and King for the London conference, Jul 15, 1942, draft, not adopted (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 303, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

²³ Instructions to Hopkins, Marshall, and King for the London conference, signed original, Jul 16, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 303, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

²⁴ Dill to WSC, JSM.300, Jul 15; and reply, Jul 16, 1942 (CAB.120/528).

²⁵ Stimson diary, Jul 16, 1942.

²⁶ War cabinet, Jun 10, 1942, confidential annex (CAB.65/30).

²⁷ WSC to chiefs of staff, Jun 13, 1942, in Gilbert, vol. vii, 121.

²⁸ Cadogan diary, Jul 7, 1942.

²⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vi, 438).

³⁰ H M King George VI diary, Jul 7, 1942.

³¹ Halifax secret diary, Jul 15, 1942.

³² Halifax diary and secret diary, Jul 9, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10); PM's card shows him lunching with Halifax, dining with the Edens at the Savoy. On May 12, 1943 he recalled having found Churchill very tired and nerve strained (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

³³ Butcher diary, 33, Jul 9, 1942, unsealed.

³⁴ Harris to WSC, Jul 8, 1942 (Bomber Command papers, AIR.14/3507).

³⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 8, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 437).

³⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 10, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vi, 439). The answer was that the Middle East command covered Somaliland, Abyssinia, Palestine, Lebanon, Greece, Crete, Iraq, and Iran as well as the western desert.

³⁷ Chiefs of staff meetings, Jul 20, 21, 27, 1942 (CAB.79/56).

³⁸ Mountbatten, interviewed on BBC television, Aug 19, 1972; Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 23.

³⁹ Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 'Operation JUBILEE: The Place of the Dieppe Raid in History,' lecture on Sep 28, 1973 in Toronto, published in the Royal United Services Institution *Journal*, March 1974, 25ff. During Jul 1942 Mountbatten figures on the PM's card only on Jul 23, during the Marshall–Hopkins conferences; Dieppe was not discussed.

⁴⁰ Mountbatten to Ismay, Aug 29, 1950 (Kings College London, Sir Hastings Ismay papers, II/3/260/1).

⁴¹ GC&CS Naval Section Naval headlines No. 369, Jul 8; C to WSC, C/9972, Jul 8, 1942 (HW.1/710).

⁴² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jul 10, 1942, six P.M (CAB.69/4).

⁴³ Halifax diary, Jul 23, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

⁴⁴ WSC to Pound, Jul 13 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁴⁵ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jul 13, ten P.M (CAB.69/4); Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 13, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 440).

⁴⁶ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Jul 13, 1942, ten P.M (CAB.69/4); Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 13, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vi, 440).

⁴⁷ PM's card, Jul 14. Maisky at once told Winant what he thought of the British decision. Winant to FDR, Jul 15, 1942 (FDR Libr., PSF, 'Winant').

⁴⁸ WSC to Pound and Alexander, M.294/2, Jul 15, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14). This was the minute in which WSC added the ominous words, 'I was not aware until this morning that it was the Cruiser Adm. [Sir Louis] Hamilton who ordered the destroyers to quit the convoy [PQ.17]. What did you think of this action at the time? What do you think of it now?'

⁴⁹ Brooke MS, unpublished (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 426).

⁵⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 15, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 442).

⁵¹ Halifax secret diary, Jul 16, 1942.

⁵² Halifax diary, Jul 15, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).

⁵³ Cecil King diary Jul 17; PM's card, Jul 15, 1942.

⁵⁴ Cecil King diary Jul 17, 1942.

⁵⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 17, 1942.

⁵⁶ C to GHQ, ME, Jul 17; Churchill inquired: 'How & when was this passed to GHQ, ME?' C replied by C/133, Jul 19, that it had gone on the same day, July 17, 1942 (HW.1/755).

⁵⁷ Hinsley and Jack Good in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed). *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 141ff, 149ff.

⁵⁸ GC&CS meeting, Mar 23, 1942 (HW.14/32). For a highly technical GC&CS history of FISH (*Geheimschreiber*) interception, Mar 1946, see 'The Interception of German Teleprinter Communications by Foreign Office Station, Knockholt' (HW.3/163).

⁵⁹ WSC to FDR, No. 117, Jul 16; reply, No. 168, Jul 17, 1942, 00.15 A.M (CAB.120/528).

⁶⁰ Col. Vivian Dykes reported to the JSM in Washington, Jul 20, 1942: 'Unrecorded and inclusive private huddles all day to be resumed tomorrow morning' (CAB.120/528).

⁶¹ Hopkins to FDR, Jul 20, 1942 4 P.M (Hopkins papers, box 136). He concluded, 'Would say in general that things are progressing well.'

⁶² Halifax diary, Sep 14, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11). Dill had warned WSC on Jul 16 that despite his kind invitation to Chequers 'our friends' felt their mission would be better served if they could have two or three days alone with their American colleagues in London first 1942 (CAB.120/528).

⁶³ Hopkins to FDR, Jul 20, 1942 4 P.M (Hopkins papers, box 136).

⁶⁴ Brooke unpublished MS (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 446).

⁶⁵ British minutes of a Combined Staff conference, Jul 20, 1942, 12:30 P.M (Hopkins papers, box 136; and (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

⁶⁶ Marshall and King to FDR, Jul 22, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136).

⁶⁷ PM's card. Halifax diary, Sep 27, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11). 'This is not necessarily conclusive though about Max's position.'

⁶⁸ Cadogan diary, Jul 21, 1942.

⁶⁹ British minutes of a Combined Staff conference, Jul 22, 1942, 3 P.M (FDR Library).

⁷⁰ Butcher diary, Sep 9, 1942.

⁷¹ FDR to Hopkins, Marshall, and King, Jul 22, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

⁷² NA microfilm T175, Roll **number follows**. It may be commented that Eisenhower's naval aide was Harry C Butcher; that 'Butcher' was also

Sir Arthur Harris's nickname, as was 'Bert'; and that 'Betty' was Adm. Stark's nickname. The Nazis will not have learned much from this transcript.

⁷³ Marshall and King to FDR, Jul 22, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136).

⁷⁴ Minutes of a Combined Staff Conference held at No. 10 Downing-street, Jul 22, 1942, three P.M (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942').

⁷⁵ Marshall and King to FDR, Jul 22, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136).

⁷⁶ Stimson diary, Jul 23, 1942; and Stimson to FDR, Jul 23, 1942.

⁷⁷ Stimson diary, Jul 24, 1942.

⁷⁸ Stimson diary, Jul 24, 1942.

⁷⁹ FDR to Hopkins, Marshall, King, Jul 26(?) 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942'). FDR added this postscript to Hopkins: 'Give Winston my best and tell him not even he can stop that wedding. Randolph lunched with me and he is in fine form and the back continues to improve.' Hopkins was getting married on Jul 30, 1942.

⁸⁰ Eisenhower to Major Gen. Orlando 'Pink' Ward, Office of Chief of Military History, Apr 5, 1951 (Dwight D Eisenhower Library, file 113, 'Orlando Ward'); Eisenhower, 80.

⁸¹ Stimson diary, Jul 24, 1942. Charitably accepting his error, Stimson pencilled a comment later in the diary arguing that only the Russian victory at Stalingrad, the defeat of the U-boat menace, and enormous luck in landing in Africa had averted this disaster.

⁸² Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 24, 1942.

⁸³ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 24, 1942.

⁸⁴ John Martin, letter home, Jul 26, 1942.

⁸⁵ Stimson diary, Jul 27, 1942.

⁸⁶ Stimson diary, Jul 28, 1942. Asked on Aug 9 by Stimson whether, if he were dictator or president, he would continue with TORCH, Gen. Marshall responded: 'Frankly, No.' He would halt GYMNAST – i.e. TORCH – if he thought it was headed for disaster (*ibid.*, Aug 9–10, 1942).

⁸⁷ Cunningham to Pound, Washington, Aug 12, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52561). 'In my view,' persisted Cunningham, '[King] is a determined non-collaborator and means to work entirely for his own naval ends.' King was determined not to put US ships under British command; this surprised Pound, as they already were, on PQ escort operations.

⁸⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 26, 1942.

⁸⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jul 28, 1942.

- ⁹⁰ Stimson diary, Jul 23, 1942.
- ⁹¹ Harvey diary, Jul 29, 1942; cf. W S Churchill, Jr, *Randolph Churchill*, 216.
- ⁹² Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 29; Martin diary, Jul 29, 1942.
- ⁹³ Cadogan diary, Jul 28–29, 1942.
- ⁹⁴ Halifax diary, Jul 29, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10).
- ⁹⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 29, 1942.
- ⁹⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished; Cadogan diary; War cabinet, Jul 30, 1942 (CAB.65/27).
- ⁹⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 30, 1942.
- ⁹⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 30, 1942.
- ⁹⁹ PM's card, Jul 31, 3 P.M.; Cecil King diary Aug 1, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cecil King diary Oct 1, 1942.
- ¹⁰¹ Report on conduct of enlisted men, Sep 4, 1941. 'Soldiers do not altogether realize seriousness of the act' (NA, RG.319, Records of the Army Staff, IRR file X814 6666, 'Winston Churchill').
- ¹⁰² Cecil King diary Oct 1, 1942.
- ¹⁰³ Halifax secret diary, Jul 15, 1942: 'That man [Beaverbrook] has double-crossed me three times, and I can't work any longer with him.'
- ¹⁰⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 29, 1942.
- ¹⁰⁵ Beaverbrook to Paul Patterson, Sep 29, 1942 (Beaverbrook papers); A J P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* (London, 1972), 538.
- ¹⁰⁶ WSC to Dill, T.1074/2, 'clear the line,' Jul 31, 1942 (CAB.120/528).
- ¹⁰⁷ WSC to Eden, Aug 2 ('President did not read it until I rang him up at 5 o'clock yesterday'); Minute by C Scott, Aug 19, 1942, in Eden papers (FO.954/29).
- ¹⁰⁸ Extract from WSC Tel (to R Campbell, Washington), Aug 2, 1942 (FO.954/29).
- ¹⁰⁹ WSC to Eden, Aug 30, 1942 (FO.954/29).
- ¹¹⁰ Campbell to FO, Aug 3, 1942 (FO.954/29).
- ¹¹¹ WSC to Stalin, Jul 30; and reply, Jul 31, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/1; and Churchill, vol. iv, 409f; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 259f).
- ¹¹² WSC to Auchinleck, Jul 31, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 410.
- ¹¹³ Auchinleck to WSC, Jul 31, quoted in Churchill, vol. iv, 411; War cabinet, Aug 1 (CAB.65/31). Eden wrote (diary, Aug 1, 1942).
- ¹¹⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Aug 1, 1942.
- ¹¹⁵ King George VI to WSC, Aug 1, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 159.

¹¹⁶ WSC to King George VI, Aug 1, 1942: in Royal Archives, Windsor, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 160.

Part III

24: A VISIT TO THE OGRE IN HIS DEN

¹ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Aug 3, 1942: quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 157.

² *Ibid.*

³ JSM telegram JSM 222 to WSC, Aug 1, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 160.

⁴ WSC to FDR, Aug 5, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/3; Churchill, vol. iv, 425. Adm. William H Standley, usN Ret'd, 'Winston Churchill and the Second Front,' in *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 79, No. 12, (1953), 1225. Harriman had on his staff staff Loy Henderson, Gen. Russell L Maxwell (from Cairo Command), Gen. Sidney P. Spaulding, of Lend-lease Administration, a Colonel Kremer, a Lieut. Gerard (aide) and Francis Stevens of the State dept. The two planes had fourteen crew members.

⁵ C to Ismay to WSC, Aug 2, 1942 (HW.1/811).

⁶ Churchill, vol. iv, 412.

⁷ C R Thompson, MS (Thompson papers).

⁸ Cadogan diary, Aug 3, 1942.

⁹ Cadogan letter home, Aug 3, 1942.

¹⁰ Brooke MS, unpublished (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 457).

¹¹ COS (42) 352, Aug 4, 1942 (CAB.80/37). Meeting in British Embassy, Cairo, 6 P.M., Aug 4, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/12).

¹² Cadogan diary, Aug 4, 1942.

¹³ Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942, quoting Desmond Morton.

¹⁴ Churchill, vol. iv, 414; quoted by Hugh L'Etang, *Fit to Lead?* (London, 1980), 122.

¹⁵ Churchill, vol. iv, 415.

¹⁶ Clementine to WSC, Aug 4, 1942: quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 161.

¹⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 6, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 469: 'I may have been weak at the time. In any case God took the matter in his own hands within 24 hours of our decision.')

¹⁸ WSC to Clementine, Aug 9, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 167ff.

¹⁹ Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942, quoting Desmond Morton.

²⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 6, 1942 (Kings College London,

Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 467: 'There is no doubt in my mind that Winston never realized what this decision cost me.' Brooke described the reference to this decision in Churchill, vol. iv, 413 as 'surprisingly lacking in any kind of gratitude!').

²¹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 6, 1942, 8:15 P.M (CAB.120/66; Churchill, vol. iv, 415ff). Eden noted (diary): 'Winston's ideas on changes in command came in early, asking for immediate reply. Cabinet 9:30. We did not like division of command and still less calling Auch.'s new slender command Middle East. Appointment of Gott to Eighth Army pleased everybody & myself most of all. Some doubt as to whether Alexander, the very good fighting man, had headpiece for C-in-C, who is in truth a C.I.G.S. He will need a first-rate Chief of Staff. Left Attlee to draft our views.' See too Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 20, 1943.

²² WSC to Attlee, Aug 7 (CAB.120/66; Churchill, vol. iv, 417f). Eden, diary, Aug 7, 1942: 'Cabinet at 11:30 P.M. when Winston's reply came in. It was confused & unconvincing & worried me because it seemed to pretend that tho' Gott was to command 8th Army Alexander was to run the battle. An impossible division of duties & repetition of Auch.—Conyngham & Auch.—Ritchie periods.'

²³ WSC to Auchinleck, Aug 8, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 421f; Jacob diary, Aug 8, 1942.

²⁴ Jacob diary, Aug 8, 1942 (Churchill College, Jacob papers, JACB.1/16).

²⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6b).

²⁶ Major William Thompson, of Mountbatten's staff, quoted in Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942.

²⁷ Gladwyn Jebb, quoted in Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942.

²⁸ Harvey diary, Aug 7, 1942.

²⁹ Cadogan letter home, Aug 7, 1942.

³⁰ Churchill, vol. iv, 418. Nicolson diary, Nov 6, 1942.

³¹ See WSC to Clementine, Aug 9, 1942, quoted in Gilbert, vol. vi, 167ff.

³² Cadogan diary, Aug 7, 1942.

³³ Brooke MS, unpublished (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 471).

³⁴ Brooke diary, Aug 7, 1942.

³⁵ Bernard L Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (London, 1958), 77f.

³⁶ Harvey diary, Aug 10, 1942.

³⁷ Jack (Whitworth) to Cunningham, Jun 3, 1943 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

³⁸ WSC to Clementine, Aug 9, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 167ff.

³⁹ War cabinet, Aug 7, 1942 (CAB.65/31; Churchill, vol. iv, 419).

⁴⁰ Jacob diary, Aug 8, 1942 (Churchill College, Jacob papers, JACB.1/16).

⁴¹ For Harriman's version see his telegram from Teheran to FDR, Aug 14, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942').

⁴² WSC to Clementine, Aug 9, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 167ff; paraphrased by WSC in Churchill, vol. iv, 420f.

⁴³ WSC to Attlee, Aug 10, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 160.

⁴⁴ WSC to Alexander, Aug 10, 1942, holograph; full text, as sent: Churchill, vol. iv, 424.

⁴⁵ Brooke unpublished MS (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vi, 478).

⁴⁶ WSC to Eden, Aug 12, 1942.

⁴⁷ Jacob diary, Aug 11, 1942.

⁴⁸ Churchill, vol. iv, 428f.

⁴⁹ Adm. William H Standley, USN Ret'd, 'Winston Churchill and the Second Front,' in *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 79, No. 12, (1953), 1225.

⁵⁰ Dalton diary, Jan 13, 1942.

⁵¹ Cf. John D Eisenhower, MS: 'My Dad took me to Moscow,' Sep 1945 (Dwight D Eisenhower Library, box 179). Dalton diary, Dec 17, 1943.

⁵² Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill and the Representatives of the Soviet Union, Aug 12, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 265ff; translated for us by Richard Ogdon. This has either been edited for western consumption or was not as full as the official English transcript.

⁵³ WSC to Attlee, Aug 12, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/11); repeated to FDR, Aug 14, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942').

⁵⁴ 'Meeting at the Kremlin on Wednesday, Aug 12, 1942, at 7 P.M.' (PREM.3/76a/12 and Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942'); and WP (42) 373, Aug 23, 1942 (CAB.127/23).

⁵⁵ Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill and the Representatives of the Soviet Union, Aug 12, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 265ff.

⁵⁶ 'Meeting at the Kremlin on Wednesday, Aug 12, 1942, at 7 P.M.'

(PREM.3/76a/12; and WP (42) 373, Aug 23, 1942 (CAB.127/23).

⁵⁷ Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill and the Representatives of the Soviet Union, Aug 12, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 265ff.

⁵⁸ Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill and the Representatives of the Soviet Union, Aug 12, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 265ff.

⁵⁹ Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill and the Representatives of the Soviet Union, Aug 12, 1942. *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 265ff. Harriman to FDR, Aug 13, 1942, has it as 'You can't win wars if you aren't willing to take risks and you mustn't be so afraid of the Germans.' (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 12, 'Miscellaneous Presidential Messages' and Harry L Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942').

⁶⁰ Harriman to FDR, Aug 13, 1942 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 12, 'Miscellaneous Presidential Messages' and Harry L Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942')). A passage not carried in the Russian transcript.

⁶¹ Harriman to FDR, Aug 13, 1942 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 12, 'Miscellaneous Presidential Messages'). Another passage not carried in the Russian transcript.

⁶² Similar in Adm. William H Standley, USN Ret'd, 'Winston Churchill and the Second Front,' in *US Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 79, No. 12, (1953), 1225. The Russian transcript has, 'May God assist in its fulfilment.'

⁶³ WSC to Attlee, Aug 13, 1942 (CAB.120/66; PREM.3/76a/11). Gilbert, vol. vi, 174, 183 gives first one source, then the other.

⁶⁴ Harriman to FDR, Aug 13, 1942 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 12, 'Miscellaneous Presidential Messages' and Harry L Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942').

⁶⁵ 'Interview of Prime Minister with M Molotov on Aug 13, at 12 noon,' WP (42) 373 (PREM.3/76a/12; and Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942').

⁶⁶ WSC to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942, 1:30 P.M (CAB.120/66; Churchill, vol. iv, 440.

⁶⁷ Churchill, vol. iv, 437.

⁶⁸ Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942, quoting Desmond Morton, who was not however in the party.

⁶⁹ Minutes of a meeting held in the Kremlin on Aug 13, 1942 at 11:15 P.M., WP (42) 373, (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder

‘Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942’). Those present were WSC, Stalin, Molotov, Brooke, Cadogan, Wavell, Jacob, Harriman, Tedder, with Pavlov and Dunlop again as interpreters.

⁷⁰ The Russian document, endorsed in Rowan’s handwriting: ‘handed to PM by M Stalin at meeting of 13.8.42,’ is in PREM.3/76a/11; see Churchill, vol. iv, 44of; and *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 276f).

⁷¹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/9).

⁷² Jacob diary, Aug 13, 1942.

⁷³ WSC to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/9).

⁷⁴ Dalton diary, Aug 27, 1942, quoting Desmond Morton, whose source for this was Leslie Rowan. WSC was right. After the 1940 Nazi victories in Norway and France, Stalin and Molotov sent telegrams of congratulation to Hitler.

⁷⁵ WSC proudly reported this remark to his War cabinet the next day, telegram to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/9), and had the whole telegram repeated to FDR, Aug 15, 1942.

⁷⁶ Extracts from conversation between Churchill and Stalin, Aug 13, 1942, in Russian, *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 271ff. The British text has it as: ‘If, by the loss of 150,000 British and American soldiers on the shores of France, real help could be given to Russia and something useful achieved, the Americans and the British would not hesitate to give the order.’ (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder ‘Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942’).

⁷⁷ Cadogan diary, Aug 13, 1942.

⁷⁸ Jacob diary, Aug 13; Brooke diary, Aug 14, 1942.

⁷⁹ Jacob notes, quoted in Gilbert, vol. vi, 191; and Henry Wallace diary, May 24, 1943; WSC’s own account is in his telegram to the cabinet, Aug 15, 1943 (CAB.120/67).

⁸⁰ Churchill, vol. iv, 442f.

⁸¹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 15, 1942 (CAB.120/67; Churchill, vol. iv, 444); repeated to FDR, Aug 15, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder ‘Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942’). Clark Kerr also remarked on the ‘unprecedented’ long walk ‘or rather trot’ at Mr Churchill’s side, in a telegram to Eden, Aug 16, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/11).

⁸² Cadogan diary, Aug 14, 1942.

⁸³ Cadogan diary, Aug 15, 1942. It is not hard to see why WSC objected to the ungrammatical and platitudinous communiqué. ‘A number of decisions were [sic] reached covering the field of the war against Hitlerite

Germany. This just war of liberation both Governments are determined to carry on with all their power and energy until the complete destruction of Hitlerism and any similar tyranny has been achieved. The discussions, which were arrived on in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete sincerity, provided an opportunity of reaffirming the existence of the close friendship and understanding between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States of America, in entire accordance with the Allied relationship existing between them.' – For the final text see Churchill, vol. iv, 449.

⁸⁴ Cadogan diary, Aug 15, 1942.

⁸⁵ Jacob diary, Aug 15, 1942.

⁸⁶ Major Birse's post-war memoir: Gilbert, vol. vi, 195; and see A H Birse, *Memoirs of an Interpreter* (New York, 1967), 100ff.

⁸⁷ Major Birse's notes, 'Record of the Prime Minister's meeting with Mr Stalin at the Kremlin at 7 P.M. on Aug 15, 1942' (PREM.3/76a/12; and Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942'). The Russian transcript is virtually identical here.

⁸⁸ Extracts from conversation between Stalin and Churchill, Aug 15, 1942, in Russian (*Sov.-angliiskiy*, 279ff).

⁸⁹ C to Cadogan, C/9178, Apr 12, 1942, enclosing a (missing) note from WSC about intercept No. 103151 (HW.1/491). 'If it is your desire to acquaint the Ambassador [in Moscow] it could safely be done on my line,' noted C.

⁹⁰ WSC to FDR, No. 133, Aug 17, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 136; and Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942'). Major A H Birse's memo on this supper conversation on Aug 15–16, 1942 is in *ibid*.

⁹¹ Count Edward Raczyński, *In Allied London* (London, 1962) [hereafter: Raczyński], 116–7.

⁹² See WSC's account in Churchill, vol. iv, 446f; and his telegram to the cabinet, Aug 16, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/11).

⁹³ Willis to A B Cunningham, Sep 14, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

⁹⁴ Cadogan diary, Aug 15, 1942. WSC described to his cabinet on Aug 25 how Stalin was cheerfully indifferent to the massed of kulaks who had to be 'liquidated': Amery diary, Aug 25, 1942. Cadogan also wrote to Halifax on Aug 29, 1942, describing this visit to Moscow and the discussion of the kulaks (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.16).

⁹⁵ FBI memorandum, Mar 29, 1943 on 'off the record' remarks by (Harriman? Sulzberger?) to top-ranking American newspapermen (FBI archives, Washington).

⁹⁶ Clark-Kerr to Cadogan, Aug 21, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/10).

⁹⁷ *E.g.*, to Wendell Willkie. Henry Wallace diary, Oct 24, 1943.

⁹⁸ A H S[ulzberger], MS: 'Meetings With the Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill,' Feb 1957 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

⁹⁹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 16, 1942 (PREM.3/76a/11; Churchill, vol. iv, 450).

¹⁰⁰ OSS, London, Report on Trip to Newcastle-on-Tyne and Vicinity, Mar 19–24, 1943 (NA).

¹⁰¹ WSC to Sinclair and Portal, Aug 17, 1942 (CAB.121/1 and AIR.19/187).

¹⁰² Sinclair and Portal to WSC, Aug 18, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰³ WSC to Portal, Aug 19, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁴ Portal to WSC, Aug 20, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁵ Bernard L Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (London, 1958), 105f.

¹⁰⁶ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 18, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers; and MS, 3/A/vi, 501f).

¹⁰⁷ Ismay to WSC, TULIP No. 170, received by C-in-C, Middle East from Air Ministry at 1:50 A.M., Aug 19, 1942 (PREM.3/256).

¹⁰⁸ Jacob diary, Aug 19, 1942.

¹⁰⁹ Vice Adm. HT Baillie-Grohman, in the *Daily Telegraph*, Nov 9, 1963. Newspaperman Cecil King wrote on Aug 16: 'There seem to be no outward and visible signs of a raid on France yet, though I had expected it before now.' On Aug 24 he heard from a friend at Lewes that the invasion barges for Dieppe had been assembled at Newhaven for all to see. 'For three or four nights before the attack, trains were roaring all night, while German planes left the place lighted up with flares and incendiary bombs.'

¹¹⁰ Eden had written in his diary, on Aug 18, 1942: 'Walked across the Downs. . . Glorious view, land, air & sea activity. Destroyers near Isle of Wight, at least 8. Flat bottomed barges off Chichester. Smoke from bombs or AA guns over Bognor. Constant air raid warnings during day & night.'

¹¹¹ HQ, CCO, report on JUBILEE up to 12:30, Aug 19 (PREM.3/256).

¹¹² WSC to Ismay, No. 65, Aug 19, 1942, 9:05 P.M (PREM.3/256).

¹¹³ Ismay to WSC, rec'd Aug 20, 1942, 2:30 A.M (PREM.3/256).

¹¹⁴ Mountbatten to WSC, rec'd Aug 20, 1942, 2:50 A.M (PREM.3/256 and CAB.65/27); and see the CCO's report to the War cabinet that day (CAB.65/31)

¹¹⁵ WSC to Attlee, Aug 21, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 211.

¹¹⁶ Of the 4,963 Canadians in fact 907 were killed in the raid.

¹¹⁷ Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 191.

¹¹⁸ Amery diary, Aug 20, 1942.

¹¹⁹ C P Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army* (Ottawa, 1966), vol. i, 398.

¹²⁰ See Hitler's secret speech to his commanders on Sep 29, 1942 (a record taken by the First Army, in its war diary, annexes, T312/23/9706 *et seq*).

¹²¹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 20, 1942. Churchill, vol. iv, page ... **number follows**

¹²² In CAB.106/783; quoted by Nigel Jackson in *Monty. The Making of a General, 1887–1942* (London, 1981), 759.

¹²³ Nigel Hamilton, *Monty. The Making of a General, 1887–1942* (London, 1981), 656.

¹²⁴ Cadogan, letter home, Aug 21, 1942; in Dilks, *op. cit.*, 475–6.

¹²⁵ Wavell to WSC, Aug 20, 1942 (PREM.4/84/4).

¹²⁶ Grigg to WSC, Sep 15, 1942 (PREM.4/83/2).

¹²⁷ WSC to Grigg, Sep 16, 1942 (PREM.4/84/1 and /4).

¹²⁸ WSC to Wavell, T.1305/2, Oct 7, 1942 (PREM.4/84/4).

¹²⁹ Wavell to WSC, Oct 15, 1942 (PREM.4/84/4).

¹³⁰ WSC to Grigg, Sept 6, 1942 (PREM.4/84/4).

¹³¹ WSC to Attlee, Aug 21, 1942: John Connell, *Auchinleck* (London, 1959), 718.

¹³² Brooke diary, Aug 14, 1942 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers).

¹³³ Jacob diary, Aug 22, 1942.

¹³⁴ Memorandum by C for Vice-Chiefs, MOST SECRET, Aug 28, 1942 (CAB.121/284).

¹³⁵ C Medhurst to Hollis, Aug 11, 1942 (CAB.121/284).

¹³⁶ Memorandum by C, MOST SECRET, Aug 28, 1942 (CAB.121/284).

¹³⁷ Nigel de Grey of GC&CS noted in its secret draft history, Nov 28, 1949: 'There is no question that British policy was to prevent US exploitation of E [ENIGMA], Naval or Military, *e.g.*, the reiterated promise in CXG.414 23.7.42 extracted by Eddy [Hastings] that [the US] Navy did not

mean to build Bombs. The Navy Dept's programme when announced was regarded by everyone as a serious breach of agreement' (HW.3/93).

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, HW.3/93.

¹³⁹ A record of the talk is in PREM.4/71/4.

¹⁴⁰ Cadogan diary, Aug 24, 1942.

¹⁴¹ John Martin letter home, Aug 30, 1942. For WSC's directive that *aircraft* and *airfield* be used instead of *aeroplane* and *aerodrome*, see circular by C R W Lamplough (DDNI), Nov 5, 1942 (HW.14/57).

¹⁴² Amery diary, Aug 24, 1942.

¹⁴³ Harvey diary, Aug 24, 1942.

¹⁴⁴ Amery diary, Aug 25, 1942.

¹⁴⁵ Chequers register, Aug 28–31, 1942; Mountbatten to Brooke, Aug 31, 1942 (Broadlands Archives, Mountbatten papers, B18; quoted by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 195).

¹⁴⁶ It was mischievously entitled 'Dieppe: "We and British invade France" – American journal' (PREM.3/256).

¹⁴⁷ A H S [ulzberger], MS: 'Meetings With the Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill,' Feb 1957 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

¹⁴⁸ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Sep 8, 1942.

¹⁴⁹ Colonel Ralston, Overseas Diary, Oct 15, 1942 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ralston papers, MG.27, III B, vol. 64, 'English trip').

¹⁵⁰ Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 'Operation JUBILEE: The Place of the Dieppe Raid in History,' lecture on Sep 28, 1973 in Toronto, published in the Royal United Services Institution *Journal*, March 1974, 25ff.

¹⁵¹ ULTRA History of US Strategic Air Force, Europe, vs. German Air Forces, Jun 1945, states: 'There is hard and fast evidence in ULTRA that as early as the 12th of August the Germans knew of the forthcoming Dieppe operation' (NA, RG.457, SRH-013). This document appears to show that we were correct in stating in the *Daily Telegraph*, the London *Evening Standard* and other newspapers in Oct 1963 that the Germans had foreknowledge. Captain Stephen Roskill RN, the official historian, published a lengthy rebuttal in the *Daily Telegraph*, Nov 4, 1963. For Bletchley Park's special operations during JUBILEE, see GC&CS draft history, Chap.vi, 'The Western Front from February 1942 – May 1945,' Ms, 379 (HW.3/99).

¹⁵² AI(K) Report No. 114/1943, Interrogation of an experienced Luftwaffe Oberleutnant, Adjutant and Ia (operations officer) of the third Gruppe of Kampfgeschwader (Bomber Wing) 26, captured in Nov 1942 in

North Africa (Air Historical Branch, London). The German naval staff records also refer to 'the same Abwehr agent who reported the Dieppe raid' (naval staff war diary, Oct 31, 1942, and Mar 15, 1943).

¹⁵³ Ramsay to A B Cunningham, Dec 10, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹⁵⁴ WSC to Ismay, Personal Minute D.224/2, Dec 21, 1942 (PREM.3/256). FDLB (Francis Brown) had reminded WSC the day before to write this minute asking for a concise report on the Dieppe raid and its plan (*ibid.*).

¹⁵⁵ Ismay to Mountbatten, Dec 22, 1942 (Broadlands Archives, Mountbatten papers, B18; quoted by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, 195).

¹⁵⁶ Ismay to WSC, Dec 29, 1942 (PREM.3/256); WSC initialled it as seen on Jan 4, 1932. Professor Brian Loring Villa, *Unauthorised Action* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1993).

¹⁵⁷ Loring Villa, *op. cit.* 'Following your great example,' Mountbatten wrote to WSC, 'I have never tried to evade responsibility, but it would have been improper of me to have claimed powers which were not mine.' – WSC's versions in Churchill, vol. iv, 457–459, starts with the wrong date for the raid, 'Aug 17,' omits mention of the earlier date, Jun 20 ('The assault was originally fixed for July 4'), and has stark similarities with the wording of Mountbatten's later lectures on Dieppe ('For this reason no records were kept,' etc).

¹⁵⁸ Colonel C P Stacey, *The Canadian Army, 1939–45* (Ottawa, 1966), vol. i.

25: IN CHAINS

¹ Mountbatten, 'The Dieppe Raid,' Oct 15, 1942, annex (CAB.98/22). For official British statements on the shackling of prisoners of war, Sep 2 – Dec 10, 1942, see CAB.66/33.

² Mountbatten, 'The Dieppe Raid,' Oct 15, 1942, annex (CAB.98/22). For the BBC Monitoring report on the OKW communiqué, see CAB.66/30.

³ War cabinet, Oct 8, 9, 12 (CAB.65/28); Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 8, 1942.

⁴ War cabinet, Oct 12 (CAB.65/28).

⁵ War cabinet, Oct 13 (CAB.65/28).

⁶ Colonel Ralston, Overseas Diary, Oct 5, 13 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ralston papers, MG.27, III B, vol. 64, 'English trip'). He saw WSC

for nearly two hours at 6:30 P.M. on Oct 15, 1942 to discuss '(a) prisoners, (b) course of war.'

⁷ Diary of Hume Wrong, Oct 27, 1942 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, diary; and file 23, 'London, 1942'). Wrong was formerly Canadian High Commissioner in London, and 1941-42 Canadian minister in Washington.

⁸ Diary of Hume Wrong, Nov 7, 1942 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, diary; and file 23, 'London, 1942')

⁹ WSC's statement on Oct 13, *House of Commons Debates*; Archbishop of Canterbury to WSC Nov 2; A Bevir to WSC, Nov 22, 1942, and other items in PREM.4/98/2.

¹⁰ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Nov 23, 1942 ten P.M (CAB.69/4).

¹¹ War cabinet Dec 3, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

¹² War cabinet Dec 7, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

¹³ Eden diary, manuscript, Feb 5, 1943 (Avon papers, 20.1.23).

¹⁴ OKH Berlin (*Abt Fremde Heere West*) to *Panzerarmee* Ic (Intelligence officer), Oct 17, 1942; intercept CX/MSS/1548/T.10 (HW.1/987). The *Panzerarmee* replied on Oct 18 that it knew nothing of any such British instruction.

¹⁵ A V Alexander to WSC, Aug 28, 1942 (PREM.3/439/20a).

¹⁶ Minute by D Allen, Sep 10, 1942 (FO.371/30917).

¹⁷ GC&CS German Police section, report ZIP/MSGP.37, dated Aug 11, 1942 (HW.16/6, part i).

¹⁸ FO to Quito, No. 105, Dec 27, 1941 (FO.371/26515); Mr Hughes Hallett had inquired what questions to ask 100 German Jewish refugees shortly arriving in Ecuador.

¹⁹ Tel. Norton (Berne) to FO, No. 2831, Aug 10, 1942, with the text of a telegram from Riegner to Sydney Silverman MP (FO.371/30917). The 30-year-old Riegner claimed to have the report from a 'German industrialist,' whom he has refused to identify. Dr Benjamin Sagalowitz, press officer of the Swiss Jewish community, claimed to have given the name to Leland Harrison, the American ambassador in Berne, to place in a sealed envelope; there is no archival evidence to support this. Walter Laqueur, writing in *Encounter*, Jul 1980, 13, expressed doubts that the man was either German or an industrialist. Harrison regarded Riegner's story as a 'wild rumor inspired by Jewish fears' (*ibid.*; NA: RG.226, Berne, folder 2, box 2, entry 4).

²⁰ *American Hebrew*, Oct 31, 1919: 'The Crucifixion of the Jews Must

Stop.'

²¹ *Jüdische Volkszeitung*, Apr 16, 1937: 'Der Vernichtungs-Feldzug gegen die Juden in Polen.' This reported 'daily pogroms' in Poland.

²² Minute by D Allen, Aug 14, 1942; Frank Roberts minuted, 'I do not see how we can hold up this message much longer' but he feared the 'embarrassing repercussions' it would provoke (*ibid.*). 'The facts are quite bad enough,' wrote Roberts, 'without the addition of such an old story as the use of bodies for the manufacture of soap.' Bernard Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939–1945* (London, 1979).

²³ Ministry of information minute, Jul 25, 1941 (INF.1/251).

²⁴ Minutes by Miss T Scofield, Sep 9, 10 and 16, 1942 (FO.371/30917)

²⁵ Minute by D Allen, Sep 10, 1942 (*ibid.*).

²⁶ Halifax diary, Sep 4, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A7.8.11).

²⁷ Halifax diary, Sep 23, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A7.8.11).

²⁸ GC&CS German police section report No. 40/42, dated Sep 26 (HW.16/6, part ii; and HW1/929). The intercepts also established that as from Sep 1, 1942 'deaths from natural causes' among prisoners in concentration camps were to be reported 'only on pro-formas (*durch Formblatt*).' The typhus epidemic that ravaged Nazi-controlled Europe from late 1941 to the end of the war was very real, and GC&CS was evidently briefed to focus attention on it. See e.g., 'Police Report,' Oct 17, 1941 ('There has been noted a pretty consistent demand for Anti-typhoid lymph in the eastern areas for the inoculation of Police units. It is difficult to know whether these demands in any way exceed the normal, given the conditions occasioned by war') and the report 'Typhus III,' signed by [Nigel] de G[rey], Jan 24, 1942, in HW1/148 and HW.16/6 part ii respectively. The Polish underground deliberately spread typhus among German occupation forces: see e.g., the report from the SS *Polizeiführer* in Galicia to SS *OGruf*. Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger, Jun 30, 1943 (Hoover Library, Ms. DS 135, G2G37). Col. L Mitkiewicz, Polish liaison officer to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, reported to the CCS (100th Mtg, Jul 2, 1943) that in the first four months of 1943 the Polish underground had poisoned 526 Germans and administered 'typhoid fever microbes and typhoid fever lice' to Germans 'in a few hundred cases.' See too Report on The Polish Secret Army to Brig. Gen. John R Deane, JCS Secretariat, Sep 7, 1943 (NA, RG.218, Joints Chiefs of Staff, file CCS/381 'Poland – 6.30.1943–Sec.1'). Such methods may have backfired on the Poles, as epidemics are poor respecters of nationality.

²⁹ GC&CS German Police report No. 41, 1942, Oct 5, 1942 (HW.16/6,

part ii).

³⁰ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: Lolling, *Amt D III*, to Auschwitz, Oct 26, 1942 (HW.16/11).

³¹ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: KL Sachsenhausen (sgd. Liebehenschel) to *Amt D III*, Oct 27, 1942 (HW.16/11).

³² SSWVHA, *Amtsgruppenchef D* (Glücks) to all major concentration camp commandants, re *Meldeverfahren bei Todesfällen in Konzentrationslagern*, Nov 21 (Yivo archives, G-207); GC&CS German Police Section intercept: KL Buchenwald (gez. Hoven) to *Amt D III*, re *Meldung der Todesfällen von Häftlingen*, Dec 1, 1942 (HW.16/11).

³³ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: KL Auschwitz, signed Dr Wirths, to *Amt D III*, re *Stand der Fleckfiebererkrankungen*, Dec 8, 1942 (HW.16/11).

³⁴ Hinsley, vol. ii, appendix, 673. And see note 15 to chapter 30.

³⁵ GC&CS draft history, chap. viii: 'The Russian liaison' (HW.3/101).

³⁶ Tizard to WSC, Jul 15, 1943 (PREM.4/84/3).

³⁷ Letters on ADM.199/606.

³⁸ Tovey to Cunningham, Sep 23, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570, vol. i).

³⁹ Marshall discussed it with Stimson. Stimson diary, Sep 23, 1942.

⁴⁰ WSC to Pound, M.421/2, Sep 28, 1942 (CAB.120/827).

⁴¹ David Gray (US minister in Dublin) to Winant, Jan 27, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800-Ireland').

⁴² Eden to Winant, Feb 10, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800-Ireland').

⁴³ Halifax secret diary, Jun 14, 1942: 'If anyone had told us two years ago that the Americans would be planning on these lines it would have seemed, as indeed it is, pretty fantastic.'

⁴⁴ Parker W Buhrman, US consul-general in Belfast, to Cordell Hull, Sep 11, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800-Ireland').

⁴⁵ FO minute (G Millard) Aug 18, 1942 (FO.954/29).

⁴⁶ Morrison to Dominions Secretary and PM, Aug 28, 1942 (FO.954/29).

⁴⁷ Postal & Telegraph Censorship Report on the USA, No. 1, Sep 11, 1942 (FO.371/30656, 'United States, 1942').

⁴⁸ Office of War Information report, 'Anti-British Feeling in the United States,' Jul 10, 1942 (Federal Records Center, John G Winant papers, box

5).

⁴⁹ Hume Wrong diary, Nov 6, 1942: his former secretary Miss Butson now worked at the US embassy and reported this to him. 'She . . . is definitely not inspired' (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, 23, 'London, 1942').

⁵⁰ Halifax to WSC, Jun 25, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.11).

⁵¹ Amery diary, Aug 26, 1942.

⁵² Amery diary, Nov 23, 1942.

⁵³ Eisenhower, 88f.

⁵⁴ Butcher diary, 161, Aug 26, 1942, unsealed.

⁵⁵ Butcher diary, 211, Sep 9, 1942, unsealed.

⁵⁶ Eisenhower, 95. Eisenhower to Marshall, Aug 26, 1942.

⁵⁷ Butcher diary, 161, Aug 26, 1942, unsealed. A government official who reviewed these pages noted 'My God' in the margin. When Butcher published a sanitized version of his diaries there was a lively correspondence between British and American authorities. Eisenhower wrote a letter of apology to WSC on Dec 18, 1945; WSC replied, Jan 26, 1946: 'I think you have been ill-used by your confidential aide. The [*Saturday Evening Post*] articles are, in my opinion, altogether below the level upon which such matters should be treated. Great events and personalities are all made small when passed through the medium of this small mind.' WSC did however apologise, 'I really do feel very sorry to have kept you so late on various occasions. It is a fault I have. . . .' (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill'). Until 2001 the 1945–6 Joint Staff Mission file on Capt. Butcher (CAB.122/1394) was withheld from the PRO largely because his book contained references to strategic deception as well as codebreaking.

⁵⁸ JCS memorandum, in Joint Staff Mission telegram to London, Aug 25, 1942 (CAB.122/1582).

⁵⁹ WSC to Hopkins, unsent, Churchill, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate*, 483–5.

⁶⁰ WSC to FDR, Aug 27. Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 26, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶¹ COS meeting, Aug 27, 1942, 11 A.M (CAB.79/57).

⁶² Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶³ Butcher diary, 167, Aug 28, 1942, unsealed.

⁶⁴ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 28, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶⁵ Harvey diary, Sep 2, 1942.

⁶⁶ Harvey diary, Aug 30, 1942.

⁶⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Aug 29, 1942.

⁶⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 29, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶⁹ Stimson diary, Sep 1, 1942.

⁷⁰ WSC to FDR, Sep 1, 1942

⁷¹ Clementine to Eisenhower, Sep 1, 1942 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill').

⁷² Brooke diary, Sep 1; Harvey diary, Sep 2, 1942.

⁷³ Eden diary, manuscript, Sep 3, 1942. Before returning to Washington the next day, Dill told Eden he was worried at the tangle TORCH had got itself into – 'if torches can get into tangles.'

⁷⁴ WSC to Hopkins, unsent, Churchill, vol. iv: *The Hinge of Fate*, 483–5.

⁷⁵ Ralph Bennett, in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed.), *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 37; Henry Dryden, *ibid.*, 206.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Aug 30, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁷⁸ Hinsley, vol. ii, 412–21. The originals of the telegrams between WSC and Alexander Jul–Dec 1942 are in PREM. 3/310/6. Bernard L Montgomery, in *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (London, 1958), 108, made no reference to the ULTRA contribution, but credited his 'intelligence staff.'

⁷⁹ Bernard L Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Montgomery* (London, 1958), 112.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁸¹ Lord Hankey diary, Aug 31, 1942 (Churchill College, Cambridge). For Bruce's opposition to the bombing war, see his memorandum, 'Air against the Sea,' COS (42) 172(O)m Jun 16, 1942 (CAB. 121/1).

⁸² Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 7, 9, 12, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Sep 15, 1942.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct 27, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁸⁵ Butcher diary, 128ff, Aug 15, 18, 1942, unsealed. Ray Daniell of the NYT urged Eisenhower to keep these rules.

⁸⁶ Halifax secret diary, May 15, 1942. 'From the letters it was very plain that some had completely succumbed to her charms. She is a dangerous woman. . .'

⁸⁷ WSC to Bracken, Jun 7 and 10, 1942 (PREM. 4/26/8).

⁸⁸ WSC to Bracken, Oct 24, 1942 (PREM. 4/26/8).

⁸⁹ Maisky to WSC, Jul 10; WSC to Eden, Jul 11, 1942 (PREM. 4/101/4a).

⁹⁰ Cecil King diary, Oct 1, 1942.

⁹¹ WSC to Hopkins, Aug 14, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942'). For WSC's file on this see PREM.4/26/3.

⁹² Report [by Isaiah Berlin], 'Things which Americans Hold Against the British,' Jul 1942; and Postal & Telegraph Censorship Report on the USA, No. 1, Sep 11, 1942 (FO.371/30656, 'United States, 1942').

⁹³ From the obituaries of Irving Berlin in *The Sunday Telegraph*, Sep 24, 1989 and of Sir Isaiah Berlin, OM, *The Daily Telegraph*, Nov 7, 1997. Eliot A Cohen in 'Churchill at War,' *Commentary*, New York, May 1987, pp.4off. 'Chequers Visiting Book' in C R Thompson papers (copy in our possession).

⁹⁴ Martin diary, Sep 4, 1942.

⁹⁵ A H S[ulzberger], MS: 'Meetings With the Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill,' Feb 1957 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers); and see 'Chequers Visiting Book' in C R Thompson papers (copy in our possession).

⁹⁶ A H S[ulzberger], MS: 'Meetings With the Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill,' Feb 1957 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

⁹⁷ Cecil King diary Sep 7, 1942.

⁹⁸ Jack (Tovey) to A B Cunningham, Sep 8, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

⁹⁹ Cecil King diary Sep 11, 1942; and Nicolson diary, Sep 8, 1942,

¹⁰⁰ Bridges to Martin, Jul 21, 1942 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 308, folder 'Hopkins to London, Jul 1942'); See too Cadogan diary, Jul 21, 1942.

¹⁰¹ Eisenhower, 66–7. The phrase 'lacking racial consciousness' is his.

¹⁰² Halifax diary, Jul 23, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.10). The MP was Wing Cdr. James.

¹⁰³ A H S[ulzberger], MS: 'Meetings With the Rt Hon Sir Winston Churchill,' Feb 1957 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers). Halifax diary, Sep 25, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11); and cf. Oct 13, 1942, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Halifax diary, Sep 25, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11); and cf. Oct 13, 1942, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Stimson diary, Sep 24, 1942.

¹⁰⁶ Stimson diary, Sep 29, Oct 2, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ Stimson diary, Sep 29, Oct 2, 1942.

¹⁰⁸ Hopkins to Marshall, Aug 19, 1942. Hopkins advised Sir Ronald Campbell on Aug 22 that Marshall had informed him that the policy was not to exceed 10.6 percent of total US army strength; at present the colored strength in the U.K. was 5,683 (*ibid.*). Butcher diary, 128ff, Aug 15, 18, 1942, unsealed. Ray Daniell of the *NYT* urged Eisenhower to keep these rules

¹⁰⁹ Amery diary, Jul 27, 1942.

¹¹⁰ War cabinet, 119th mtg, Aug 31, 1942.

¹¹¹ Grigg, paper, WP (42) 441, Sep 1942: 'United States Coloured Troops in the United Kingdom' (PREM.4/26/9; CAB.66/30); The Sunday Pictorial, Sep 6; and Sunday Express, Sep 20, 1942.

¹¹² War cabinet, 140th mtg, Oct 13, 1942, in the House of Commons (CAB.65/28).

¹¹³ Grigg to WSC, Oct 21, 1943 (PREM.4/26/9).

¹¹⁴ WSC to Grigg, Oct 20, 1943 (PREM.4/26/9).

¹¹⁵ Duke of Marlborough to WSC, Oct 21, 1943 (PREM.4/26/9).

¹¹⁶ WSC to Grigg, Oct 22, 1943 (PREM.4/26/9).

¹¹⁷ Grigg to WSC, Dec 2, 1943 (PREM.4/26/9). Churchill read this on 10.12.43.

¹¹⁸ FBI memorandum, Mar 29, 1943 on 'off the record' remarks (by Harriman? Suzlberger?) to newspapermen (FBI archives, Washington).

¹¹⁹ Amery diary, Sep 9, 1942.

¹²⁰ Amery diary, Aug 31, 1942.

¹²¹ Halifax diary, Sep 28, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11); on Oct 26, 1942, Halifax commented dryly on 'the American . . . habit of lynching negroes, which as the lynching of three in Mississippi last week shows, is not yet out of fashion' (*Ibid.*).

¹²² Halifax diary, Nov 21, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11).

¹²³ Ickes diary, Aug 8, recording FDR's cabinet of Aug 7, 1942.

¹²⁴ FDR to WSC, Aug 12(?), 1942: in N Mansergh and E V R Lumby (ed.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. ii (London, 1970), 673ff.

¹²⁵ Amery diary, Aug 12, 1942.

¹²⁶ WSC to FDR, Aug 14, 1942, No. 130 (Hopkins papers: Sherwood collection, box 311, folder 'Churchill and Harriman in Moscow, Aug 1942'). One word was corrupted.

¹²⁷ Amery diary, Dec 21. Cadogan (diary, Dec 28, 1942) noted that they decided to do no more than admit that there might be a discussion of Hongkong's future after the war. 'We are on perfectly firm ground,' he

noted.

¹²⁸ Amery diary, Sep 9, 10, 1942.

¹²⁹ Halifax secret diary, Sep 14, 1942.

¹³⁰ Halifax to Eden, Sep 14, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15; and FO.954/29).

¹³¹ Halifax secret diary, Oct 11, 1942.

¹³² War cabinet, Nov 18, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

¹³³ Amery diary, Jan 12, 1942.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Sep 10, 1942.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, Sep 19, 1942.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, Jul 27, 1943.

¹³⁷ Amery diary, Sep 22. See too *ibid.*, Sep 24, 1942. The diaries contain months of debate about who should replace Linlithgow, whose term of office had already been prolonged.

¹³⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 11, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹³⁹ A letter from Moore, Apr 30, 1966, quoted in Gilbert, vii, 229.

¹⁴⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 12, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁴¹ Eisenhower to Marshall, Sep 15, 1942; quoted in Eisenhower, 101–4.

¹⁴² WSC to Eden and Hollis, M.376/2, Sep 16, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168).

¹⁴³ Ismay to WSC, Sep 29 (CAB.120/827) and Oct 6 (CAB.120/529). The Catalina, FP.119, had crashed on Sep 26. Report by Inter-Services Security Board to chiefs of staff, Oct 3 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168); for a file on the possibility that this accident had compromised TORCH see PREM.3/439/17. See too Halifax secret diary, Oct 11, quoting Adm Cunningham; and Ismay, *op. cit.*, 265. The SOE agent 'Marcil' was aboard the plane. A JIC report to 'C,' Oct. 23, 1942, states, 'It has subsequently come to our notice, through most secret sources, that all the documents, which included a list of prominent personalities in North Africa and possibly information with regard to our organisations there, together with a notebook, have been photostatted and come into the hands of the enemy' (CAB.163/1).

¹⁴⁴ Eisenhower, 96; Robert Murphy, *Diplomat among Warriors* (London, 1964), 135f (hereafter, Murphy).

¹⁴⁵ Eisenhower, 95. Murphy, 133.

¹⁴⁶ Henry Wallace diary, Nov 12, quoting Morgenthau. Eisenhower arranged for each of the three task force commander to be given \$100,000 in small denomination Gold coins, with \$200,000 in reserve at his HQ: Butcher diary, 234, Sep 16, 1942, unsealed.

¹⁴⁷ Butcher diary, 250, Sep 20, 1942, unsealed. Colonel Julius Holmes, minutes of Eisenhower's meeting with Murphy; in Eisenhower, 97.

¹⁴⁸ Eisenhower, 98.

¹⁴⁹ Butcher diary, 258, Sep 22, unsealed; there are many references in these pages to such assassination plotting between Eisenhower and Murphy (referred to as 'Colonel McGowan'). On Sep 16, 1942 Eisenhower stipulated the 'liquidation' of the twenty German members should be left to the 'last possible moment.' (*Ibid.*, 235).

¹⁵⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 30, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁵¹ WSC to Alexander, Sep 20; Eden diary, manuscript, Sep 20, 1942.

¹⁵² WSC to Alexander, Sep 23 (CAB.163/11).

¹⁵³ Staff conference at Chequers, Sep 21, 1942 (CAB.79/87; PREM.3/439/20a).

¹⁵³ Butcher diary, 269, Sep 27, 1942, unsealed.

¹⁵⁴ Butcher diary, 217, Sep 11, and 225, Sep 14, 1942, unsealed.

¹⁵⁵ Clark related this to Stimson a week later. Stimson diary, Sep 28, 1942.

¹⁵⁶ Butcher diary, Sep 21. Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 23, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁵⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 16, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 530).

¹⁵⁸ Butcher diary, 254ff, Sep 21, 1942.

¹⁵⁹ WSC to Mackenzie King, Sep 24, 1942 (Mackenzie King papers).

¹⁶⁰ Jack (Tovey) to A B Cunningham, Sep 23, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹⁶¹ WSC to Portal, M.406/2, Sep 25; and Portal's replies to WSC, Sep 26, 30, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168 and CAB.121/1).

¹⁶² Air Ministry to commands, Oct 29, 1942 (AIR.8/424).

¹⁶³ WSC to Ismay for COS Committee, D.165/2, Sep 28, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168).

26: PIG IN THE MIDDLE: DARLAN

¹ Butcher diary, 211, Sep 9, 1942, unsealed.

² Capt. Wood, 'American–De Gaullist Relations 1942–44,' Jun 23, 1944; and Lieut. G M Elsey, 'President Roosevelt's Policy towards de Gaulle,' Jun 21, 1945 (NA, Official papers of Adm. W D Leahy, file 20); and see FDR's remarks on this at JCS meeting, Washington, Jan 7, 1943.

³ Harvey diary, Sep 14, 1942.

⁴ See the second-hand version in the Cecil King diary Sep 11, 1942.

⁵ PM's card, Sep 30. Harvey diary, Sep 30, 1942. WP (43) 34 of Aug 7, 1943, 'Relations with Gen. de Gaulle,' Jun 1940 – Jun 1943 (PREM.3/121/5).

⁶ Minute Z7530/5123/G, Meeting between the PM, Eden, and Gen. de Gaulle, Sep 30; and see de Gaulle's version to Charles Peake, Oct 6 (FO.371/31950). Note for Adm Pound, Oct 13 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168). See too Cadogan diary, Sep 30; and Harvey diary, Oct 1, 1942.

⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 30, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁸ Cadogan diary, Sep 30; on Oct 2 he records a meeting with 'D Morton about cutting de Gaulle's communications'; and Harvey diary, Oct 1, 1942.

⁹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Sep 30, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁰ G C Dickens, note on a talk with Adm Auboyneau, Oct 2, 1942 (FO.371/31950).

¹¹ Edward Woodward, *British Foreign Policy* (London, 1962), 122f.

¹² Eden diary, manuscript, Sep 30, 1942.

¹³ Turkish ambassador, Tel. No. 293, to Ankara, Sep 24, 1942; GC&CS decrypt No. 109507 (HW.1/29).

¹⁴ Nicolson diary, Sep 9, 1942,

¹⁵ Cadogan diary, Oct 2, 1942.

¹⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 1, 1942.

¹⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 1; Harvey diary, Oct 2, 1942.

¹⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 2, 1942.

¹⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 3; Harvey diary, Oct 1–2. On this crisis see too the Dalton diary, Sep 10, Oct 10, 1942.

²⁰ Eisenhower to Ismay, Oct 7, 1942, with minute by WSC (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/168).

²¹ Butcher diary, 287, Oct 5, 1942.

²² Butcher diary, 287, Oct 5, 1942.

²³ PM's card, Oct 5, 1942.

²⁴ Memorandum re bombing Rome given to Myron C Taylor by the Pope on Sep 17, 1941; A footnote states that Taylor presented this subject

to WSC at Chequers on Sep 28, 1941 to WSC (Myron C Taylor papers; see also the Myron Taylor papers in NA, RG.59). D'Arcy Osborne wrote on Dec 2, 1941 to the Cardinal Secretary of State warning that the Pope should not protest if the city, with its airfields, railroads, and troop concentrations was bombed (AIR./436).

²⁵ WSC to Portal, Sep 20; and reply, Sep 24, 1941 (AIR./436). Portal had replied that the attack would have to come from Malta – where they had 18 Wellingtons and 26 Blenheims.

²⁶ Portal to Cadogan, Oct 26, 1941 (AIR./436).

²⁷ FO to Ld Halifax, Jan 13, 1942 (AIR./436).

²⁸ A Sinclair to WSC, Dec 4; WSC minute, Dec 6, 1942 (AIR.8/437).

²⁹ Harris, cabinet paper on Bombing Policy, WP (42) 374, Aug 24; WSC minute, Sep 9, 1942 (PREM.3/7).

³⁰ WSC to Air Ministry, Sep 17, 1942 (PREM.3/7).

³¹ C Portal, 'An Estimate of the Effects of an Anglo-American Bomber Offensive against Germany,' (COS (42) 379(O), Nov 3, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³² Brooke to 'Archie' [Wavell], Oct 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 6/x/2/2).

³³ Tovey to Admiralty, Oct 11, 1942; WSC minute, Oct 19, 1942 (PREM.3/7).

³⁴ Chiefs of staff meeting, Oct 22, 1942 (CAB.79/23).

³⁵ C Portal, 'An Estimate of the Effects of an Anglo-American Bomber Offensive against Germany,' (COS (42) 379(O), Nov 3, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³⁶ Pound, COS (42) 393(O), Nov 15, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³⁷ COS meeting, (42) 319th, Nov 18, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³⁸ Ismay to PM, and PM to COS, D.182/2, Nov 1, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

³⁹ Hollis to COS, COS (42) 455 (O), Dec 17; COS (42) 350th meeting, Dec 19, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

⁴⁰ A V Alexander to WSC, Dec 25, 1942 (First Sea Lord's records, ADM.205/14).

⁴¹ Harvey diary, Oct 7, 9, 1942.

⁴² Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 6, 1942.

⁴³ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 8, 1942.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Oct 12, 1942 (Nel papers); quoted in Gilbert, vii, 238.

⁴⁵ Amery diary, Sep 24, Oct 12, 1942.

- ⁴⁶ John Martin letter home, Oct 14, 1942.
- ⁴⁷ John Martin letter home, Oct 18, 1942.
- ⁴⁸ Dr G McVittie (GC&CS), note on visit to Dunstable, Oct 19 (HW.14/55); and note to DDI(4), Oct 22, 1942 (HW.14/55).
- ⁴⁹ WSC to Ismay, Oct 16, 1942.
- ⁵⁰ Brooke to 'Archie,' Oct 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 6/x/2/2).
- ⁵¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Oct 14, 16, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 547f).
- ⁵² Brooke diary, unpublished, Oct 22, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 555f). Compare Brooke's *published* text in Sir Arthur Bryant, *op. cit.*, 555.
- ⁵³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Oct 13, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).
- ⁵⁴ Cadogan diary, Oct 14, 1942.
- ⁵⁵ John Martin letter home, Oct 18, 1942.
- ⁵⁶ Cadogan diary, Oct 19, 1942.
- ⁵⁷ Eden to WSC, Oct 10; WSC note, Oct 12, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a).
- ⁵⁸ WSC to Eden, M.483/2, Oct 24, 1942 (CAB.120/529).
- ⁵⁹ Duke of Alba, Tel. to Madrid No. 308 Oct 28, intercept read by WSC on Nov 1, 1942 (HW.1/1033).
- ⁶⁰ Eisenhower to Marshall, Oct 13, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a).
- ⁶¹ William Leahy, quoted in Halifax diary, Nov 23 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11). And Leahy, *I Was There* (New York, 1950); and diary. For British concern at Leahy's pro-Vichy and anti de Gaulle posture, see R Campbell to W Mack, Aug 31, 1942 (FO.371/31982).
- ⁶² Murphy, 148.
- ⁶³ Information privately communicated by Darlan's biographer Captain Claude Huan, Mar 1996; he discussed this with Chrétien several times. At the same time Clementine Churchill had received from D Cousteau, a Frenchman close to the Vichy admirals, a letter dated Torquay, Oct 9, 1942, offering to visit Darlan and swing him and the Vichy fleet round to the Allies again; a note to WSC was enclosed (ADM.199/529).
- ⁶⁴ Ismay to 'CD' [chief of S.O.E.] and to 'C,' Oct 13 (CAB.121/284). He asked for a reply by Oct 15, as the COS wanted to discuss this with 'CD' and C on Oct 16, 1942.
- ⁶⁵ History of US PsyWar operations in North Africa, 51-58, quoting Marshall to Eisenhower, EYES ONLY, R-2015, CM OUT 5209, Oct 16, 1942, copy in JCS HS files. This is the relayed paraphrase of Murphy's message (Hoover Libr, Robert Murphy papers, box 52).

⁶⁶ History of US PsyWar operations in North Africa, quoting Handy to Murphy, SIGGY B-1, n.d. (about Oct 17); Marshall to Eisenhower, No 2015, CM OUT 5209, Oct 16, 1942 (Hoover Libr, Robert Murphy papers, box 52).

⁶⁷ History of US PsyWar operations in North Africa, quoting Harry Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, pp. 145-6. Memo, E P Lilly conference with Gen. Lemnitzer, Oct 14, 1946; Gen. Mark Clark, Torch operation, in Washington *Evening Star*, May 19, 1947. In his book *Calculated Risk* (New York, 1950), pp 70-71, Clark avoids all mention of Allied Forces headquarters' decision. Eisenhower to Marshall, EYES ONLY, No 3711, CM IN 7296, Oct 17, 1942, CCS 385.7 (10.10.42) SEC 1 (Hoover Libr, Robert Murphy papers, box 52). Only portions of these signals, avoiding the Darlan issue, were used by Langer, **title? Place, year?** pp. 325-6.

⁶⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Oct 17. This is unfortunately the only entry between Oct 8 and Nov 7, 1942.

⁶⁹ Harvey diary, Oct 17, 1942.

⁷⁰ Sargent to WSC, Taut, No. 73, Dec 19; WSC to Orme Sargent (FO), Dec 20, 1941; F D W B[rown] to V G Lawford at FO, Oct 18; endorsed 'seen by Major Morton, 19.10.,' initialled J.M.M[artin]. 18.10.42' (PREM.3/186a/7).

⁷¹ Staff conference at No. 10 Downing-street, Oct 17, 1942, 4:30 PM (CAB.79/87).

⁷² History of US PsyWar operations in North Africa, quoting Eisenhower to Marshall, EYES ONLY, No 3730, CM IN 7386, Oct 17, 1942, CCS 385.7 (10.10.42) sec 1. Butcher, p. 146. PsyWar at AFHQ were not informed of the possibility of AFHQ reaching an understanding with Darlan; this, states the history, was an omission for which the Allies 'were to pay dearly.' These passages are lined in ink on Murphy's file copy (Hoover Libr, Robert Murphy papers, box 52).

⁷³ Butcher diary, Oct 17, 1942; see the comments by Robert Sherwood (Beaverbrook papers, C.175).

⁷⁴ WSC to Eden, Oct 18, 1942: Gilbert, with an erudite footnote about the culinary writer Mrs Hanna Glasse, vii, 240.

⁷⁵ Harvey diary, Oct 19. Hugh Dalton also noted that Attlee displayed 'irritation with the PM' for making slow progress with post-war decisions and 'always clos[ing] everything down.' Dalton diary, Nov 17, 1942.

⁷⁶ Harvey diary, Oct 23, 1942.

⁷⁷ WSC to Eden, Oct 21 1942, in Edward Woodward, *History of British*

Foreign Policy, *** place, year, 433–5.

⁷⁸ FDR conversation with Morgenthau, transcript in latter's diary, Oct 11, 1942 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 578).

⁷⁹ PM's card.

⁸⁰ Butcher diary, 335, Oct 21, 1942, unsealed.

⁸¹ Amery diary, Oct 21; see also WSC's confident remarks to the Pacific War Council this day, Oct 21, 1942 (CAB.99/26).

⁸² Dalton diary, Oct 21, 1942.

⁸³ WSC to Alexander, Oct 20, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 528. The originals of these telegrams Jul–Dec 1942 are in PREM.3/310/6 and CAB.105/19.

⁸⁴ GC&CS draft history, Chap.vi, 'The Western Front from February 1942 – May 1945,' 355 (HW3/99).

⁸⁵ ULTRA intercept CX/MSS/1562/T23, quoted by Hinsley, vol. ii, 427. And see CX/MSS/1562/T14, the daily report by *Panzer-Armee Afrika* Ia (operations officer) for Oct 19, which WSC ordered sent out to C-in-C, Middle East, Oct 21, 1942 (HW.1/995).

⁸⁶ WSC to FDR, Oct 23, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 528.

⁸⁷ Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, Oct 19, 1942, 550.

⁸⁸ Eleanor Roosevelt, typescript 'Diary of Trip to Great Britain, Oct 21–Nov 17, 1942,' Oct 23, 1942 in her daughter's papers (FDR Library, Anna Roosevelt Halsted papers, box 60); for WSC's file on this visit, see PREM.4/26/5.

⁸⁹ Henry R Morgenthau Jr talking with his staff, transcript in Morgenthau diary, Nov 2, 1942 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 581).

⁹⁰ Rauf Orbay (London) to Turkish foreign ministry, Ankara, Oct 24; intercept No. 110453 shown to WSC, Oct 29, 1942 (HW.1/1017).

⁹¹ Nel, *op. cit.*, 90f.

⁹² *Panzer-Armee Afrika* Ia to Rommel, via Wehrkr XVII, No. 2794, Oct 24, intercept CX/MSS/1576/T14, transmitted Oct 25, 1942, 3:44 a.m. to Cairo for Rowan (HW.1/1008).

⁹³ Dt General in Rome to *Panzer-Armee Afrika*, Oct 24, 7:30 A.M. and PzArmee to Kesselring, Oct 24, four P.M. CX/MSS/C55 and C56 (HW.1/1346). They were telephoned to WSC, and sent over on Oct 25, 1942.

⁹⁴ CX/MSS/C.57 (HW.1/1011).

⁹⁵ Kesselring to Antonius 2, Oct 25, 5 P.M., CX/MSS/1580/T.9 (HW.1/1011).

⁹⁶ Intercepts CX/MSS/C.58 and 59 (HW.1/1011).

⁹⁷ Martin diary, Oct 25, 1942. The other guests that weekend were, Clementine, Sarah, Mary Churchill; 'Tommy' Thompson, and John Martin; Eleanor Roosevelt, Miss Malvina Thompson; Cherwell, Winant, Mr and Mrs Eden, the Portals, Sir A and Lady Harris, Mr Robert Hopkins, and a Miss Brookes. Chequers register, Oct 23–26 1942; and 'Mr Winant's Visits to Chequers,' Extracts from Chequers Visitors' Book (FDR Library, John G Winant papers, box 189, 'Chequers').

⁹⁸ Eleanor Roosevelt diary, Oct 25, 1942 (FDR Library, Anna Roosevelt Halsted papers, box 60). Lindemann's personal assistant was a Dr Merton.

⁹⁹ The dinner was on Oct 27. Henry R Morgenthau Jr talking with his staff, transcript in Morgenthau diary, Nov 2, 1942 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers, vol. 581).

¹⁰⁰ Eleanor Roosevelt diary, Oct 27 (FDR Library, Anna Roosevelt Halsted papers, box 60); PM's card, Oct 27; Brooke diary, Oct 27 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a). Henry Wallace diary, Dec 16, 1942.

¹⁰¹ WSC to Eden, Sep 20, and reply, Sep 23, 1942 (PREM.4/26/5 and file FO.954/29).

¹⁰² Stimson diary, Nov 20, 1942.

¹⁰³ Morgenthau talking (see note 99).

¹⁰⁴ WSC to Weizmann, Oct 30 (PREM.4.52/3). The message was entirely John Martin's idea. As for its eventual publication, see Halifax to Eden, No. 5359, Oct 30, 1942 (FO.954/29).

¹⁰⁵ PM's card.

¹⁰⁶ Brooke diary, Oct, 26, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 514f.

¹⁰⁷ MI. 19 (RPS)/1218, report, 'Pro-Allied Subversive Action in Algiers on the night of Nov 7–8, 1942,' Jan 20, 1943; a debriefing of two of the 'subversives' who directed this action – one a doctor of thirty-three, the other a businessman of twenty-two (FO.371/36116).

¹⁰⁸ WSC to Eden, Oct 24; WSC to Lord Gort, Oct 30, 1942 (CAB.120/529).

¹⁰⁹ Amery diary, Oct 26, 1942.

¹¹⁰ Signal from *Panzer-Armee Afrika* Ia, Oct 25; intercept CX/MSS/C.60, Oct 26, 1942, 2:46 P.M (HW.1/1014).

¹¹¹ WSC to Mackenzie King, Curtin, and Fraser, Oct 28, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 534.

¹¹² Cadogan diary, Oct 28, 1942.

¹¹³ WSC to Alexander, Oct 28, draft (PREM.3/299/1, and CAB.163/11); cf. Michael Howard, *Grand Strategy*, vol. iv (London 1972), 68. For

frantic appeals by Rommel for a *Schlachtflieger* (ground attack) squadron, see the intercept of Rommel to Kesselring, Oct 28, 1942, 11:30 (HW.1/1018).

¹¹⁴ So WSC told Brooke the next morning. Brooke diary, unpublished, Oct 29, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); omitted from Sir Arthur Bryant, *op. cit.*, 512. The fact of Eden's visit is confirmed by PM's card.

¹¹⁵ WSC to Brooke, Oct 28, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vii, 244.

¹¹⁶ Montgomery was told of the coming visit at 11:50 A.M., Oct 29, 1942: Nigel Hamilton, *Monty. The Making of a General, 1887–1942* (London, 1981), 825.

¹¹⁷ This whole passage was omitted by Bryant from the published Brooke diary, 512. 'I was sent for by PM and had to tell him fairly plainly what I thought of Anthony Eden and [his] ability to judge a tactical situation at this distance.'

¹¹⁸ Cadogan diary, Oct 29, 1942: "C" showed me a lot of what looks like good news from Egypt.'

¹¹⁹ Rommel to OKW, Oct 28, 1942; in Hinsley, vol. ii.

¹²⁰ Rommel, Order No. 2878, Oct 28, 1942; intercept CX/MSS/C/63, Oct 29; sent to Alexander as QT 4646 (GW.1/1019).

¹²¹ WSC to Alexander, Oct 29, 1942 (CAB.163/11); in part: Churchill, vol. iv, 534f; see Gilbert, vol. vii, 245, listing BONIFACE intercepts QT/4474, QT/4592, QT/4599, QT/4642, QT/4644 and QT/4682.

¹²² Montgomery's diary, quoted by Nigel Hamilton, *Monty. The Making of a General, 1887–1942* (London, 1981), 826.

¹²³ Alexander to WSC, Oct 30, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 535.

¹²⁴ Alexander to WSC, Oct 31, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 535f.

¹²⁵ WSC to FDR, Nov 1, 1942.

¹²⁶ Cadogan diary, Nov 1, 1942.

¹²⁷ C to Washington, Nov 2, 1942 (HW.14/57).

¹²⁸ Brooke diary, Nov 2, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 515. PM's card shows that Smuts, the chiefs of staff and Mountbatten were also at the luncheon.

¹²⁹ Cadogan diary, Nov 2, 1942.

¹³⁰ Rommel, *Zwischenmeldung* (Interim report), Nr. 2, Nov 2, in Rommel papers (NA microfilm T84, roll 276, 0884); summarised in Cadogan diary, Nov 3, and Harvey diary, Nov 3. Butcher diary, Nov 7, 1942: WSC had told Eisenhower 'that a message from Rommel to German General Staff had been intercepted in which Rommel begged for aid immediately or his force

would be annihilated.'

¹³¹ ULTRA intercept QT/5086, Hinsley, vol. ii, 448. WSC signalled to Alexander on Nov 4, 1942: 'Presume you have read all the BONIFACE including especially No. QT/5086 sent you night of 2nd.'

¹³² These were QT/5032, QT/5039, and QT/5073: Hinsley, vol. ii, 448.

¹³³ Rommel to the Führer, Nov 3, 1942. Rommel papers (NA microfilm T84, roll 276, 0886).

¹³⁴ Amery diary, Nov 3, 1943.

¹³⁵ Hitler to Rommel and Kesselring, Nov 3, 1942, in Rommel papers (NA microfilm T84, roll 276, 0885).

¹³⁶ Cadogan diary, Nov 5, 1942.

¹³⁷ Alexander to WSC, Nov 4, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 537.

¹³⁸ H M King George VI diary, Nov 4, 1942, 553; there too the extract from the papers of Lionel Logue, the speech therapist for the king's stutter.

¹³⁹ Brooke diary, Nov 4, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, page

¹⁴⁰ Rommel to Hitler, Nov 4, 1942. Rommel papers (NA microfilm T84, roll 276, 0890).

¹⁴¹ Hitler to Rommel, Nov 4, 1942, 8:50 P.M (NA microfilm T84, roll 276, 0892).

¹⁴² Martin diary, Nov 4, 1942: 'In the evening arrived news of Alexander's victory in Egypt – Rommel's forces in full retreat.'

¹⁴³ WSC to FDR, Nov 4, 1942.

¹⁴⁴ Hume Wrong diary, Nov 4, 1942 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, MG.30, E.101, file 23, 'London, 1942').

¹⁴⁵ WSC to Alexander, Nov 4, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 537f.

¹⁴⁶ Bruce Lockhart diary, Nov 5, 1942 and Aug 15, 1958.

¹⁴⁷ King George VI to WSC, Nov 5, 1942, 553f.

¹⁴⁸ PM's card.

¹⁴⁹ Nicolson diary, Nov 6, 1942,

¹⁵⁰ Alexander to WSC, Nov 6, 1942: Churchill, vol. iv, 539. Most of the prisoners were however Italian. Once again Rommel's *Afrika Korps* had slipped through the net.

¹⁵¹ The 2nd New Zealand Division suffered 2,388, the 51st Highland Division 2,495, and the whole of Tenth Corps 2,886 casualties (Official Historian's papers, CAB.106/792).

¹⁵² JIC (42) 432 (O), 'Recent Intelligence Affecting Operation TORCH,' Nov 3, 1942 (CAB.120/529).

27: A LITTLE AIRPLANE ACCIDENT

¹ Morton to WSC, Oct 30 (FO.371/31950). Marshall to Eisenhower, Aug 8, 1942, Eisenhower, 93.

² George M Elsey, 'President Roosevelt's Policy towards de Gaulle,' Jun 21, 1945 (NA, RG.218, Joints chiefs of staff, Official papers of Adm. W D Leahy, file 20).

³ Murphy to FDR, Nov 2; in Murphy, 155; cf. JSM Washington to COS, Nov 2, 1942 (CAB.120/529).

⁴ Cadogan diary, Nov 2, 1942. Visiting the codebreakers' headquarters at Bletchley Park three days later to settle pay grievances, C told Cadogan that he had heard that 'the Giraud affair had been rather muddled.'

⁵ Stimson diary, Nov 2, 5, 1942.

⁶ WSC to FDR, No. 182, Nov 3, 1942 (CAB.120/529).

⁷ Leahy diary, Nov 3; he sent the draft messages to FDR at Hyde Park. FDR to WSC, No. 206, Nov 4 (CAB.120/529). For FDR's message to Pétain see PREM.439/7. WSC had written to Eden on Oct 30 that he agreed with Morton that FDR's planned remarks to Pétain and Franco were 'out-of-date and overdone.'

⁸ WSC to Alexander, Nov 4, 1942 (CAB.120/529).

⁹ Murphy, 180f.

¹⁰ FDR told Morgenthau that he had 'absolutely not' expected Darlan: 'But he worked out all right and he gave the orders to cease firing,' Morgenthau diary, Nov 12, 1942 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers).

¹¹ Eisenhower, 116.

¹² See e.g., Nerin Gun, *Pétain, Laval, de Gaulle* (Paris, 1979), 330f. The codebreakers in the German *Forschungsamt* concluded, as Goebbels recorded on Dec 11, 1942, 'that Darlan high-tailed it to North Africa just for the purpose of defecting, and that his son's illness was only a cover for this.'

¹³ GC&CS, French dept., MOST SECRET summary No. 323, 'Adm. Darlan,' Nov 8, 1942, issued to Loxley, Morton, and others (HW.1/1067). WSC marked two paras. on this document.

¹⁴ Cadogan diary, Nov 17; the same French source, 'Hellen(?),' shows up as a sidekick to de Gaulle on Dec 7, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁵ Adm. Leahy diary, Nov 28, 1942 (Libr. of Congress, Manuscript Divi-

sion, Fleet Adm. William D Leahy papers, reel 2).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Dec 7, 1942. Ray Atherton (State dept., European Division), quoted in Adm. Leahy diary, Mar 31, 1943 (Libr. of Congress, Manuscript Division, Fleet Adm. William D Leahy papers, reel 2); and *cf.* Apr 6, 1943.

¹⁷ Eisenhower handwritten note (Butcher papers).

¹⁸ Butcher diary, Nov 7, 1942, unsealed.

¹⁹ Eisenhower to WSC, No. 77, Nov 6 (CAB. 120/529). On Nov 6, 1942 relayed to Gibraltar at 4:30 p.m., Marshall informed Eisenhower that, according to Murphy, Darlan had secretly flown to Algiers on the fifth, where his son was dying with 'no hope of recovery.' Darlan's presence in the TORCH area might be embarrassing, said Marshall, but it was believed he would leave before then (AFHQ file, 'Adm. Darlan,' WO.204/303).

²⁰ WSC to FDR, Nov 5, 1942 (PREM.3/439/20a).

²¹ FDR to WSC, Nov 5, 1942 (*ibid.*)

²² WSC to FDR, Nov 6, 1942 (*ibid.*, and CAB. 120/529).

²³ WSC to Minister of State, T. 1444/2, Nov 6, 1942 (CAB. 120/529).

²⁴ P-219 had sailed on Oct 27, with Wright and Lieut. Col. Bradley Gaylord, US 12th Air Force, as 'passengers.' Pound to Ismay, Oct 28, 1942 (CAB. 120/529).

²⁵ Charles Peake and C N Stirling minutes, Nov 7, 1942 (FO.371/31950).

²⁶ Morton to WSC, Dec 3, 1942, quoting Col. Brien Clarke; Clarke also claimed that Gen. Mast had surrendered Algeria, and Gen. Noguès Morocco, hours before any orders were issued by Darlan (PREM.3/442/20a). WSC's other file on North Africa, Sep-Dec 1942 PREM.3/442/20b) has been retained by the cabinet Office despite a review as recently as 1992.

²⁷ Stimson diary, Nov 8, 1942; Eisenhower, 110-2.

²⁸ Butcher diary, pages Gib-21ff, Nov 8, 1942, unsealed.

²⁹ WSC speech during Secret Session, Dec 10, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'North Africa, 'pre-Casablanca'; and Map Room files, box 116 file A/16); and see PREM.3/442/12.

³⁰ Murphy, 161.

³¹ Eisenhower, 112. FDR told Morgenthau (diary, Nov 12, 1942) that Giraud gave the Allies a terrible time, wanting to lord it over the British, Americans, and Free French. Finally Eisenhower had to threaten to send him back to France (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers).

³² Eisenhower to CCS, Nov 8, 1942, 02:32 A.M (PREM.3/442/20a).

³³ Butcher diary, original typescript, Nov 8, 1942. This passage is not in the published version, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*.

³⁴ Mason-Macfarlane spent the night at Chequers a few weeks earlier. Martin diary, Jun 12; and Chequers register, Jun 12, 1942 (copies of both in the author's possession).

³⁵ Murphy points out (163) that WSC is incorrect in stating the Allies had a prior understanding with Juin.

³⁶ Murphy, 163f.

³⁷ From Darlan's own unpublished war diary, '*Evènements du 8 novembre 1942*,' written Nov 15, 1942 (courtesy of Claude Huan).

³⁸ Murphy, 163f.

³⁹ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Nov 18, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 252; and see her memoirs, *Mr Churchill's Secretary* (London, 1958), 91. For tit-bits telephoned from Major Carver of the Cabinet offices, see PREM.3/439/20a.

⁴⁰ CX/MSS/STPF/429, originating Nov 8, 10:32 GMT; and CX/MSS/STPF/438, Nov 8, 1942 (HW.1065; the raw intercept is in HW.1/1067).

⁴¹ CX/MSS/STPF/433 timed Nov 8, 1942, 12:11 p.m.; CX/MSS/STPF/434, Nov 8, 1942 (HW.1/1067)

⁴² GC&CS Naval Section, Naval headlines No. 492, Nov 8, 11 a.m. HW.1/1067).

⁴³ J Martin to WSC, Nov 8, 1942 (PREM.3/439/20a).

⁴⁴ WSC to Brigadier L C Hollis, Minute D.192/2, Nov 8, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a and CAB.120/530).

⁴⁵ Cadogan diary and Harvey diary, Nov 6, 8; for the record of WSC's interview with de Gaulle before lunch, Nov 8, 1942, see PREM.3/439/20a; for Eden's record see CAB.66/30.

⁴⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 8, 1942.

⁴⁷ Lieut.-Gen. Sir F N Mason-Macfarlane, note on meeting at Government House, Nov 8, 1942; Eisenhower, 113.

⁴⁸ WSC to Giraud, in WSC to Eisenhower, Nov 7, 1942 (CAB.120/529). It began, 'I feel the Rock of Gibraltar will be safe in your hands.'

⁴⁹ WSC to Giraud, Nov 7, and reply to WSC; the original French text is Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill'; copy in DDE to WSC, Nov 8, 4:43 P.M., in Butcher diary (Butcher papers, and PREM.3/439/20a and CAB.120/530).

⁵⁰ Stimson diary, Nov 9-10, 1942.

⁵¹ Marshall to Eisenhower, Nov 5; Ismay to WSC, Nov 7, 1942; Churchill asked to be shown Eisenhower's telegram reporting this (CAB.120/529 and PREM.3/442/20a). Murphy had signalled Eisenhower via Marshall on

Nov 4, 1942, that this suggestion had already been received from Giraud.

⁵² Bedell Smith to Marshall, Nov 9, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 180).

⁵³ Winant to FDR, Nov 9, 1942, 6:50 P.M (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 11, 'FDR-Winant').

⁵⁴ Butcher diary, 29, Nov 8, 1942, unsealed.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Giraud was the target of a failed assassination attempt on Aug 28, 1944; the Arab gunman had been hired by de Gaulle's French National Committee of Liberation, from what Robert Murphy told Adm. W D Leahy (Adm. Leahy diary).

⁵⁶ MI. 19 (RPS)/1218, report, 'Pro-Ally Subversive Action in Algiers on the night of 7-8th November 1942,' Jan 20, 1943 (FO.371/36116). Lemaigre-Dubreuil travelled freely between Algiers and Vichy France and had acted earlier as the conduit between Henri d'Astier and Giraud; Giraud's luggage was hidden at the apartment of M Alexandre – whose arrest he would later order.

⁵⁷ Stimson diary, Dec 26, 1942.

⁵⁸ Maisky denied the charge. Eden's note on conversation with Maisky, Oct 15; initialled 'read, WSC 17.x.' (PREM.3/439/20a); Cadogan diary, Oct 15, 1942.

⁵⁹ Hut 3 to GC&CS director, Oct, 2, 1942 (HW.1/946).

⁶⁰ Naval Section report, 'German Preparations For Activity in the Caspian Sea,' Sep 27; C to WSC, C/918, Sep 30; WSC to 'C,' Sep 30, 1942 (HW.1/938).

⁶¹ WSC to Stalin, Sep 30, 1942. In his reply Stalin admitted that the situation at Stalingrad had worsened; he asked for 800 Allied fighter planes a month, three hundred of them from Britain.

⁶² WSC to Stalin, Oct 8; Stalin to WSC, Oct 13; remarks of WSC to War cabinet (CAB.65/32).

⁶³ Stalin to Maisky, in Russian, Oct 19, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 294).

⁶⁴ WSC to Stalin, Nov 5 and 7; and reply, Nov 10, 1942 (PREM.3/439/20a).

⁶⁵ Stalin to WSC, in Russian, Nov 8, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 302f).

⁶⁶ Maisky to Molotov, in Russian, Nov 10, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 303ff). They also discussed Churchill's promise to send twenty fighter squadrons to southern Russia. Turning to Brooke, WSC asked if they couldn't send out some planes at once. Maisky however inferred that the PM was only acting. See too Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 9; and the diaries of Harvey diary, Nov 10 and Cadogan, Nov 14, 1942

⁶⁷ Brooke diary, unpublished, Nov 9, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 569). WSC to Lyttelton, Nov 9, 1942.

⁶⁸ Haley (JIC) to Mockler-Ferryman, G-2 at AFHQ, Nov 11, 1942 (CAB.163/1).

⁶⁹ Darlan, 'Évènements du 8 novembre 1942,' Nov 15, 1942.

⁷⁰ Pound to WSC, Jan 8, 1943 (ADM.205/27, 'First Sea Lord's Correspondence With PM').

⁷¹ Murphy, 179f.

⁷² Stimson diary, Nov 16, 1942. For a large collection of anguished transatlantic messages on the controversy, see NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 7, file 'French North Africa (de Gaulle-Darlan).'

⁷³ FDR's press interview is in PREM.3/437/4.

⁷⁴ John Martin letter home, Nov 12, 1942.

⁷⁵ Amery diary, Nov 10, 1942.

⁷⁶ Brooke diary, Nov 10, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 523.

⁷⁷ COS paper 345 (O) 1945; WSC minute, D.139/2, Nov 9, 1942.

⁷⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Nov 10, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a). For the text of the king's speech see CAB.66/30.

⁷⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 10. Oshima to Tokyo, Nov 9, nine a.m.; telephoned to WSC at 9:30 p.m., Nov 10, 1942 (HW.1/1075).

⁸⁰ Cecil King diary, Nov 12, 1942.

⁸¹ See Robert Rhodes James (ed.), *Winston S Churchill: His Complete Speeches 1897-1963* (London, 1974), vol. vi, 6688-95. Butler to Hoare, Nov 27, 1942 (Templewood papers, xiii/19).

⁸² Amery diary, Nov 12, 1942.

⁸³ Amery to Linlithgow, Nov 13, 1942 Nicholas Mansergh et al., (eds.), *The Transfer of Power*, vol. iii (London, 1970), 178.

⁸⁴ John Martin letter home, Nov 12, 1942.

⁸⁵ Eisenhower, 117f.

⁸⁶ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Nov 11, 1942, cols.2-39.

⁸⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 11, 1942.

⁸⁸ Cecil King diary, Nov 13, 1942.

⁸⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 12, 1942.

⁹⁰ WSC to FDR, Nov 11, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 566.

⁹¹ FDR to WSC, Nov 11, 1942.

⁹² Clark to Eisenhower, Nov 12, 1942, 2:58 P.M (Butcher papers).

⁹³ Colonel William Stirling, minutes of the meeting between Darlan and Eisenhower, Nov 13, 1942; in Eisenhower, 120f.

⁹⁴ Morgenthau diary, Nov 12, 1942 (FDR Library, Henry R Morgenthau papers); similar in FDR to WSC, Nov 20, 1942, Churchill, vol. iv, 571.

⁹⁵ Stalin to WSC, Nov 27, 1942.

⁹⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 13, 1942.

⁹⁷ Harvey diary, Nov 13, 1942.

⁹⁸ Cadogan diary, Nov 12, 1942.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov 14, 1942.

¹⁰⁰ Hand-written note by Bracken, undated, 'ca 23.12.1942' (FO.954/16).

¹⁰¹ WSC to FDR, Nov 17, 1942.

¹⁰² Eisenhower to CCS, Nov 14 (CAB.65/28) WSC to Eisenhower, Nov 14, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 567.

¹⁰² WSC to Stalin, Nov 13, 1942.

¹⁰³ Harvey diary, Nov 11, 1942.

¹⁰⁴ FDR to WSC, Nov 11, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

¹⁰⁵ Chequers register, Nov 13–16, 1942, lists these as WSC, Thompson, Peck; Mrs Churchill, and daughters Sarah and Mary; Air Marshals Harris and Douglas, Sir Charles and Lady Portal; Smuts, Eden, Adm. Pound, Miss Magee, Mr and Mrs Moisewitsch, Miss Kenyon, Generals Ismay, Bedell Smith, Brooke, Hollis, and Gale; Lords Leathers, Cherwell, and Mountbatten, and Captain Lambe.

¹⁰⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 14, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ Nel, *op. cit.*, 63.

¹⁰⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 15, 1942. The diary shows that Eden suffered from blackouts, subsequent headaches, giddiness, and eye-problems – what he called 'dazzles.' *Ibid.*, Sep 3, 4, 1942.

¹⁰⁹ Jack (Tovey) to A B Cunningham, Nov 16, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570). His source must have been either Pound or Mountbatten.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ WSC to Selborne, M.527/2, Nov 13, 1942 (CAB.120/827).

¹¹² Cadogan diary, Nov 14–15, 1942.

¹¹³ WSC to FDR, Nov 17, 1942.

¹¹⁴ WSC to Pound, Nov 14, 1942.

¹¹⁵ Ramsay to Cunningham, Nov 24, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹¹⁶ Secret draft history of US PsyWar operations in North Africa, 85ff (Hoover Libr., Robert Murphy papers, Box 52).

¹¹⁷ Eisenhower to CCS, Nov 14, 1942 (CAB.65/28); Cadogan diary, Nov 15; Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 15; for the text of the Eisenhower–Darlan agreement, Nov 22, 1942, see FO.371/32148.

¹¹⁸ Brooke diary, Nov 15, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 522; he omits the words 'Eden opposed.' Anthony Eden was prime minister at the time of Bryant's work editing the diaries.

¹¹⁹ Butcher diary, page A.590, Jul 16, 1943, unsealed.

¹²⁰ WSC to FDR, Nov 15, 1942, deseriesified 1972 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill'; and Butcher papers). A sanitised version of this is published in Churchill, vol. iv, 567.

¹²¹ Harvey diary, Nov 16, 1942.

¹²² Papers removed in 1963 from WSC's Chartwell Trust papers included a note revealing this. He later noted, 'I never wish to see this subject again. All copies of this minute are to be destroyed' (CAB.163/12).

¹²³ David Gray to FDR, Nov 29, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800–Ireland').

¹²⁴ Others present were Mrs Churchill, Pamela Churchill, with Richard K Law, parliamentary Under-Secretary at the FO, as scribe. David Gray, Dublin, to Winant, Nov 24, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800–Ireland'). Gray and Sir John Maffey, his British counterpart in Dublin, found this statement most useful. 'Neither of us have been able to obtain from Westminster or Washington any authoritative opinion on this question.'

¹²⁵ David Gray, Dublin, to FDR, Nov 29, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800–Ireland').

¹²⁶ Gray to Winant, Jan 27, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 219, file '800–Ireland').

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov 29, 1942 (*Ibid.*.)

¹²⁸ Clementine reminded WSC of this episode, over dinner with Mackenzie King (Mackenzie King diary, Aug 10, 1943).

¹²⁹ FDR to WSC, Nov 18, 1942 Churchill, vol. iv, 569.

¹³⁰ Cadogan diary, Nov 22, 1942 (Churchill College, Cadogan papers).

¹³¹ Gray to FDR, Nov 29, 1942 (see note 125).

¹³² WSC to FDR, Nov 16, 1942; dated Nov 17 in Churchill, vol. iv, 568.

¹³³ Cadogan diary, Nov 16, 1942.

¹³⁴ Smuts to WSC, Nov 20, 1942, MOST SECRET, 1942 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill'; CAB.66/31 and CAB.120/530); cf. Churchill, vol. iv, 570. Lord Halifax noted after reading the telegram from Gibraltar that

Smuts 'evidently feels that we are in danger of playing down Darlan too much.' Halifax secret diary, Nov 21, 1942.

¹³⁵ WSC to Eisenhower, Nov 22, 1942 (CAB.120/530).

¹³⁶ Darlan to Mark Clark, Nov 21; Eisenhower to CCS, Nov 24, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a and CAB.120/530; Churchill, vol. iv, 571).

¹³⁷ So Marshall told Dill. J C Dill to A B Cunningham, Dec 1, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹³⁸ Mack to William [Strang], Nov 29, 1942, AFHQ (FO.371/32145).

¹³⁹ Eden to Mack, via 'C,' Dec 4, 1942 (FO.371/32145). He minuted: 'I am appalled at situation which this letter reveals & agree that Mr Mack should come home at once. I regret that he went.'

¹⁴⁰ Eisenhower, 123.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* (London, 1948), 124.

¹⁴² Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Nov 16, 1942, ten P.M (CAB.69/4).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Ralph Noskwith in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (eds.), *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 121.

¹⁴⁵ Hinsley, vol. ii, 233.

¹⁴⁶ CAB.66/31.

¹⁴⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 20, 1942.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* : 'According to Winston, who did not hear, Clemmie asked De G whether [the] French fleet would come over in response to Darlan's appeal. De G flashed back, 'Never, the fleet's one ambition is to sink yours,' or something to that effect. C[lementine] concluded from De G's manner that he wished the fleet luck in this & ~~flashed~~ retorted, 'You had no right to speak like that in my house.' Whereupon De G coloured up. I fear that W who has of course accepted C's account of this interview will be passionately anti De G in consequence.'

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov 21, 1942.

¹⁵⁰ Cadogan diary, Nov 21, 1942.

¹⁵¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 21, 1942.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ WSC to Holmes, M.546/2, Nov 23, 1942 (CAB.120/530).

¹⁵⁴ Cecil King diary, Dec 19, 1942.

¹⁵⁵ Pamela Churchill to Hopkins, Nov 30, 1942 (Hopkins papers).

¹⁵⁶ British Staff officer (Intelligence) at Gibraltar, private letter, Dec 6, quoted in NID LC Report No. 503, Dec 18, 1942 (ADM.199/529).

¹⁵⁷ Winant to FDR, Dec 3, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca').

¹⁵⁸ H M King George VI diary, Nov 28/30, 1942.

¹⁵⁹ Bruce Lockhart diary, Nov 25, 1942.

¹⁶⁰ Harvey diary, Nov 26; and November 28, 1942: 'PM is getting more and more enthusiastic over Darlan.'

¹⁶¹ Eden to WSC, Nov 26; minute by WSC, Dec 1, 1942 (FO.371/32145). Churchill then wrote another minute: 'This may need review in the light of events.'

¹⁶² Eden to Peake, Dec 9; note on talk with de Gaulle and Catroux over dinner, Dec 8, 1942 (FO.371/32145 and FO.954/8); Sir Llewellyn Woodward, *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War* (London, 1971), vol. ii, 395–8, makes no reference to the deletion.

¹⁶³ Harvey diary, Nov 28, 1942.

¹⁶⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 30, 1942.

28: GETTING RID OF DARLAN

¹ Cadogan diary, Nov 21. Stalin to WSC, Nov 20, 1942, *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 310.

² Pamela Churchill to Hopkins, Nov 30, 1942 (Hopkins papers).

³ Amery diary, Nov 17, 18, 1942.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov 19, 1942.

⁵ *News Chronicle*, Nov 27. WSC's rating had touched 89 percent briefly during the Battle of Britain, and again briefly on his return from Washington in Jan 1942. His government's popularity rose from 49 percent in Oct 1942 to 75 percent in Nov 1942.

⁶ Halifax diary, Nov 10, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11).

⁷ Amery diary, Oct 14, 1942.

⁸ Bruce Lockhart diary, Dec 27, 1942.

⁹ Brooke diary, No 18, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 526; first three words omitted. Ralph Bennett and Edward Thomas in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed.), *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 37, 48.

¹⁰ C to WSC, Nov 29, 1942, enclosing CX/MSS/C/82 (HW.1/1173); and Hut 3 phone message to WSC, with Rommel signal to Bastico, explaining that Fehn would stand in for him. 'An attempt by (strong) forces is not anticipated in this time' (HW.1/1175).

¹¹ Cadogan diary, Nov 29, 1942.

¹² Ramsay to Cunningham, Dec 4, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹³ One of Hitler's stenographers suffered a similar nervous breakdown and was retired, according to the diary of fellow stenographer Karl Thöt (Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Irving Collection); he blamed the privileged insight into awful events.

¹⁴ Nel, *op. cit.*, 92f.

¹⁵ Cadogan diary, Nov 21, 1942.

¹⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Nov 19, 1942.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1942.

¹⁸ Halifax secret diary, Nov 22, 1942.

¹⁹ Halifax diary, Nov 22–23, 1942 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.11).

²⁰ Dalton diary, Nov 22, 1942. There was a parallel in Nazi Germany: Hitler, faced with the *éclat* of the resignation of Gen. Ludwig Beck in Aug 1938, persuaded him to stay on in the national interest – then sacked him at the height of his own prestige in Oct 1938.

²¹ Eden to Halifax, Dec 5, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a).

²² Cadogan diary, Dec; cf. Harvey diary, Dec 17, 1942.

²³ Martin diary, Dec 5–6, 1942.

²⁴ Cadogan diary, Nov 23, 1942.

²⁵ Tel. 5474 American Legation, Bern (Harrison) to State dept., Washington, Nov 27, 1942, paraphrase (Myron C Taylor papers).

²⁶ Myron C Taylor to FDR, by phone to Miss Tully, Nov 30, 1942 (*loc. cit.*).

²⁷ Memorandum re bombing Rome given to Myron C Taylor by the Pope on Sep 17, 1941; Taylor presented this subject on Sep 28–29, 1941 to WSC and Eden. Myron C Taylor to Winant, Dec 2, 1942 (*loc. cit.*). He asked Winant to send to him a full statement of his conversation with WSC regarding this.

²⁸ Myron C Taylor to FDR (by phone to Miss Tully), Nov 30, 1942, and FDR's reply (*loc. cit.*).

²⁹ Osborne to F.O., Dec 15, 1942 (AIR.8/437).

³⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 18, 1942.

³¹ Amery diary, Dec 21; War cabinet 171 (42) Dec 21, 1942.

³² COS, 'Bombing of Rome,' Dec 22, 1942 (AIR.8/437).

³³ Smuts to Attlee, Dec 23, 1942 (*ibid.*).

³⁴ Halifax to F.O., Dec 28, 1942 (*ibid.*).

³⁵ Eden to WSC, Dec 2; WSC minute, Dec 3, 1942 (PREM.3/242/11a).

³⁶ Eden to WSC, Dec 12, 1942 (PREM.3/242/4).

³⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 3, 1942.

³⁸ Eden, 'Proposal received from certain anti-fascist Elements in Italy,' WP (43) 27, Jan 14, 1943. Pages recently glued back into CAB.66/33.

³⁹ '*Lo que llevará a España a ocupar una posición como no la ha tenido desde hace siglos.*' – Duke of Alba, Tel. 342 to Madrid; translated by GC&CS, Nov 27. Alba continued: 'As to Red refugees,' – meaning Juan Negrin and his ilk – 'he [Churchill] said we must bear in mind that England had always respected émigrés so long as they had no political activities, and the Spaniards will be allowed none.' WSC denied that he had received Negrin: 'I have never seen this brute.' On the Atlantic Charter, WSC had said 'it was given gratuitous interpretations' and one should not take it literally, 'which would only cause anarchy and disorder.' WSC gave the intercept no circulation, but directed that Eden should see it (HW.1/1165). It was however published by the Spanish official press. 'C' had furnished WSC in advance with decrypts of Madrid's instructions to its ambassador: BJ.111,512, Jordana to Alba, Nov 23, transl. Nov 24, 1942 (HW.1/1146).

⁴⁰ WSC to FDR, Jan 1, enclosing Special Intelligence Serial No. 75, Jan 1, 1943: Japanese ambassador in Madrid to Tokyo, reporting conversation with the Duke of Alba, Dec 23, 1942; declassified by NSA at the author's request, 1982 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, secret files).

⁴¹ Cadogan diary, Nov 21; Bruce Lockhart diary, Nov 22, 1942.

⁴² J C Dill to A B Cunningham, Dec 1, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

⁴³ Minutes by C Peake, A Eden, W Strang, and A Cadogan Nov 18–19, 1942; this file, long closed because of its references to 'C,' was opened at the author's request (FO.371/32171).

⁴⁴ PM's card, Nov 24, 1942 6:45 p.m.

⁴⁵ Information from Darlan expert Captain Claude Huan, Dec 1, 1992. Gen. Noguès's private papers reveal that upon arriving in Algiers from Morocco after the assassination, he was asked by Murphy, 'Do you agree with the choice of Comte de Paris to become the head of state?' Murphy's papers in the Hoover Library, box 46, contain a folder on Darlan, with contemporaries' manuscripts about him and an 18-page typescript in English by Darlan relating events since June 1940, including his meetings with Hitler (headed in ink, '*Life*'); it includes Eisenhower to Ismay for WSC, Dec 14, containing the letter from Darlan to Churchill, Dec 4, 1942.

⁴⁶ See Eden's summary in Tel. to Clark-Kerr for Molotov, drafted by

Cadogan, Dec 30, sent as No. 434, Dec 31, 1942 (FO.371/32149).

⁴⁷ Mason-Macfarlane to Eisenhower, Dec 8, 1942 (Dwight D Eisenhower Library, file 68, 'Sir N M Mason-Macfarlane'). D'Astier's actual position was Asst. Secretary (Interior) of the High Commissariat for North Africa.

⁴⁸ Butcher diary, page A.46, Dec 6, 1942.

⁴⁹ Brooke diary, Dec 3, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, 534.

⁵⁰ Butcher diary, page A.44, Dec 5, 1942, unsealed.

⁵¹ Cunningham to Pound, Dec 5, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

⁵² Harvey diary, Dec 1. Brigadier-Gen. C. R. Smith also congratulated Eisenhower on Dakar; Smith, former president of American Airlines, had a comprehensive plan for an airline network covering all of Africa. Butcher diary, Dec 5, 1942, unsealed.

⁵³ WSC to Eisenhower, Dec 7, 1942, 7:48 A.M (Butcher papers). He added, 'I also agree entirely with you about *not* bombing the remnants of the Toulon fleet in the middle of your Tunis battle.'

⁵⁴ Cadogan diary, Dec 8, 1942.

⁵⁵ Eden to Peake, Dec 9; note on talk with de Gaulle and Gen. Catroux over dinner, Dec 8, 1942 (FO.371/32145).

⁵⁶ WSC speech during Secret Session, Dec 10, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'North Africa, 'pre-Casablanca'; and Map Room files, box 116 file A/16). Churchill, vol. iv, 573ff.

⁵⁷ WSC speech during Secret Session, Dec 10, 1942 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'North Africa, 'pre-Casablanca'; and Map Room files, box 116 file A/16).

⁵⁸ Harvey diary, Dec 11, 1942.

⁵⁹ WSC correspondence with *Life* editor Daniel Longwell, 1946 (Columbia University, New York: Butler Library, Daniel Longwell papers).

⁶⁰ *Life* magazine, Feb 4, 1946, 85ff.

⁶¹ Harvey diary, Dec 10, 1942.

⁶² Cecil King diary, Dec 19, 1942. 'The incident,' noted King, 'trivial in itself, does show how jumpy the government is.'

⁶³ Stalin to FDR, in NA, RG.59, H Freeman Matthews papers, box 13.

⁶⁴ WSC to Eisenhower, T.1697/2, Dec 10 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill'; and Harry C Butcher papers; the original is in CAB.120/530); identical text to FDR, Dec 10, 1942.

⁶⁵ WSC to DDE, Dec 10; and to Halifax, minute T.1709.2, Dec 14, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a).

⁶⁶ Col. W Stirling, London, to Eisenhower, Dec 13, 11:50 P.M (Butcher

papers). Stirling to Eisenhower, Dec 14, 1942, 02:12 A.M. (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill').

⁶⁷ Stimson diary, Dec 15, 1942.

⁶⁸ Darlan to WSC, Dec 4; Eisenhower to Ismay, Dec 14 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill', and Hoover Libr., Robert Murphy papers, Box 46); Ismay to WSC, Dec 15; WM (42) 169th conclusions, Dec 16, 1942 (CAB.120/530). War cabinet, Dec 15, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

⁶⁹ Mason-Macfarlane to Eisenhower, Dec 12, 13, 1942 (Dwight D Eisenhower Library, file 68, 'Sir N M Mason-Macfarlane'; copies in CAB.120/530).

⁷⁰ Eden to Mack, Nov 14, Dec 6; de Gaulle to WSC, Dec 2; Stark to Eisenhower, Dec 3, and reply, Dec 13; Eisenhower to Eden, Dec 9 (wo.204/303). Minute by Sir A Rumbold, FO, Dec 15, 1942 (FO.371/32146). 'B. [Major Beaufort, the emissary of Darlan] maintained stoutly that D's presence in Algiers on zero day was fortuitous.' The next item in this file, z.10166/8325/17, has been sealed by the FO until 2018.

⁷¹ Cecil King diary, Dec 19, 1942.

⁷² Harwood to Godfroy, Dec 1, 1942 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

⁷³ Pound to Cunningham, Nov 27, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

⁷⁴ WSC to C in C, Mediterranean, Dec 14, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52570).

⁷⁵ Harvey diary, Dec 23, 1942.

⁷⁶ Anthony Cave Brown, *The Secret Servant*, 452f.

⁷⁷ Mission in full: 'To hasten unity in the war effort within the French overseas territories in association with the national resistance and in co-operation with all the Allies.' Adm. Jules Docteur, *Darlan. Adm. de la Flotte: La grande Enigme de la Guerre* (Paris, 1949).

⁷⁸ Eisenhower to CCS and COS, NAF.48, Dec 21. He had ordered a total press clampdown on d'Astier's visit, reported Mack to FO, Dec 22. To Ismay, Mack stated on Dec 23 that d'Astier had obviously planned to stay longer (AFHQ file, wo.204/300).

⁷⁹ See Eden's summary in Tel. to Clark-Kerr for Molotov, drafted by Cadogan, Dec 30, sent as No. 434, Dec 31, 1942 (FO.371/32149).

⁸⁰ Stimson diary, Dec 22, 1942.

⁸¹ Docteur, see note 78.

⁸² J E M Carvell (Algiers) to FO, Dec 22, 1942 (FO.371/32148).

⁸³ Carvell (consul-general, Algiers) to FO, Dec 19, rec'd Dec 20, 1942 (FO.371/32147).

⁸⁴ FO to consul-general, Algiers, No. 47, Dec 21, 1942 (*Ibid.*).

⁸⁵ WSC to Eisenhower, Dec 16, 1942 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill', and Harry C Butcher papers).

⁸⁶ War cabinet, WM 172 (42), Dec 23, 1942, No. 10 Downing-street, 5:30 P.M (ADM.199/529).

⁸⁷ Peter Ramsbotham (MI5) to Robert Coe, Dec 14, 1942 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 7, file 'French North Africa: de Gaulle-Darlan').

⁸⁸ Amery diary, Dec 21; War cabinet, WM 171 (42), Dec 21, 1942, No. 10 Downing-street, 5:30 p.m (CAB.65/28 and ADM.199/529).

⁸⁹ War cabinet 171 (42) Dec 21, 1942 (FO.371/32149).

⁹⁰ Cunningham to Pound, Dec 22, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20a).

⁹¹ Darlan had tried to get Giraud released from captivity, which was the reason for his gratitude. Algiers (Carvell) to FO, No. 47, Dec 23, 1942, 11:45 p.m (FO.371/32149).

⁹² Murphy to Hull, Dec 24, 1942, 9:39 A.M (*Ibid.*). The FO commented that Darlan did not mention Giraud as a successor.

⁹³ North Africa Campaign, Battle Casualties. First Army Battle Casualties, Jan 3, 1943 (PREM.3/440/4); Coldstream Guards losses on Dec 23-24, 1942 had been particularly heavy, with 41 dead and 88 wounded.

⁹⁴ Eisenhower to CCS, Review No. 27, Dec 26; WSC to Hollis, Dec 27, 1942 (CAB.120/530).

⁹⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 24, 1942.

⁹⁶ Algiers (Carvell) to FO, Tels. No. 52 and 53, Dec 24, 1942, both despatched 9:41 p.m. and received 11:20 p.m; the third telegram, evidently telephoned through to the FO from Algiers via Tangiers, still has its sender and recipient blotted out; was withheld from until released on Jan 28, 1998 at our request (FO.371/32149).

⁹⁷ FO.371/32149. Clark signalled to Eisenhower Dec 24, 'at 3:45 p.m. this date young civilian of French nationality entered Daran's house and succeeded in firing several revolver shots.' At 5:26 P.M. Murphy to CCS: 'Darlan dead;' he asked for a news blackout; at 5:27 P.M. he informed Hull and CCS that one bullet pierced the thorax and lung, causing death, the other three struck Darlan's head and jaw. AFHQ message No 3040 of Dec 24 then took the line: 'It is not yet known from preliminary investigation of the assassin whether the assassination was of German or Italian inspiration.'

In a further message Eisenhower suggested that they broadcast the news immediately, 'so framed as to give the affair an Axis tinge' (AFHQ file, 'Adm. Darlan,' WO.204/303).

⁹⁸ The Dominions Office informed the Dominions prime ministers by telegram at 12:40 p.m. the next day that no further details were yet available. On Dec 25 Murphy reported to Hull that the police interrogation was continuing. 'A few minutes ago . . . he has supplied the name of Bonny Chappelier [*sic*]. . . He insists he was acting on his own account inspired by hatred of Marshal Pétain and Adm. Darlan's policies.' Appropriate condolences had been extended to the admiral's widow (FO.371/32149).

⁹⁹ F W Winterbotham, *The Ultra Secret* (•• place, year), 99. He later confirmed to C's personal assistant Reilly that they had all been in Algiers. C's absence from London is evidenced in the Dec 1942 files in PRO series HW.1, whose cover letters he otherwise normally signed.

¹⁰⁰ Lieut. Col. G Bonnet, *Rapport d'Expertise Médico-Légale concernant les blessures reçues par l'Adm. de la Flotte François Darlan*, Dec 25, 1942.

¹⁰¹ Clark to Marshall, Dec 24, 1942, 10:25 P.M (FO.371/32149). Clark had himself instructed the radio to make this broadcast.

¹⁰² Hughes diary, Dec 24, 1942 (Library of Congress, Everett S Hughes papers; transcribed for us).

¹⁰³ Stimson diary, Dec 24, 1942.

¹⁰⁴ Halifax to FO, Tel. No. 6220, Dec 24, 1942 (FO.371/32148).

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Jan 8, 1941: Gilbert, vol. vi, 283.

¹⁰⁶ Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 25, 1942.

¹⁰⁷ Mack to FO, No. 54, Dec 25, 1942, 6:20 A.M (FO.371/32149).

¹⁰⁸ FO to Mack, No. 75, Dec 25, 1942 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁹ Mack to FO No. 55, Dec 25, 1942, 6:45 P.M (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁰ Peake to FO (Eden), EN CLAIR, No. 178, Dec 25, received 7:50 p.m (*ibid.*); War cabinet distribution. Cf. USFOR London to AFHQ, *et al.*, Dec 25, 5 P.M.: while de Gaulle 'strongly condemned' the assassination as detestable, 'he further expression opinion that Darlan's death eliminates obstacles. . .' (AFHQ file, 'Adm. Darlan,' WO.204/303).

¹¹¹ Rumbold, minute, Jan 26 1943 (FO.371/36116).

¹¹² Transcript for WSC in PREM.3/442/20a. For transcripts of Allied and Axis broadcasts about the murder see FO.371/32150. SOS London radio to AFHQ on Dec 26 that the assassination had taken Allied propaganda officials unawares. 'Axis controlled radio stations strongly plugging story British Secret Service engineered Darlan murder at Churchill direction to

get even with Roosevelt.' The FO urged AFHQ on Dec 28 neither to refute the Nazi propaganda nor to adopt the line 'Thus perish all traitors.' 'Political assassination,' stated the FO, 'is something of which we, in Britain, have never approved' (WO.204/303).

¹¹³ Halifax to FO, No. 6253, Dec 27, 1943.

¹¹⁴ Pound to Cunningham, Dec 28, 1942 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

¹¹⁵ Cunningham to Pound, Dec 28, 1942; note by Eden, Jan 1, 1943 (FO.371/32150).

¹¹⁶ Carvell (Algiers) to FO, No. 69, Dec 27, 1942 (FO.371/32149).

¹¹⁷ Carvell (Algiers) to FO, No. 68, Dec 27, 1942 (FO.371/32149). The army chaplain who administered the sacrament told Carvell that the killer 'maintained steadfastly that he had acted from purely personal motives of hatred of the Vichy regime.'

¹¹⁸ Leahy diary, Sep 14, 1945, quoting Commander Cassady USNR of the OSS; Butcher diary, Apr 8, 1943, unsealed.

¹¹⁹ Butcher diary, page A. 158, Jan 12, unsealed. Nobody wanted to probe too deeply, however, and in Sep 1943, after de Gaulle arrived in Algiers, charges against Henri d'Astier and Abbé Cordier were dropped. Henri d'Astier died shortly after the war, the Abbé became a canon at Château Thierry and died in 1974.

¹²⁰ Chequers register, Dec 23–28, 1942. WSC's other guests were Clementine, Mary, Sarah, Diana, and John Churchill; Mrs Giles Romilly; Duncan Sandys, Miss J Montague, and the private secretaries Rowan and Peck. D'Astier and de Gaulle both signed the 'Chequers Visiting Book' (C R Thompson papers; copy in our possession); the latter source indicates a further visit by J L Garvin and d'Astier de la Vigerie on Apr 2, 1944.

¹²¹ So WSC reported to the War cabinet, Dec 28, 1942 (CAB.65/28).

¹²² Eden diary, manuscript, Dec 27, 1942.

¹²³ WSC to FDR, No. 244, Dec 28, 1942 (FO.954/16 and CAB.120/530).

¹²⁴ WSC to FDR, No. 243, Dec 27, 1942, containing message de Gaulle to Giraud (FO.954/8, fol.333); cf. Churchill, vol. iv, 579.

¹²⁵ WSC to FDR, No. 244, Dec 28, 1942 (FO.954/8 and CAB.120/530).

¹²⁶ [H Freeman] Matthews to State dept., Tel. 7355, Dec 25, noon: 'Adm. Darlan's assassin'; and Tel. 7359, Dec 25, 1942, 6 P.M., 'Treatment of the Darlan Assassination by the [British] press and British broadcasters'

¹²⁷ Cecil King diary, Dec 30, 1942.

¹²⁸ Butcher diary, page A.123, Dec 30, unsealed. Capt. Luizet, a *Deuxième Bureau* officer in Algiers, told Alvary Gascoigne (British Consul in Tangier) that when the French police chief in Algiers remarked that the British might oppose his policies, Murphy had replied: 'The Americans are in command in French North Africa. The British have nothing to say. If the British insist on interfering with our business, we shall fire on them.' Shown this on Dec 22, Churchill asked Morton who Luizet was; he was told: a French Army officer and MI6 informant since 1940. Gascoigne to FO, Dec 21; WSC minute, Dec 22; Morton to WSC, Dec 23, 1942 (PREM.3/442/20b). Col. Dansey, C's second in command, confirmed that Murphy was 'an American Irishman with a hereditary hatred of England in his blood.'

¹²⁹ Eisenhower to CCS and British COS, NAF.63, 'most secret,' Dec 29, 1942 (ADM.199/529). Hitherto Murphy had half-suspected Bergeret himself, as he was responsible for both the security breach which had allowed the assassin in to the palace, and for his rapid execution. Murphy, 182.

¹³⁰ Butcher diary, Dec 29, 1942, *passim*, unsealed page A123. 'French complain to Ike that the instigators of the plot are the British Secret Intelligence.'

¹³¹ Cunningham to Pound, Dec 29, 1942, 6:30 P.M (PREM.3/442/20a, CAB.120/530 and FO.945/16).

¹³² The item, NA/24/80, is currently held closed until 2018 by the Library & Records dept., at the Foreign & Commonwealth office. A (possibly unrelated) a three-page War cabinet paper WP (43) 41, circulated a few days later, has also been withdrawn from public scrutiny (CAB.66/33).

¹³³ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, (42) 20th meeting, Dec 29, 1942, ten-thirty P.M (CAB.69/4).

¹³⁴ Cadogan diary, Dec 30, 1942.

¹³⁵ Pound to Cunningham, Dec 30, 1942, 7:25 P.M (PREM.3/442/20a and CAB.120/530) The original draft concluded: 'Please take early and energetic action to stop spread of these absurd stories,' without mention of the defence committee (FO.954/16).

¹³⁶ Douglas Dodds-Parker, *Setting Europe Ablaze* (London, 1983). Dodds-Parker was a former Grenadier Guards officer who joined SOE in 1941, and rose to colonel in 1945. The Rubis 7.65 was allegedly owned by Mario Faivre, who had recently cleaned it.

¹³⁷ Minutes on file, FO.371/36116; Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Jan 19, 1943.

¹³⁸ Mack to FO, No. 99, Dec 30; minute by R L Speaight, Dec 31, 1942

(FO.371/32150). Again, given War cabinet distribution, and Bracken asked for a copy.

¹³⁹ Churchill, vol. iv, 580.

29: ALL THE USUAL SUSPECTS

¹ 'premier stands at the highest point yet in popularity.' News Chronicle, Jan 12, 1943.

² Halifax diary, Jan 20, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

³ *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968); Churchill, vol. iv, (London 1951), 605ff.

⁴ Hassett diary, Feb 7, 1943.

⁵ FDR to WSC, Dec 2, 1942.

⁶ Harvey diary, Dec 7–8, 1942.

⁷ Cadogan diary, Nov–Dec 1942 passim.

⁸ Halifax secret diary, Nov 20, reporting a discussion with Lyttelton. The day after seeing FDR on Oct 28, 1942, Halifax had written privately to Eden: 'Incidentally, when he was talking about disarmament he said that he did not want to see France and Poland re-armed. I told him this seemed a bit difficult, but he stuck to his point. . . I did not put this in my telegram . . . it seemed rather explosive' (Hickleton papers, A.4.410.4.15).

⁹ WSC to Stalin, Dec 4, 1942 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 92.

¹⁰ Maisky to Molotov, reporting meeting with WSC and Eden, Dec 7, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 320ff). Eden noted (diary), 'Maisky turned up at No. 10 with message from Joe. This was disappointing as to meeting.'

¹¹ Stalin to WSC, Dec 6, 1942 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 93.

¹² Maisky to Molotov, reporting meeting with WSC and Eden, Dec 7, 1942 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 320ff).

¹³ Dwight D Eisenhower Library, John Foster Dulles papers.

¹⁴ Hopkins handwritten memo, Jan 11, 1943 (Hopkins papers, microfilm 21). Robert Sherwood omitted the first part of this sentence in his biography *The White House papers of Harry Hopkins*, 669.

¹⁵ FDR to WSC, Dec 12, 1942.

¹⁶ Brooke diary, Dec 22, 23, 1942 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁷ Sir Ian Jacob diary, Dec 28, 1942.

¹⁸ Ismay to Stirling, Dec 29, 1942 (CAB.120/530).

¹⁹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Dec 28, ten P.M. (CAB.69/4). Eden diary, Dec 28, 1942.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec 29, 1942, 10:30 P.M. (CAB.69/4).

²¹ WSC to FDR, No. 249, Dec 31, 1942 (CAB.120/530).

²² WSC to Eisenhower, Jan 1, 9:30 P.M., and reply, in Butcher diary, page A.130, Jan 1, 1943.

²³ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 5, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

²⁴ Mack to FO, No. 93, Dec 30, 1942 (ADM.199/529; also in FO.371/32150). This telegram caused consternation at the FO. R L Speaight minuted to Eden that he had stopped the despatch of the message to Giraud, which had gone over to Churchill that evening: 'I thought you might want to reconsider it.' 'Yes. . . well done,' noted Eden. Mack's telegram was circulated to the War cabinet, and Bracken asked for a copy.

²⁵ Morton to WSC, Dec 31, 1942: 'It seems unfortunate that Mons. d'Astier de la Vigerie has felt bound to resign,' added Morton, stating that he was reported to be a very level-headed chief of the civil administration of Algeria (PREM.3/442/20a).

²⁶ Murphy to Hull, Dec 30, 1942 (ADM.199/529).

²⁷ Algiers to FO, No. 104, Dec 3, 1942 (ADM.199/529).

²⁸ AFHQ Memo from Col. (GSC) Julius G Holmes to Marshall, Jan 10 (WO.204/303; FO.660/12; and Butcher diary, page A.158, Jan 12, 1943, unsealed).

²⁹ Pierson Dixon, memo to discuss with Murphy and Bedell Smith, Jan 11 (FO.660/12: This Macmillan file has been heavily 'weeded,' about half the items being missing without comment). Macmillan to WSC, No. 103, Jan 14, 1943 (CAB.120/531). 'One of [Henri] d'Astier's brothers [Emmanuel] is head of the Liberation movement in France and the other de Gaulle's adjutant, and he is himself a prominent Allied sympathiser.' Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, Commissioner for the Interior, French National Committee, attended meetings with the SOE and WSC and was in charge of *maquis* operations: see CAB.120/827, and his memoirs *Les dieux et les hommes* (Paris, 1952), and *De la chute à la libération de Paris* (Paris, 1965).

³⁰ Holmes (see note 28).

³¹ Cadogan diary, Jan 13, 1943.

³² Stimson diary, Jan 7, 1943.

³³ Chiefs of staff to Dill, COS (42) 412, Dec 29, 1942 (CAB.120/531).

- ³⁴ WSC to Ismay, D.2/3, Jan 2, 1943 (CAB.120/531).
- ³⁵ WSC to Ismay, Jan 5, 1943 (CAB.120/531).
- ³⁶ Macmillan to WSC, No. 61, Jan 9 (CAB.120/531). He had sent a preliminary report on Jan 3, 1943.
- ³⁷ Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference (Churchill College, JACB.1/20).
- ³⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 7, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan 11; and Martin diary, Jan 13, 1943 (copy in our possession).
- ⁴⁰ Ismay, 285.
- ⁴¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 16 and 19, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).
- ⁴² 'Log of the Trip of the President' (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca'), (hereafter: FDR Log), Jan 25, 1943.
- ⁴³ John Martin, letter home, Jan 16, 1943 (copy in our possession).
- ⁴⁴ WSC to Attlee, Jan 13, 1943 (CAB.120/76).
- ⁴⁵ Admiralty to *Bulolo*, Jan 18, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330: Casablanca).
- ⁴⁶ See Curtin's telegram to WSC, Jan 19: Gilbert, vol. vi, 302. Halifax diary, Jan 20, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).
- ⁴⁷ Gen. George S Patton diary, Jan 14, 1943, in Martin Blumenson (ed.), *The Patton papers*. (Hereafter: Patton diary). Cf. the PM's card, Jan 14, 1943: '... Don Q arrives. A/C F to dine with Don Q.'
- ⁴⁸ Hopkins diary, Jan 14, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca').
- ⁴⁹ Harold Macmillan, letter home, Jan 26, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967, and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943–May 1945* (London, 1984), 9.
- ⁵⁰ Brooke diary, Jan 14, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 546.
- ⁵¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 20, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).
- ⁵² Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, 115–6 (JACB.1/20).
- ⁵³ Harold Macmillan, letter home, Jan 26, 1943, in Harold Macmillan, *War Diaries. The Mediterranean 1943–1945* (London 1984), 7.
- ⁵⁴ For the British records of the Casablanca conference, see CAB.80/67 and CAB.88/2; and Michael Howard, *Grand Strategy*, vol. iv (London HMSO).
- ⁵⁵ Ismay to Brigadier Gen. E L Spears, Feb 8, 1943 (Churchill College, Cambridge: E L Spears papers).
- ⁵⁶ The PM's card lists all the conferences.
- ⁵⁷ Chiefs of staff meeting, Casablanca, Jan 13, 1943, 4:30 P.M. (CAB.99/

24).

⁵⁸ WSC memo, Jan 14, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330: Casablanca).

⁵⁹ Chiefs of staff meeting, Casablanca, Jan 15, 1943, 10:30 A.M. (CAB.99/

24).

⁶⁰ Arnold diary, Jan 14, 1943.

⁶¹ 'Minutes of Meeting held at Anfa Camp on Friday Jan 15, 1943' (CAB.99/24).

⁶² Eisenhower, 151.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶⁴ Brooke diary, Jan 17, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 549.

⁶⁵ 'Minutes of Meeting held at Anfa Camp on Monday Jan 18, 1943' (CAB.99/24).

⁶⁶ WSC to Attlee, Jan 19, 1943 (CAB.120/76).

⁶⁷ Stimson diary, Jan 19, 1943.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan 21, 1943.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan 28, 1943.

⁷⁰ Hinsley, vol. ii, 4; and Hinsley, in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (eds)., *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 144.

⁷¹ Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, 80 (Churchill College, Jacob papers, JACB.1/20).

⁷² Stalin to WSC, Jan 15, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 295.

⁷³ WSC to Stalin, Jan 17, 1943 (PREM.3/14/2).

⁷⁴ Cecil King diary, Feb 23, 1943.

⁷⁵ Patton diary, Jan 18, 1943.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ 'Minutes of a Meeting at the White House on Thursday, Jan 7, 1943, at 1500,' attended by FDR, Leahy, Marshall, King, Arnold, and J R Deane (NA, RG.319, ABC.387, 'Germany Sec.1a [18 Dec 43]'; and NA, RG.165, Army Operations/OPD Executive Files 1940-45, box 54). For Arnold's records of Casablanca, see the Library of Congress, H H Arnold papers, boxes 180 and 181.

⁷⁸ Murphy, 214. Macmillan's informative 'diary of events' at Casablanca is in FO.660/86 and /87; he reported FDR's 'banns' remark in an unsent dispatch to the FO.

⁷⁹ *The Conferences at Washington 1941-1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968), 608.

⁸⁰ Patton diary, Jan 17, 1943.

⁸¹ Macmillan, diary of events, FO.660/86. Eden, *Reckoning*, 421.

⁸² FDR to Hull, Jan 18, 1943, *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

⁸³ WSC to Attlee and Eden, Jan 19, 1943 (CAB.120/76). More of WSC's irate telegrams to Eden ('I must really have an answer about Joan of Arc as things will have moved on', and 'we waited all yesterday 19th for de Gaulle's answer') are in CAB.120/75, his file on SYMBOL.

⁸⁴ Hopkins diary, Jan 19, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca').

⁸⁵ Martin diary, Jan 19, 1943 (copy in our possession).

⁸⁶ Stimson diary, Feb 3, 1943.

⁸⁷ WSC to Hopkins, Jan 21, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca').

⁸⁸ Arnold diary, Jan 21, 1943.

⁸⁹ Jacob diary.

⁹⁰ Hopkins notes, dictated Jan 23, 1943 (Hopkins papers).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Arnold diary, Jan 22. See Mack's account of these talks, Jan 29, 1943 (FO.660/85), and Macmillan's (FO.660/87).

⁹³ Halifax diary, Feb 3, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12); and Mack's account.

⁹⁴ WSC to War cabinet, Jan 23, 1943 (CAB.65/37).

⁹⁵ Halifax diary, Feb 3, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

⁹⁶ Ismay to Spears, Feb 8, 1943 (Churchill College, Cambridge: E L Spears papers); and Mack's account (see note 92).

⁹⁷ Berle diary, Jun 10, 1943 (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle papers).

⁹⁸ Hopkins related this afterwards. Halifax diary, Feb 22, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12). See too Murphy, 217.

⁹⁹ Stimson diary, Feb 3, 1943.

¹⁰⁰ FDR repeated this to Adolph Berle, who wrote (see note 97): 'Churchill [was] very grumpy because there was nothing to drink.'

¹⁰¹ FDR Log (see note 42).

¹⁰² Stimson diary, Feb 3, 1943, quoting FDR.

¹⁰³ Patton diary, Jan 22, 1943. 'Noguès was delighted that the PM was such a boor.'

¹⁰⁴ 'Minutes of Meeting held at Anfa Camp on Saturday Jan 23, 1943' (CAB.99/24); cf. Brooke diary, Jan 23, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 559.

¹⁰⁵ Jacob diary, Jan 23, 1943.

¹⁰⁶ WSC and FDR to Stalin, Jan 25, 1943.

¹⁰⁷ Macmillan, *op. cit.*, 252.

¹⁰⁸ Murphy, 219.

¹⁰⁹ A message was also drafted to Stalin setting out the results of this evening conference.

¹¹⁰ Hassett diary, Feb 7, 1943. FDR was narrating the events of his journey.

¹¹¹ Handwritten notes by Hopkins, Casablanca, Jan 24, 1943 (Hopkins papers); and Mack's account (see note 92).

¹¹² Patton, a silent witness of the scene, wrote in his diary, Jan 24: 'I took Gen. Noguès and Adm. [François] Michelier to call on [FDR, who] started to talk [with] de Gaulle and was very frank, when B-1 [Churchill] came in without being asked and hung around, started to leave and then came back. The whole thing was so patent a fear on the part of the British to leave French and Americans alone together, that it was laughable.'

¹¹³ Handwritten notes by Hopkins, Casablanca, Jan 24, 1943 (Hopkins papers).

¹¹⁴ Press conference, 12:15 P.M., Jan 24, 1943 'Log of the Trip of the President,' Jan 9–31, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 330, 'Casablanca') quotes WSC as saying, 'I agree with everything that the President has said.' The British transcript is in CAB.120/75. Rowan informed the ministry of information on Jan 25 that WSC expressly 'agreed to use of his statement about continuing [the] struggle until unconditional surrender of enemy' (CAB.120/76).

¹¹⁵ FDR (personally initialled) to Winant, May 27, 1943 in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

¹¹⁶ Tel. 291 Myron C Taylor to FDR, Aug 23, 1944 (Myron C Taylor papers).

¹¹⁷ 'Minutes of a Meeting at the White House on Thursday, Jan 7, 1943, at 1500,' attended by FDR, Leahy, Marshall, King, Arnold, and J R Deane (NA, RG.319, ABC.387, 'Germany Sec.1a [18 Dec 43]'; and NA, RG.165, Army Operations/OPD Executive Files 1940–45, box 54).

¹¹⁸ WSC to Attlee, Jan 19, 1943 (PREM.4/72/1). The War cabinet on Jan 20 felt that Italy should *not* be excluded, as this might be misunderstood in the Balkans (CAB.65/37); Eden and Attlee told WSC this on Jan 21, 1943 (CAB.120/79).

¹¹⁹ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Nov 17, 1949.

¹²⁰ Mack's account (see note 92); and Murphy, 195f.

¹²¹ Halifax diary, Aug 7, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

¹²² Moran, 'diary,' 82.

¹²³ FBI memorandum, Mar 29, 1943 on 'off the record' remarks by an unidentified American intimate of WSC, probably Harriman, to top-ranking American newspapermen (FBI archives, Washington). The source referred to watching a 'sunrise,' but it is historically unlikely that WSC saw many of those.

¹²⁴ Henry Wallace diary, Feb 1, 1943.

¹²⁵ FDR to WSC, Mar 16, 1943: Churchill, vol. iv, 662.

¹²⁶ He referred to painting the 'pink gateway' in his telegram to Clementine, Jan 25, 1943 (CAB.120/77).

¹²⁷ WSC to Clementine, Jan 25 (CAB.120/76); Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 25, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).

¹²⁸ Brooke MS (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vii); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 563.

¹²⁹ Attlee and Eden to WSC, Jan 20, 1943 (CAB.65/37).

¹³⁰ WSC to Eden, Jan 22, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 301.

¹³¹ War cabinet, Jan 25, 1943 (CAB.65/37).

¹³² Harvey diary, Jan 22, 25, 28; Eden diary, Jan 24, 1943: 'Another disordered Sunday caused this time by W's willfulness [*sic*]. . . Winston still clings to his Turkey plan so we restated the reasons against it.'

¹³³ Eden diary, manuscript, Feb 7, 1943.

¹³⁴ WSC to Attlee and Eden, Jan 25, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 315.

¹³⁵ Brooke diary, Jan 27, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c); Sir Arthur Bryant, *op. cit.*, 567, *falsifies* the diary to use a softer turn of phrase.

¹³⁶ Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, Jan 27, 1943 (JACB.1/20); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 567n.

¹³⁷ Macmillan, interview with Adm. Godfroy, Mar 6; WSC to Macmillan, Apr 12 and 30, 1943 (FO.660/91).

¹³⁷ Harwood to Pound, Mar 12, 1943 (ADM.205/56).

¹³⁸ Cunningham to Pound, Mar 15, and reply, Apr 23, 1943 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

¹⁴⁰ Arnold diary, Jan 27–28. The text is rather garbled. Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 28, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).

¹⁴¹ Cadogan diary, Jan 29, 1943.

¹⁴² Cadogan diary, Feb 2, 1943. Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 30, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c), lists the participants as WSC, Cadogan, Lord Moran, Alexander, 'Jumbo' Wilson, Jacob, Drummond, Martin, Thompson,

two detectives, and the valet, as well as Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, Britain's ambassador to Turkey.

¹⁴³ Brooke MS (Alanbrooke papers, 3/A/vii, 627).

¹⁴⁴ Jacob diary, Jan 30. For records of the conversations of Jan 30–31, 1943 see Eden's files, FO.954/29, fols 23 off.

¹⁴⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jan 31, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6c).

¹⁴⁶ Halifax diary, Mar 25, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12). The FBI warned Hopkins that Ruggles was talking to press men about Churchill's conversations. 'It sounded a bit unguarded on Winston's part,' noted Halifax (Mar 31, 1943, *ibid.*). Ruggles and Vanderkloot were at Chequers on Sep 18, 1942: 'Chequers Visiting Book' in C R Thompson papers (copy in our possession). See too Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, 148–9 (JACB.1/20).

¹⁴⁷ Ankara to Berlin, Jan 30, 7:06 P.M.; C to Rowan at Cairo, Feb 1, 1943 (HW.1/1346).

¹⁴⁸ Cadogan diary, Feb 2, 1943.

¹⁴⁹ H M the king to Queen Mary, Feb 2, 1943, 558.

¹⁵⁰ Madrid to Tangier, intercept ISK No. 29601, Jan 30, 1943 (HW.1/1346).

¹⁵¹ There is an SD message from Lisbon to Berlin, No. 59, Feb 4, 1943 stating that Eden had informed the Portuguese ambassador in London of WSC's desire to make this brief stop-over (HW.1/1346).

¹⁵² Attlee to WSC, Feb 4, 1943 (HW.1/1346; and CAB.120/75).

¹⁵³ J Hollis, quoted by Bruce Lockhart diary, Aug 18, 1948.

¹⁵⁴ Jacob MS, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 331.

¹⁵⁵ Desmond Morton, quoted by Bruce Lockhart diary, Feb 12, 1943.

¹⁵⁶ Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, 201 (JACB.1/20).

¹⁵⁷ WSC to Eden, Feb 6, 1943 (CAB.120/76).

¹⁵⁸ Butcher diary, Feb 7, 1943.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* An unknown hand writing in 'Tommy' Thompson's MS called this 'a preposterous story' (Thompson papers). We agree.

¹⁵⁹ Jacob, diary of Casablanca conference, 203–4 (JACB.1/20).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 205.

30: 'USE FORCE IF NECESSARY'

¹ WSC to Ismay, Jun 24, 1944 (PREM.4/69/2, fol. 684).

² Combined Chiefs of Staff meeting, Jan 23, 1943.

³ Krock note, Jun 8, 1943, quoting Adm King (Princeton University,

Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Arthur Krock papers).

⁴ WSC to DDE, 'July, 1943' (Eisenhower Libr., file: 'Churchill').

⁵ Eliot A Cohen, in 'Churchill at War,' *Commentary*, New York, May 1987, 40ff.

⁶ WSC to Hopkins, Jan 5, 1944 (Hopkins papers).

⁷ WSC to Ismay, Aug 8, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 466.

⁸ GC&CS German Police Section, report No. 41, 1942, Oct 5, 1942 (HW.16/6, part ii).

⁹ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: Lolling, Amt D III, to Auschwitz, Oct 26, 1942 (HW.16/11).

¹⁰ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: *KL Sachsenhausen (gez. Liebehenschel) an Amt D III*, Oct 27, 1942 (HW.16/11).

¹¹ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: *KL Buchenwald (gez. Hoven) an Amt D III, betr Meldung der Todesfällen von Häftlingen*, Dec 1, 1942 (HW.16/11).

¹² GC&CS German Police Section intercept: *KL Auschwitz (gez. DrWirths, an Amt D III, btr Stand der Fleckfiebererkrankungen*, Dec 8, 1942 (HW.16/11). The communist inmate Hermann Langbein described in *Menschen in Auschwitz* how Wirths, the *Standortarzt* at Auschwitz-Birkenau, intervened to halt the unauthorised killing by lethal injections of tubercular and other sick prisoners by fellow-doctor Friedrich Entress early in 1943.

¹³ GC&CS German Police Section intercept GPD1238I/2/4 Jan 18, 1943: *BdS Kiew und Befehlstelle Sipo und SD*, Owritsch, to Berlin, Jan 17, 1943 (HW.16/11).

¹⁴ GC&CS German Police Section intercept: *Bericht an HSSuPf Kiew, Gesamtergebnis Unternehmen Hornung*, 1943 (HW.16/11).

¹⁵ 'The returns from Auschwitz, the largest of the camps with 20,000 prisoners, mentioned illness as the main cause of death, but included references to shootings and hangings. There were no references in the decrypts to gassing,' Hinsley, vol. ii, appendix, 673.

¹⁶ Colonel L. Mitkiewicz, Polish liaison officer to the JCS, 'Report re The Polish Secret Army,' (to the end of Apr 1943), sent with letter Sep 7, 1943 to Brig. Gen. John R Deane, JCS Secretariat; and report by Mitkiewicz to CCS, 100th Mtg, Jul 2, 1943 (NA, RG.218, Joints Chiefs of Staff, file CCS/381 'Poland—6.30.1943—Sec.1'). By way of retaliation Mitkiewicz claimed, in the first four months of 1943 the Polish underground had assassinated Hans Frank's deputy, and had poisoned 526 Germans and administered 'typhoid fever microbes and typhoid fever lice' to Germans 'in a few

hundred cases.' They also claimed to have burned down the village of Cieszyn, freshly settled by German 'colonists,' killing 64 settler families and 8 S.S. men.

¹⁷ COS meeting, (42) 211th (O), Dec 31, 1942 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁸ Notes on a staff meeting at Casablanca, Jan 18, 1943, *The Conferences at Washington 1941-1942 and Casablanca 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968), p. 608.

¹⁹ Portal to Attlee, Aug 14, 1942 (AIR.8/424 and AIR.19/187).

²⁰ WSC paper on bombing policy, WP (42) 580, Dec 16, 1942 (AIR.19/188).

²¹ Defence committee (Operations) meeting, Dec 29, 1942, 10:30 P.M. (CAB.69/4).

²² WSC to chiefs of staff, M.26/3, Jan 10, 1943 (AIR.19/188).

²³ Evidently at the CCS conference with FDR and WSC on Jan 15. 'Minutes of Meeting held at Anfa Camp on Friday Jan 15, 1943' (CAB.99/24).

²⁴ H H Arnold diary, Jan 15, 1943.

²⁵ PM's card, Jan 20, 1943.

²⁶ US Air Force Oral History interviews, Lieut.-Gen. Ira C Eaker, K239.0512-626 and K239.0512-868; in the files are also his extensive briefing notes for the meeting with WSC (USAF, Maxwell Air Force Base).

²⁷ Eden to Halifax, Feb 8, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15).

²⁸ Cecil King diary, Feb 14, 1943.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Jun 1943.

³⁰ Martin diary, Feb 1-7, 1943 (copy in our possession.)

³¹ Harvey diary, Feb 8, 1943 (British Library, dept. of Manuscripts, Oliver Harvey papers, Add. MS.56398).

³² FDR to Cordell Hull for Eden, Feb 3, 1943 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 166, file 'A16/France').

³³ H M King George VI diary, Feb 6/8, 1943, 559.

³⁴ Eden diary, manuscript, Feb 7, 1943.

³⁵ Harvey diary, Feb 8, 1943 (British Library, dept. of Manuscripts, Oliver Harvey papers, Add. MS.56398).

³⁶ WSC to FDR, No. 261, Feb 8, and reply, No. 257, Feb 9, 1943 (CAB.120/531).

³⁷ H M King George VI diary, Feb 9, 1943, 559.

³⁸ Eisenhower to British ambassador, Madrid, and others, No. US 131, Feb 2, Operations Summary, Jan 28 to Feb 1, 1943 (CAB.120/531).

³⁹ WSC to Ismay, M.12/3, Feb 10, 1943 (CAB.120/531).

⁴⁰ Ismay to WSC, Feb 13, 16 (CAB.120/531). Desmond Morton had minuted Ismay on Feb 16, 1943: 'BONIFACE has started talking.'

⁴¹ Martin diary, Feb 12, 1943; PM's card (copies in the author's possession).

⁴² Martin diary, Feb 13–14, 1943; Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 12, 15, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 555f).

⁴³ Churchill, vol. iv, 651.

⁴⁴ War cabinet decision, Sep 4, 1942, quoted in N Mansergh and EV R Lumby (ed.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. iii, 451–2. The main documents are reproduced in WP (43) 5, 'Treatment of Gandhi if he undertakes a fast,' Jan 4, and WP (43) 16, Jan 11, 1943 (CAB.66/33).

⁴⁵ Amery diary, Jan 7, 1943. On the fifth he had written, 'Personally I should be all for letting Gandhi fast to death if he likes' (CAB.120/531).

⁴⁶ N Mansergh and EV R Lumby (ed.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. iii, 491.

⁴⁷ Amery diary, Feb 7, 1943.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb 17, 1943.

⁴⁹ WSC to Linlithgow, Feb 13, and reply, Feb 15, 1943 (PREM.4/49/3).

⁵⁰ Henry Wallace diary, Jun 1942. •• precise date needed.

⁵¹ Amery diary, Aug 26, 1942. John Barnes (ed.), (London, 1988). For WSC's lack of interest in empire and his willingness to see its reduction, see the letter from Isaiah Bowman to US ambassador John Winant, Apr 28, 1944 (Hoover Libr., Robert Murphy papers, folder: 'John Winant').

⁵² Amery diary, Nov 23, 1942. John Barnes (ed.), (London, 1988).

⁵³ Patton diary, Jan 21, 1943.

⁵⁴ Phillips had lunched recently with their mutual friend Arthur Murray, who had expressed feelings about the PM 'which, to put it mildly, are not complimentary.' Phillips to FDR, Aug 13, 1942, writing on the OSS letterhead (FDR Libr., PSF, box 53, folder 'GB–OSS').

⁵⁵ Amery diary, Nov 24, 1942. He found Phillips 'genuinely anxious to be helpful' and an improvement on Colonel Louis B Johnson.

⁵⁶ Phillips to FDR, Dec 17, 1942, again writing on an OSS letterhead (FDR Libr., PSF, box 53, folder 'GB–OSS'). The other guests at the lunch were Casey, Clementine, and Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr.

⁵⁷ Amery diary, Feb 19, 22; Amery to WSC, Feb 19, 1943 (PREM.4/49/3).

⁵⁸ Harvey diary, Feb 26, 1943.

⁵⁹ WSC to Halifax, Feb 21, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 343.

⁶⁰ WSC to King George VI, Feb 22, 1943: in Gilbert, vol. vi, 348.

⁶¹ Linlithgow to WSC, Feb 26, N Mansergh and E V R Lumby (ed.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. iii, 737. Dr Narayan Khare, a physician, confirmed to the viceroy that Gandhi had broken the fast on Feb 21: Linlithgow to Amery, Mar 2, 1943 (*ibid.*, 746).

⁶² WSC to Smuts, Feb 26, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 350.

⁶³ Dalton diary, Apr 6, 1943.

⁶⁴ WSC to Linlithgow, Feb 27, 1943 (PREM.4/49/3).

⁶⁵ Churchill, vol. iv, 661.

⁶⁶ Eisenhower to CCS, Feb 11, 1943, NAF.144 (CAB.105/139).

⁶⁷ WSC to Eisenhower, Feb 13, 1943 (Eisenhower Library, file 'Churchill').

⁶⁸ WSC to Hopkins, Feb 13, 1943 (Hopkins papers).

⁶⁹ Butcher diary, Feb 16, 1943.

⁷⁰ Butcher diary, Feb 16, 1943, unsealed.

⁷¹ Butcher diary, page A.234, Feb 18 and page A.293, Apr 8, 1943, unsealed; see the different text published in Butcher, *My Three Years with Eisenhower*, 264, and Eisenhower's letter to Marshall, Feb 21, 1943 in *The Eisenhower papers*, No. 832.

⁷² Butcher diary, pages A.235ff, Feb 20–21, 1943, unsealed. WSC quoted verbatim from this ULTRA in his letter to King George VI, Feb 22, 1943.

⁷³ Butcher diary, pages A.235ff, Feb 20–21, 1943, unsealed.

⁷⁴ Butcher diary, page A.247, Feb 23, 1943, unsealed.

⁷⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 21, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a; and MS, 3/A/vii, 645).

⁷⁶ WSC to Stalin, Feb 25, 1943 in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 116.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Amery diary, Mar 15, 1943.

⁷⁹ H M King George VI diary, Feb 20/22, 1943, 561.

⁸⁰ King George VI to WSC, Feb 22, 1943.

⁸¹ Brooke diary, unpublished, Feb 22, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁸² WSC to King George VI, Feb 22, 1943.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: Churchill, vol. iv, 657ff.

⁸⁴ WSC to CIGS, M.71/3, Feb 17, 1943 (CAB.120/531).

⁸⁵ Cadogan diary, Feb 19, 1943; PM's card.

⁸⁶ Marion Holmes diary, Feb 20: Gilbert, vol. vi, 344.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb 21, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 344.

⁸⁸ Mary Churchill diary, Feb 21, 1943, quoted in Mary Soames, *Clementine Churchill* (London, 1979), 332.

⁸⁹ Harvey diary, Feb 22, 1943.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Mar 17, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 344; and Nel, *op. cit.*, 95.

⁹¹ Sunday Dispatch, Feb 21; Cecil King diary, Feb 21, 1943.

⁹² Harvey diary, Feb 22, 1943.

⁹³ WSC to Hopkins, Feb 24, 1943 (Hopkins papers; the text in Churchill, vol. iv, 660, omits the passage about Gandhi).

⁹⁴ Bracken to Baruch, Feb 25, 1943, 6:32 P.M. (Princeton Univ., Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Bernard Baruch papers).

⁹⁵ Hopkins memo, Feb 28, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'Trident').

⁹⁶ Martin diary, Mar 1, 1943.

⁹⁷ Brooke diary, Mar 1, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁹⁸ Nel, *op. cit.*, 95.

⁹⁹ Eden to Clark Kerr, Oct 22, 1942 (PREM.3/14/2).

¹⁰⁰ Amery diary, Jan 4, 1943. John Barnes (ed.), (London, 1988).

¹⁰¹ WSC to Portal, M.15/3, Jan 6 (AIR.19/188); and Hollis's hand-written notes during the meeting, Jan 8, 1943 (*ibid.* and CAB.121/1). (WSC to Stalin, Jan 12 and 17, 1943 (PREM.3/14/2; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 327f).

¹⁰² AU (42) 6th meeting, Dec 9, 1942

¹⁰³ Cadogan diary, Jan 11, 1943 (Churchill College, Cambridge: Sir Alexander Cadogan papers).

¹⁰⁴ Joint memorandum by Portal and Pound, 'Air Policy – Targets in France,' WP (43) 72, Feb 22 1943 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁰⁵ Bey of Tunis to Swiss government; Halifax to FO, No. 359, Jan 20; COS (43) 20th meeting, Jan 23, 1943 (CAB.121/1).

¹⁰⁶ WSC to Sinclair, CAB.120/76; and to Stalin, Mar 2, in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 118; with Stalin's reply, Mar 3, 1943 (PREM.3/14/2; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 347f).

¹⁰⁷ Harris to WSC, Apr 8 (PREM.3/14/2); Sinclair to WSC, Apr 8; minute by WSC, Apr 10, 1943 (AIR.19, 189, 'Bombing Policy, 1943').

¹⁰⁸ Goebbels diary, Mar 7, 10, 12, 1943; he was gauleiter and Reich defence commissioner for Berlin.

¹⁰⁹ Laurence R Dunne MC, *Report on an Inquiry into the Accident at Bethnal Green Tube Station Shelter on the 3rd March, 1943*, Mar 23, 1943, publ. as Cmd. 6583 (PREM.4/40/15); and London Transport monograph, 'Raids through the day,' 276.

¹¹⁰ T L Rowan, minute, Mar 4, 1943 (PREM.4/40/15). On Nov 28, 1942 fire had killed 499 in Boston's Coconut Grove night club.

¹¹¹ J Martin to WSC, Mar 5, 1943 (PREM.4/40/15).

¹¹² Herbert Morrison, paper, 'Tube Shelter Inquiry,' WP (43) 137, Apr 3, 1943 (PREM.4/40/15).

¹¹³ WSC to Stalin, Mar 4, and reply, Mar 6, 1943 in Stalin-WSC Correspondence, vol. i, Nos. 12 of.

¹¹⁴ WSC to Stalin, Mar 6, 1943 in Stalin-WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 122.

¹¹⁵ Harriman to Hopkins, Mar 7 (Hopkins papers). Eden diary, manuscript, Mar 3, 1943.

¹¹⁶ WSC to King George VI, Feb 22, 1943.

¹¹⁷ WSC to Macmillan, Feb 24, 1942: Gilbert, vol. vi, 351.

¹¹⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Feb 25, 1943; and Eden, *Reckoning*, 367.

¹¹⁹ Harvey diary, Feb 28, 1943; and cf., *ibid.*, Mar 3, 1943.

¹²⁰ Harvey diary, Mar 2, 1943.

¹²¹ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, Mar 17, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 357.

¹²² R Tree memo, written on the obverse of this sketch, original in the possession of Mrs Marietta Tree, New York (copy in our possession). The party at Dytechley was Mrs Churchill, the Duff Coopers, Alice Winn and Philip Reed (Averell Harriman's deputy). For those like Mr Gilbert unsure of the spellings the face of the postcard has the printed heading: 'Mrs Ronald Tree, Dytechley Park, Exstone, Oxon.'

¹²³ Mackenzie King diary, Apr 16, 1942.

¹²⁴ Morrison, quoted in Dalton diary, Mar 22, 1943. At the subsequent Labour Party meeting Attlee silenced critics of the broadcast. 'What they find hard to see,' wrote Dalton, 'is how completely, now and till after victory, the PM personally dominates the scene, so that any attempt to fight him at elections, or any conduct likely to provoke him to fight them, would mean that they would be blown away like feathers in a tempest' (*ibid.*, Mar 24, 1943).

¹²⁵ OSS report from London, No. 35,343, Apr 10, 1943 (NA, RG.226, Records of the Office of Strategic Services).

¹²⁶ Amery diary, Apr 7, 1943.

¹²⁷ Dalton diary, Apr 7 (London School of Economics, Political Science Library: Hugh Dalton papers, I, file 28, 104-6); and similar in Amery diary, Apr 7, 1943.

¹²⁸ Amery diary, Apr 7, 1943.

¹²⁹ Führer's order No. 7 (transmitted Feb 27, evening, by Field-Marshal Albert Kesselring to HGr Afrika); intercept CX/MSS/C.106, seen by WSC Mar 2, 1943 (HW.1/1415).

¹³⁰ Ralph Bennett in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (eds.), *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 38.

¹³¹ Montgomery to Brooke, Mar 6, 1943 (Kings College London, Alanbrooke papers); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 588.

¹³² Eden diary, manuscript, Mar 7, 1943.

¹³³ 'Chequers Visiting Book,' in C R Thompson papers, and Martin diary, Mar 5–8, 1943.

¹³⁴ Stalin to WSC, Mar 16, 1943, in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. ...

¹³⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 6, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹³⁶ Harvey diary, Mar 11, 1943.

¹³⁷ Halifax diary, Mar 18, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹³⁸ Harvey diary, Mar 11, 1943.

¹³⁹ Bruce Lockhart diary, Apr 4, 1943.

¹⁴⁰ Beaverbrook to Hoare, Feb 2, 1943 (Beaverbrook papers, C.308).

¹⁴¹ Amery diary, Mar 15, 1943.

¹⁴² Bracken to Hopkins, Mar 26, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'TRIDENT'); PM's card.

¹⁴³ WSC to Eden, M.199/3, Mar 27 (4/84/2a); F.O. to D'Arcy Osborne, No. 63, Apr 1, 1943 (AIR.8/437).

¹⁴⁴ Brooke diary, Mar 26, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, *op. cit.*, 586f.

¹⁴⁵ Tel. WSC to Stalin, Mar 28 (PREM.3/14/2; *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 361ff); WSC to Stalin, Mar 30, 1943, in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 134.

¹⁴⁶ Stalin to WSC, Mar 29, 1943 (PREM.3/14/2).

¹⁴⁷ WSC to Stalin, Mar 30, 1943, in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 137.

¹⁴⁸ WSC to Stalin, Mar 28, 1943, in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, No. 136.

¹⁴⁹ Stalin to WSC, Apr 2 and 12, 1943 in Stalin–WSC Correspondence, vol. i, Nos. 138 and 145.

¹⁵⁰ WSC to Portal, Apr 24, and reply, Apr 28, 1943 (AIR.198/189, 'Bombing Policy, 1943').

¹⁵¹ Amery diary, Apr 27, 1943.

¹⁵² FO to Osborne, Apr 6, 1943 (AIR.8/437).

¹⁵³ WSC to Ismay for chiefs of staff, ACTION THIS DAY, Aug 15, 1943 (CAB.120/599); and see Portal's files on the bombing of Rome, AIR.8/436–438.

¹⁵⁴ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 19 and 22, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

¹⁵⁵ Dalton diary, Apr 6, 1943.

¹⁵⁶ Robert Murphy to Hull, Tel No 699 to State, Apr 24, 1943 (Hoover Libr., Robert Murphy papers, box 45). For extensive material on the London crimes of 'Passy', see the 'Matthews, H Freeman' folder.

¹⁵⁷ See Matthews to Murphy, No 234, London, May 15, 1943: 'The sources mentioned in the last sentence of the embassy's telegram No. 3269 May 11, 9 P.M. to the Department are now inclined to place more credence in reports of a Gaullist plot to assassinate Giraud. They have records of conversations at the time in 'Passy's' organisation in which they openly boast of their success in having Darlan assassinated and announces their intention of doing away with Giraud at some future date.'

¹⁵⁸ Author's interview of the pilot, Flight-Lieut. Peter Loat, DFC, Jun 7, 1967, and subsequent letters from him.

¹⁵⁹ The ministry of defence informed us on Jun 6, 1967 that they had found no record of any untoward incident on this flight. No. 24 Squadron's operational record book indicates however that Loat, who had almost exclusively flown Wellington L.4237 until Apr 19, switched to Hudson M.7220 for the de Gaulle flight on Apr 21, 1943 (AIR.27/295).

¹⁶⁰ Letter from Auboyneau's flag-Lieut., Lieut. William Bonaparte-Wyse, RN, 'Sabotage Threat to de Gaulle,' in *The Daily Telegraph*, May 11, 1967; and author's interview with him.

31: THE HILL OF GOATS

¹ Cecil King diary, Mar 23, 1943.

² Dalton diary, Feb 11, 1942.

³ Information from John Lisners, Apr 1995. An Oxford don accidentally saw the unsanitised war cabinet minute at the PRO. In the summer of 1940 when the Duke was in Lisbon, there was alarm at his secret contacts with the Nazi authorities, which Churchill's codebreakers were monitoring, and Churchill sent Sir Walter Monckton and an armed detective out to escort him, forcibly if necessary, onto a ship bound for the Bahamas.

⁴ Dalton diary, Jan 9, 1942.

⁵ Mackenzie King diary, Aug 24, 1943: when Lord Bessborough referred to de Gaulle as that 'male Joan of Arc,' another joked in WSC's hearing: 'He had better be careful not to be burned by the British.'

⁶ Butcher diary, *passim*. Researching for this volume in 1977, we had the sealed pages of Captain Harry C Butcher's diary referring to these discussions opened. Eisenhower told American newspapermen on Sep 22, 1942, 'As far as I am concerned I would lie, cheat, steal and even give orders for assassination . . . to beat the Huns,' adding that he had already given one such order (*ibid.*).

⁷ Herschel V Johnson, tel. 1511 to State dept., Stockholm, Apr 29, 1944 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 22, file 820.02).

⁸ William Stevenson, *A Man called Intrepid* (London and New York, 1976); together with labour leader John L Lewis, W R Davis had tried to bring about a peace deal with Hitler in October 1939. See too the excellent biography of Stevenson, *The Quiet Canadian* (London, 1962) by H Montgomery Hyde. The relevant files of SIS officer Montgomery Hyde at Churchill College archives are closed in perpetuity.

⁹ Note by H F Matthews of US embassy, Apr 24, 1942 (NA, RG.59, papers of H Freeman Matthews).

¹⁰ Memo by Adolph Berle, May 7, 1942 (FDR Libr., Adolph A Berle diary). Fred Louis Stagg had been British consul in Havana until 1941, before becoming British secret service chief covering the west coast of South America, based on Bogotá. Cf. Dalton to Bracken, Nov 15, 1941: 'The SOE organisation in South America is centred in New York. . . As you know, SOE is charged with the conduct of subversive activities against the enemy all over the world. . . In all neutral countries [SOE] subversion must, of course, be an instrument of foreign policy' (FO.954/24). Gladwyn Jebb reported to Cadogan, Nov 16, 1941, 'Special arrangements have been made with "C" for the representation of SOE throughout North and South America' (*ibid.*). Interviewed by us in Paris, Dec 17, 1983, Stagg confirmed that he took his instructions by cypher from Stevenson's New York headquarters (code name SUBSIDED); he described having devised one scheme to dump a German agent in a refrigerator from a chartered plane into the Pacific. On the planned killing of Dr Lopez de Mesa he was less forthcoming than the 1942 State dept. record.

¹¹ Stimson diary, Dec 26, 1942.

¹² *Ibid.*, Dec 27, 1942.

¹³ An internal memorandum dated Mar 22, 1944 by Major Peer de Silva,

US army Corps of Engineers, on a discussion one day earlier with Dr J R Oppenheimer rehearsed the well-known history of the project, and confirmed that the 'relatively friendly interchange of information' in 1940, 1941, and most of 1942 had dried up when the US army assumed decisive control of the development of the weapon toward the end of 1942, at which time it 'came to an abrupt and complete halt.' Extraordinarily, Groves would claim on Apr 17, 1944: 'The halt referred to on interchange was one of the choosing of the British and not of the Army' (NA, RG.77, Office of Chief of Engineers, US army, file '000.71 British L.C.').

¹⁴ Conant wrote to Dean Mackenzie of Canada on Jan 2, 1943 that this order 'which restricts our interchange' was one which Dr Vannevar Bush and he had 'received from the top' – i.e. from FDR himself (PREM.3/139/8a; *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970)).

¹⁵ *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

¹⁶ Cherwell to WSC, Jan 1943 (Cherwell papers).

¹⁷ Anderson to WSC, Jan 11, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

¹⁸ Anderson to WSC, Jan 20, 1943 (*ibid* and CAB.120/78).

¹⁹ WSC to Anderson, Jan 23, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

²⁰ J M Martin to Harry Hopkins, Jan 23, 1943 (*ibid.*; Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'; and *The Conferences at Washington 1941–1942 and Casablanca 1943*, US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1968).

²¹ WSC to Hopkins, Feb 15, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

²² Lord Cherwell to WSC, Jan 20, 1943 (Cherwell papers).

²³ WSC to Hopkins, Feb 16, 1943 (Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'; and PREM.3/139/8a); and *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

²⁴ Hopkins to WSC, Feb 24, 1943 (*ibid.*).

²⁵ WSC to Hopkins, draft telegram ('surely not sent') in PREM.3/139/8a.

²⁶ WSC to Hopkins, Mar 18, 1943 (*ibid.*, to go 'in a locked box').

²⁷ Hopkins to WSC, Mar 20 (*ibid.*, and Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'); the text in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970) is dated 'Mar 19, 1943.'

²⁸ FDR to Bush, Mar 24, 1943 (Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS').

²⁹ Conant to Bush, Mar 25, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³⁰ Bush to Hopkins, Mar 31, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³¹ WSC to Hopkins, telegram T.434/3 (PREM.3/139/8a).

³² Rowan(WSC's secretary) to Cherwell, Apr 5, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³³ GC&CS German police section, report ZIP/MSGP.41, dated Jan 1, 1943 (HW.16/6, part i).

³⁴ 'Operation carried out by SOE and Combined Operations,' Apr 8, 1943 (AIR.8/1767).

³⁵ WSC to Selborne, M.266/3, Apr 14, 1943 (CAB.120/827).

³⁶ Dill, Washington, to War cabinet, London, Apr 3, 1943 (AIR.8/1767).

³⁷ Portal to Dill, Apr 6 (*ibid.*). He amended the 'two years' on Apr 7, 1943 to 'twelve months.'

³⁸ Michael W Penn [*should read* Perrin], 'Norway – Production of Heavy Water,' Aug 20, 1943 (AIR.8/1767). Tronstadt, was parachuted into Norway, captured, and killed.

³⁹ Hollis to Portal, Oct 18, 1943 (AIR.8/1767).

⁴⁰ Portal to Hollis, Oct 20, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁴¹ Bush to Hopkins, Apr 5; *New York Times*, Apr 4, 1943. The sub-headline read, 'Super-Explosive Indicated. British Counter-Action Seen in Paratroop Activity' (Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS').

⁴² WSC to Hopkins, Apr 1, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

⁴³ WSC to Hopkins, Apr 11, 1943 (Hopkins papers).

⁴⁴ Halifax to Eden, Apr 14, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.15).

⁴⁵ Cherwell to WSC, Apr 7, 1943: 'TUBE ALLOYS' (Cherwell papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'; PREM.3/139/8a).

⁴⁶ WSC to Cherwell, Apr 11, 1943 (Cherwell papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS'; and PREM.3/139/8a).

⁴⁷ WSC to Anderson, M.270/3, Apr 15, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a, and CAB.120/842); Cherwell's desk diary shows he saw WSC that day (copy in our possession).

⁴⁸ Ismay to WSC, Apr 15 (CAB.120/748). War cabinet, Apr 15; cf. Lord Cherwell's desk diary, Apr 15, 1943. For the chiefs of staff meetings and documents relating specifically to the V-weapons and CROSSBOW, Jan–Dec 1943, see CAB.121/211–3.

⁴⁹ WSC to Cherwell, Apr 22, 1943 (Cherwell papers).

⁵⁰ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 19, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁵¹ Duncan Sandys report, COS (43) 259(O), May 17, 1943.

⁵² Sandys report, COS (43) 259(O); Jacob to WSC, May 24; Jacob to Crawford, Jun 7, 1943 (CAB.120/748).

⁵³ Chronology, for meeting Nov 8, 1943 (CAB.120/748).

- ⁵⁴ Edward Thomas, *ibid.*, 48.
- ⁵⁵ Travis to Bayly, New York, Dec 6, 1942 (HW. 14/60).
- ⁵⁶ Unsigned note, Nov 30, 1942 in GC&CS files (HW. 14/59).
- ⁵⁷ Adolph A Berle, Jr, to Winant, Apr 23, 1943 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, secret files, box 15, file 820.02A-Z).
- ⁵⁸ Telford Taylor, in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (eds.), *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 71ff.
- ⁵⁹ Ralph Bennett, *ibid.*, 38.
- ⁶⁰ GC&CS draft history, chap. ix, 'The Japanese War' (HW. 3/102).
- ⁶¹ Hinsley and Stripp (see note 58), 7-8, 32, 144f.
- ⁶² Brooke diary, unpublished, Mar 29, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a); Bryant, *op. cit.*
- ⁶³ On Nov 9, Col. D Capel-Dunn of the JIC had sent to Ismay remarks (CSDIC SRX 1209) overheard eight days earlier by Gen. d Pz. Tr. Crüwell to the former commander of U-353: 'The enemy would dominate the whole Mediterranean and it would be possible for them to knock Italy of the war to begin with, and then to conquer Europe from three points, Italy, Greece and Spain.' Later Crüwell said, 'Just think what that [Britain's command of the Mediterranean] would mean! Italy would be done for.' Morton told Capel-Dunn on Nov 25, 1942 that *Afrika Korps* commander Gen. von Thoma had said much the same both to Air Vice-Marshal Collier in the plane bringing them both back from to England, and in an overheard conversation (CAB. 163/3).
- ⁶⁴ H M King George VI diary, Mar 31, 1943.
- ⁶⁵ Dalton diary, Apr 6, 1943.
- ⁶⁶ Butcher diary, pages A.307f, Apr 17, 1943, unsealed.
- ⁶⁷ Col. John H Bevan's file on MINCEMEAT (CAB. 154/67) contains his handwritten note, the COS decisions of Apr 7, 13, 14, 15, related working papers and drafts of the 'three letters.' The plan's authors were Flight-Lieut. Charles Cholmondeley of MI5 and Lieut.-Cdr. Ewen Montagu of Naval Intelligence. A narrative based on Montagu is in CAB. 154/112; his narrative originally had photos of the corpse and baggage items. See too Bevan, quoted by Gilbert, vol. vi, 405; minute by Ismay, Apr 14, 1943, quoted in Michael Howard, *Grand Strategy*, vol. iv (London 1972), 370; Montagu, *The Man Who Never Was* (London, 1953), and Roger Morgan's earlier research in *After the Battle* magazine, Nov 15, 1996.
- ⁶⁸ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 17, 19, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶⁹ Cunningham to Pound, Apr 28, 1943 (British Library, Add. MS 52561).

⁷⁰ Dr Edouard Táborsky diary, in Czech, Apr 4, 1943 (Hoover Libr., Edouard Táborsky papers, box 2); *cf.* Chequers register (in the author's possession; author's microfilm DI-89).

⁷¹ Francis Biddle, US ambassador to the exiled governments in London, to FDR, Feb 20, 1942: in *FRUS*, 1942, vol. iii, 108–110.

⁷² Minute by Frank Roberts, Aug 16; and by Harold Caccia, Aug 18, 1942 (FO.371/30917): 'He knows our views about this,' added Caccia, 'and it is a mischievous message to an extreme organisation.'

⁷³ Robert E Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York, 1948), vol. ii, 708–14.

⁷⁴ FDR to Sikorski, Apr 12, 1942, in *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 373.

⁷⁵ Berlin Radio communiqué, Apr 13, 1943, in *Polish Documents*, 523.

⁷⁶ Count Edward Raczyński, Note on a conversation between Sikorski and WSC, Apr 15, 1943, unpublished (Gen. Sikorski archives); *cf.* Raczyński, *op. cit.*, 140–1. Cadogan diary, Apr 15, 1943; the OSS also reported on May 15, 1943 from London that 'in his conversations with Gen. Sikorski, Mr Churchill did not leave the Polish Premier for a moment in doubt about how he thinks himself about [the Katyn massacre]' (NA, RG.226, Records of the OSS, entry 126, box 272, file 353325).

⁷⁷ Ambassador A Drexel Biddle to Hull, Apr 17, 1943, *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 379.

⁷⁸ Stalin to FDR, Apr 21, *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 391; and in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 150, and Stalin to WSC, Apr 21, 1943, *ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 180.

⁷⁹ WSC to Stalin, Apr 24, 1943 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 375); in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 151.

⁸⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 24, 1943.

⁸¹ Biddle to Hull, Jul 27, relating what Sikorski told him. *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 398–400.

⁸² Raczyński, *op. cit.*, 143.

⁸³ WSC to Stalin, Apr 24; he repeated this text to FDR, Apr 25, 1943, *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 393.

⁸⁴ WSC to Stalin, Apr 25, 1943 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 153.

⁸⁵ Stalin to WSC, Apr 25, 1943, *ibid.*, vol. i, No. 152.

⁸⁶ Memorandum of phone conversation by Elbridge Durbrow, Apr 26, 1943, in *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 397.

⁸⁷ Cecil King diary, Apr 27, 1943. Bracken was visiting him when Eden phoned.

⁸⁸ WSC to Eden, Apr 28, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 389.

⁸⁹ Raczyński, *op. cit.*, 143.

⁹⁰ The text is in WSC to FDR, Apr 28, 1943.

⁹¹ WSC to FDR, Apr 28, 1943.

⁹² Cadogan diary, Apr 28, 1943. 'A filthy day . . . and I'm running out of drink! Damn!'

⁹³ WSC to FDR, Apr 29, 1943 Churchill, vol. iv, 700.

⁹⁴ Raczyński, *op. cit.*, 144.

⁹⁵ Cadogan diary, Apr 29, 1943.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr 30, 1943.

⁹⁷ Cadogan diary, May 1; Winant to FDR, May 1, 1943 (FDR Libr., John G Winant).

⁹⁸ Cadogan diary, May 6, 7, 1943.

⁹⁹ Harvey diary, May 11, 1943.

¹⁰⁰ Cadogan diary, Jun 19, 1943.

¹⁰¹ Churchill, vol. iv, 678–81.

¹⁰² O'Malley to Eden, May 24, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF, folder 'Churchill').

¹⁰³ WSC to FDR, Aug 13, 1943 (FDR Libr., PSF, folder 'Churchill').

¹⁰⁴ According to Prof. H. Famira of Concordia Univ., Montréal, seven German officers (K.H. Strueffling, H. Remlinger, E. Böhm, E. Sommerfeld, H. Jannike, E. Skotki, and E. Geherer) were tried in Nov 1945 by a court of Americans, British, French, and Russians, and hanged for having shot the thousands of Polish officers at Katyn 'in 1939.' Three more, E.P. Vogel, F. Wiese, A. Diere, were sentenced to 20 years hard labour, turned over to Stalin and never seen again. Letter in the *Montréal Gazette*, Nov 5, 1990.

¹⁰⁵ Halifax diary, Mar 30, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹⁰⁶ Amery diary, Feb 15, 25, 1943.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Apr 20, 22, 1943.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, May 3, 1943.

¹⁰⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 21, 1943.

¹¹⁰ Harvey diary, Apr 21–26, 1943.

¹¹¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Apr 25. Hardinge offered his resignation on Jul 8, which the king, as Eden noted, 'gleefully' accepted; Eden regretted this as Hardinge had courage and ability, and he suspected Queen Elizabeth was at the bottom of it. 'She has always disliked Alec's independence of

mind' (*ibid.*, Jul 8, 1943).

¹¹² Amery diary, May 3, 1943.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1943.

¹¹⁴ Harvey diary, May 3, 1943.

¹¹⁵ Amery diary, May 7. For his letter of advice to Eden of May 9, 1943, see N Mansergh and E V R Lumby (eds.), *The Transfer of Power in India*, four vols., vol. iii, 955–8.

¹¹⁶ Amery diary, May 18. On Jun 9, 1943 (*ibid.*), WSC told him he had finally decided against sending Eden to Delhi, feeling he lacked the requisite 'sense of mission.'

¹¹⁷ Halifax diary, May 23, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹¹⁸ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 8, 1943. 'But he as readily admits the disadvantages. Our talk was very frank.'

¹¹⁹ Halifax diary, Jun 17–18, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹²⁰ Amery diary, Jun 9, 14, 15, 1943.

¹²¹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 14, 1943.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Jun 15, 1943.

¹²³ Amery diary, Jun 21, 1943.

¹²⁴ Lieut. Sewell's report is in CAB.154/67.

32: 'Is THAT YOU, WINSTON?'

¹ Nel, *op. cit.*, 99f.

² Harvey diary, May 18, 1943.

³ Brooke diary, unpublished, May 7, 1943: 'There are only 3,000 troops on board instead of full 15,000 so that we are not crowded at all' (Alanbrooke papers, 5/7).

⁴ Ismay, *op. cit.*, 294. Zyklon (hydrogen-cyanide impregnated pellets) was used to disinfest ships, trains, and workers' housing; it was manufactured under licence by a London firm, which still retained as its telegraphic address 'Zyklon, London' long after the war (wo.208/2169).

⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Apr 30, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/6a).

⁶ Butcher diary, May 1, 1943.

⁷ Harvey diary, May 5, 1943.

⁸ Halifax secret diary, May 16, 1943.

⁹ In the list of records of Britain's Joint Staff Mission, Washington (PRO series CAB.122) is piece 1394: 'Captain Butcher, 1945–46'; its full name has been obliterated, and it is 'retained by dept.,' i.e. sealed.

¹⁰ Hassett diary, May 27, 1943.

¹¹ Ickes diary, Jan 9, 1943. Lord Halifax had remarked upon the paucity of the applause. Henry Luce had just published a savage letter in *Life* attacking British policy in India.

¹² Hume Wrong diary, Nov 6, 1942. His former secretary, a Miss Butson, now worked at the US embassy and reported this to him (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Hume Wrong papers, MG.***, file 23, 'London, 1942').

¹³ Leahy diary, Dec 24–25, 1942; Leahy for FDR to WSC, May 7, 1943; Leahy diary, Apr 14, 1943.

¹⁴ The tight-lipped official US history, *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970), says only: 'Regarding the absence from the official files of such records, see Matloff, 125, footnote 87.' Arnold's records on TRIDENT are in the Library of Congress, H H Arnold papers, box 182.

¹⁵ Leahy, *op. cit.*, 156.

¹⁶ Joint Chiefs of Staff, JCS.286/1, 'Recommended Line of Action at Coming Conference,' May 8, 1943 (NA, RG.218, JCS); Matloff, 123f. Leahy diary, May 8, 1943. There is a hint of these dissensions in the Butcher diary, pages A.423ff, May 27, 1943, unsealed.

¹⁷ Bedell Smith reported, back in Algiers on May 25: quoted in Butcher diary, page A.424, May 27, 1943, unsealed.

¹⁸ Stimson diary, May 10, 1943.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1943.

²⁰ Everett S Hughes diary, May 14, 1943 (Library of Congress).

²¹ Schedule in PREM.10/1.

²² Halifax diary, May 6, 1943 (Hickleton papers, **)

²³ *Ibid.*, May 4 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12); for more on Beaverbrook's intriguing to become ambassador, see *ibid.*, May 9, 11, 12, 1943.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

²⁵ Stimson diary, May 12, 1943.

²⁶ Combined Chiefs of Staff, Minutes of First Meeting, held in the White House, 2:30 P.M., May 12, 1943 (CAB.99/22; and see Churchill, vol. iv, 706ff).

²⁷ Leahy diary, May 12, 1943.

²⁸ The text is in Butcher diary, page A.405, May 13; Gilbert, vol. vi, 404, quotes only the abridged text given in the Cadogan diary, May 12, 1943. Also intercepted was the last message of Hans Cramer, commander of the *Afrika-Korps*: 'Munition verschossen, Waffen und Kriegsgerät zerstört. Das DAF hat sich befehlsgemäß bis zur Kampfunfähigkeit geschlagen. Das Deutsche Afrika-Korps

muß wieder erstehen. Heia Safari!'

²⁹ Halifax diary, May 12, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 12, Jun 1, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

³² Alexander to WSC, May 12, 1943: Churchill, vol. iv, 697.

³³ Alexander to WSC, May 13, 1943: Churchill, vol. iv, 698.

³⁴ King George VI to WSC, May 13: Churchill, vol. iv, 698; and Clementine to WSC, May 13, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 404.

³⁵ Anna Boettiger diary, May 13, 1943 (FDR Library, Anna Roosevelt Boettiger papers).

³⁶ WSC to Clementine, May 26, 1943: Mary Soames, *op. cit.*

³⁷ WSC, 'Notes on ANAKIM,' May 8, 1943 (CAB.99/22; Churchill, vol. iv, 702ff).

³⁸ Revised Minutes of Second Meeting held in the White House, 2 P.M., May 14, 1943 (CAB.99/22). Gilbert, vol. vi, 407, is wrong in stating that this conference was held on their *return* from Shangri-La.

³⁹ Leahy diary, Jun 19, 1943.

⁴⁰ Note on CHASTISE and UPKEEP in PREM.3/14/5.

⁴¹ Our series of articles on the Dams Raids, published in *The Sunday Express* in May 1973, was based on the official records released to us and on private diaries and papers which Dr Barnes Wallis made available to us. See www.fpp.co.uk/bookchapters/dams/articles/dambusters/1.html.

⁴² MI14(d)/0/161, a 'most secret source' report, Jun 3, 1943 ('German police reports, unnumbered,' HW16/9).

⁴³ John Martin to Sinclair and Morrison, Jun 7, 1943 (Cherwell papers).

⁴⁴ Anna Boettiger, quoted by Ickes diary, May 23, 1943. On May 14 she herself noted, 'Shangri-La for dinner,' and added cryptically: 'PM's snuff-box and belongings to Nelson.' (FDR Library, Anna Roosevelt Boettiger papers).

⁴⁵ Schedule in PREM.10/1; and see Churchill, vol. iv, 795–8. Thompson MS (Thompson papers); WSC's own account of this is substantially different. Churchill, vol. iv, 711f. Poet John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892) wrote 'Barbara Frietchie' in 1864, at the height of the Civil War.

⁴⁶ WSC minute, May 15, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 407.

⁴⁷ Hollis to WSC, May 14, 1943 (CAB.120/88).

⁴⁸ German High Command (OKW) to OB Südost, OB Süd, *Marinegruppenkommando Süd*, May 14, 1943, intercepted by GCHQ as CX/MSS/2571/

T4 (CAB. 154/67 and /112). Hinsley, vol. iii, part 1, 78. British Intelligence officers found that the captured *Seekriegsleitung* files contained photographic copies of all three letters: see DNI to Cavendish-Bentinck *et al.*, Jul 13, 1945 (*ibid.*) and British admiralty archives, PG/33216. The discovery of the corpse and 'documents' was reported at Hitler's war conference of May 8; upon leaving, he was overheard by a stenographer (Ludwig Krieger, who related this to us) to remark to a staff officer: 'Christian, couldn't this be a corpse they have deliberately played into our hands?' See David Irving, *Hitler's War* (London, 1991), 547. See too NA microfilm T78, roll 343, and Rommel's diary, May 1943 (author's microfilm DI-160). On May 25, 1943, Dr Goebbels wrote in his diary that Canaris, 'energetically refuted' the hypothesis that the documents were an enemy plant (NA microfilm T84, roll 264).

⁴⁹ Intercepts 'PM. 20-23,' May 18, 1943, marked MOST SECRET (an English, not American classification) and 'To be returned to Captain E G Hastings, RN' (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'TRIDENT').

⁵⁰ Stimson diary, May 17, 1943.

⁵¹ Elizabeth Layton, letter home, May 19, 1943 (Nel papers): Gilbert, vol. vi, 408.

⁵² Mackenzie King diary, May 16, 1943.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1943.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, May 18, and again on May 19, 1943.

⁵⁵ 'With that strength it would be slaughter,' agreed Mackenzie King, in his note on the meeting of the empire's general staffs, May 20, 1943 (Mackenzie King papers, MG.26, J1, vols. 114, 116, 383).

⁵⁶ Mackenzie King diary, May 18, 1943.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Layton (see note 51).

⁵⁸ Mackenzie King diary, May 18, 1943; it was 12:32 A.M. as he got into bed – the hands were in a straight line again.

⁵⁹ Halifax diary, May 18 and 19, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

⁶⁰ Text of speech in *The New York Times*, May 29, 1943; a copy of the British Information Services, Washington, transcript is in the Library of Congress, Felix Frankfurter papers, box 129, 'Churchill.' Spanish newspapers published it in full, though omitting the reference to 'Corporal Hitler.'

⁶¹ Ickes diary, May 23, 1943.

⁶² Clementine to WSC, May 20, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 409.

⁶³ Speech (see note 60).

⁶⁴ So he told Mackenzie King that evening, diary, May 19, 1943; there is

a memo on the House 'Quiz' in these papers (Mackenzie King papers, MG.26, J1, vols. 114, 116).

⁶⁵ Mackenzie King diary, May 19 and 21, 1943 (*ibid.*, cf. Pickersgill, 513).

⁶⁶ Mackenzie King, memo on a conversation with FDR and WSC, May 20, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁷ Halifax diary, May 20, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

⁶⁸ Mackenzie King diary, May 20 and 21, 1943.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, May 18, 1943.

⁷⁰ Luce, on May 19, 1943, in conversation with Beaverbrook (Beaverbrook papers, D.517).

⁷¹ Revised Minutes of Second Meeting held in the White House, 2 P.M., May 14, 1943 (CAB.99/22).

⁷² Stilwell diary, May 14, 1943.

⁷³ Record of Combined Chiefs of Staff meeting, May 20, 1943, published in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

⁷⁴ Stimson diary, May 21, 1943.

⁷⁵ Record of Pacific War Council meeting, May 20, 1943, published in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (Washington, 1970).

⁷⁶ Dill concurred with Soong, telling the Canadian representative McCarthy that it was 'humiliating' that some aspects of the agreement had not been carried out; Soong told Mackenzie King that the whole agreement had been typed out in Calcutta, and taken on to Casablanca. Mackenzie King diary, May 20, 1943.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1943.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, memo on a conversation with FDR and WSC, May 20, 1943 (Mackenzie King papers, MG.26, J1, vols. 114, 116).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1943.

⁸⁰ Halifax diary, May 15, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12); and cf. May 20, 1943.

⁸¹ T L Rowan to Hopkins, May 16, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'TRIDENT'). See Churchill, vol. iv, 712f.

⁸² Lord Beaverbrook, Note on Conversations, Mrs Ogden Reid, Jun 10 [1943] (Beaverbrook papers, 'Atlantic Visits'); and Thompson MS (Thompson papers). Mme Chiang Kai-shek also fervently backed Gen. de Gaulle, and complained to Beaverbrook that WSC had not even acknowledged her written invitations to speak on *The New York Herald-Tribune* forum.

⁸³ Mackenzie King diary, May 21 1943.

⁸⁴ Halifax diary, May 21, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

⁸⁵ Churchill, vol. iv, 801; Eden, *Reckoning*, 447–49, confirms this. For Eden's sympathetic views on traditional French interests in Syria and Lebanon, see the U.S. embassy memo on his luncheon with Casey, Cadogan, Spears on Jul 12, 1943 (NA, RG.84, US embassy in London, confidential files, box 13, file '800 Near East').

⁸⁶ PREM.3/120/10b,c & d (covering 1941–2), and PREM.3/120/4, May 1943. The particularly sensitive file PREM.3/121/4 was opened on Jan 3, 2000; see *The Independent*, London, Jan 4, 2000.

⁸⁷ See note 64.

⁸⁸ WSC treats this matter with restraint: Churchill, vol. iv, 716. It is clear that the most incriminating documents came from MI5.

⁸⁹ Tel. 3376, H Freeman Matthews, US embassy in London, to Murphy, May 15, 1943, quoting 'British Security sources,' i.e. MI5 or MI6 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 66, A16/France). His source was Inspector Richards of Scotland-yard: Richards stated that de Gaulle's officers were talking openly in Nov 1942 of assassinating Darlan, until the general issued a warning against careless talk. After Darlan's murder, said Richards, 'certain people in De Gaullist circles began to boast that the Fighting French had had a hand in the plot and also intended to kill Gen. Giraud.' De Gaulle had said of his rival, Giraud, '*Ce n'est qu'un général!*' ('He's just a general.') Jacob Beam, memo to Matthews, May 18, 1943 (NA, State dept. records, files 851.00/5–1343 and /5–2143). See the undated (1945?) OSS R&A Report No. 2553, 'Colonel "Passy".' On Apr 19, 1945, de Gaulle's 'Director-General of Study and Research, French Republic,' sent a memorandum to W J Donovan entitled, 'Duke-street Murder Myth'; this and several other items about 'André de Wavrin alias Colonel "Passy"' including a memorandum by J Edgar Hoover to the U.S. attorney-general, dated Dec 13, and the latter's memorandum for FDR, Dec 15, 1944, have been removed from Donovan's papers at the US army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, box 76a, folder 1025. Typed copies of the most incriminating Winant telegrams are in PREM.3/121/4.

⁹⁰ Forbes to WSC, Feb 12 (PREM.3/120/10d). See also Matthews to Beam, 'Statements of Mr Alistair Forbes,' Mar 23, 1943 (Murphy papers, box 45): this summarises the unvarnished editorial views of *The Observer*, *Spectator*, *Economist*, and *New Statesman* on de Gaulle.

⁹¹ So de Gaulle told Gen. Cochet. Tel.3413, Winant to Hull, May 17, 1943 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 66, A16/France and PREM.3/121/

4).

⁹² Beam to Matthews, May 18 (NA, State dept. records, files 851.00/5-1343 and /5-2143); de Gaulle had said the same to French parachutists on Feb 4. See H Freeman Matthews to Atherton, Mar 6, 1943.

⁹³ Hull to FDR, May 19, 1943 (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 66, A16/France).

⁹⁴ Undated memo (FDR Libr., Map Room files, box 66, A16/France).

⁹⁵ H Freeman Matthews to State dept., Mar 27; Jacob Beam, memo to Matthews, May 18 (NA, State dept. records, files 851.00/5-1343 and /5-2143). Cf. Matthews to Murphy, Apr 2, 1943 (Murphy papers, box 45). His source was in part a Mrs Bologna-Heiser, who was well-informed on the 'assassinations' which de Gaulle's officials 'are apparently able to carry out to dispose of their enemies here.' See Matthews to Beam, Mar 5, 1943 (*ibid.*). On BCRA, see *Encyclopédie du renseignement et des services secret* (Paris, 1997); BCRA merged in Nov 1993 in Algiers with others into the new DGSS: see www.interieur.gouv.fr/police/dst/dst.htm.

⁹⁶ Matthews to Beam, Mar 5; and a detailed memo in French by Prof. Leguyon, an MI6 agent, on the murders and other atrocities at No. 10 Duke-street, Mar 16, 1943 (Murphy papers, box 45).

⁹⁷ High Court writ, *Maurice Henri Dufour vs. Charles de Gaulle, et al.*, issued by Thomas Cooper & Co., Solicitors, London, Aug 6, 1943 (NA, RG.59, papers of H Freeman Matthews, box 13). The case was set down for hearing in Jan 1944; de Gaulle refused to accept the High Court's jurisdiction. State dept., Division of European Affairs, 'Reasons Underlying this Government's Lack of Confidence in General de Gaulle,' Jan 20, 1944 (*ibid.*).

⁹⁸ Beam to Matthews (see note 95).

⁹⁹ Rowan to Hopkins (see note 84).

¹⁰⁰ WSC phone call to Eden, 2:05-2:15 A.M., May 21, 1943. Transcript sent in code by Navy Censorship to Captain Fenn (NA, State dept. Archives, File 851.00/5-2143; US Naval History Division, file on Capt. Herbert Keeney Fenn.) The US navy had the task of censoring all cable communications (see our APPENDIX II). Fenn was Assistant Director of Censorship, and Chief Cable Censor in the Office of Censorship, Washington DC, Sep 1940-Aug 1945. According to what Eden told his secretary, Churchill had said that feelings in Washington were running high, both with FDR and with Hull; and the PM wanted the war cabinet to 'break with de Gaulle.' Harvey diary, May 21, 1943.

¹⁰¹ 'Not of course literally,' remarks the otherwise very capable editor of

the published Cadogan diaries, David Dilks. Cadogan diary, Jan 11, 1943.

¹⁰² WSC to Eden and Attlee, May 21, 1943 (PREM.3/121/4).

¹⁰³ Halifax diary, May 22, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹⁰⁴ Harvey diary, May 24. WSC to Eden and Attlee, May 24, 1943. The next day they added, 'We have no reasons to have any illusions about de Gaulle, nor have we had any' (PREM.3/121/4).

¹⁰⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, May 23; Harvey diary, May 24; Cadogan diary, May 23, 1943

¹⁰⁶ Everett S Hughes diary, Nov 18, 1943.

¹⁰⁷ Stimson diary, May 22, 1943.

¹⁰⁸ Stilwell diary, May 22, 1943.

¹⁰⁹ Stilwell's note in US dept. of the army files, published in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

¹¹⁰ Stilwell diary, May 22, 1943.

¹¹¹ Stimson diary, May 22, 1943.

¹¹² *Ibid.* Ickes diary, May 23, 1943.

¹¹³ From a British embassy memorandum on the luncheon, which WSC caused to be sent to FDR, published in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970), and paraphrased at length in Churchill, vol. iv, 717ff.

¹¹⁴ Henry Wallace diary, May 24, 1943; wrongly dated May 22 in published edition, *op. cit.*, 207ff. The ellipsis denotes words that were no doubt omitted out of tact.

¹¹⁵ Halifax diary, May 22 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12). For WSC's version of this conversation of May 22, see his Tel. 163 to FDR, May 28, 1943 (FDR Libr., Map Room files); and *cf.* Churchill, vol. iv, 802-7.

¹¹⁶ Ickes diary, May 22, 1943.

¹¹⁷ Halifax diary, May 22, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹¹⁹ Harvey diary, May 11, 1943. 'PM wants to seize the Azores.'

¹²⁰ 'Agreed we might ask Salazar for facilities but must not take them.' Cadogan diary, May 11, 1943.

¹²¹ Compare the robust plans revealed in the documents with the version rendered by WSC in Churchill, vol. iv, 716: 'I had a particular regard for the rights of Portugal,' etc.

¹²² *FRUS*, 1943, iii, 116-7.

¹²³ Cadogan diary, May 21, 1943; and *cf.* Bruce Lockhart diary, Jul 14,

1946.

¹²⁴ Halifax diary, Jan 8, 1942.

¹²⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 24, 1943.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug 2. Cadogan (diary, Aug 2, 1943) records that WSC was 'simply tiresome and mulish, insisting on date September 15th, and getting v. excited at times, and silly.'

¹²⁷ Cadogan diary, Jun 19, 1943.

¹²⁸ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, Oct 12, 1943, cols.716–18.

¹²⁹ Wallace diary (see note 116).

¹³⁰ Clementine to WSC, May 20; reply, May 21, 1943.

¹³¹ Henry Wallace diary, May 24, 1943; he recalled WSC's turn of phrase to Harry S Truman after the war, and the new president replied: 'It is just like Churchill to make a crack like that' (*ibid.*, Mar 12, 1946).

¹³² Leahy diary, May 24, 1943.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, May 24 (in fact May 25), 1943.

¹³⁴ Stilwell diary, May 25, 1943.

¹³⁵ *The New York Times*, May 26, 1943.

¹³⁶ Transcript published in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970); and (PREM.4/72/2).

¹³⁷ Stimson diary, May 27, 1943.

¹³⁸ As WSC put it to Smuts, Jul 16, 1943: Gilbert, vol. vi, 414.

¹³⁹ Butcher diary, page A.424, May 27 and A.427, May 29, 1943: Marshall was given only a few hours' notice to pack. According to Harriman, it was FDR who decided to send Marshall to avert the danger of their strategy being skewed by the British. Memo by Beaverbrook (Beaverbrook papers, D.517).

¹⁴⁰ Stimson diary, May 25, 1943.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, May 27, 1943.

¹⁴² Stimson, quoted by Frankfurter diary, May 30, 1943 (Library of Congress, Felix Frankfurter papers, box 22).

¹⁴³ Dill to A B Cunningham, May 25, 1943 (Cunningham papers, Add. MS 52570).

¹⁴⁴ Halifax to WSC, May 28, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A4.410.4.11). To Eden, the ambassador wrote on the same day: 'Winston . . . was very good about seeing a lot of people and I am sure it will have been well worth while. The general impression for example that he made on a mixed grill of Congressmen and Senators that we collected here [on May 22] will have

got spread abroad and will not be without valuable result' (*ibid.*, A4.410.4.15).

¹⁴⁵ Baruch to Bracken, Jul 16, 1943 (Princeton University, Seeley Mudd Manuscript Libr., Bernard Baruch papers). Cf. Bernard Baruch, *The Public Years* (New York, 1960), 300.

¹⁴⁶ Halifax diary, May 23, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, May 22, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.12).

¹⁴⁸ Oral History of George M Elsey, Apr 9, 1970 (Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri).

¹⁴⁹ Hassett diary, May 29, 1943.

¹⁵⁰ Frankfurter diary, May 26, 1943 (Library of Congress, Felix Frankfurter papers, box 22). The judge interpreted this to mean that FDR detected in WSC a dangerous immaturity.

¹⁵¹ Lord Moran, *op. cit.*, chap. 40: 'Fighting Back,' 447.

33: CHEATED OF THE BOMB

¹ Schedule in PREM.10/1.

² Groves had locked the Canadian Eldorado company into exclusive contracts to produce 700 tons of uranium oxide – that company's entire output until mid-Nov 1945; he had also put Eldorado under contract to refine the 2,000 tons of Belgian Congo uranium-ore concentrates which the British had shipped to the USA for safekeeping when war broke out. Finally, Groves had put the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Corporation under exclusive contract to manufacture heavy water at Trail in British Columbia, Canada.

³ Anderson to WSC, May 13 and 15, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

⁴ Mackenzie King diary, May 20, 1943; memo, 383f.

⁵ Mackenzie King diary, May 21, and cf. Aug 8, 1943.

⁶ Undated 'Note on TUBE ALLOYS,' endorsed 'Yes,' by WSC (PREM.3/139/8a).

⁷ V Bush, 'Memorandum of Conference with Mr Harry Hopkins and Lord Cherwell at the White House, May 25, 1943' (Hopkins papers, 'TUBE ALLOYS')

⁸ Original memorandum in the FDR Library, reproduced in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

⁹ Cherwell to Hopkins, May 30, 1943 in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington*

and Québec, 1943 (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

¹⁰ WSC to Anderson, first message, May 26, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a).

¹¹ WSC to Anderson, second message, May 26, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a); Churchill, vol. iv, 723.

¹² WSC to Hopkins, Jun 10, 1943 (PREM.3/139/8a; and *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

¹³ Cherwell to WSC, Jul 26, 1945 (Cherwell papers).

¹⁴ WSC to Hopkins, Jun 10, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 'TUBE ALLOYS').

¹⁵ Hopkins to WSC, Jun 17, 1943 (*ibid.*).

¹⁶ WSC to FDR, Jul 9, 1943.

¹⁷ WSC to Anderson, Jul 18, 1943 (CAB.120/842).

¹⁸ FDR to Bush, Jul 20, 1943, quoted in letter J E Doyle to Hull, Nov 5, 1945 (FDR Libr., PSF 172); Lord Cherwell's appointment book records visits from V Bush on Jul 14 and 22, 1943, the latter at No. 10 Downing-street (copy in our possession).

¹⁹ Cherwell to WSC, Jul 22, 1943 (Cherwell papers).

²⁰ FDR to WSC, Jul 26, 1943, in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

²¹ Stimson was, in our opinion, an honourable man. He 'said that he now knew that this impression was wrong and both he and Gen. Marshall expressed a willingness and desire to restore full collaboration.' At this meeting on Aug 5, 1943 Anderson obtained confirmation that Stimson and Marshall in fact knew very little about the project.

²² WSC to Anderson, Jul 23, 1943 (CAB.120/842).

²³ Draft agreement, in *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970).

²⁴ WSC to Anderson and Cherwell, Jul 29, 1943; WSC to FDR, Jul 29, 1943, enclosing 'Draft heads of an Agreement between the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of Great Britain.' *FRUS, Conferences at Washington and Québec, 1943* (US Government Printing Office, Washington, 1970). The CPC consisted of Stimson, Bush, Conant (USA); Dill and Colonel J J Llewellyn (Britain); and C D Howe, Canadian minister of munitions and supply.

²⁵ Halifax diary, Aug 5, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

²⁶ Halifax secret diary, May 26, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.19).

²⁷ Butcher diary, May 27, 1943, unsealed, quoting Bedell Smith.

²⁸ Macmillan, letter home, Jun 4, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967,

and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943–May 1945* (London, 1984), 94.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Jun 4, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967, and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943–May 1945* (London, 1984), 94.

³⁰ 'Autograph Book of Passengers on Mr Churchill's Personal Aircraft, 1943–45' (Thompson papers). The PM's York transport plane LV.633 was named 'Ascalon.' Its flight navigation log is in the RAF Museum, Hendon, on microfiche MFC.76/5 together with that of his subsequent Douglas Skymaster EW.999.

³¹ Butcher diary, June 4, 1943.

³² *Ibid.*, May 29, 1943.

³³ *Ibid.*, May 27, unsealed, quoting Bedell Smith. Bedell Smith had reported the Intelligence about Kursk on May 25: *ibid.*, page A.424, May 27, 1943, unsealed.

³⁴ Butcher diary, May 29, 1943.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1943.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Amery diary, Jul 14, 1943.

³⁸ Stimson diary, Jun 1, 1943.

³⁹ On Jan 26, 1943 WSC had cabled to Giraud, 'We also spoke [at SYMBOL] of the importance which I attach to getting a certain General out of France.' His next message specified Georges (CAB. 120/76). And see State dept., Division of European Affairs, 'Reasons Underlying this Government's Lack of Confidence in General de Gaulle,' Jan 20, 1944 (NA, RG.59, papers of H Freeman Matthews).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Official Dispatch No. 209 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, May 29, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19299).

⁴² Butcher diary, May 30, 1943, unsealed.

⁴³ For Adm. Godfroy's move, and Churchill's venom toward him, see PREM.3/179/5 and /6.

⁴⁴ Official Dispatch No. 243 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, Jun 3, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19480).

⁴⁵ Butcher diary, June 1, 1943.

⁴⁶ Butcher diary, May 30, 1943, unsealed.

⁴⁷ Eden diary, manuscript, May 31, 1943.

⁴⁸ Butcher diary, Jun 1, 1943.

⁴⁹ Eisenhower, 184.

⁵⁰ J M Robb diary, Jun 2, 1943 (RAF Museum, Hendon: Air Chief Marshal J M Robb papers, 71/9/68).

⁵¹ Note by Macmillan, in Harold Macmillan, Jun 1, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967, and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943–May 1945* (London, 1984), 100.

⁵² Butcher diary, Jun 1, 1943, unsealed, quoting Commander Kitteredge, U.S. naval liaison officer to de Gaulle.

⁵³ Official Dispatch No. 253 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, Jun 5, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19564).

⁵⁴ Eisenhower, *op.cit.*, 185.

⁵⁵ Butcher diary, Jun 4, 1943. Present were Marshall, Eisenhower, Major-Gen. T T Handy and Bedell Smith, with Churchill, Eden, Cunningham, Brooke, Tedder, Montgomery, Ismay, on the British side.

⁵⁶ Official Dispatch No. 253 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, Jun 5, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19564).

⁵⁷ Official Dispatch No. 252 from Algiers, Colonel Eddy to Donovan, Jun 5, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19559): The OSS's Colonel William Eddy reported that Churchill, Giraud, and de Gaulle dined there on June 4; the P.M. told the French generals that de Gaulle must co-operate with Giraud and the Allied Command, 'or else.' 'There now seems to be a good chance of escaping a personal dictatorship by de Gaulle.'

⁵⁸ Official Dispatches No. 254, 255 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, Jun 5, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19571).

⁵⁹ Amery diary, Jun 5, 1943.

⁶⁰ Chequers register, Jun 5–7; Martin diary, Jun 5, and letter home, Jun 6, 1943.

⁶¹ Halifax diary, Sep 9, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

⁶² A T Harris, *Bomber Offensive*, (London, **year ...**) 154f.

⁶³ Harris to WSC, May 8, 1943 (PREM.3/14/5). The file contains working papers indicating that, before composing a new message to Stalin at this time, WSC inquired the latest German cities bombed since the last such telegram.

⁶⁴ Ministry of Information Home Intelligence Report, No. 140, Jun 10, 1943 (CAB.121/106).

⁶⁵ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 15, 1943.

¹ Sikorski to WSC, May 24, 1943 (Gen. Sikorski archives).

² FO.371/34614a, 'Gen. Sikorski's Visit to the Middle East.' 'The Diary of Gen. Sikorski's last Journey in the Middle East' (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Papers of Tadeusz Romer, M.6.61, D68, vol. 3).

³ Ambassador Bogomolov, quoted by Francis Biddle to FDR, Jun 2, 1943, *FRUS*, 1943, vol. iii, 426.

⁴ Sikorski diary (Gen. Sikorski archives).

⁵ Cadogan diary, Jun 28, 1943.

⁶ FDR to Stalin, Jun 4, in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. •••; reply, Jun 11, 1943 (*ibid.*, vol. i, No. 162).

⁷ Maisky, conversation with WSC, Jun 9, 1943 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 39off).

⁸ Stalin to WSC, Jun 11 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 393f). Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 12, 1943.

⁹ WSC to Stalin, Jun 18 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, 395ff). WSC to Stalin, Jun 19, 1943 in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 163.

¹⁰ Bruce Lockhart diary, Jul 4, 1943.

¹¹ Harriman to FDR via Hopkins, Jul 5, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 157, 'Harriman.') This is only partially reproduced in the official documentation *FRUS, The Conferences at Cairo and Teheran, 1943*, 13-15, omitting WSC's intriguing remarks about China and de Gaulle.

¹² Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 24, 1943.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Jun 25, 1943.

¹⁴ Harriman to Hopkins for FDR, Jul 5, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 157, 'Harriman'; and PSF, folder 'Great Britain, 1943').

¹⁵ Brooke diary, unpublished, Jun 28, 1943 (Alanbrooke papers, 5/7).

¹⁶ WSC to FDR, Jun 23, 1943.

¹⁷ Harold Macmillan, diary, Jul 5, 1943, in *The Blast of War* (London, 1967), and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943-May 1945* (London, 1984), 141.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Jul 6, 1943, 142.

¹⁹ Harold Macmillan, diary, Jul 9, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967, and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943-May 1945* (London, 1984), 144.

²⁰ Butcher diary, page A.452, Jun 4, 1943.

²¹ WSC to FDR, No. 302, Jun 10, 1943 (AIR.8/437).

²² Chiefs of staff 121st meeting, Jun 8, 1943 (*ibid.*).

²³ Memo by M[yron] CT[aylor], Jun 11, 1943 (Myron CTaylor papers).

²⁴ Eden to chiefs of staff, COS (43) 317(O), Jun 17; chiefs of staff 129th

meeting Jun 18, 1943 (*ibid.*).

²⁵ FDR to WSC, No. T.859/4, No. 321, Jun 19; and reply, No. 291, Jun 22, 1943 (*ibid.*).

²⁶ Cadogan letter, Jun 25, 1943, circulated as COS (43) 341(O) (*ibid.*).

²⁷ Welsh, RAF delegation in Washington, to Portal, Jun 26, 1943, 15:30 GMT (*ibid.*).

²⁸ Chiefs of staff to Washington and Eisenhower, Jun 29, 1943 (*ibid.*).

²⁹ Combined Chiefs to Eisenhower, Jun 26, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³⁰ The Vatican addressed the same message to the USA. Archbishop A G Cicognani, Archbishop of Laodicea, Apostolic Delegation to the USA, to Myron C Taylor, Jun 25, 1943 (Myron C Taylor papers).

³¹ Archbishop A G Cicognani, Archbishop of Laodicea, Apostolic Delegation to the USA, to Myron C Taylor, Jun 28, 1943 (Myron C Taylor papers).

³² Holy See telegram No. 198, Jun 28, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³³ FDR to WSC, No. 303, Jul 5, 1943 (*ibid.*).

³⁴ JSM Washington to War cabinet Offices, Jul 11, 1945 (*ibid.*).

³⁵ Harris to Portal, Jul 11, 1943; see too Bomber Command operation order No. 162, Dec 3, 1942 (AIR.8/437).

³⁶ Portal to WSC, Jul 13, 1943 (AIR.8/437).

³⁷ Eden to WSC, Jul 14; WSC minute, Jul 16, 1943 (AIR.8/437). Harris was duly informed.

³⁸ Stalin to WSC, Jun 24; Stalin to WSC, Jun 26, 1943: *Sov.-angliiskiye*, 400, 402f.

³⁹ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 26, 1943.

⁴⁰ WSC to Stalin, Jun 27 (*Sov.-angliiskiye*, pp.403f). Harriman to FDR via Hopkins, Jul 5, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 157, 'Harriman'); Harriman spent that weekend Jun 24–28 at Chequers.

⁴¹ Cadogan diary, Jun 28. Sikorski diary, Jun 30, 1943 (Gen. Sikorski archives). 1943.

⁴² This German traitor was Peter Herbert Cleff, of Essen. He was lying; in deference to his wishes, the file on him has been sealed (wo.208/3464).

⁴³ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 16, 1943.

⁴⁴ WSC to Cripps, Jun 17, 1943 (CAB.120/748).

⁴⁵ Derek Taunt in F H Hinsley and Alan Stripp (ed.) *Codebreakers. The Inside Story of Bletchley Park* (London, 1993), 109.

⁴⁶ WSC to Sandys, C.17/3, Jun 25, 1943 (CAB.120/748).

⁴⁷ FO to WSC, Jun 29, 1943, report from Mr Osborne, Switzerland

(Cherwell papers).

⁴⁸ WSC to Ismay, Jul 21, 1943 (CAB.120/748).

⁴⁹ Ministry of Information Home Intelligence Report, No. 140, Jun 10, 1943 (CAB.121/106).

⁵⁰ Leahy diary, Jun 11, 1943.

⁵¹ Stimson diary, Jun 10, 1943.

⁵² Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 11, 1943.

⁵³ Official Dispatch No. 286 from Algiers to OSS for Donovan, Jun 12, 1943 (NA, OSS file CD 19842).

⁵⁴ Butcher diary, page A.483, Jun 12, 1943, unsealed.

⁵⁵ Capt. Wood, 'American—De Gaullist Relations 1942–44,' Jun 23, 1944; and Lieut. G M Elsey, 'President Roosevelt's Policy towards de Gaulle,' Jun 21, 1945 (NA, RG.218, JCS, Official Papers of Adm. W D Leahy, file 20).

⁵⁶ State dept., Division of European Affairs, 'Reasons Underlying this Government's Lack of Confidence in General de Gaulle,' Jan 20, 1944 (NA, RG.59, papers of H Freeman Matthews).

⁵⁷ WSC to editors, Jun 12, 1943 (PREM.3/121/1); quoted in State dept., Division of European Affairs, memo, 'Reasons underlying this Government's Lack of Confidence in General de Gaulle,' Jan 20, 1944 (NA, RG.59, H Freeman Matthews Papers).

⁵⁸ FDR to WSC, Jun 17, 1943. Stimson diary, Jun 17, 1943. In cabinet that day Stimson advised FDR that de Gaulle was so unstable he might provoke a fight between French forces (*ibid.*). Capt. Wood (see note 55) and Elsey (*ibid.*).

⁵⁹ Harold Macmillan, diary, Jun 18, 1943, in *The Blast of War*, London, 1967, and *War Diaries, Politics and War in the Mediterranean, January 1943–May 1945* (London, 1984), 127–8.

⁶⁰ Eden diary, manuscript, Jun 18, 1943.

⁶¹ Matthews to Ray Atherton, head of the European dept. of the State dept., Jun 25, in Leahy diary; the full text is in the Murphy papers, box 25. 'Doc' Matthews wrote to Murphy on Jun 26, 1943: 'I wonder, incidentally, if you realize how close you came to getting instructions from the highest quarters around June 17th . . . to stop the Committee from meeting and to break openly with the modern Jeane d'Arc' (*ibid.*).

⁶² For several of these often harrowing censorship summaries on the Jewish question from 1941 to 1943 see HO.213/953.

⁶³ Information & Records Branch, 'Postal and Telegraph Censorship, Report on Jewry,' No. 7, Jul–Dec 1943, London, Feb 26, 1944 (NA, RG.84,

US embassy in London, secret files, box 22, 'London Conf files, 1944'). The letter quoted rounded off this 32-page report.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Dr C Weizmann to WSC, Apr 2, 1943 (PREM.4.52/3).

⁶⁶ WSC to Eden and Cranborne, M.291/3, Apr 18, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁷ Stanley to WSC, Apr 19, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁸ Cranborne to WSC, Apr 19, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁹ Eden to WSC, Apr 20, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁷⁰ Weizmann to WSC, May 18, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁷¹ Weizmann's *aide-mémoire* on a meeting with FDR, Jun 11, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁷² O Stanley to F Brown, Jul 24, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁷³ See note 64.

⁷⁴ Amery diary, Jul 2, 1943.

⁷⁵ Weizmann to WSC, July 21, 1943 (PREM.4.52/3).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, and Martin to Weizmann, Jul 28, 1943 (*ibid.*).

⁷⁷ Weizmann to Bracken, Jul 27, 1943; copied to J Martin (PREM.4.52/3)

⁷⁸ Martin to WSC, Oct 29, 1943 ; minute Martin to J Peck thereon (PREM.4.52/3).

⁷⁹ Mason-Macfarlane to WSC, Jul 5, 00:05 A.M (Portal's files, AIR.8/779, 'Death of Sikorski'); the plane had crashed at 11:15 P.M., so this was a very swift report. A telegram from HQ RAF Gibraltar to the Air Ministry stated that the four bodies were those of Sikorski, Klimecki, Whitley, and Pinder. Mason-Macfarlane's telegram to the Polish president reporting the crash, Jul 5, 1943, is in FO.371/34614b, now labelled 'Death of General Sikorski.' This was not the FO's original title for this file: unusually, in the current PRO guide to record-series FO.371 the last four or five entries on this page including those for pieces 34614a and 34614b were retyped and pasted-over so as to obliterate the original file titles. The prime minister's own 1943 files on Poland so far released (PREM.3/351-8) do not include any on the general's death. We have also used a number of items from files still held (1967) at Government House, Gibraltar, including folder 222/1943, 'Death of General Sikorski.'

⁸⁰ Air HQ, Gibraltar, Intelligence Section, 'Flying from the Rock,' Aug 1945; this study regretted that the crash had focused 'unwarranted' attention on the airstrip's safety. Our examination of the controller's log book preserved at Air Traffic Control Gibraltar revealed that the page covering this crash had been torn out.

⁸¹ RAF Gibraltar (North Front), Operations Record Book (ORB), 1943 (AIR.28/306, and /1035–1038); and appendices (/310). The 'Mae West' mystery was mentioned in the Inquiry (see note 84) by several witnesses testifying on oath, and by the governor of Gibraltar, Lieut. Gen. Sir N M Mason-Macfarlane, in a five page MS dated Jul 18, 1945 which we first found (see our website <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Legal/Discovery/DI/1858.html>). Rather than explain why he wore it on this occasion (and there may have been a relatively innocent explanation), Prchal denied it.

⁸² Search operations were conducted from RAF Gibraltar (New Camp): ORB, May 1942–Sep 1944 (AIR.28/303–4). The two unauthorised passengers were W H Lock and Harry Pinder. Lock was said to be from the Ministry of War Transport.; Pinder was a former naval telegraphist who ran a Newcastle pub before 1939, behind which he also ran a school for training radio-operators. With the outbreak of war, he was arrested on charges of possessing foreign currency (he had a one-billion Reichsmark note framed behind the bar) and 'transmitting secret information' to the enemy. After being detained again under Regulation 18B he was released again to 'help the war effort' (Letter from E R D'Alessio, Jul 15, 1977). The *Navy List* shows him as a Warrant Telegraphist, seniority of May 4, 1934. A colleague, Lieut. Commander John Lawn, described Pinder in a letter to us of Jun 26, 1969 as a wireless officer in the Fleet. Ludwik Lubienski, Polish liaison officer in Gibraltar, described him however under Polish interrogation, Dec 9, 1943, as being 'in fact Head of the British Intelligence Service in the Middle East.' His body was not found.

⁸³ WSC to Helena Sikorska, Jul 5, 1943, published in *Leader of a Nation at War. The Posthumous Homage of 'The Voice of Poland'* (Glasgow, 1943); full text in David Irving, *Accident. The Death of General Sikorski* (London, 1967).

⁸⁴ Halifax diary, Jul 5, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13).

⁸⁵ Halifax diary, Jul 6, 1943 (Hickleton papers, A.7.8.13). Churchill's war minister, P J Grigg, who witnessed the crash, told Gen. Macready that he blamed pilot error (*ibid.*, Jul 12, 1943).

⁸⁶ Minute by D Allen, Jul 15, 1943 (FO.371/34614b).

⁸⁷ Lord Killearn, to FO, Cairo, Jul 8, 1943 (FO.371/34614b).

⁸⁸ Our interview of Helena Sikorska, Jun 26, 1966.

⁸⁹ Ministry of Information, Home Intelligence Report, No. 145, Jul 15, 1943 (CAB.121/106).

⁹⁰ Letter by Eric Seal (WSC's PPS, 1939–41), in *The Times*, Jan 3, 1969.

⁹¹ Letter by John Colville, Ian Jacob, John Martin, John Peck, Lord Por-

tal, and Leslie Rowan, in *The Times*, Jan 2, 1969. Patrick Howarth, the S.O.E. officer responsible for all activities connected with the Poles in the Mediterranean theatre, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* on Feb 17, 1972 that while he did not exclude the possibility of foul play, S.O.E. was not involved.

⁹² Diary of Lieut.-Col. Erwin Lahousen, chief of *Abwehr II* (our micro-film DI- 43).

⁹³ This was not the first incident involving the general. An incendiary device had been found aboard his plane, flying to the United States on March 21, 1942. Halifax diary, May 14, 1942; the balance of evidence suggests that it was planted by a certain deranged Polish officer. Sumner Welles subsequently stated the belief that the Jul 1943 crash was caused by sabotage (*The Katyn Forest Massacre, Congressional Hearings*, 2080). The RAF Court of Inquiry found that the plane crashed for indeterminate reasons (the transcripts is in our collection; in the Sikorski institute archives, London; and the files of the Vice-Chief of Air Staff, AIR.2/9234); Portal's dossier on the crash is AIR.8/779; another file is in ACAS papers, AIR.20/5411. The Inquiry cleared the Czech pilot Edward Prchal of blame; in the 1970s he agreed to place his papers in the Hoover Library, but shortly before his death in California a few years later, of cancer, he revoked the gift; he is buried in the Czech section of Brookwood in England.

⁹⁴ Sinclair to Ivor Thomas, MP, Feb 21, 1945 (AIR.19/320).

⁹⁵ Hansard, *House of Commons Debates*, vol. 390, cols. 1946–1950, Jul 6, 1943.

⁹⁶ A V Alexander to WSC, Jul 14; and C Wallworth to Rowan, Jul 18, 1943 (FO.371/34614b).

⁹⁷ Rowan to V G Lawford, Jul 16, 1943. The FO drafted WSC's response to the Polish president (FO.371/34614b).

⁹⁸ Rowan to R S Crawford, Jul 17, 1943 (AIR.8/779, 'Death of Sikorski').

⁹⁹ WSC to Portal, M.480/3, Jul 18; Portal's reply, Jul 18: he 'understood' that a bracket controlling the tail elevators had been found to be fractured and sent to RAE Farnborough on Jul 12, where experts were still investigating whether this was because of metal fatigue or impact damage (Chief of Air Staff's files, AIR.8/779, 'Death of Sikorski.') There is no reference to this in the Inquiry. On Jul 22, 1943 the Vice CAS signalled to Air Cdre Simpson that the Chief Inspector of Accidents at RAE had now signalled details of the findings to Flight Lieut. John W Buck, who was investigating on the spot (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁰ F K Roberts, minute, Sep 20, 1943 (FO.371/34614b).

¹⁰¹ When we published our 1967 book *Accident*, Harold Wilson's government opened a file; apart from a number of items withdrawn for security reasons, this is now in the public domain, PREM.13/2644: 'Death of General Sikorski.'

¹⁰² So she told us. But on Dec 3, 1944 WSC sent her this telegram: 'I thank you most sincerely for the kindness of your message. I often think of your wise and heroic husband. Winston Churchill' (copy in our collection).

¹⁰³ Our interview of Helena Sikorska and her confidante Mme Olga Lisiewicz, Jun 26, 1966.

¹⁰⁴ Cadogan, diary, Jul 5, 1943: 'This is a great blow. There's *no-one* to take his place.'

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Retinger's notes, edited by John Pomian: *Memoirs of an Eminence Grise* (Sussex Univ. Press, 1971), 140.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 144. Cf. Raczynski, *op. cit.*, 151. PM's card, Jul 5, 1943.

¹⁰⁷ See the British record of the Moscow Oct 1944 discussions, TOLSTOY (PREM.3/434/2); see also PREM.3/66/7, 'Spheres of Influence in the Balkans'), and Warren F Kimball's essay, 'Churchill and Roosevelt: The Personal Equation,' in *Prologue*, Washington DC, Fall 1974, 169ff: here, 171.

¹⁰⁸ PM's card, Jul 6, 1943.

¹⁰⁹ Raczynski, *op. cit.*, 151. Romer's papers at the Canadian National Archives are an important archival source for our vol. iii.

¹¹⁰ Selborne to Eden, Aug 12; D Allen minute, Aug 26; Victor Cavendish Bentinck, Aug 23; Law to Selborne, Aug 30, 1943 (FO.371/34551).

¹¹¹ 'Report on Meeting between Premier Mikolajczyk and Prime Minister Churchill in the presence of Dr J H Retinger, Jul 21, 1943, 3 P.M.,' in Polish (Hoover Library, Papers of Stanislas Mikolajczyk). Rather mysteriously, the transcript ends: 'M [Mikolajczyk] requested a very firm stand from the British in this respect, emphasising the gratitude due for saving B's life.'

¹¹² Count Edward Raczynski, *In Allied London* (London, 1962), 159f.

¹¹³ Eden diary, manuscript, Jul 20, 1943; Eden, *Reckoning*, 399.

¹¹⁴ John Martin letter home, Jul 25, 1943 (copy in our possession).

¹¹⁶ Cadogan diary, Jul 7, 1943.

¹¹⁷ Ministry of Information, Home Intelligence Report, No. 145, Jul 15, 1943 (CAB.121/106).

¹¹⁸ WSC to Stalin, Jul 8, 1943 in *Stalin-WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, No. 168. Churchill wrote: 'It [HUSKY] comprises the overseas movement of half a million men in which sixteen hundred large ships and twelve hundred

special landing vessels are employed.'

¹¹⁹ Stalin to WSC, Jun 24, 26, Aug 9; WSC to Stalin, Jun 27, Jul 8, 10, 1943 in *Stalin–WSC Correspondence*, vol. i, Nos. 165–70.

¹²⁰ Harriman to Hopkins, Jul 22, 1943 (Hopkins papers, box 329, 'QUADRANT').

