

Bletchley Park Diary<sup>1</sup>

William F. Friedman

Edited with Notes and Bibliography

By Colin MacKinnon

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Ms. Rowena Lausch Clough, librarian at the National Cryptological Museum, Fort Meade, Maryland, for bringing the *Diary* to my attention. I am grateful to the late John E. Taylor of the National Archives at College Park, Maryland, who gave much help and encouragement to a novice at archival research. Thanks, too, to Barry Zerby, of the National Archives, and to Ms. Joanne D. Hartog, archivist at the George C. Marshall Research Library, Lexington, Virginia, for their assistance.

## Note on the Text

In transcribing the text of the *Diary* I have kept as faithfully as possible to the original, without attempting to regularize Friedman's sometimes inconsistent spelling and punctuation or correct any of his grammatical errors (such lapses, characteristic of diaries, are hardly surprising, especially since Friedman sometimes wrote on the run – in buses, on trains – rather than in the quiet of a hotel room).

Like other diarists, Friedman abbreviates a lot. For the benefit of readers whose first language may not be English I sometimes fill out the short forms, keeping my additions in brackets - for example, “ed[ucation]” or “sol[ution]”. Others, like “tfc” (“traffic”), that cannot be filled out, I gloss in the footnotes.

I have also identified in footnotes the wartime organizations and institutions Friedman mentions without spelling out – the RTO, the ATS and the like.

Occasionally I include a bracketed [sic] after a misspelled word or other error to let the reader know that the error occurred in the original. I also enclose the word “illegible” in brackets at those points where Friedman's hand cannot be read. Friedman himself used brackets on occasion but if the reader bears the above in mind it should be plain to him or her whose brackets in this transcription are whose.

The *Diary* has a large cast of characters – I count some 120, many of them far from well known. Friedman often explains sufficiently who these individuals are, but when he does not, I have tried to identify them and give them their full names. Some though, both British and American, are obscure and are likely to remain so.

# The Bletchley Park Diary

William F. Friedman

WILLIAM F. FRIEDMAN  
C/O U.S. MILITARY ATTACHÉ  
AMERICAN EMBASSY,  
LONDON, ENGLAND

3932 MILITARY ROAD  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

“ENTIA NON SUNT MULTIPLICANDA  
PRAETER NECESSITATEM.”<sup>2</sup>  
- WILLIAM OF OCCAM

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<sup>2</sup> “No more entities should be presumed to exist than necessary.” This principle, known as Occam’s Razor, is attributed to the scholastic philosopher William of Occam (1300?-1349?) though it occurs nowhere in his writings. The phrase is generally interpreted to mean that the simplest solution to any problem is the best. Friedman copied it on the inside cover of the *Diary* along with his name and addresses, in his careful, printed style. The rest of the *Diary* is in cursive.

Friday, April 23, 1943

Left National Airport on a C54 at 1:18 p.m. (instead of 7:<sup>30</sup> a.m.) 26 passengers, crew of 8. Nice passage to Gander, Nfld.<sup>3</sup> Anxiety re no hydr. pressure, no flaps, when due to land. Circled field 3 times, made good landing 8:45 p.m. 1350 miles. Good supper played ping pong & rested. Left Gander 12:45 a.m. (Wash time) & in single hop to Prestwick<sup>4</sup> (2211 mi.) landed 10:40 a.m. Very cold at 16000 ft & had use oxygen. Then down to 2500 ft & quite rough. Was nauseated several times. Customs etc. at Prestwick & after about 15 minutes boarded shuttle plane to London, arr Hendon Airpt 2:30 p.m. (Wash time). Bus from airport to #8 Audley St., signed in & was assigned room at Park Lane Hotel. Time elapsed from dep to arr Hendon 25 hrs. Flight 21 hrs.

Nice dinner at hotel & good room with Taylor<sup>5</sup> at 18/ plus 3/6 [18 shillings, three shillings, six pence] for brkft.

To bed at 11:30 p.m. (London) & slept hard through air alarms at 12:30 a.m. Quite tired but awoke much refreshed. Bed very comfortable.

Sunday April 25. - Reported in at AG<sup>6</sup> office. Phoned George Bicher<sup>7</sup> and met him at ETOUSA HQ. With Eric Svensson<sup>8</sup> Grand reunion & lunch with them at Officers' Mess, where we were introduced & given membership (me thru courtesy of Col. Lyman). Session with George in p.m. Dinner with George, Eric, & Lyman at mess. Spent evening at Eric's room, talking. Back to bed at 11:30.

Monday April 26. - Arose 9:30 a.m. Breakfast hotel. Reported to M.A.<sup>9</sup> & met Gen. Peabody.<sup>10</sup> Lunch at Club. Spent p.m. again with George, tour through his works. Talked with Johnson. Met Col. Black (Gr ETOUSA). Dinner with George as our guest. Walked in

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<sup>3</sup> Newfoundland.

<sup>4</sup> An airport in the west of Scotland, south of Glasgow.

<sup>5</sup> Lt. Col. Telford Taylor.

<sup>6</sup> Adjutant General's Office.

<sup>7</sup> Lt. Col. George Bicher (pronounced "beecher") was director, Signal Intelligence Division, Signal Section, European Theater of Operations United States Army (ETOUSA).

<sup>8</sup> Major Eric Svensson had been in charge of the Signal Intelligence Service's (SIS) Japanese cryptanalytic section, B-1.

<sup>9</sup> Military Attaché.

<sup>10</sup> Brig. Gen. Paul Everton Peabody was Military Attaché, U.S. Embassy, London.

Hyde Park. Evening at George's hotel. Much frank discussion. George to take off for U.S. 7:30 a.m. made continuous session advisable. Hour at 1:15 a.m. in blackout. Eric our guide. Tired.

Tuesday April 27. - Breakfast in room at 10:30. To HQ to present letter to Gen Rumbough.<sup>11</sup> Made date for us to call in p.m. McC<sup>12</sup> to Chase Natl to open account. Tea at Gunters. Nice place. 4:30 p.m. called on Gen R & had nice visit. Telegram this a.m. with info for Travis<sup>13</sup> made good opening for us. Called him from ETOUSA (He<sup>14</sup> left at 7:30 a.m.) on special line from George's office. Cordial welcome from Travis. Date for 12:15 p.m. next day for drink.\* (Commandeered bottle Bourbon from Eric for occasion & it was good thing! Met Travis at door as we were coming in. Very cordial greeting. Up to my room

\*See insert p. 5

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where had fairly frank preliminary talk. I suggested his arranging for meeting this p.m. with M<sup>15</sup> & we agreed good thing to do despite it being departure from our instr[uctions] re going thru Gen Davidson<sup>16</sup> first. T[ravis] said he'd phone if OK. Lunch at Off. Mess. Back to hotel and rested 30 min. T called & took us to call on M. Spent 1 ½ hours with him. Very dapper and pleasant. Cordial welcome. We will proceed indep[ently] of present contro[versy]. Mention of Dutch Min & info re our "bldg of 80 machines." I venture expl[anation] that Verkuyl<sup>17</sup> must have confused it with Gee-Whizzer.<sup>18</sup> M offers us welcome to go thru the works. T took me back to hotel. Mentioned our holding out on our gadgets<sup>19</sup> & says contro[versy] will not be

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<sup>11</sup> Gen. William S. Rumbough, Chief Signal Officer for the European Theater. In the 1930's, as Chief of War Plans and Training Division of the Signal Corps, Rumbough had been Friedman's direct superior officer.

<sup>12</sup> Col. Alfred McCormack.

<sup>13</sup> Travis was to leave shortly for the United States to conduct negotiations with the U.S. Army. The telegram was probably from Arlington Hall with "info" concerning his upcoming visit.

<sup>14</sup> Confusing, but "he" here is probably Bicher.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart Menzies, chief of MI6.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. F. H. N. Davidson, Director of Military Intelligence.

<sup>17</sup> Col. J. A. Verkuyl had been a Dutch cryptologist with the Royal Netherlands Indies Army. During the war he was at Arlington Hall, working on Japanese codes (see Kahn 1996, p. 691). Friedman's reference here is obscure.

<sup>18</sup> The "Gee-Whizzer" was an auxiliary mechanism that facilitated the operations of the IBM card tabulators in use at Arlington Hall. The term, like the device itself, was invented by Frank B. Rowlett, who along with Solomon Kullback and Abraham Sinkov was one of Friedman's original hires at SIS. See Rowlett 1998, p. 219 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Unclear, but obviously referring to British access to U.S. Army technical devices – perhaps project X-61753, the voice scrambler (see below).

settled until we come thru as they have.<sup>20</sup> Dinner as guests of Gen Rumbough. Raining so back to hotel and to bed.

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\*Insert to page 3:

Dinner at Club with Svensson as our guest. Walked Hyde Park & listened to Soap box orators. Very interesting. Bed at 10:30 but too tired for good sleeping

Wednesday April 28. - Up at 9 Brkfst hotel & out by 11 a.m. to Emb & then to Clinic to have 3<sup>d</sup> tetanus shot Back to hotel at 12:10 to meet Travis

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Thursday, April 29. - Up at 8:30 & breakfast. Wandered around looking for PX & got lost. Bought cigs, hangers, etc. Worked on msge to Wash, 1<sup>st</sup> report. Lunch at Red Cross. Walked and saw Liberty's. Tried buy pipe but no luck. Looked at sticks<sup>21</sup>. Dinner with Gen Ingles cocktails his quarters & dinner at Connaught. Back to his quarters. Nice chat. Bed at 11:30. Poor sleeping again & suspect tetanus shot did it.

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Friday April 30. - Up at 7:30 Brkfst & out by 8:30 to meet Maj Damey who took us Waterloo Stn & entrained for Tidworth<sup>22</sup> to see RI<sup>23</sup> Co. Lunch there & interesting visit. Back on train at 3:40 stood up most way back. Car met us at Stn & back to Embassy pick up msge for me from Cord[erman]. Taylor and I dinner at Club. Home very early & to bed by 9:30. Read, fixed up clothes in drawers, unpacked, washed socks. Asleep 11:30-8. Good.

Saturday May 1. - Up at 8 Brkfst was going out to #8 Audley met Eric said too late & then back to hotel where met Denniston<sup>24</sup> at door. I had phoned him 10:15 p.m. night before & was to phone him today but he made courtesy call at hotel. Very cordial. Breakfast

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then to Embassy. I wrote reply to C[orderman]'s message & sent it off. Then to Gen Peabody who took us in his car to War Office to call on Gen Davidson. Doorman D'Arcy with silk hat & colorful costume. Gen D very pleasant. Very formal call - no

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<sup>20</sup> That is, until the Americans have shown the British what they – the Americans - had in return for what the British had shown them.

<sup>21</sup> Friedman, ever the dandy in his taste in clothing, was shopping for a British walking stick.

<sup>22</sup> In Hampshire, southwest of London.

<sup>23</sup> Radio Interception.

<sup>24</sup> Denniston's headquarters were at 7-9 Berkeley Street, a seven-story apartment building adjacent to the Berkeley Hotel in the Mayfair area of London (the ground floor was occupied by one Madame Riché, Couturière des Dames). Berkeley Street decrypted German diplomatic and commercial codes.

discussion of business. Back with Gen Peabody who stopped at shop where I bought stick. Back to Emb. Lunch at club. Returned hotel. Fixed up this diary to point just above, rested 15 min. Up at 4 to call on Denniston at his office with Taylor & McC. Good visit. Reference to Turkish by T[aylor] whereupon D[enniston] tells us M[enzies] had indicated we could have anything we wanted on it. Indicates careful prediscussions between M & D. Invited D to Club for drink & he accepted at

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once. Cab to club where we talked semi-shop for about hour. We are to give D a schedule on Tuesday of what we want to see in his shop. I'm to spend week-end with him at golf as soon as can be arranged. Dinner at Club with Eric as our guest. Met Wes Jervey & renewed Wash acquaintance. Dinner & then to our hotel, where played 4-handed rummy. Up to bed at 10:15. Note: D told us that M was prob not going to Wash but that T[ravis] prob would, and soon!

Sunday May 2. - Up at 9. Poor sleeping for some reason or other, maybe tetanus shot still working. Breakfast hotel then to Fin. Office to get per diem which came to \$52.50 or £13/0/3 which latter I got. Back to hotel to read & conference with Taylor

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& M<sup>c</sup>C on next steps. M<sup>c</sup>C drew up list questions to present to Denniston tomorrow, in writing. Question as to whether we shouldn't press forward on E[nigma] at BP.<sup>25</sup> Decision to come back to Ldn spend Tues-Wed-Thurs going thru D's shop & then to BP on Friday where I confer on JAC.<sup>26</sup>

No lunch today. T walked around trying find place to eat - all closed up until 4PM on Sundays. 10:15p.<sup>27</sup> Rested this p.m. until 4, then T & I went to Gunter's for tea.

Thence walked to Westminster Abbey, looked around. Special service at 6:30 for ATS.<sup>28</sup> We came out just in time to hear Irish Guards band & to see the ATS march up to Abbey. Interesting to see their stride, with arms swinging high forward and heads up. Many & all sorts of faces, young & old, pretty and pretty awful. Then

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walked back to Club to dinner. The parks & trees are lovely. Rather cool today & damp but it cleared up by 6 & was lovely thereafter. Dinner with T, M<sup>c</sup>C, & a Col. Seitz, old friend of Eric's and M<sup>c</sup>C's. I wasn't very hungry since had tea at 4:30. After dinner we all went for long walk around the Serpentine. Saw Albert Hall, Albert Memorial (two terrible monstrosities on the whole but some of the figures on the memorial are nice. Saw lovely Peter Pan Statue again. Walked then to Hyde Park

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<sup>25</sup> Bletchley Park.

<sup>26</sup> "JAC," Japanese diplomatic code, is used here and again at BPD 18, 26, 32, and 49.

<sup>27</sup> This time reference, possibly the time when Friedman was actually writing up his day, is simply inserted into the text.

<sup>28</sup> The Auxilliary Territorial Service, the forerunner of the British Women's Army Corps.



& listened to various orators. Then to hotel, hot bath & now in bed. Must get good night's sleep - tomorrow to BP.

Monday May 3. - Up at 8 after good night's sleep. Brkfst then to Embassy to see if any mail or messages. Dropped schedule of proposed visit to Denn-

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iston on way to train to BP. Now en route there. 9:15p - We arrived Bletchley at 11:55a & were met at Sta by Col Tiltman with car & after few minutes run arrived at gate where we registered in. Thence directly to Travis' office where met De Grey, Travis' deputy (& a shrewd looking, small man) and Cooper,<sup>29</sup> in chge of Air. We had a few minutes preliminary discussion of generalities relative to their set-up into 4 services\* during course of which Tr informed us he was going to Wash 1<sup>st</sup> plane after coming Saturday. He is to go alone. Tr then produced a rather large chart depicting sources of their raw material, method of getting to BP & routing thereafter. T stated chart a bit out of date but promised to amend it & gave us copy. The no. & varieties of their sources are striking & very much better than our own. Then

\* Ref to GA, AF, N, Abw<sup>30</sup>

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to lunch (private dining room) as prelim to which there were gin & bitters, scotch etc. There we met Birch<sup>31</sup> (head Naval Section - incidently Tr had informed us we were to see all except N material) & an oldish retired Engineer officer who (Tr told me) works for nothing & takes care of all their construction. A very full lunch (which put M<sup>c</sup>C to sleep, for shame!) and then we went to Tiltman's office for a few minutes, where we met Col Cooper, asst to Ti[ltman] who'd just recently returned from N[ear]E[ast]. Brief disc[ussion] re SS Frame<sup>32</sup> & work now in prog in Ti's research section on security. Ques was raised by Admlty where [sic] it would stand up under 500 msges per day. Met several of Ti's assts. Result of test indicates poss[ible] sol[ution] if stereo[type]<sup>33</sup> beg[innings] are not avoided. Ti doubts whether more than 300 msges p/day are to be expected but if not more thinks not poss to get more than depth<sup>34</sup> 2 - which could hardly be solved. Ti showed us the

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<sup>29</sup> J.E.S. "Josh" Cooper, head of the Air Section at Bletchley.

<sup>30</sup> German Army, Air Force, Navy, and Abwehr. The last named was the German foreign espionage service.

<sup>31</sup> Frank Birch.

<sup>32</sup> Obscure. "SS" in Bletchley parlance meant "self-steckered," that is, a letter whose plugs on an Enigma machine were not switched (see Cryptographic Dictionary, p. 78). What an "SS Frame" may be is not clear nor is "small Brig SS frame" below.

<sup>33</sup> "Stereotypes" are stock words, phrases, numbers, and the like that commonly occur in messages and whose presence aids in those messages' decryption.

<sup>34</sup> "Depth" is where two or more sequences of ciphertext keyed in the same way are aligned with each other at the same point in the keying sequence. Columns so formed can be viewed as

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small Brig SS frame which looks very good but does not provide for vertical displacement of base card. Tr then called for M<sup>c</sup>C & Taylor & I were taken by Ti for quick survey of BP they now have 4000 workers there exclusive of maintenance & guard personnel. The main bldg a terrible looking structure once a rich man's country home. "Huts" of various sizes some still in use, others abandoned & about 8 or 9 new 1-storey brick structures. We did not go inside them as Ti said no time to get involved yet. De Grey then came for us & we made a rather hasty tour through their traffic reception & communications center. The teleprinter room has 64 print. & has a complement of 3 shifts of 48 WAAFs<sup>35</sup> about 30 on duty in a shift, each girl taking care of 3 machines. Tfc<sup>36</sup> bears a

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symbol (words beg with A for Air, N for Naval etc.) so that at "sorting desk" the girl in charge can rapidly forward msges to proper section which is done now by belt conveyor but will soon by [sic] done by pneumatic tube. Waafs have prelim tng<sup>37</sup> before getting to BP but get more intensive tng there. Some tfc arrives on siphon<sup>38</sup> recorder & girls take slips, translate morse direct & operate key board of Type X,<sup>39</sup> thus saving one operation. Most of tfc arrives at central teleprinter room but we were told in several cases service is direct to section involved, msges being rec'd in the section itself. Teleprinters are maintained at BP, as also Type X machines. We were then taken to room where outgoing operational solved tfc is passed thru Type X by oldest & most trusted Waafs who operate machines, setting up keys (they

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now have about 16 sets of keys). There are 60 Type X's in use now. Then saw the radio room where direct keying of transmitters by remote control is used to get the cipher tfc to op bg.<sup>40</sup> Also incoming radio signals rec'd there in siphon rec form. The special com system is a most essential element in their operations. Auxiliary power equip available in case of emergency Saw switching control for teleprinter service. Promised to permit us to go more fully into com system later. Then rejoined Tr &

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monoalphabetic ciphers. Reducing polyalphabetic ciphers to a series of monoalphabetic is a crucial step in their solution.

<sup>35</sup> Women's Auxiliary Air Force.

<sup>36</sup> Traffic.

<sup>37</sup> Training.

<sup>38</sup> A siphon recorder used ink, supplied by a thin tube, the "siphon," to record the electrical impulses of transmitted code on a moving paper tape. The device was patented in 1867 by a Scotsman named William Thomson.

<sup>39</sup> The Typex was the principal British cipher machine.

<sup>40</sup> Operations building.

M<sup>c</sup>C & after few minutes departed for 4:52 p train. Failed to take up our passes! which we turned in to driver of Stn wagon that took us to Stn. Arrived Ldn 6:15 p. Then to Embassy - no msges.

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Then to Club, dinner, short walk, hotel. 10 pm.

P.S. Add: <sup>1</sup> White<sup>41</sup> stated that on all outgoing op msges on Type X they decipher to insure no errors. I suggested tandem enciph-deciph op, which seemed new idea. De Grey queried me on practicability & when I assured him it worked for us I think they're are going to try it, as possible time saver.

<sup>2</sup> White said they had 260 persons in com. Center, exclusive of the teleprinter personnel.

<sup>3</sup> Saw also high-speed Creed<sup>42</sup> reception, tape morse, tape then passed thru translator & record slip then pasted up on sheets. De Grey said its high speed enabled them to receive large volume tfc that way direct from radio receiving stations.

<sup>4</sup> We also saw Varioplex terminal - BP to NY & sent a greeting from Taylor & self to Maidment & Bayley.<sup>43</sup> Later M<sup>c</sup>C filed a greeting to our wives, to go via same channel.

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Tuesday, May 4. - Today spent mostly at D's shop. Lunch at Red Cross place. D took us to his club for "cocktails": East India, Sport, & Caledonia an amalgamation due to bombing out of two of the three. Nice place. Dinner our Club. Spent evening with Eric in our room discussing SIS in Wash. M<sup>c</sup>C has copious notes of what we saw today. I was much impressed with amount of work done by so few people. Met several of D's people, Mr. Reese,<sup>44</sup> Mr. White, Col. Marsden.<sup>45</sup> Spent 2 hours in Distrib & Record Section, in charge of Earnshaw-Smith (who was out today) but

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<sup>41</sup> Introduced below, BPD 17, as "one of D's people."

<sup>42</sup> A Creed printer was the original teletype, developed in the 1890's by the Canadian F. G. Creed, to convert typewritten alphanumeric symbols into electrical code and vice versa. "The incoming Morse signals were received on a perforated tape; the latter was then passed through a high-speed translator which printed the text on a narrow slip; the latter was then pasted up on sheets. It was said that this high-speed channel enabled them to receive a very large volume of traffic directly from the overseas intercept stations." Friedman 1943, p. 107.

<sup>43</sup> Capt. Kenneth J. Maidment and the Canadian civilian Benjamin "Pat" Bayly were with "British Security Coordination," the MI6 office in New York.

<sup>44</sup> Probably a man named Rees: "In the years before the war I had a valuable colleague, Rees, who had had his lungs injured by shrapnel in the First World War; in consequence when there was fog he was grievously distressed and not fit to work but when I sent him away I was reprimanded by Denniston." Welchman 1997, p. 94. Rees worked in London at Berkeley Street (*ibid.* p. 96).

<sup>45</sup> J. W. Marsden, former assistant military attaché at the British embassy in Tokyo.

actually run today by a Greek prof of Cambridge named Jenkins.<sup>46</sup> A Miss Hill assists in record maintenance. Two old P.O. women<sup>47</sup> do the reception & sorting & fwding (to sections) of the

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incoming tfc. After lunch spent an hour with Mr. Oswald White (ex Consul-General Tientsin in chge of J[apanese] section. Met Col Marsden there. To return for more talk with them tomorrow.

Wednesday, May 5. - Up at 8, brkfst, then to PX for cigs etc. Answered msge rec'd on Tuesday from (probably) Kullback telling of progress on JAC, & requested them to use System IP-U instead of Special Hayes.<sup>48</sup> Also reported our progress & told of forthcoming trip to BP. Then to D's shop where we went into details of G Floradora.<sup>49</sup> Met Miss Patricia Bartley, in charge of G section, a most charming young woman, Leut. [sic] P.W. Filby,<sup>50</sup> Mr. Tomlins, & others. Lunch as D's guests, with Mr. Earnshaw-Smith (D's deputy & in charge of D&R Section), Mr. Hope, head of Commercial Sec. Went to Bagatelle Restaurant, delightful conversation with Earnshaw-Smith and Hope on my right & left. Both are Shakespeare

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devotees. Cocktails ("Gin and French") then a very nice lunch, after which we returned to D's place for further discussion on G. We drafted papers on division of labor on back log & are to see revised draft tomorrow. Met Mr. Väterlein,<sup>51</sup> dean of crypt, who is over 75 & has been in work for 50 years. Told me R's adopted 1-time syst[em] in 1916-17. R FO<sup>52</sup> had staff of 5 beginning back in '96. Austrians most clever & told R's pointers. Systems all very simple 1-part codes which remained in effect for long time. Norway, for exple, used same one from '93 to 1940. V is still quite active mentally & gets quite kick out of reconstruct 2-pts.<sup>53</sup> He doesn't care for "machines". We left at 5:45, walked to new Opera House where we saw Mozart's The Magic Flute. Very good performance & we had good seats which T purchased at

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<sup>46</sup> Probably Roy Jenkins, who later became prominent in British politics and served in the Cabinet. Jenkins' degree, from Balliol, was in Politics, Philosophy and Economics, not Classics.

<sup>47</sup> "They started as telegraph clerks in a post office in the reign of Queen Victoria and were fully familiar with the general field when they joined the present organization in 1919." McCormack 1943, Tab B, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Evidently American telecommunications devices.

<sup>49</sup> German diplomatic code, probably named after a turn-of-the century British musical comedy.

<sup>50</sup> P. William Filby, head of the German diplomatic section under Denniston at Berkeley Street.

<sup>51</sup> Ernst Fetterlein (Friedman uses the German spelling) had been a cryptologist for the Czarist government. After the Revolution he fled Russia, ultimately settling in the U.K. Between the wars he worked for GC&CS. When World War II broke out he returned to work for that organization.

<sup>52</sup> Russian Foreign Office.

<sup>53</sup> Two-part codes.

Selfridges at premium of 1 shilling making cost of seat 10/. Opera began on dot of 6:30 &

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finished on dot of 9. Crowds scurrying to get to buses etc before darkness. We walked to hotel & had dinner. McC bought us bottle of wine (\$9.00!) & we had a very nice dinner. Up to room, wrote E<sup>54</sup> a letter read paper a bit & to bed. Today the news re Gen Andrews death in plane accident in Iceland. Gen Key assumes cmd temp ETOUSA.

Thursday May 6. - Up at 8. T has bad cold. I went to pick up stick purchased last Saturday. Cashed \$30.<sup>00</sup> trav cks & got back £7/7 (rate 4:03:5 plus 2/ commission plus stamps). To Embassy, guided by a nice F.O. employee who pointed out places of interest. Then to D's shop<sup>55</sup> where we talked with J trans staff. Were much impressed with high calibre of men - practically all ex-Consuls or Consul-General's [sic] who had had years of experience & tng in Far East. F.O. apparently glad to make them avail-

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able, realizing value of their services in this field. To lunch we took Miss Bartley to Bagatelle. It was a 2 hr affair by time we got back but the y.l.<sup>56</sup> was much pleased & good company. She was born in India where her father (now retired) was judge in high court. Back to work where we went thru J-19 & Purple<sup>57</sup> section. Two men recover J-19 keys & about 7-8 women fill in values. Much impressed by efficiency of key-recoverers (both capt's loaned to FO) who prefer hand-op sol[ution] to Gee-whizzer (& besides they have no IBM here). One key recov this a.m. by 1 man in 1 hr as result lucky guess on width. Saw our purp machine<sup>58</sup> & one built here, which is much bigger & doesn't work as well. Servicing of machine by service man from "Broadway". Talked to woman who works on purp keys College grad (does she know any J??). Saw 1 girl who operates Purp. == Group

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<sup>54</sup> Elizebeth Friedman, William F. Friedman's wife.

<sup>55</sup> Berkeley Street.

<sup>56</sup> Young lady.

<sup>57</sup> J-19 was a minor code used by the Japanese diplomatic service, Purple the main high-level code.

<sup>58</sup> The Purple machine, a device built by the Americans to emulate the Japanese enciphering machine and used to decipher Japanese diplomatic traffic. The Americans built a number of these devices, one of which was brought to the U.K. in 1941 by the Sinkov Mission. For the Sinkov Mission, see Budiansky 2000, pp. 175-6 and further references there.

here trans practically all Purp, get all J-19 keys out & trans [Friedman leaves a blank space here] % of it, do no LA<sup>59</sup> (which is looked at by group in Com Section & is rarely completely process [sic]) Then rejoined D & got revised draft of proposal for division work on Flora[dora]. Then to Embassy to draw up tele to Wash on proposal. Packed belongings, prepared to take everything to B/P. In bed late.

[Here follow one and one half blank pages.]

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Friday, May 7. - Up at 8, brfst at hotel, settled a/c there & found necessary cash more trav checks (\$40.<sup>00</sup>) so as to settle up & have some £ to take along to B/P. Telford ill & not well enough to travel. Decided to take all my belongings to B/P & what a load! Went 1<sup>st</sup> to Embassy, pick up some papers & also M<sup>c</sup>C, with whom went to Euston Stn in good time. Porter found us good carriage & we had nice ride to Bletchley. Car awaited us & we were whisked to B/P. Other members of Conf were already there & anxious to start. Lt. Col. Pat Marr-Johnson,<sup>60</sup> from Delhi, India; Lt. Col. Sandford<sup>61</sup> from Brisbane, Australia; Tiltman; Major Thompson,<sup>62</sup> head of J-mil op at B/P; Capt. Nenck,<sup>63</sup> also of J-mil op B/P who serving [sic] as secretary. Met Travis & De Grey. M<sup>c</sup>C was at once whisked away by De Grey. Travis opened conf in his office with well chosen words of welcome to me as guest of honor, to which I replied in suitable form. Travis outlined

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the scope of conf & main subjects. Travis wanted me to act as chairman but I declined in favor of Tiltman as leader in host government. We adjourned for the usual 2 ½ hour “lunch”. Reconvened at 3:<sup>15</sup> or thereabouts & took up seriously the matters before us. At 4:<sup>15</sup> M<sup>c</sup>C called & said he was very tired & how about knocking off for the day. I thought this rather strange but explanation later from M<sup>c</sup>C was that he felt De Grey had purposely rushed him thorough the E[nigma] show & whenever Al stopped to examine anything closely he was dragged off or the papers were whisked away so that he was pretty sore. At any rate I acquiesced & a car was sent to take us to hotel at Newport-Pagnell, a small town about 8 miles from B/P. “The Anchor” which is a pub but very clean & quiet. No facilities for laundry or bath & one young woman takes care of all. We are apparently the only guests. We unpacked a bit & then

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<sup>59</sup> A lower-grade Japanese diplomatic code, solved at SIS by 1940. See Kahn 1996, pp. 14-15. In a cable to Arlington Hall McCormack calls it “Lousy Annie.” (NSA Historic Cryptographic Collection, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 457, NR 3284 cable 4847.)

<sup>60</sup> Peter Marr-Johnson, a Royal Artillery officer who had studied for a number of years in Japan.

<sup>61</sup> A.W. “Mic” Sandford of the Australian Army and a veteran codebreaker in North Africa.

<sup>62</sup> Probably Ralph Thompson, who had tracked Japanese air activity to the north of Australia.

<sup>63</sup> David Nenck headed the Japanese cryptanalysts of Block F at Bletchley.

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went for a short walk to see the village. Dinner at 7 & the food was excellent. Linen spotless but no napkins. We talked at length until about 9:30. I explaining E machine & bombe op in general to Al. I felt pretty punk with bad cold coming on so got into bed with pyjamas, my golf shirt of wool, & my woolen bathrobe, woolen footwarmers. I got warm in a hurry & fell into very sound sleep until 8 a.m. when “hot water” pitcher arrived at the door. Saturday. May 8. Dressed, had breakfast of bacon & egg!! Good tea. Car came to fetch us to BP, arriving at 10:15 there. Started in work but was soon interrupted by call from Travis who wanted tell me [sic] that we were to be shown their Nav E machine (modification of what he had told us the day before i.e., we were not to be shown anything on Nav side (at request of our Navy!!). He asked me not say anything

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back home re Navy having requested this but we could say merely that we were not shown that part. Travis said he frankly did not see why he should bear the obloquy for this sort of action & wanted it straight so far as I was concerned] Then I rejoined Conf where W.C. de Lazlo RAF gave data re commucations facilities for passing tfc. Then had further discussions of JAC. Lunch again for 2 hrs. Travis was there, just prior to taking off for U.S. via bomber. Gave him personal msge for E[lizebeth] & wished him good luck & Godspeed. Doubt whether he'd get off from Prestwick because weather has been so bad. [It has been unseasonably cold, damp, & windy now for several days.] After lunch we got down again to more serious detailed discuss re JAC & reached conclusions, some of which were embodied in telegram to AH.<sup>64</sup> Conf going very smoothly in a

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most friendly spirit of cooperation. We had no representative from Canada but nevertheless took cog[nizance] of their interests. We adjourned at 5:30 p.m. & Marr Johnson took me to Tiltman's home which is close by gate to Park. Had a couple weak scotch, talk, then Mrs. T & daughter joined us. Dinner (prep by Mrs. T) very pleasant, substantial food (hot soup, cold meat, hot sausage roll, vegetables, choc pudding). Sat around fire after dinner (coffee, tea) listened to radio at 9 p.m. re taking of Tunis & Bizerta. At 10 T had car call for me & take me to Newport-Pagnell, reaching hotel just as it was getting really dark. Talked with M<sup>c</sup>C a while – he absolutely amazed by what B have here – beyond all his imaginings, etc. Taylor was already in bed & did not join in conversation therefore but I'm sure he is just as impressed. T wonders whether everything in B[ritish] army is run

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<sup>64</sup> Arlington Hall, headquarters of SIS in Arlington, Virginia.

so well. “It is certainly good!” M<sup>c</sup>C: It’s superb! But it’s certainly not military!” That is also one of the things that has impressed me – rank or status cuts no ice – whoever is best at a job has charge. I said Strong<sup>65</sup> should come over, M<sup>c</sup>C said no chance. I said Clarke<sup>66</sup> He doubted whether C is smart enough to grasp size of the conception here & the sheer wonder of organizing achievement the B have to their credit. To bed in the cold but well-wrapped & I had a very fine sleep again.

Sunday May 9. – Up at 8. Brkfst ham & egg! again and nice tea. Car was late in coming – 10:10 a. & we got to B/P at 10:30. Had a session with Tiltman & Maj Morgan on their research section. It is a very loose-knit affair – composed of a very few – but the most able cryptan[alysts] whose

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primary job is “diagnosis” after which they pass the matter over to exploiters. Tiltman is leader, then Maj Morgan, Capt Morgan, Mrs. Bradshaw, Mr. Sainsbury. No rigid org now engaged in NNN studies on JAC as specialty but have other JAC problems also. Lunch with De Grey, M<sup>c</sup>C, Taylor and met Cmdr Bradshaw<sup>67</sup> who is Deputy Dir for Administration & has a big job – feeding, billeting, transportation, supplies, finances, etc. Bradshaw retired few years ago but knows consid[erable] crypt. He sees all tfc to keep in picture! After lunch at my request De Grey got org chart & we went through it carefully. Thereafter spent rest afternoon with Cooper, Air Section & had most int & ed[ucational] tour through his works. Met M<sup>c</sup>Vittie<sup>68</sup> & Mrs. M in hall & had chat She [illegible] thanking me for E’s courtesy in sending present. Saw Eachus.<sup>69</sup> After tour had tea with De Grey & learned inter details re their general operations. Told us about their Special Com Unit

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for handling their stuff; the A type crypta units for Army, B type for Corps; projected R type for fwding<sup>70</sup> from front by radio intercept, tfc obtained by A or B units. The amount of care & thought exercised by GC&CS to protect the MSS<sup>71</sup> stuff is

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<sup>65</sup> Gen. George Veazey Strong, head of Military Intelligence Division.

<sup>66</sup> Col. Carter Weldon Clarke, chief of Special Branch.

<sup>67</sup> Capt. A. Bradshaw.

<sup>68</sup> G.C. McVittie specialized in the analysis of Axis meteorological signals.

<sup>69</sup> Lt. Joseph Eachus, U.S. Navy. Eachus had been sent to Bletchley in July 1942, along with Lt. Robert Ely, to work on accelerating the performance of the bombes (see Budiansky 2002, p. 59).

<sup>70</sup> Forwarding.

<sup>71</sup> Material sent from Hut 3 was designated CX/MSS. “The camouflage which Hut 3 puts upon the texts is bizarre, sometimes to the point of being fantastic, but I was told that it is apparently effective. In the first place, the messages bear the curious and mysterious symbols ‘CX/MSS’ followed by a number. The ‘CX’ is understood to refer to ‘secret service’ – by inference, the work of ‘agents.’ Friedman 1943, pp. 75-76; “‘CX’ stands for ‘Secret Service’; ‘MSS’ for ‘Most Secret Sources.’” *ibid.*, p. 84b.



amazing. They have their own rep in the field assigned specifically for purpose, with own crypto staff & 1-time pads. Stuff handed over to only 1 or 2 people & great care taken not to disclose by operations fact that ops are based upon MSS stuff. The GC&CS rep is not attached to the staff but is a sort of MSS-Gestapo watchdog with full authority of Min Def (W.C) behind him. Car came for us at 6:15 we returned to hotel. Had drink & excellent dinner. Now writing up this & discussing things. Note re M<sup>c</sup>V bon mot: “We don’t do crypto but

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cribtog.” He did one in the last 2 days which gives a 5-way crib!<sup>72</sup> He says he should have finished it 2 years ago – when he got down to it & was struck by lightning he got it in 2 days. Another thing M<sup>c</sup>V impressed on me was fact that metro<sup>73</sup> work is of course useful in itself but also that it affords 1<sup>st</sup> class cribs into E & other stuff.

Monday, May 10<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 8 after good sleep although M<sup>c</sup>C & T & I sat up until 12:<sup>30</sup> talking & drinking up my whole qt of Scotch! Terrible weather – cold & rain all day. I had put on my long underwear & my sweater, so was quite comfortable except for cold feet. Col. Marr Johnson from India is suffering lots from the cold since he usually works 110-120° at home & these rooms at B/P are ghastly cold these days. The Englishmen keep their windows open all the same! They seem to be inured to the cold & damp. Their working quarters, compared to ours at home, are veritable rabbit warrens,

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and with primitive conditions as to chairs, furniture, etc. - Car came for us late as usual (10:<sup>10</sup>) & we had plenty time for breakfast - which was some canned tangerines! (excellent) and scrambled eggs. At B/P we resumed our JAC Conference and practically finished up what we could. Final conf to be held on Monday, May 17 if Brig. Harries, chairman of Y Com. here. Lunch at B/P, then had 1<sup>st</sup> session with Mr. Welshman [sic] on E from 2:15 to 4 p.m. had then nice session with Col. Pritchard & associates on G pol. until 6 p.m. Talked with Tilt until 6:30 Dinner with Mr. & Mrs. Birch at their hotel at Bedford Arms. Lt. Cmdr. Dudley-Smith & young, attractive wife were also guests. We had Irish Whiskey - 3 rounds - and a pretty nice dinner. Mrs. B works at BP & so does Mrs. D-S. Pleasant evening chatting. Birch showed me street down from hotel - oldest type Elizabethan structures, most attractive. B had a car with very pretty ATS driver take me to Newport-Pag. At 10:<sup>15</sup> just about dark. I am suffering from lack of bath! Facilities at hotel very slim &

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<sup>72</sup> A “crib” is plaintext thought or known to be contained in a cryptogram or a key thought or known to have been used in producing a cryptogram. Friedman thought enough of McVittie’s *mot* to repeat it (without attribution) in a cable back to Washington (see Gladwin 1999, p. 137).

<sup>73</sup> Meteorological.

I should be there early evening for it – which I haven't been able to manage. In a.m. there is no hot water except for shaving, which is brought in pitcher. It has been terrible weather & even the British complain! Rained all day and cold. How they can work in their offices at B/P astonishes me but I suppose they must be accustomed to it. When got to hotel M<sup>c</sup>C & T were up and insisted on some scotch, which we purchased at the pub downstairs. Mrs. Fenn (prop[rietor]) gave Al several 3-penny bits & we had good chat there, then cont'd up in A's room until 11:30. I had to do my packing as we are to go back to Ldn tomorr. To bed at 12:30 & good sleep but not enough probably.

Tuesday, May 11. - Up at 7:<sup>30</sup> finished packing, decided to leave large bag at B/P. Brkfst again b & egg! Car came early (as per my request) at 9:20. Loaded up (me itching from lack of bath, longies, & sweater – but it

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wasn't any too warm at that. To B/P at 9:45 & then immediately to my second sess on E with Major Lewis, on the W/T<sup>74</sup> side of picture, which is very interesting. Saw Mrs. Welshman who is a Capt in the ATS. They had arranged a schedule for us (Col Marr Johnson & self) which called for ½ hr with Lewis but we stayed at least 1½! The schedule had to be modified! And will be again, as I propose to go slowly & get all I can. (No rushing thru for me.) Then had session of theoretical crypt side with Maj. Babbage<sup>75</sup> 12:<sup>15</sup> to 1:<sup>15</sup> p. Lunch, where I met Eachus & Clifford (his relief). At 2:<sup>15</sup> back to Babbage until 3:15. Then rushed to get to HQ where A[1] & Tel were just entering car to go to Stn. We waited at Stn for ¾ hr. got to Ldn at 5:10, taxi (courtesy of Rumanian who got his eng[ineering] degree at Carnegie Tech then was attache R. Leg at Wash for 20 years, now with "Free Rum"

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in Ldn] to Embassy. Several messages for us but no letters. Then to Park lane – where I had a bath at last! Dinner at Club & straight back to hotel. Read over all my notes, sorted things out & now in bed. Wash socks & longies. Gave 4 shirts to Ldy & had suit pressed. Tired & nevertheless wrote letter to E & folks in N.Y. (1<sup>st</sup> time). Now 11:50 p & must to bed [P.S. Note re p/l msge from G[erman] Cmdr to Allied Cmdr about May 7<sup>th</sup> re ship with Brit pris locked in hold. Quick communications!

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<sup>74</sup> Wireless telegraphy, in particular intercepts. Lewis, when Friedman was at Bletchley Park, had been a member of No. VI Intelligence School, then moved on to work directly with Gordon Welchman at Hut 6 (Friedman 1943, p. 107).

<sup>75</sup> Maj. Dennis William Babbage, previously a mathematics don at Cambridge, was in charge of the Enigma Research Party at Bletchley.

From N.A. intercept Cheadle -> BP -> LDN to N.A. all in time to save ship. Only 1 man killed and 1 wounded.<sup>76</sup>

Wednesday, May 12. – Turned out lights at 10:30 p.m. last night but soon decided no go – too many things on mind that I wanted to make notes on. Before I realized it was 1:30 a.m. Taylor fast asleep long ago. Glad not to have to get up early – no engagement for the a.m. so

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slept until 9 a.m.(not too soundly) and had breakfast in room with T whose cold is worse and decided to stay in all day. Dressed and hurried over to Embassy – letter for me! First one from E, dated April 27, postmarked 28<sup>th</sup>, via 30¢ air mail, which arrived in my hands only today – 15 days! It must have gone by boat, but glad to hear from home. The other two partners have nothing so far. Worked on notes and composing telegram with Al, then to lunch at Club with Tiltman as guest of ours. Pleasant chat & good lunch after which we returned to Emb to continue working. I sent a long one to Cord, Al sent several, one long & 2 short ones. They take time to prepare though & it was 6 p.m. when I finished.

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Al had dinner date but I wasn't hungry & decided return hotel & get good night's rest. Stopped in little pub in back of our hotel & had beer & sandwich. Tel is better & went out to get a bite. I've rested, read paper & now this. I smoked my new (2<sup>d</sup>) pipe (\$1.<sup>25</sup>) now & it is terrible! Varnish inside!! Read Tel E's letter. To bed soon after I do a bit washing. Wish I had lot more Ivory Snow – can't buy soap here without ration & ldy<sup>77</sup> facilities in the country are nil & at the Park Lane quite expensive. Also is pressing - 80¢ for pressing a suit! – I am coming down with a cold. Rather poor sleeping.

Thursday, May 13. – Restless night again. Taylor probably transfrd his cold to me. Up at 9 & feeling rather low but went about my

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business. Spent all day at D's show going over It[alian] material in a detailed manner, under Catty, head of section. He has been with D since 1925. Met several fairly

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<sup>76</sup> Around May 7 a plain-language message in English from the “C-in-C of Axis forces” in North Africa, presumably Erwin von Rommel, was sent to commanders of the British VIII Army and American II Corps informing them that British and American prisoners of war were locked in a certain ship in the harbor at Tunis and warning them off bombing the vessel. The message was picked up by the RAF intercept station at Chicksands (not Cheadle) and phoned from there to the intercept control officer at Bletchley Park, who notified the Intelligence Group in Hut 3, who immediately radioed the Allied command in North Africa. Within minutes attacks on the ship stopped. See Friedman 1943, p. 35.

<sup>77</sup> Laundry.

interesting people but on the whole I regard them as practicing “amateurs.” If they didn’t have all the wealth of background material they’d not do so well. And their working quarters are a rabbit warren – but somehow they do 1<sup>st</sup> class work nevertheless. Lunch at Red Cross where I was eyed askance again – they are snooty about the place being only for people in uniform. I put in my application a couple of weeks ago but the matter of admitting civilians is being taken up on the “high level”!! Which amuses

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me a lot. Next year’s contrib. to RC<sup>78</sup> won’t be what it was this, so far as I’m concerned. Worked all p.m. again in I section. Dinner at officer mess with Svensson & later to his flat where worked on lighters – his and Taylors. Funny re lighters – I bought my simple one in Wash several years ago for 25¢. It is the only one around here that really works all the time, much to the disgust of those who have the expensive 4 & 5 dollar ones. I fixed T’s (maybe) but Eric’s no, because we couldn’t figure out how to insert the wick – even if we had one, which we didn’t. I was going to go to bed at 9 & here it was 10:30 already so we scurried home. It wasn’t pitch dark yet or maybe the moonlight was sufficient to light the way. Went to bed at 12 & slept poorly again. Woke up many times & in the a.m. almost decided to spend the

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Friday, May 14. –

day in bed but got up (grumpily) & went about my business, feeling pretty dragged out, though. Guess the cold is working on me. Over to Denniston’s again arriving there at 10:30. Looked over the Port[uguese] & Braz[ilian] stuff. Met Exell, head of sec who was Botanist at British Museum & his wife who was also botanist & is working with him now. Exell & his crew are also self-trained amateurs but doing good job. They go in for more detailed study & work & records than we do. Also they get consid[erable] help from direct contact with F.O. which sends them docs. regularly. Met also young Cooper, brother of head of Air Sec at B/P. Young C has just recently returned from Australia, having been among those chased by the Japs from Hongkong-Singapore-Java. Denniston took us to lunch (Taylor,

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Exell, Cooper, & self) to a swanky place again where 1 round of cocktails cost him 1£. The food must have been correspondingly expensive. T said must be one of 3 alternatives: (1) D is rich, (2) he gets a large salary or (3) he is going to bankrupt himself entertaining us. When I stated this to Alfred latter (who wasn’t along) said “Probably has an entertainment fund.” Which I think is probably true. I think Travis or Tiltman once hinted that very think [sic]. During course of lunch I told D about

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<sup>78</sup> Red Cross.

the GC&CS examination paper of 1925 & D was greatly astonished I should have gotten such a thing & said it must have been skullduggery of some sort. He could hardly credit my statement that I'd got it regularly through our M.A.<sup>79</sup> here. He said somebody in F.O. should have his head chopped off. After

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lunch there was bit more discussion at D's office but inconvenient to go into another section so we decided to suspend for the day. Returned to Embassy where there was a msge for me. Al there still writing cables to Clarke but we dragged him out & went to see region about St. Paul's. Great destruction there but all the debris has been greatly cleared up. Walked about quite a deal & went into Guildhall which was well demolished except for the hall itself. Stopped in for some beer at a nice pub when 5:30 came (opening hour). Taxi to Embassy – more msges for me. Dinner (after bath & rest at the Park Lane) at #8 Audley St where I ate well but not too wisely, judging by the “back-

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fire” since then. Went back to Embassy, listened to Churchill broadcast from the White House, wrote letters to E, walked back to Park Lane. Lovely evening. Now 11 p.m. & time for bed. Hope for good night's sleep.

Saturday, May 15, - [Writing this on train to B/P. Sunday p.m.] Up at 9 after pretty good sleep. To Embassy to see if any msges or mail. None of latter but msge from Cord re business. Over to D's shop & saw into N. East, French, J Com<sup>80</sup> material. Had engagement with Turing<sup>81</sup> at 10:30 but he didn't appear until 11:30. Not inpt but told him about mod[ification] on X61753.<sup>82</sup> Tried to get some info out of him re what

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<sup>79</sup> Military Attaché.

<sup>80</sup> Japanese commercial material.

<sup>81</sup> Alan Turing, the young mathematical genius working at Bletchley Park.

<sup>82</sup> Project X-61753 was a time division voice scrambler (TDS) under development at Bell Laboratories and, by May 1943, close to completion. The lead engineer from Bell Labs was Dr. A. J. Busch and the device was therefore sometimes called the “Busch machine.” The “keying device” was to be the M-228 cipher machine, the Sigcum (See NSA, Historic Cryptologic Collection, NR 2779 Project X-61753-TDS Unit for Speech Privacy for the little technical information available as to how the scrambler actually worked.) In January 1943 Turing had been allowed to visit Bell Labs to have a look at the “Busch Machine,” as well as the M-228. In a report to the British government shortly after his visit, Turing wrote that certain “modifications” the Americans were proposing to introduce “to simplify construction” would still allow for “adequate security” (Gladwin 1999, p. 134). He also wrote, however, that “If the equipment is to be operated solely by U.S. personnel it will be impossible to prevent them listening in if they so desire.”(*ibid.*), listening in, that is, on British conversations. The modifications the Americans were proposing in May 1943 clearly had to get Turing's “acceptance” (BPD 106). Friedman mentions the X-61753 project several times in the *Diary* and complains of his troubles at getting enough information out of Arlington Hall to convince Turing that his objections, whatever they were, were being met (see BPD 63, 104, 106,

we might be able to do with E at AH. Gather that he thought we could do something OK. He was interested in our E electronic [illegible] but I told him nothing

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except what we might expect in way of speed. He is off on a week's leave. I was astonished to learn that people of GC&CS get 4 weeks leave with pay - at rate of 1 week 4 times year. Talked with D re this & he told us it was wangled out of Civil Service but think the way they work it it is more or less of a subrosa thing. Those running GC&CS recognize the high pressure wear & the value of these distributed leave weeks & apparently everybody takes this leave. I think it would help us too. We left Al there [to sleep in a chair, he having been up until 2:30 finishing long tel to Clarke which he brought to us at midnight in draft & we suggested changes that kept him working late – he has sent reams of tels home on the E matter] T & Taylor & I had lunch

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at R.C. where I straightened out matter of my acceptability – somewhat. I'm to be admitted, I guess, as special concession. Returned to D's place after good lunch [the R.C. place is OK in that respect]. Worked about 1 hour more in FF<sup>83</sup> section where met very attractive young woman – Miss Hanson. All personnel of F section women. Head has been with D since last war. The number of “old-timer” persons is very striking & is probably the most important factor in the success of the GC&CS. Taylor had a date with D for weekend & they took off at 4:30. I was also invited several days before but since I am to be there next weekend & had work to do decided to leave field to T this time & not overdo the hospitality on D's part. Al & I had dinner at Club. Had an alert in Ldn this p.m. about 5:30 – lasted only 10 min. No action. [I was told today that each time there is an alert in Ldn the

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men on Merchant Marine vessels in port in Ldn get bonus of \$125. They get no bonus if in submarine action in crossing. This info from a Navy warrant officer at our table at R.C today.] I met Karl Compton<sup>84</sup> at bar at Officers Club. He with Tom

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151). For more on World War II scramblers and problems with their security, see Kahn 1996, pp. 550-60.

<sup>83</sup> Free French. “Main occupation of this research section [the one at Berkeley Street] is Free French; they appear to have made a considerable penetration of principal diplomatic system, but I was told there has been no exchange of cryptanalytic on Free French with Arlington as yet.” NSA Historic Cryptographic Collection, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 457, NR 3284 cable 4875 May 25 1943. The cable is probably from Friedman though Taylor is mentioned as a contributing author.

<sup>84</sup> The physicist Karl Compton was a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts and head of the detection division of the National Defense Research Committee, a wartime body located at MIT. He later became president of that institution.

Rives<sup>85</sup> & Gen McClellan. Nice short talk with Compton. Nice dinner with Al after couple martinis (gin & sherry type). Al wanted to imbibe heavily & I didn't, so I left him after dinner & took long walk down Piccadilly. Back to hotel at 10 & packed up a bit. Occupied room alone & it cost a good deal more. Slept rather poorly again – up at 9.

Sunday May 16. – Breakfast followed by walk to Embassy where there was msge for me necessitating going over to George's office to phone Tiltman on

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private line to B/P. It seems that Capt. Nenk sent message to Maidment for Travis to get data which I had already asked for direct. Long walk to ETOUSA HQ & back for this purpose. Collected 15 days per diem & am in funds again. Lunch with Al at restaurant next door to Embassy – rather swanky & expensive as my very simple lunch cost 9 shillings, five of which were for one drink. After lunch sent reply to msge of morning, then returned to Hotel to check out. We were to take 5:10 train from Euston Stn & there wasn't a great deal of time. I hurried but nevertheless nearly missed the train as I couldn't get a taxi at Hotel & had to walk to Embassy to pick up Al. Taylor was to be at hotel but didn't show up & that delayed me too. Just made the train with 1 minute to spare. Lucky to get a seat. Auto met us at Bletchley & we

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were taken to "The Swan" at Woburn-Sands. Not as small as "The Anchor" at Newport Pagnell and I don't think it will be as comfortable & quiet. Beautiful lawn in the rear where there is bowling. Sat in the late afternoon sunshine & had a glass of beer before dinner, latter being very good. At our table is a Mr. Low<sup>86</sup> who works at B/P. He is professionally a writer (Life of Gibbon & some novels) and a fine gentleman. He took us for a long walk of the surrounding country after which we had some beer & sat around talking until midnight. I did not sleep well again.

Monday, May 17<sup>th</sup>. – I don't understand this failure to sleep unless it be that I must not drink any tea, coffee, or alcohol whatever. The pleasure of my visit is being impaired by my inability to get good sleep. Perhaps

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I'm tired out from being so much on the go and shifting base so much, together with minor excitements due to rushing hither & yon. I've used up about ½ of my little ½ gr amyals & must go easy with them to make them last. Maybe I should take off a couple of days and stay in bed – but the bed is very hard! Breakfast this a.m. of porridge, poached egg on toast, tea. Now waiting for car to take us to B/P. – Evening, 10<sup>PM</sup> A full day. Bus took up to B/P & soon after arrival met Brig Harris, who

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<sup>85</sup> Tom Christopher Rives was an officer in the Signal Corps, ETOUSA.

<sup>86</sup> D.M. Low, author of *Edward Gibbon, 1737-1794*.

remembered me (or said he did) from Wash 1926 Conf.<sup>87</sup> There were also Maj. Grant, on WT/I side, SqLdr<sup>88</sup> Laurie of RAF int. side, Eric Svensson, in addition to the regular members of our JAC Conf. We got down to work quickly, De Grey presiding. Subcom[mittee] apptd on communication matters, to which I was appointed for U.S., to meet at 2:30. Main session

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finished at 12:45. Lunch with the whole crowd. Subcom met & finished its work at 3:30. Rest of afternoon on various discussions, approval of draft of minutes of a.m. & p.m. sessions draft of tel by me to AH. Cocktail party at the Tiltmans at 6:30, small gathering & several wives. Cmd Jones took us in his car to Woburn Sands. Dinner – good soup & fish – and then an hour's conf. with T and M<sup>c</sup>C & now ready for bed at 10:30. Tiltman insisted I see the post medico, who gave me some pills & ovaltine. Will prob sleep like a log tonight as am very tired after several nights poor sleep. T & M<sup>c</sup>C & I discussed what program is for rest of week. I to stay here until Sat. They prob going in to Ldn tomorrow night or Wednesday. Al said or asked me if I wanted to go home

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with him next week & I think he was quite serious. But we pointed out some things he yet hadn't seen which will take more than a week I'm sure. – Note, I've not received any word from Corderman commenting upon my recom that I be allowed to stay as long as I think nec.

Tuesday May 18. – An excellent nights sleep. I heard two alerts – dimly in my sleep. There was a fairly heavy raid (20 planes) over London on Sunday night which we missed. What it was last night I don't know yet. – The weather has been lovely for four or five days now. Brilliant sunshine and mild temperature. Even the English are surprised at it. – There was a Colonel Lycett<sup>89</sup> over from Ldn at our table last evening. He comes to B/P every week for a day, representing liaison with MI-8. When I introduced myself – he knew all about me. Evidently

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the British have discussed all AH personalities pretty widely. Also Mr. Low said he of course knew of me, etc. – Tiltman gave me pretty good news about what is going on in Wash on the controversial discussions. We shall probably do things on E both over here under George<sup>90</sup> & back at AH. Which is good. – Bus called for us & we

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<sup>87</sup> Friedman is doubtless referring to the International Radiotelegraph Conference held in Washington in 1927, which he attended and for which he wrote a history and theory of commercial codes (Kahn 1996, p. 385).

<sup>88</sup> Squadron Leader.

<sup>89</sup> See below, BPD 98.

<sup>90</sup> George Bicher.



journeyed to B/P. Worked all day there with 1 hr break at lunch time. Very interesting show in E “watch” – spent all p.m. there. Home by bus at 6:30 Good dinner after quiet bath. They found a laundress for me & maybe somebody to press a suit! A great achievement. Took walk after dinner. Most lovely countryside I’ve ever seen. Beautiful trees, evergreens are especially lovely. The weather continues excellent – full moon up by time it was getting toward dark. Worked on telegram to AH & discussed same with other two. Best at midnight. Ovaltine again & a pink pill from T’s medico.

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Wednesday May 19<sup>th</sup>. – Good sleep. Up at 8. Omelette (with bits of ham & onion) & most excellent. Yesterday a dear old lady (I’ll bet a spinster) stopped Tel & gave him a bottle of cough medicine – he’s been coughing very hard. This morning she asked him how he was & his reply indicated much improvement, which he attributed to the cough medicine. Said she: “I just couldn’t allow such a lovely pair of eyes to be dimmed by so bad a cold.”!! To B/P by bus (incidentally, B/P owns & operates its own service, which it had to set up in order to get personnel to & from work – scattered as they are over the countryside - & the service is good). Spent day in #IV I.S. going over E Pol & allied subjects. Spent consid time with Webster (Int), Shiver (tfc) Ingleby (Break). Talks with De G outlining my future steps. Am to see Nav Hag[elin]<sup>91</sup> also. Lunch as usual with De G et al. M°C left

54

for Ldn in a.m. & T early in p.m. so am left alone here. Returned hotel via bus at 6:15. Arrived in time listen W.C. [Winston Churchill] broadcast from Wash, speech before joint session.<sup>92</sup> Marvelous orator. – Nice dinner, at table Lt. Henderson & Mr. Getty, two from B/P. Walked briefly & to bed early. There was an alert last night but I was only dimly aware of it. Ldn has had a good many since I left there on Sunday – would have liked to have been there on Monday night as understand lots of fireworks Hyde Park guns. Good sleep, I hope.

Thursday, May 20. – Yes, good. There was another alert – it seems that if any enemy planes are over an adjacent zone they sound the alert here. Though the bed is like a board (almost, compared with what I’m used to) I sleep soundly – probably the pink pills & the Ovaltine.

55

Had quick & somewhat warmish bath this a.m. Usual practice here is to bathe in the evening just before dinner but I prefer a.m. & it saves one more undressing & dressing. The trick is to get into bathroom in time. Bacon for breakfast plus the usual

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<sup>91</sup> Friedman never got to see the Navy Hagelin – see below, BPD 73.

<sup>92</sup> A joint session of Congress.

oatmeal porridge. Worked steadily all day at B/P. At lunch met Gen Davidson (MI-) and Brig. Hume, home for visit from Cairo where he is G-2 on British Staff. Both very cordial. This second meeting with D. Attention to E all day & marvel at the achievement. Saw bombes for first 1<sup>st</sup> time. Very compact compared to ours & run entirely by Wrens<sup>93</sup>. Lovely message from Elizebeth today through Maidment, I suppose. Helped prepare summary telegram on J Conf & must send it off tomorrow. Invitation to Sig C party for 29<sup>th</sup> in Lnd – courtesy of Gen Rumbough. Talked to Tiltman briefly. Yesterday talked briefly to M<sup>c</sup>C

56

in Ldn – one msge of no import & no mail from home. Home at 6:30 & read Times, which the Chef saves for me. Incidentally he is a 1<sup>st</sup> class cook. The food here is really excellent & my ideas of British food must be revised. The soups are always delicious, the meats & vegetables always nicely seasoned & tasty. Maybe this is unusual place, but the food is far better than at Park Lane. I had pint of “half ‘n half” (half “mild”, half “bitter” beer) which is rather low in alcohol content & not as good to my taste as our beer, which they call “lager” & which you can get only rarely. Likewise “stout” is rare. A drink called “mother-in-law” is (1/2) stout (1/2) bitter – hence the name. Saw some good tennis briefly today & yesterday on B/P courts. Two gals playing today were really 1<sup>st</sup> class -

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fast & hardhitting. Yesterday saw mens doubles – very hard & fast. I counted 7 or 8 station wagons & a dozen large buses today on Station at B/P – perhaps the full complement of transport but am not sure. – My cold is improving very slowly – this evening my head well stopped up but otherwise OK. I think this bathing in bathtub not so good for me as shower – probably catch more cold every time – no matter how speedy I make it as have no chance to use cold water afterwards. - Glad I brought Kleenex – supply is getting low though & can’t buy it even at PX where it is reserved for female members of U.S. forces. Also, Grissel was right when she suggested B.O.T.P.<sup>94</sup> as I’ve had occasion to rue failure to do so. – Got my laundry back today – 2 shirts, 2 pr shorts & 2 undershirts, 3 pr socks, 2 handkeys [sic] &

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1 pr pyjamas cost 3/6 = app. 65¢, which is very fair. My suit to be pressed (since Tuesday) not back yet. I was regarded as being foppish I guess – nobody doing that nowadays apparently – and they look it, I must say, especially at B/P. On the whole I’d say we are very much cleaner in home & office – but then there’s been a real war here now for 3 years & there isn’t any labor or material for cleaning, painting,

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<sup>93</sup> Women’s Royal Naval Service.

<sup>94</sup> Bring Own Toilet Paper.

paperhanging, etc. Things have to do as they are until the end of war. – Not such bright sunshine today & believe our spell of 1<sup>st</sup> class weather will soon be over. Warm enough yet, & I didn't need sweater today even indoors. – As usual, I itch a bit, because I feel the need of a haircut. Where to get?? – I'm afraid I will need to get some money from Wash.

59

or borrow some from Al, who assured me he's plenty. The \$7 p. diem is not enough to enable me to live at Park Lane – where I spent more & where other things are correspondingly more expensive, such as 80¢ for pressing a suit. If I make it on the \$7 I shall do very well. Can do it at Woburn Sands easily enough, I think, though am not sure what the cost per day is yet. I got a check from Al for £10 before he left & I will have to use it as I left £15 foolishly in my folder at the embassy before coming up here, failing to realize I wouldn't be back there for couple weeks. I shall manage somehow, though I hate the feeling of uncertainty that comes with shortage of funds. I have only \$30 of \$100 Travel Checks left & \$49 in cash at Embassy & the £15 mentioned above. – Saw a formation of 18 planes flying NW tonight. – Tomorrow is our 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary & I'm

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feeling quite a bit lonesome tonight. Lots of people downstairs in the pub – apparently the congregating place for Woburn Sands although there are here (as at all other small towns) several pubs. All well behaved places though, & each with its dart game & radio. Here they operate radio only for news – if had music etc would have to pay extra tax – “entertainment tax”. Learned today that British up to 1926 paid income tax out of current income but it was found to be impractical & they changed to our present system! – I saw two wood-burning-fuel trucks on the road today when on a short walk after dinner. Funny looking affairs & puffing & blowing. – Had a nice long chat with Mrs. Malone, who runs the Swan, this evening. She brings the hot water for my ovaltine. Has a son in Army & a daughter in the Land Army. To bed at 11:20.

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Friday May 21<sup>st</sup>. – Wakeful until 2:15 when decided to take pink pill. Damn this insomnia! Guess the long days without physical exercise responsible for poor sleeping, as can't figure anything else as cause. Of course, what I'm seeing at B/P on E is very thought-provoking & I'm thinking of our set-up & its shortcomings and what we shall have to do on E work if & when we do. – Today is our 26<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary, and I'll try to get special word to Elizebeth thru Maidment but am somewhat embarrassed to ask favor. - Writing this while waiting for bus to go to work & am sitting on a stone smack at the center of Woburn Sands, by the memorial to last war dead. The children going by on way to school. – Did get nice msge off to Elizebeth thru courtesy Tiltman & De G. All day continuing on E intricacies of setup

here. Quite complex organization & very detailed record keeping to insure that nothing is overlooked. Check & cross-checks &

Elgar-E variations<sup>95</sup>

62

again. And the most amusing names for things & processes. The “Cat”, “Kitten”, ”Hankipanki”, “Dogs Body”, “Horrors Graveyard”, etc etc. Each section with a jargon of its own built up as the moods & needs dictated. Even the other sections can hardly understand. – Worked all day until 6:10. Dinner with Mr. Low & Mr. Martin (who works at some secret political activity center near Woburn Sands) & had pleasant chats re origins of names of places hereabouts. Leighton Buzzard for ex comes from Lay-town Beau des Aires. Towns ending in “ham” = hame, bury = borough. Towns ending in “by” – “Rugby” for ex are old Danish & there is a line of towns on the east coast which end in “by” & which mark the limits of the invasion of the Danes.- Long walk with Low after dinner, then pint of beer and bed. My bill for week to be prepared – I telling hotel people will be

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away over weekend. To bed at 11:15.

Saturday, May 22<sup>nd</sup>. – Good nights sleep. Bus to B/P after breakfast. Short talk with Tiltman. Car to take me to Stn for 10:54 train. Uneventful journey to Ldn & taxi to Emb. where no mail & 1 short telegram from Cord. to me re seeing Turing & getting his OK on X61753 – when can’t give him any details re proposed modifications. Haircut at Claridge Hotel! 1<sup>st</sup> since Wash! Lunch with Taylor & M<sup>c</sup>C at Red Cross, then to Dennistons where prepared tel answer to Turing matter<sup>96</sup> & summary of weeks work. Also complaint re their failure give even outline of news re negotiations in Wash. Letter to Elizebeth which gave to Taylor to mail at Emb. – D & I took underground to Bakerloo Station. Very long escalators down deep. Just made train in time & uneventful journey to Ashted.<sup>97</sup> Walk from Stn to his house. Out then to watch cricket & have it explained to me. What we call “rooters” & rooting is called “barracking” here &

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is just never done. When the bowler does his pitch the crowd – maybe thousands - remains perfectly quiet – “an hushed silence” is way D called it. Not considered cricket to cheer or yell. After a good play there is restrained applause. Game is fairly interesting but not nearly so fast or exciting as baseball. I think Americans would

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<sup>95</sup> Note placed over the number on page 62.

<sup>96</sup> Friedman’s cable is partly quoted in Gladwin pp. 136-7.

<sup>97</sup> In Surrey, southwest of London.

regard it as deadly dull. – Back home to meet the folks – daughter Margaret – nicknamed “Y”- so named as unknown quantity before arrival; her schoolmate who lives with the D’s – Pauline Ratsey – and Mrs. D. in uniform – some hospital aide or other. They are all very friendly and pleasant. The girls rather pretty Mrs. D with gray hair & very nice face – Oxford Grad. – A couple of gin & bitters & then dinner at about 8. Listened to 9 o’clock news, chat with D re official matter – he gave me paper of proposed basis of talk

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with Taylor, M<sup>c</sup>C & self on future relations in neutral & allied fields. To bed at 11:15 & nice bed in the D boy’s<sup>98</sup> room – he being a scholarship student at Westminster & apparently a very unusual lad – good student, good athlete, good at music.

Sunday, May 23<sup>d</sup>. - Up at 8:30, breakfast of a very fine soft-boiled egg, cereal, tea, b&b. Then in taxi to D’s golf club – Twirrel Road Golf & Country Club. A couple of friends of D’s made partners & D & I the other. A lovely 16-hole game in which D & I won by 1 point on the 16<sup>th</sup> hole. The course is really very picturesque & quite difficult. Considering my lack of practice I was off with embarrassment but got over that quickly when I found I could still hit the ball fairly well. Played in my ordinary clothes & ord[inary] pair of shoes so slipped just a bit on 1<sup>st</sup> drive (remember that Georg [sic] B[icher] fell flat on his back his first drive here).

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My driving as usual pretty good but short shots and putting poor, as usual. Anyhow I wasn’t a dub & felt pretty good about it. - A mug of beer & taxi to home. I paying 9 shillings – only 3 mile ride but taxis out in the country – well I guess it is cheaper at that than it would have been at home. Dinner, good food & I was pretty hungry: Read paper a bit & had or tried to have nap from 3 to 4. Up then to go with D & the girls to the tennis courts where am now writing this & watching them play. They pretty good [sic] – all of them. The 4<sup>th</sup> is a young woman named Cunliffe who is grad of London School of Economics. We had some talk re Barbara’s<sup>99</sup> coming over to take post-grad course there & “Y” coming over to Washington to study – exchange of girls, which wouldn’t be bad idea for Both. – Forgot to say we had tea be-

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fore going out to tennis. (Dinner at 1 & tea at 4. They eat often – not too much at a time - & a good idea.) D is a lively man for his age & is apparently good at all games. He could easily trim me at tennis. If they had good tennis balls (which are now unobtainable) the game would be very fast. It is quite fast as it is. The young D girl is an excellent player, left-handed. She & Pauline are pursuing secretarial course

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<sup>98</sup> Robin Denniston. See Denniston 1996.

<sup>99</sup> Barbara Friedman, William and Elizebeth’s daughter.

in Ldn & will soon be finished. Probably get secretarial work in Foreign O. If not for war would have gone to University. – Learned later from Tel that D had been on British international hockey team in his younger days. – After tennis, back home after mild beer at the tennis club where I wanted to buy the round for all of us but it was against the rules. Read Punch for a few minutes, chatted with the folks, helped work on a cross-word

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puzzle contest (names of famous women of 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries), then dinner or rather supper = much like at home, the cold cuts & pick up things but good. D and I did the dishes – there is no such animal as a maid any longer except among the very wealthy I suppose. Even Gen Davidson told us when we made our official call that he helped out in the housework at his home. Denniston does as a rule, too. The D house is arranged for easy housekeeping, it having been designed by Mrs. D with that in view when it was built in 1937. After that ('twas then about 8:45) listened to radio for a bit, the program being much like one of our Sunday evening gag & pun varieties, with a short playlet thrown in, a bit of music, etc. D mowed the lawn – after the golf & tennis – and he over 60. Much joshing about his having to be careful not to get

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laid out or pass out before reaching pension age as according to their Civil Serv. rules you must begin to draw pension in order to get any & if you die before that the family gets nothing at all! I guess the C.S. personnel do not contribute toward retirement fund as we do, but this a point to look up for myself – what would happen if I passed out before reaching retirement age? Does family get only what I put in or more? – To bed at about 11, having agreed to stay overnight & go in with D in the morning – contrary to previous plan that I return Sunday evening to B/P.- Didn't sleep well, I guess too much ultra-violet in sunshine all day. Began to rain in the night.

Monday, May 24<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 7:15. Shaved & dressed. Forgot to indicate had a bath before going to bed night before. When I asked if shower were possible was proudly

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told yes – attached to nozzle of bath tub. The water had no pressure though & it was a very very poor excuse for a shower as we know it at home. Clean however & felt better after haircut of day before, which (as usual) reduced my “itchy” feeling when needing haircut. – Breakfast of bacon & dry cereal, tea. Was still raining so took umbrellas to station. Got into town, still pouring – but gently – somehow the rain doesn't fall hard here as it does home. (Right now it's raining but you can only tell by looking out the window – no sound of it.) [Am writing all this on Tuesday p.m.] Got to D's office, left my bag there, walked to Embassy, saw T & A & Eric there.

Had few minutes mad rush catching up on what all A had telegraphed home since last time I saw file. A short one for me from Corderman giving barest outlines of

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results of discussions on E there (later found to be very sketchy & omitted altogether fact we were to do research & op on menus to be sent over – this being in my opinion very important). No mail. Paid Eric 1£ & some for extra cost of cable for flowers. Rushed to get 10:40 train to B/P, paid my own way for 1<sup>st</sup> class round trip 14/10, which is about \$3.<sup>00</sup> for 50 mile journey. Considering this determined to get seat in 1<sup>st</sup> cl compartment, which I did. Uneventful ride & was met by car at Bletchley, taken to Park & began work at once. No telegrams from Wash! I can't understand why so slow in answering the several have sent from there<sup>100</sup> [sic]. – Today finished up study of E ops (except Hut 3) & a whale of a business. If I can only digest all my notes! Also spent a short time with Prof. Vincent<sup>101</sup> who was set up about 4 months ago as coordinator of research etc. Will learn more about his job later, but

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he seems very capable man. Was prof of languages (Italian esp) at Cambridge & has been here about 2 years. – Also talk with Tiltman & De Grey, making up schedule for rest of my time here. Brief talk with Marr Johnson who's back from Ldn & other parts. He will probably return to India via U.S. & I've invited him to stop off & see us. – Chilly & wet all day, so kept my sweater on. Back to hotel at 6:30, met Col. Lycett again up for his Tuesday visit to B/P. Invited him have drink with me – sat and talked till dinner time (7:30). Told me of his crypt work in Near East last war & for some years thereafter. Nice dinner after which I immediately went up to my room to write b & b<sup>102</sup> letter to the Dennistons & one to Prof. Adcock for loan of his clubs plus gift of the 2 golf balls I brought with me from Washington. Hope he will be pleased. Everybody says they

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are worth their weight in gold almost. Same as regards tennis balls. Into bed at 9:30 as I was tired & (hoped) sleepy. But soon as got into bed got to thinking about how our Navy has been acting re our seeing N things here & got pretty well riled the more I thought about matter. It had been agreed I was to see B/P Nav E bombe & Hag. De

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<sup>100</sup> Probably "here" is meant.

<sup>101</sup> E.R.P. Vincent. "Vincent was Professor of Italian at Cambridge, a fine scholar but like many of his class good at his own classics but very poor at the language used by Naval officers; when he was working under me my first task on arrival at the office when he had been on night duty was to see how many mistakes in translation he had made and send in the necessary corrections." (Clarke 1988, p. 91).

<sup>102</sup> Obscure reference.

Grey told me former was off as Travis had sent word from Wash. Sorry etc, not anything B/P had wanted dictated by our N at Wash. I can't understand – unless Ad. Redman<sup>103</sup> put in his oar after hearing how our G-2 had messed things up & and did not propose get involved.<sup>104</sup> I shall have it out with J. Wenger<sup>105</sup> when I get back, as consider it severe reflection my own status & trustworthiness. Had fitful sleep & dreamed a dream involving this subject apparently as substance was being double-crossed by chap who symbolized Navy. Got up at about 1 a.m.

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and took two small pills from Washington cache but didn't do much good. Awoke early & not at all refreshed. Guess this work is very exhausting mentally & I hope to get through with it soon. All quiet every night so far as alerts are concerned. – Another thing, not enough relaxation & change from daily grind has me keyed up, I guess. Am not worried about a thing in the world so it can't be that which is making poor sleep. [Another funny thing is that I've noticed that on days when I am "tense" & have "heebegeebees" I sleep well in night but when don't have them, sleep not so good. – Haven't had hbgbs for many days now. Wish I could solve this mystery of myself.] – Well, so much for that.

Tuesday, May 25<sup>th</sup>.- Up at 7:30 to have early breakfast go to B/P in car sent for Col. Lycett. Got to B/P at 9:15 and started in to arrange the many notes I've collected

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thus far. Tiltman not there yet. Lycett & I in talk re my future activities & when told him was going to Beau Manor<sup>106</sup> Stn he raised eyebrow & wanted to know come he hadn't been asked about it – as that comes in his province. I was quick to explain schedule only made up last evening & intention to consult not yet able to be carried out. Tiltman and Maj. O'Conner (Eddie Hastings<sup>107</sup> relief) came in & I had brief talk with O'C. Seems to be nice chap. Explained situation re Lycett & Beau Manor to Tiltman & De Grey & matter smoothed up with Lycett. Plan is for Taylor, M<sup>c</sup>C, Tiltman, myself to make visit with Lycett next Monday. Went then further talk with Prof. Vincent who explained It[alian]. Hag[elin]. Such silly practices as these people

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<sup>103</sup> Rear Adm. Joseph Redman, Director Naval Communications.

<sup>104</sup> Friedman is being kind to Redman. The restrictions placed on U.S. Army personnel at Bletchley derived partly at least from the on-going Army-Navy war for control over U.S. intelligence.

<sup>105</sup> Cmdr. Joseph Wenger, executive officer of the U.S. Navy's OP-20-G.

<sup>106</sup> Beaumanor Hall, a stately home in Woodhouse, Leicestershire, was headquarters of the War Office Y Group, the organisation responsible for the interception of Axis and neutral radio transmissions and for direction finding.

<sup>107</sup> Capt. Edward G. Hastings was U.K. COMINT representative in the U.S.



engage in – to ruin a good system.<sup>108</sup> Then to Wing Cmdr Jones for preliminary outline Hut 3 – until 1:15 p.m. Then to lunch where met Admiral Syfret,

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vice chief of Admiralty Staff & Admiral Servaes, also on same staff. De Grey put Syfret on left side & Servaes on his right! Wrong because Syfret has 2 bars plus the wide [sic], whereas Servaes has only 1. Anyhow De G put me next to Syfret & we had very interesting chat. Birch (looking terribly seedy) at other end of table opposite De Grey. (The clothes the civilians wear around here are awful – frayed, dirty, unpressed. But I guess it can't be helped.) Wonder what they'd be like in normal times, though I suspect Birch would look seedy at all times.) After lunch had session with Dudley-Smith until 4:15, then resumed with W[ing]. Cmdr Jones, until 5:30. Am to have a whole day tomorrow for Hut 3 alone. Good stuff there. Jones seems exceptionally able. From textile business. Home at

77

6:30 and quick to the bath to get in ahead of rush. Had good bath & washed my hair. How much more gray it has become of recent weeks! Mostly silver now at temples, I note. Wish had more on top – rather becoming I should think. Had pint of half & half, took it up to room & have been writing on this diary since then except for 1 hour out for dinner. Nice soup, good fish & french fried potatoes, apple tart. Yesterday we had a very nice piece of steak & french fried! It's now 9:45 & soon time for bed.

Wednesday, May 26<sup>th</sup>. - Just a fair night. Got up with crick in my lower back – likely some slight kidney business or maybe the very hard bed. Nice breakfast of a fine tasting omellette, with bits of ham and onion. My brown suit came back from tailor yesterday

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supposedly pressed – but not as we do it. And it took over a week. However, 'tis very much better than 'twas. Now waiting for bus to B/P & I note the cross-roads signs. Here are some of the names: Fenny Stratford, Aspley Guise, Newport Pagnell, Woburn Sands, Woburn, London, Bletchley – funny names, all except London & Stratford. – After yesterday's rain today it is very bright sunshine and warm. Think the sunshine is too bright to last. I had on my longies yesterday & felt pretty comfortable so put them on again today. Maybe too warm! – Have a heavy schedule today through Hut 3. Tomorrow night am invited to dinner at Tiltman's. Here comes the bus. – 7:15 p. waiting for dinner. Had a very full day & am behind schedule again

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<sup>108</sup> “Despite the ease in reading Italian Naval Hagelin traffic, the British have not been able to read Italian E traffic.” Friedman 1943, p. 91.

as I did not finish Hut 3 at all & the schedule is all awry again. But most interesting stuff.

79

Met some very interesting chaps today, winding up with a Prof. Norman<sup>109</sup> on radar. Lunch today was rather formal affair as “The Chief”<sup>110</sup> appeared rather suddenly on the premises – something special brewing I guess. De Grey put him at head of table & I on the C’s right as guest of honor. C was particularly nice to me & we had pretty good talk re educating some of our lesser allies & dangers thereof, security measures, possibility of his coming to U.S., poss of Corderman’s coming over here. Word about purple msge giving signs of suspicion of reading (Sp amb & pearls<sup>111</sup> situation – I must look into, he said). Had V mail<sup>112</sup> letter from John<sup>113</sup> – dated May 10 - and also one from E – dated May 12. E has had but one letter from me - a V mail. Apparently my 1<sup>st</sup> letter posted in British P.O. never arrived yet & doubt if it will. But I’ve written very few letters & hope she understands

80

I’ve not been able to write much. This pace is terrific for me, especially so because of this rather poor sleeping. Feel fine otherwise, though tired most of time. – Dinner now. – As usual a good soup, lamb chop (or veal), mashed potatoes, navy beans, & a “sweet” – plum & custard. – Took short walk with Mr. Low. Listened to radio 9:00 o’clock news. Must go over my notes for today, see to tomorrow’s shedule & possibly catch up on it – but I begin to doubt it. Must also go to bed fairly early – have had slight tummy ache all day. The bright sunshine of this morning disappeared about 4 p.m. & it is dark with overhanging heavy clouds. I was to phone Taylor tonight but will pass that up till tomorrow – some sort of message for me from Wash which he doesn’t know whether to send up here or not. And a message from

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<sup>109</sup> Frederick “Bimbo” Norman, who had taught German at King’s College, London, headed a team in Hut 3 working on German Air Force radar, night-fighters, ground-control systems, and V weapons.

<sup>110</sup> Stuart Menzies. Like other heads of MI6, Menzies was often referred to as “C.”

<sup>111</sup> Obscure. “Sp amb” may be Spanish ambassador. Pearl was a British term for a class of intelligence, lower in sensitivity than Ultra but higher than Thumb, the lowest category. During the course of the war the U.S. adopted all three British designations (Bamford 1982, p. 314). Friedman alludes to these classes in a note for file dated 24 February 1945, quoting “a Mr. Hooper (GC&CS)” (probably Leonard James Hooper, who went on to head Government Communications Headquarters, the later name for GC&CS): “... in early phase of Battle of Britain RAF had only Pearl and Thumb info re day bombardment; in later phases, RAF had Pearl, Thumb, & Ultra info re night bombing in time to be useful.” Friedman 1943, note added to file.

<sup>112</sup> A standard one-page air letter which folded on itself with message inside and address outside.

<sup>113</sup> William and Elizebeth Friedman’s young son.

Elizebeth, I believe, which is being forwarded. Looking eagerly to its receipt here. Got my cig & candy ration today.

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Thursday, May 27. – (Written 28<sup>th</sup>). Not much to report of unusual nature. Good night's sleep but not enough – catching up, I guess. Worked hard all day until 4:00 & then decided to knock off for couple hours in sunshine as it was lovely out & I had finished up Hut 3 study. Was to be guest for dinner at Tiltmans, so rested in T's office in morris chair & almost fell asleep. To T's house where had nice dinner and pleasant chat, some history on E, until 10:30 when bus was to call for me. When didn't show up at 10:35 walked to B/P & boarded it but it never left till 11 – not yet dark. Arrived hotel at 11:30 in deep dusk but not dark yet. Turned in soon. For an hour or more could hear planes passing by – must have been big raid on Germany somewhere. Will be interesting to hear news soon of what part.

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Friday, May 28. – Up at 7:30 after very good sleep (with aid of pink pill T's medico provided). Breakfast & packed bag as was going to Ldn today after trip to Oxford. Prepared to stay Ldn 2-3 more days. To office where prepared telegram Corderman re failure to answer one from here at least 10 days old. They seem to be very very slow in getting answers across & quite embarrassing to me. Just after preparing draft was notified one was coming in from there so decided hold up mine. But since Mr. De Grey & I had undertaken to make trip to Oxford & car was waiting decided to go on & not wait. I had decided previously to go direct from Oxford to Ldn but this changed plans & decided to return to B/P to see what action

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might be necessary on Wash telegram. We left B/P at 11:30 and had a very nice motor trip to Oxford about 50 miles southwest of B/P.

The weather excellent and the countryside very lovely. Saw many very old houses on way. Arrived Oxford where drove up to Mansfield College, hq of Cmdr HOK's show on compilation. Hok met us at door & took us up. Had a brief preliminary chat then to lunch. Walk of about 10 minutes to nice hotel, through most interesting part of Oxford, Hok pointing out places. A lovely city & I'd like nothing better than to stay there a month. But because so much govt work being done there now in practically all the colleges, no visitors are permitted. Had nice lunch & walk back to Mansfield by different route. Oxford

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comprises 23 colleges plus several denominational. Mansfield is Congregational, built about 1870; Manchester is Unitarian, built later than that. Had an excellent tour through HOK's place – very well organized, quiet, efficient, with large output & no fuss & feathers. Staff practically all women. Tea, of course, at 4:30 & we left soon after to visit Ox University Press where De Grey knows the head – Dr. Johnson who

took us into his office & chatted with us for 30 minutes. What an office! Johnson lives in it, too, has his cot there & says he hasn't left the place since war began. Shelves from floor to ceiling lined with old books all printed Oxford. One very large section nothing but bibles. J has been building up the collection for the Press.

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[Am writing this on train en route to Ldn.) The whole office reeks of the dim & dusty past – most interesting. De Grey says J is quite a collector of old items – anything connected with books or writing. The 1<sup>st</sup> Oxford printer began in 1487! There was a tablet listing all the heads of the Press since that date, down to last incumbent, 1919, about 25 names in all. Also a list of the typefounders & another of the engravers. Oxford Press is now the largest printery in the Empire. The outer office looks like nothing on earth or anything like an office in the GPO. I marvel at the contrast. But the Press need not hide its head! For quality & quantity either – Johnson told me normal capacity is 70,000 books a week! I would have liked to see the books but no time as had

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to go back. Left at 5:30 and took a different route back. The lady driver was not familiar with this route & we got lost several times, no highway markers! All have been taken down & not yet replaced.<sup>114</sup> Saw some more even lovelier country & old houses, some going back to the 15<sup>th</sup> Cent. Arrived B/P at 6:45 & took look at tel from Wash. Nothing to get excited about but was amused at tone of superiority at one spot. If Corderman comes over here he'll learn better. Letter from E here, via Maidment & another enclosed which had been originally sent V-mail correctly addressed but returned as “unknown”!! E complaining of lack of mail – but I've not written much. I'm now enroute on what is called a “Parliamentary Train” – it stops at every station, a hangover from a

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law passed long ago requiring same of all trains, I understand. Left B/P at 7:26 and due at Euston Stn at 9:00 p. Will be too late to meet Al & Tel at officers mess, as agreed, so will probably get dinner at Park Lane if feel hungry. But I still have bit of a tummy ache despite good physic last night. Think will be over tomorrow though. This train has its advantages though. For one thing it goes slowly enough so can write fairly legibly. Secondly, thus far though we have paid for 1<sup>st</sup> class seats we have never had them – the trains are so crowded. But apparently people avoid the Parliamentary or else it is at a time when few are going into Ldn. [Had good chat

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<sup>114</sup> The absent highway signs may have been taken down to confuse a potential German invading force.

with De Grey today. According to his version of Floradora we can't claim most of credit & I shall want to talk to Kullback re

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this. DeG says 1<sup>st</sup> tip came from French who pinched 1<sup>st</sup> page of adder book & also by looking over shoulders learned how system worked. He also claims credit for discovery (accidental by Pat Bartley<sup>115</sup> & deduction by him) of recip[rocal] nature of book. Says we made a pinch of something & when I mentioned work sheet in paperbasket he said no. Also talked about our respective org & I admitted seemed to me we were greatly overstaffed for what we do. I am impressed with volume work done by these people per capita, under heavy physical handicaps & I wonder if they aren't really much better workers than we are despite our machines, mechanization, fine offices, etc. In a technical sense I think we are way ahead of them but in a practical sense, judged by accomplishments,

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these amateurs (most of them really that in my opinion) have very largely surpassed us in detail, attention to minutia, digging out every bit of intell possible & applying high-class thinking originality & brains to the task. Their key personnel are of much greater capabilities than ours, I think, & the place abounds with dons, professors, & highest type businessmen who are used to getting much done in a quiet way, without fuss & feathers. A very great deal of handwork and handwriting is done even at the top. Their papers look dirty & messy, their card indexes are terrible to look at – but they have the data on them & they know how to use them. For ex we would not put up with the printed slip produced by Typex – so ragged printing it looks primitive. But they manage

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with it OK. They paste slips on back of [illegible abbreviation] version and save paper. They pass important info on dirty little slips of paper or chits & they don't seem to get lost somehow. The rooms they work in are dirty & messy & cluttered up. Their toilets are few and terrible! But they get things done. And one should see the cups they drink tea from – well dishwashing facilities are nil & it's a wonder to me there isn't rampant trench mouth around. They must have their tea of course – at 10:30 & 4:30 – and it's better than the Coca Cola habit.] We are nearing Ldn now & will cease.

Saturday May 29<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 7:45 & am now waiting for breakfast. Train last night a bit late. Taxi to Park Lane where room had been reserved for me – a lovely double

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<sup>115</sup> Pat Bayly?

one at 25 shillings but worth it. My change in plans got me in to Ldn too late to get dinner at the Off. Mess & I did not think it worth the 8 shillings to get dinner at the Park Lane. Moreover I was not hungry & still had bit of a tummy ache. Decided to do without eating as there is no place I know of where could get just a bite, and have walk instead as it was lovely evening. Tried to reach Tel & Al but neither one around. Was accosted by two or three street walkers in the dusk in Piccadilly, which I walked from Park Lane to Circus and back. Tried get Tel & Al at 11:30 but neither in yet. [By the way one of the hazards of walking Ldn streets in blackout is that one will surely step on dog dung as the local dogs are very poorly brought up & Londoners don't seem to try to control them. Col. Lycett, to whom I have just read this & of whom I asked

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if it was a fair criticism said he had not noticed this. Al said neither had he but Tel agreed vehemently with me.] [I am writing this enroute to Beau Manor, about which later.][By the way the two street ladies were – in the dusk – fairly good looking but I did not get close enough to verify.] Back to hotel where took nice bath & went to bed about 12. [Funny thing I learned later that Tel & Al were both working at the Embassy until 11 but it never occurred to me to phone there or walk over – even to see if any messages or mail. A curious psychological blind spot & wonder what its significance is!] Had very good sleep.

Saturday, May 29<sup>th</sup>. Up at 7:45 to get an early start as had to be at Selfridges Annex<sup>116</sup> at 9. [Train is doing 70 now.] A SigC

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affair to which I'd been invited by Gen R, all day tour of Sig C local installations for information Sig C officers in posts near Ldn. Had interesting tour through Signal Center & Photo establishment, etc. but not through any sig intell or crypt. Lunch as guest of Gen Rumbough, with about 30 others, at Mansfield Hotel where Gen Lee (C.G.SOS-ETO)<sup>117</sup> has his private mess. We had a very lovely luncheon, as good as any could get in peacetime in Wash at Mayflower. Spotless linen, including napkins (have I mentioned these are rare now & and are called serviettes, & if you ask for napkin the gals blush as that is the word they use here for menstrual cloth), nice silver & sparkling goblets. We had cocktails first. Then grape juice (not grapefruit

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<sup>116</sup> Selfridges Annex was a one-story building across a narrow street at the rear of the famed Selfridges department store in Oxford Street. "It looked like a long-neglected and deserted storage warehouse, an eyesore. Inside, however, all was military spit and polish. In a sense, the building had been constructed upside down: one floor at street level, and four or five floors sunk into the ground. It had clearly been built with air raids in mind." Schick 1987, p. 31.

<sup>117</sup> Brig. Gen. J.C.H. Lee.

juice), good soup, curry of beef & rice (excellent!), bk potatoes, peas, real white or almost

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white flour rolls, radishes & delicious sweet pickles, & a very fine open-face pie consisting of pumpkin base with cherries topped by layer of strawberry jam. After short interval during which I rushed by cab to Embassy to see what doing & see Tel & Al for few minutes, took cab to next place on tour & continued with party until 5:15, then back to Embassy to read msges that had come in & been sent. Filed per diem voucher. Time passed very fast & and it was 6:30 before knew it - & had no time to go to hotel to wash up before going to Am Sig C Assn dinner, to which I'd also been invited. [My tummy was all better this morning so felt I could enjoy food.] There were over 200 Sig C officers & Gen. Devers<sup>118</sup> CG-ETO came, together with Dir.

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of Signals, British Army (Maj. Gen. Fladgate), CSigO of Home Forces (Gen. Phillips), CSigO ETO (Gen Rumbough) and all heads of ETO Sigs Branches. Lyman, Fitzgerald, Stice, Shearer (who didn't recognize me until told him who I was; he said I'd put on so much weight), Jervey, Dixon (master of ceremonies), Conlisk, Mikkelson, Garland – all old friends or acquaintances. There were only two guests not in uniform – a Mr. Blackstaff of British P.O. & myself. Felt a bit embarrassed but have become philosophical about it all. We had another excellent dinner (at 1£ it was expensive of course but well worth cost). Scotch & soda, soup, real sirloin steak - & a large slice!! – etc. I have the menu as memory. Then some entertain-

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ment after very brief speeches. Dixon made curious slip when he introduced Lieut. Gen. Devers as Lieut. Colonel Devers. Of the entertainment the best by far was a Sgt. Travers who was on singing staff of NBC or CBS & who has a marvelous baritone-bass of much power & appeal. Affair was over by 10:15 & I walked back to hotel to see if Tel or Al in. No answer so went out for short walk, back at 11 & found Tel in his room. Went up & talked with him until 12:15 [He & Al very much disgusted with msge from AH to me which makes it seem that all the msges we had been sending back made no impression & were so much waste so far as concerns our understanding of what is going on here.] After that went out for few minutes short walk in the blackout, walking up & down in front of hotel in Piccadilly. In the deep

[The following is introduced on p. 97 over the number:]

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<sup>118</sup> Lt. General Jacob Loucks Devers.

Bull's Head Quorn (Chorn)  
Swithland Slate 97

shadows of entrances to shops dark figures of (occasionally) prostitutes on the prowl. Would speak softly to me as I pass by. – In bed by 12:30 and good sleep.

Sunday, May 30<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 8:30, breakfast after bath – kipper! by gosh & it was good. Packed up my belongings as decided no use keeping expensive room I'd not occupy rest of day or next & thought I'd prepare to go back to B/P direct from Beaumanor [sic] which we were to visit this day. Taylor & I walked to Embassy where found several more messages, one giving me slight bawling out in polite fashion - & really laughable. Can't understand why should ask for such detailed info re intercept set up – they had leadership in J field by agreement & intended to exercise it! well, if they are qualified to exercise it why don't they ask the questions?? Spent practic-

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ally all day at Embass (collected 2 weeks per diem) up to 5 p.m. going over messages, preparing replies to ones that had come in. Lunch at Officers mess at 1:30 with Tel & Al who had just returned from overnight stay with the Dennistons. At 5 went to St. Pancras Station to get train for Beaumanor, large int[erception]. Stn. of War Department called W.O.Y.G. – pronounced “Woigh” – War Office Y Group. Col. Lycett whom I've mentioned before is head of that activity (among others) and it was at my request that he arranged for visit, coming along with us. Compartment arranged & reserved for us in fine style, with snappy Captain of ATS there as RTO<sup>119</sup> representative. A 3 hour journey which passed quickly. I began immediately plying Lycett with questions & writing notes in my book. He smilingly said he'd heard all about my great ability at that

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sort of thing & thought I should have been a barrister. Got lot of good info though on his org, where it fits in general scheme, his official relations with B/P & other groups, etc. After I had exhausted him I started in on this diary, catching up to point about middle of p. 96 when we reached Loughborough, where Mr. [ret'd Cmdr) Ellingworth met us with big official car & good looking driver to take us to our hotel – The King's Head, where we had rooms reserved. [When I got to mine found signs of occupancy & wondered a bit but merely assumed things inadvertently left behind – such as pr. houseslippers under bed, toothbrush. I could see 'twas male occupant but on rejoining the group below I thanked Ellingsworth [sic] for courtesy in providing me with a sleeping com-

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<sup>119</sup> Railway Transport Office.



panion who, I hoped, was goodlooking. Much laughter etc. but I failed to report findings to management & forgot about the matter until return after midnight, when doorman advised that I'd been given wrong key & that my belongings had been moved. Much laughter again.] – After quick drink we journeyed to an ancient ruin in Beaumanor (about 2 ½ miles from Loughborough) called the Bull's Head Quorn. Very interesting place, full of people in the pub – nice crowd. We had good dinner – nice table, white linen etc. Thence to Int. Stn. & a hasty tour around – from 9 to 12. A fascinating set up & too long to explain here. Must say a few words about the central house – was formerly ancestral home of William P. Herrick father of the poet Robert Herrick & it

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is a relic of glorious days never to return. Immense central hall with grand staircase, elaborately carved wood banisters, [sic] doors, door frames, sideboards, chests, etc. Beautiful silk tapestried walls, high ceilings, immense fireplaces: Date of 1<sup>st</sup> castle way back but modern reconstruction (1870 about) though I saw things which went back to 1640. In the courtyard the restored figurehead of the warship commanded by Admiral Cornwallis (relative of the Gen), which Ellingworth had found in one of the sheds. Beautiful grounds & trees & shrubs. Original estate about 2500 acres but W.O.<sup>120</sup> rents only small part. After the tour sat down for chat in E.'s quarters & had coffee, talking till 1:00 a.m. Then returned in blackout to our hotel where went to bed at once.

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Monday, May 31<sup>st</sup>. – Had good sleep till about 7 when trucks going by (we were on main street) woke me & I dozed until 8. Breakfast after bath. Had again a nice kipper! We then journeyed to station again & went into some things more thoroughly. Al had undertaken to give cocktail party on his wedding anniversary & on account special circumstances he left ahead of us, at 12:30. I had promised him to come in to Ldn to attend but finding train connections difficult decided to go direct to B/P in car with Lycett. I hope Al will forgive me but I am so pressed for time I felt I just had to get back to B/P today. We had lunch (Taylor, I, Lycett, Ellingworth & Wirt (his deputy) again at Bull's Head Quorn. Then returned to station to pick up things.

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Then a very nice motor trip of 2 hours to B/P, arriving at 4:30. (Taylor went back to Ldn by train from Loughborough.) On arrival B/P found plenty to do, calls to make, talk with De Grey, Nenk, Kay, Turing; message to answer, etc. Glad I came back. Worked fast 'till 6, then with Lycett in car to Woburn Sands. Had my room shifted &

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<sup>120</sup> War Office.

hope the large double bed is a bit more comfortable than small one last had. Larger room, too. I bought double scotch for Lycett & self & we talked till dinner time. After, played a bit of “bowls” with him until 9 p.m. news. Have been writing this since 9:15 & and it is now 10:05. So many things to do & and I’ve not yet written the letters I should & I know E & mother will be frantic but what in hades can I do? Shall have to work

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‘till 11 tonight as it is, looking over papers & preparing draft of important message to Wash.

Tuesday, June 1. – Worked until 10:30 and then went below to have drink with Col Lycett. We talked till 11:15. Then to bed and had an excellent sleep in the big bed. Up at 7:45, breakfast at 8:15, then with Lycett in special car to B/P, arriving 9:15. Started in work immediately, on msge to Wash. Turing came in & had discussion with him. Got him to agree to give OK on X61753, which shall wire Wash on tomorrow. M<sup>c</sup>Vittie phoned & I made date for 10 – but didn’t get to him till 11 a.m. Tiltman & I discussed msge to Wash & he approved my draft. De Grey, Marr-

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Johnson, Thompson all approved so directed its encoding & transmission. Now comes the deluge – I hope not. Shall await reaction with considerable trepidity. Then to M<sup>c</sup>Vittie ‘till 1:15, lunch, returned M<sup>c</sup>V & worked in Block A ‘till 6. Rained hard good deal today. Prof. Boase lent me raincoat. Home at 6:30, rushed to take bath. Have been working ever since except for time out for dinner, 7:30 to 8 p.m.

Wednesday, June 2. – Up until 10:30 getting my papers in shape, wrote a letter to Elizebeth and one to mother which I posted this morning through bag to Maidment. The young lady secretary to Tiltman had to talk to the mail people to get them to take them.

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Had good sleep and was up by 8 a.m. Nice kipper for breakfast. To B/P by bus and worked steadily all day. A message from Corderman much garbled and had to ask for repeat. Sent one re Turing’s acceptance of X61753 modifications. Josh Cooper, head of Air Section here awarded high honor on King’s Birthday – Commander of St. Michael and St. George, next to Order of the Bath. Had good sessions with some of his people today & finished up with Capt. Lester in Fishes.<sup>121</sup> Alfred phoned to ask whether I’d be ready to depart on coming Monday and I protested to make it Wednesday, a week from today. Said he was trying to get passage via Lisbon – and in tonight news see where British Civil plane from there to London was shot down – Leslie Howard among 13 passengers. I wonder what Alfred will do now. It’s just one

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<sup>121</sup> Generic term for German Army teletype ciphers.

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of the hazards, I guess, and am prepared to take them, too. Al & Tel to come out to B/P on Friday for last look. I must try to finish good deal tomorrow & Saturday. Doubt if I can though. Must see some people in Ldn before departure such as Williams at W.O. & Johnson of RAF. Besides promised conference with Lyman & Shearer. Maybe news of George's return will change departure date as all here are of opinion we should wait until he returns. – Fish dinner tonight & good. Have had two Britishers as table companions past two days, they from Northampton & taking a week's holiday. One is adm. supt. of hospital, other a druggist. Both rather nice and intelligent men. Interesting discussions with them. – Short walk after dinner & a retired businessman I'd

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nodded to in pub here invited me in to see his garden. Lovely flowers – phlox, delphinium, roses, iris, lumens, snapdragons, periwinkles, etc. And a fine view of surrounding countryside from one corner of the garden. – Back to hotel, listened to 9 o'clock news. – Forgot to mention that one of nice things at the Swan is that the food that is meant to be hot is invariably hot & the plates are always heated, too. Good food all round & must revise estimate or preconceptions of British cooking. – Tiltman away today, also Dudley-Smith whom I must see without delay re a disturbing answer received from Arlington to query I made re security of strip. Looks like more 2d story work has been going on somewhere.<sup>122</sup> – Rained pretty nearly all

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day yesterday and today. Quite chilly & was glad to have my sweater on. Had to borrow raincoat yesterday from Prof. Boase but today got out my own. – Now 10:30 and must to bed. Will try to make early bus tomorrow so as to get very good start. Much to do. – All out of my PX cigarets this evening & had to buy British – quite expensive 2/4 for pack of 20, which is about 45¢! And punk cigs at that, compared to ours.

Thursday, June 3. – Set my clock for 7:30 but was sleepy and didn't get up until 8:15, after my shaving water was brought. A good sleep from 10:45 to 5 and then dozing until 8:15. – It is still rainy, cold, and overcast. – No special news in paper this morning but all papers giving headlines to

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story about passenger plane shot down yesterday. I believe Grissel H just missed being on! Long notices re Leslie Howard. To B/P on an earlier bus. Tiltman there. No messages. Phoned Embassy & got Taylor on phone to call Col. Lyman to tell him

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<sup>122</sup> Friedman's reference here is obscure. "Second story work" of course refers to breaking and entering. But breaking and entering where? And security of what "strip"?

would not be able to see him until next Monday or Tuesday. Tiltman's secretary brought back letters I'd posted yesterday to go in B/P pouch to Maidment, she telling me that people here said couldn't take the letters as they'd not been censored! Received one from Elizebeth written May 2<sup>nd</sup>, via that same pouch. She ecstatic about the roses which came on 21<sup>st</sup> but saying nothing re the number, which I suspect was 2 dozen, not exactly 26. Spent a.m. session with Maj. Thompson's show on Jig mil & JMA<sup>123</sup>. Afternoon with Freeborn on IBM, then Intel Exchange. Miss Rodgeron phoned to ask when I

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would be coming to see her. Others have told me how anxious she was to see me. Home at 6:30 and bought couple round scotch for Mr. Clark<sup>124</sup> & self, he the oldest living GC&CS member, going back to 1916. He is quite a talker. Got him going on old history. Says Falkland story a myth also story re call signs preceding Jutland, also Goeben & Breslau story.<sup>125</sup> – Fish for dinner again but very good. Felt very sleepy after it & came up, lay down, fell asleep for almost 2 hours. Now 10:30 p.m. – Am all out of matches, lighter fluid, & have but 2-3 British cigarets, no pipe tobacco. – Asked Taylor to bring me my cig ration tomorrow & hope he does. – Williams of W.O. in Ldn phoned me today to want to make date to see me. Set next Tuesday. -

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<sup>123</sup> Japanese codes.

<sup>124</sup> William F. Clarke. See Clarke 1988 for reminiscences of Bletchley Park.

<sup>125</sup> The Battle of Jutland took place May 31 and June 1, 1916 off the Danish coast in the North Sea. The British are said to have mistaken the position of the German flagship *Friedrich der Grosse* by misinterpreting how the Germans used the ship's call-sign DK (see Kahn 1996, pp. 272-3 and sources cited there for an account). The *Goeben* and *Breslau* were German battle cruisers operating in the Mediterranean in the summer of 1914. When war broke out they were chased into the Black Sea by the British Navy. The Battle of the Falkland Islands, a lopsided defeat for Germany, took place in December 1914. What stories about the flight of the German cruisers or the Falklands battle Clarke may have been alluding to are obscure.

Friday, June 4. – Up at 8 after good sleep. Poached egg on toast for breakfast, in addition to the usual porridge, i.e., oatmeal. This is day that Al & Tel are to come up for final conference. – The rain is gone, I think, but it is rather cool. The sunshine will warm it up today, I hope. – I’m sitting on a small pillow at the village center memorial, waiting for the bus. At one corner is a men’s comfort station. In the large towns these are very well kept places, with an attendant – far different from the usual European type of thing, and these places are free and well patronized by the populace, high and low. – Bus coming = 7 p.m. Had a very interesting day. Expected to find Al & Tel there when I arrived at 9:45 but they nowhere around. Word came later that they’d be unable to make 8:15 train and would be on 10:42, which gets

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in at 11:50. Hence went visit Research Section under Maj. Morgan.<sup>126</sup> Interesting time on Sturgeon<sup>127</sup> with him and young Tutte,<sup>128</sup> nice looking youngster from Cambridge – math. & very bright. Finished with them at 12 & learned A & T had arrived so joined them in De Grey’s office, with Tiltman. Decided to amuse Al with the four letters for him – one at a time, after 1<sup>st</sup> one sort of afterthought – “Oh, yes, another one for you.” It went off very nicely & Al was tickled. They brought two bottles of port, one for me as present to Tiltman, which was nice. Other present to mess. De Grey had some “school tie” alumni from Eton in for drink, June 4 being Eton observance day over the world, I guess. Strachey<sup>129</sup> there, too, as Etonian. Then nice lunch. Marr-Johnson here on final day & farewells as he is off to U.S. on fast ship. – After lunch, which was

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rather time-consuming had conference on recent “agreement,”<sup>130</sup> discussing details. Al, Tel, De Grey, Tiltman, & self. Finished at 4 and then to Page’s show on ISOS,<sup>131</sup> which I found most interesting. Return there tomorrow. Saw Miss Rodgerson & had a nice reunion. Prof. Vincent phoned to ask if I’d like to go Cambridge with him on Sunday, have dinner at one of colleges, stay overnight. Lovely invitation and told him would let him know definitely in the morning. Had tentative plan to return to Ldn with Al & Tel tomorrow but think I won’t now. Maybe return there from Cambridge but more likely return here Sunday night & wind up affairs here. – Al brought me cigaret & candy rations, by gum & I needed the former as I was all out of

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<sup>126</sup> Major G.W. “Jerry” Morgan.

<sup>127</sup> One of the “Fishes,” a German Army teletype cipher.

<sup>128</sup> William C. Tutte, a mathematician from Cambridge, who worked on German machine ciphers.

<sup>129</sup> Oliver Strachey, brother of the author Lytton Strachey, worked on German hand ciphers at Bletchley.

<sup>130</sup> The Travis-Strong Agreement, signed in Washington on May 24, 1943.

<sup>131</sup> Illicit Series Oliver Strachey, encrypted Abwehr (German espionage service) messages.

everything. – Al spending night at Bedford Arms Hotel in Woburn, Tel at some place in Leighton Buzzard &

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no chance for us to get together this evening. – Hear that Eric is leaving for U.S. end of coming week; maybe we'll be along too. – Not a word re George's return or Travis. – No word about anything from A.H. – No answer to my long telegram & think they are acting pretty badly all round on Jig matters. – Al & Tel went from 4-6 to take another look in fusion room Hut 6. I must go again, too. = Had hot bath as soon as got to hotel this evening & now in my room with pint of half 'n half, waiting for dinner & writing this. – No chance today to get those two letters to Ldn to mail. E & mother will be upset, I know, especially mother. Probably will get back home before letters anyhow. = Still cold and rainy all day and it seems never will clear up. = [Following written Sunday a.m.] = After dinner this evening read paper a while, then

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listened to 9:00 news, after which my two British table companions & I went to visit a tiny pub about 1/8 mi away, I having been told it was a bit unusual & that the beer was unusually good there. We walked up in the rain and went in. It certainly is a tiny place – “Royal Oak” by name – but spotlessly clean and well-filled. The whole pub room not much bigger than our serving room at home. Watched 4 people play the inevitable dart game which was explained to me in some detail & which is quite different from the sort of game played in U.S. with darts. – Bought two rounds of beer, which was good, & then back to hotel and soon to bed. – Had an alert during the

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night, which woke me but I was asleep again before the all clear sounded as I didn't hear latter.

Saturday, June 5<sup>th</sup>. – Up early & had very nice kipper for breakfast. To B/P on 8:30 bus to get an early start again. Saw Vincent and accepted invitation to go to Cambridge with him. (I heard it was that place which was visited by bombers last night.) We are to leave Sunday afternoon by Vincent's car, spend night in college, returning Monday morning. Al not feeling too well & decided to go back to Ldn on noon train. Miss Bartley had phoned night before to invite all three of us to luncheon today – her home not very far from here. But we felt pressed for time & transportation difficulties made it

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advisable to beg off, which duty was delegated to me. Sorry to miss the very attractive lady. – Worked very busily all day & by 3:30 felt fagged, so came up to

Tiltman's office & rested in big chair for ½ hour, after which I felt better, then continued to 6 p.m. – Finished ISOS & ISK,<sup>132</sup> saw Maj Alexander on I-mil. His wife was in Calif. for 2 years & most anxious to go back permanently to U.S. – Dinner invitation of our Capt & Mrs. Adams (the bride of two weeks) at “The Hunt” in Leighton Buzzard. Went there with Adams & Tel who is staying there. Met the bride who is most attractive, with brown eyes, light colored hair with coppery tinges through it, fair complexion, nice figure (but

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with the rather common bulky type of ankles) and a sweet smile, pleasing personality. I imagine her to be about 22 but may be mistaken. [It is correct.] (Foregoing is intended as memory guide for our Mrs. Adams at A.H.) – Nice dinner, after which we sat in the lounge & talked until my bus came at 10:30. – Home at 11, still not dark. Gave word I was leaving the Swan in morning. Packed up my things. In bed by 12:15 but somewhat wakeful – asleep by 1:00.

Sunday, June 6<sup>th</sup>. – Up early (7:30), finished packing, breakfast, bus at 8:35 & now at B/P. Winding up affairs. Tel from AH yester-

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day which I've not seen yet but general contents of which phoned Tel by Al. Elizebeth says won't write any more in view my imminent return. I am to get data for research started on E. – Had talk with De Grey on this point & am to see Welchman this a.m. – [Following being written on train enroute to Stoke-on-Trent, Tuesday morning.] - Had a quick conf. with Welchman and arrived at tentative agreement re coop. on E work for A.H. He asked me to draw up brief on it, which I rushed through in a few minutes before lunch, at which Tel & De Grey present. – Immediately after it Prof. Vincent & I started in BP private car for Cambridge, despite ominous weather and dark clouds – it had been raining pretty hard all morning and

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it was still not finished. The car is a quite old one but was among the most expensive models in its day. I was a bit apprehensive at Vincent's handling of it, as the road was very wet and the car did not steer too well and Vincent kept driving at high speed – sometimes as much as 60 and for considerable stretches 50-55. The roads are seldom straight, often very narrow, and you can't see more than 100 yards ahead. However, he didn't get us ditched or in a wreck and we got there safely, passing through some of the loveliest of English countryside. Cambridge is 50 miles from BP, and we were on 1½ hours enroute. – One of the places we slowed up to see is “Byron's Pool” – a small pool in the village of Grantchester by an attractive old

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<sup>132</sup> Illicit Series Knox (named after Alfred Dilwyn Knox, Chief Assistant at Bletchley), encrypted *Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service) messages.

bridge. Here Byron used to come often to bathe. An old house at the edge of the pool was occupied much

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later by Rupert Brooke, whose poem “Grantchester” tells all about the village, the vicarage, the pool in which Byron played, etc. – one of Brooke’s best. – En route also we saw one or two concentration camps for Italian prisoners and it is curious to see these P/W walking about on the roads, quite unattended or perhaps with a guard far off in the distance. Vincent, who has the chair in Italian at Corpus Christi College, stopped for a moment to talk with a group of 3 nice looking Ps of W & startled them very much, they being quite shy. – When we reached CCC Vincent drove into a court (having a key to the gate), we parked the car and went directly for a walk to see the various sights. Cambridge comprises some 22 separate colleges (just like Oxford) many of which were founded as far back as 1250 or 1260. Some were founded after

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the Great Plague by the Guilds in gratitude for the survival of at least a few in the community. Oxford is a bit older than Cambridge and Vincent laughingly told me that current gossip at the former tells that Cambridge was founded by those who were expelled from Oxford. – The atmosphere of Cambridge, which I drank in in great gulps, gives one a feeling of “solidity” – the solidity that is England. Here stand in quiet dignity and great strength buildings devoted to learning and democratic institutions and the dignity of man – for nine centuries – still going strong. – I could hear Barbara’s voice saying, in the current slang, “solid”, with the “cluck cluck” after it! How she would love it. The colleges are scattered over miles of territory but most of them are adjacent to the river Cam – a quiet, clear, narrow little river with the most charm-

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ing banks of grass on both slopes, and quaint bridges connecting the college buildings with the playing fields directly across, or connecting two main buildings belonging to the same college. There are, of course, in addition to the college buildings, “university” buildings – which are common to them all, such as the main Library – the most modern structure of all and with the latest improvements. V said that the shelves were open to the students who were free to brouse [sic] around. – We saw Queen’s with its very old building but “modern” dormitory (1800 or thereabouts), and then King’s, with its famous chapel, the best example of Gothic architecture in the world. By the way the “formation” or disposition of the buildings comprising the colleges is quite standard: opposite the main gateway, with its flanking old

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towers stands the Chapel; on the right are the “faculty” or tutors chambers, on the left the students halls and quarters. The side on which the gate is also has classrooms, I



guess but am not sure of this. The tutors and students quarters are separated into small, two-story sections, so that passage from the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey of a students quarters to the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey of another students quarters, can be had only by going down the staircase to the ground floor and out into the court, then up the next staircase. – V said it was most extravagant use of stairs and space but they started off in that way (monastic-cell-like) and of course they must keep that tradition fast. – In each students building is the “buttery” – a window on the ground floor, inside, through which orders for food & drink are placed & filled. – There was much

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boating on the river today – many lads in RAF uniform, with their gals. Some lay on the river’s banks, locked in tight embrace. – We saw also St. John’s which has two main sets of buildings, one – “Old St. John’s” – on one side of the river, the other – “New St. John’s” – on the other side, connected by an ancient bridge with a “fallen arch” – which has been “falling” since Columbus’ day. – We saw Newnham College – one of the two for women (the other is Girton), and I learned later that Oliver Strachey’s sister was until very recently the Principal (= President) there. – The 22 colleges are autonomous but no student can be admitted into any one unless he has first passed the entrance exams & has been accepted by the “University” or rather has been admitted into the U. The governing body of the U. – the one that

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sets up and guides the policies – is called the “University Council” and is composed of graduates who are elected by the grads. Then as to the educational policy there is another board - The General Board” which is composed of representatives from the various faculties – sciences, languages, philosophy, etc. – The two bodies are kept in touch by means of the Secretary – who is the same for both. – The Govt. provides some funds for the University – the Scientific Labs are “University” for example – but the funds for the colleges come from large endowments, they owning enormous lands, villages, city properties, etc. from which most of their incomes are derived. – The head of the U. is called the Chancellor & he’s a mere figurehead now – present one is Stanley Baldwin. The real head is the Vice-Chancellor and the present

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incumbent is the Master (= President) of Queen’s College. This office goes by rotation to the heads of the various colleges. – Saw also Clare College, and Pembroke. Saw “Hobson’s Water Supply” – provided by the chap who originated the (English) expression “Hobson’s Choice” – about which will have to tell later.<sup>133</sup> – It rained a bit, very gently, as we were going about. Stopped for a few minutes in King’s College Chapel, where afternoon service was in progress. Choirboys singing

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<sup>133</sup> Friedman never gets around to doing so.

nice. The old stained glass windows have been removed for safety as Cambridge is right near the coast and is well within the bombing area. Saw lots of guns & a.a.<sup>134</sup> battery positions around, air raid shelters, em[ergency]. water supply, etc. – After walking about couple hours went to small hotel & had nice tea. – Then some more sightseeing & then to C.C.C.

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where we were shown our chambers. I was put up in the Visitor's Room & it must have been for distinguished ones because I looked over the Visitor's Book. The record began with Jan. 1, 1926 & here are some of the people who occupied the room since then: Winston Churchill, Stanley Baldwin, Samuel Hoare, John Buchan, Anthony Eden, John Galsworthy, W.W. Jacobs, Philip Sassoon, Liddle Hart, J.C. Squire, Gordon Selfridge, Lord Birkenhead, C.W. Trevelyan, and many many others famous in the educational field. There were only seven Americans all told & I recognized only one name – Henry Harris Russell, of Princeton. I wonder who Tracy Jaekel of NY, Butler Hallahan of Bryn Mawr, Edw. S. Mason of Cambridge, A.O. Leighton of Phila, J. de Wolf Perry of Norfolk, and Gerald A. Vulliamy, 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. C.E. are? Well, it was quite an experience sleeping

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in that old, old high bed with a view looking down into the churchyard with ancient tombstones! – There was a “man” to take care of me. He took out my things & laid them out carefully – my shaving things, my scissors & nail file, etc., my pyjamas laid out, and in the morning I'm sure he would have bathed and dressed me if I hadn't beaten him to it. – A “modern” bathroom (about 1870 or thereabouts) with a separate room for the toilet. – Despite the age of the building – around 1500 – it is clean and comfortable. – We went to see Vincent's own “office” or private chambers when he is professing. A most delightful place even without the furniture in it – a large study, a small bedroom, a tiny kitchen, & a lovely view into the “yard” or “court.” – Rested a few minutes, washed up a bit, and then V &

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I went to the dining hall of C.C.C. – to sit at the Master's Table. Met the Master (Sir Will Spen) before going in to hall, where there were about 2 dozen others – all professors or lecturers in their gowns – plus three British generals and one air marshall. Had a spot of whiskey & then filed into dining hall where the boy's were all waiting patiently at their chairs at two long, enormous tables, spotlessly scrubbed oak with no linen at all. Grace was said by senior lecturer – in Latin – the same as has been said there since the founding in 1450. – We sat down & had a rather simple meal but excellent. Soup, Scotch salmon with a perfect sauce, green peas, baked – no

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<sup>134</sup> Antiaircraft.

[sic] browned – potatoes, - and great big fresh strawberries, whipped cream, and plenty of sugar. On my right was Prof. Mac-

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Curdy, educated in medicine at Johns Hopkins but now professor of psychopathology. We had an interesting talk about psychoanalysis. He knew W.A. White & others I knew. On my left was Prof. Thompson,<sup>135</sup> Nobel Prize winner in Physics and made CMG<sup>136</sup> in birthday honors last week. Had a very interesting chat with him as he is in physics & knows the Comptons<sup>137</sup> pretty well. Thompson is the son of the J.J. Thompson<sup>138</sup>, one of greatest physicists of all time. – After that we went for coffee etc. in what is called the “Combination Room” – where people “combine” and I was placed on the Master’s right, as guest of honor there. In the other room I sat 3<sup>rd</sup> on his right as place of honor was given to one of the generals on his right, the other on his left. – Coffee, port (vintage?? – Vincent said that people at CCC were worried

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now because the current stock of port on hand would be exhausted in 1964! I had very interesting chat with the Master about his daughter (Barbara’s age) and my thoughts about B coming over to England after the war for post grad work. His idea that if London School of Economics stays at Cambridge, OK but if not, better for her to attend Oxford. – After that we all adjourned to the Master’s private quarters where we met Lady Spen and two others. One with whom I had chat has husband (Army) who is prisoner in HongKong. Had whiskey-soda there & chatted till 10. Had nice talk with Maj. General Gammel who is G.O.C. of East Anglia. – A very affable and interesting man, with whom I discussed war situation. – Back to our court where V & I walked round and round for about an hour,

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talking mostly about Shakespeare Bacon chaps.<sup>139</sup> He’s done some work on Rossetti who was coo-coo in a big way along a trend somewhat similar. – We went to our

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<sup>135</sup> George Paget Thompson, son of J.J. Thompson, shared the Nobel Prize for physics in 1937 with Clinton Joseph Davisson for work on the diffraction of electrons in crystals.

<sup>136</sup> Companion of The Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael & St. George.

<sup>137</sup> Karl Compton (see note 114) and his brother Arthur Holly Compton. The latter shared the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1927 with Charles Thomson Rees Wilson. Compton’s work on X-ray diffraction was the first conclusive proof of Einstein’s hypothesis that light consisted of quanta. Wilson invented the cloud chamber.

<sup>138</sup> The elder Thompson had won the Nobel Prize in physics in 1906 for experimental work showing that the electron is a negatively charged particle possessing mass.

<sup>139</sup> “Shakespeare Bacon chaps” were persons devoted to the notion that the works of William Shakespeare were actually written by Sir Francis Bacon.

chambers at 11 and to bed – after I spent about ½ hour looking at visitor’s register. – Had good sleep.

Monday, June 7<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 8, took quick bath, dressed. Breakfast was served us in the next room – private quarters of a professor Carter (biology) who is away. It was charming room & a delightful breakfast near a gas log fire (a bit chilly this morning). – Got our things & made our departure about 9:15, taking a different route back. Bright sunshine and quite a nice day. Lovely countryside again. Stopped for few minutes just before getting to BP to take look at Vincent’s house – old Tudor (say about 1600) with

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it thatch roof, low ceilings, and altogether charming. Mrs. V & daughter out so didn’t get to meet them. – Arrived B/P about 11 and at once to another conf. with Welchman ‘till 12. Amendment to my paper re coop in E had to be made in view receipt of text of telegram from AH which I’d not seen until then. Worked madly at it till 1:15, cleaning up other matters too, lunch. – Tel anxious to make the 3:30 p.m. train, which rushed me. We expect return for few hours on Friday as Travis will probably be back then and we must see him before return to Wash.<sup>140</sup> – Got to station and instead of hopping aboard the extra train which was about to pull out but seemed too full, decided to wait 15 min for the regular. Too bad – as the regular was 1 ½ hours late – and then we had to stand

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up all the way! – Taxis scarce & we had to “queue up” – took about ½ hour waiting. Then to Park Lane where Al had reserved room for us. T & I are together again in a nice double room 7<sup>th</sup> floor. – Went to Mess for dinner, meeting Al & Eric. Had couple cocktails followed by enormous dinner. Grapefruit juice, soup, roast beef, yorkshire pudding, roast potatoes, peas, spinach, salad, strawberry shortcake, (rolls, butter & peanut butter). Then to Embassy to look over telegrams. No mail for Tel or me & only one snippy tel for me. One for Al the other day was intended as terrific bawling out, which Al answered & may get fired for. – Back to hotel at 11 and to bed, after intermittent discussions with Tel. – Al has ants in his pants and insists on leaving on Friday – at the latest

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on Saturday. And I am going to be pushed most frightfully to make it then. Have conferences scheduled for Wed and Thursday, Friday maybe back to B/P for final farewells, a bit of time to do some shopping – but how to do without coupons??? – To bed at midnight.

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<sup>140</sup> Travis had just negotiated the agreement with the U.S. War Department and Friedman was eager to talk with him.

Tuesday, June 8<sup>th</sup>. – Good sleep but dim recollection of many dreams. Shaved, nice bath, dressed quickly, breakfast (good fresh fish, hake). – Rushed to Embassy to send telegram off, get transport warrant for this trip, got to Euston Station in good time to get a seat, and here we are. I've been writing now for 2 ½ hours – it's now 12:45 and train gets in to Stoke-on-Trent a bit after 1 p.m. – [Written Wed]: We were very lucky to have seats on the train as it was very crowded.

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We should have got seats near the head of the train, having 1<sup>st</sup> class tickets & the 1<sup>st</sup> cl compartments were up front, but they were all taken by the time we reached the Euston Station & people were standing in the aisles up there so we went to the rear of the train. The difficulty here is that the trains are so long nowadays that when they come to a station passengers who are to get off at that station must in be that region of the train which will be alongside the platform. We were supposed to be up front therefore as the cars for Stoke were there. So as the train came near to Stoke we began walking up toward the front of the train – no easy task with people standing in the aisles, luggage on the floor, etc. & the train rocking (as it is now!) At that, when we reached

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Stoke we had to jump down to the ground – about 4 feet – as the car we had reached by that time was still not at the nearest edge of the station platform. – We were met at the station by an RAF officer, of smart appearance, with a car which took us to Cheadle,<sup>141</sup> about 6 miles off, through somewhat rolling country. [This train is doing about 70 now] At Cheadle we turned off into a little country lane and private road to the home of one of the local squires who had given up his place to the government for a Y station & himself is now a Group Captain in the RAF (Allen). We were met at the door by the C.O. – Wing Cmdr. W.S. Swanborough, a tall & hefty man of most affable disposition. – [I had to give up at this point as train

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was rocking too much, so this is being written Wednesday night.] We had lunch with Swanborough – “just a bite” it was supposed to be but it turned out to be quite a repast, with port at the end. Then a tour through his establishment, which Tel & I found extremely interesting. Mr. Josh Cooper, C.M.G. made a special trip from B/P to be with us – an act of great courtesy in view of his very busy life. – At 4:30 we were served tea, ham sandwiches, bread & jam, jelly roll. At 7:<sup>30</sup> we were served a fine dinner, preceded by “gin and french”, followed by coffee and port. It was a very lovely evening and the spot was ideal -

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<sup>141</sup> Cheadle is in Staffordshire in the North Midlands.

calm, quiet, the fragrance of roses in the air and the wonderful color of purple rhododendron which abounds in the vicinity. At 10 we took our departure, in the official car which Swanborough placed at our disposal with a driver – to go 20 miles to Stafford where our hotel accommodations had been reserved for us. The driver went about 55-60 all the time, over the narrow, winding roads, and the ride was a bit of a thrill in that respect. Cooper came along & when we arrived at the hotel he insisted on buying us double scotch & sodas – two rounds & would not let us pay anything or return the courtesy. – In bed at mid-

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night, we having left word to be called at 8, with morning tea – which duly came at 7:30! by a maid who bought same and draw [sic] aside the blackout curtains.

Wednesday, June 9<sup>th</sup>. – A good sleep but with funny dreams which I couldn't recall. The idea of morning tea is a very sound one! I had to coax Tel to partake. He said that he'd rather have had the extra ½ hour sleep & to be wakened with a bromo-seltzer or a large glass of orange juice instead. But I maintain that hot tea is much better than either or both he named. – Breakfast, at which I missed a kipper because the waiter

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brought me bacon & fried potatoes & I didn't know there were kippers, damn! – The train Stn just across the street from the hotel & we mounted at 9:59, fortunately getting seats. The train just hustled along – 70 miles an hour & I don't see how or why those light cars stay on the rails. – I bought a copy of Punch, read that through, then borrowed my neighbor's Times & read that through. By that time we were back in London. Got cab right away, then directly to hotel. Lunch at Red Cross. – No mail. One long msge from Corderman at last answering – a long-delayed reply that should have come several days ago. – Went over

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my papers, as Al had already wired we were both coming back at once, leaving here Friday night! I've lots to do. – First thing was to get in touch with Tiltman who was in town – to communicate contents of msge & I had a devil of a time getting him – he had been at the Embassy! – Dinner at the Mess, with Eric, who leaves tomorrow night. A very nice dinner with good steak! – Went over with Eric to his place to collect some liquor he was turning over to Tel. – Tel was out to cocktails with some friends. I forgot to say that Denniston had Al, Tel & me to cocktails

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at the East India Club again as a farewell. I was weighed again – found I'd lost 3 lbs. from May 4 to date. Which is not bad at all. – Eric then came over to my hotel & soon Tel came in. – Had a bath, washed about 10 prs of socks & here I am, ready for bed & next to last night in London. – Am due home on Sunday if all goes well.

[Here end the numbered pages of Friedman's Bletchley Park Diary. One and one half blank pages follow, after which Friedman resumes his dated Diary, though without numbering the pages. The pages that follow have been given numbers in sequence with those that precede.]

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Wednesday, June 9<sup>th</sup>.

Thursday, June 10<sup>th</sup>. – [Written on the train enroute to Pwk,<sup>142</sup> Friday 10 p.m.] There has been no time since Wednesday evening to write and I am not sure where I left off in the preceding section, which has already been sent off.<sup>143</sup> I think I left off about Wed. afternoon, my struggles to locate Tiltman and finally doing so. Also I think I mentioned that we three went over to Denniston's shop and he took us to East India Club for final farewells and drinks. Al had a date for theater, Tel had a date to see somebody about getting quarters at Lansdown Club. I left Tel on Picadilly [sic] near Park Lane Hotel & sat down for few minutes on a chair in the park. Soon a guard came and asked if I'd paid for my seat! I hadn't so proceeded to pay 2d.

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Then washed up a bit at hotel and walked to mess for dinner. Had a date with Eric there after which we went to his room, he being ready to leave tomorrow on his journey to U.S. He had 2 full bottles of Bourbon (Seagrams @ 6/6!) one nearly full of Canadian Club and a bottle of sherry which he was selling to Tel. We carried this over to our room and after chat of some 45 min he was about to take his leave when Tel came in. We had surprise for him as his trunk had arrived – but he'd forgot his key on leaving Wash and it had not arrived here yet – maybe at bottom of ocean by now. We had a drink & Eric left soon. I had a bath and then Tel and I had a couple more drinks.

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Pleasant talk re this & that, mostly business and to bed at 12. Good sleep.

Thursday, June 10<sup>th</sup>. – Up early as had date with Mr. Williams at W.O. at 10:30 and had several things to do at Embassy, such as file voucher, clean up papers. Spent most interesting hour with Williams going over his show. Was accorded high honor by being taken to sacred arcanum where everything was shown me, without any special formalities such as we would have. W is chief of the section and has three or four officers under him. I learned later from Lycett that by design the personnel of cipher office in W.O. are civil since Cromwell's day, that one of the responsibilities of the Permanent Undersecretary of State for War is to guard the state against

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<sup>142</sup> Prestwick.

<sup>143</sup> To whom? one wonders. Most likely it was sent to someone in Friedman's office at SIS, though possibly to Elizebeth.

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possible machinations or conspiracy by the military and that because of this duty he has direct control over all crypt traffic in and out, and therefore practically all the key personnel are civil servants. The appropriation for the Army is an annual affair and if not forthcoming the Army is automatically dissolved, with no provision for the men or officers. An annual reminder – like our own, I guess. – After visit to Williams shop had date with Col. Lycett, whose office is in new Annex (the Citadel) to W.O. and scores of feet underground. He took me to the United Services Club which is a rather exclusive one – no reserve or volunteer officers are admitted; no allied officers are admitted; even among the

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regular army, navy, air force branches only the combatant services! No paymasters, no quartermasters, etc! And only the senior chaplain in each of the three services are [sic] admitted – as honorary members! As a gesture of great friendship and because they are homeless, a few Norwegian officers have been admitted and King Haakon is frequently seen there. – The place had more gold braid and high insignia in evidence than I'd ever seen before. – But the food was rather poor. Lycett told me that until the war this club had reputation for the best food in London. The place was quite crowded and I was surrounded by admirals and brigadiers etc. – No smoking allowed in the

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dining room! In the main lounge we had coffee and could smoke. – Left Lycett at 2:30 as had date at 3 with Rumbough, Lyman, et al at ETOUSA. Tel and Al came along, to say their farewell, at least Al, with me. Had three quick conferences there on three subjects, then was taken to sacred precincts of crypt set up in Selfridges Annex – and through the whole works, including the special X61753. – Interesting show and glad to hear good reports of my gadgets. – Dinner at Mess, with Eric who left at 7:30. Tel and Al along. Went over to Embassy after dinner & got off long last message to Corderman. – To hotel at 10, Tel to write letter, I to pack. Also Al. – Al sent down some ice

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& soda and Tel and I provided the liquor and we each had two. I got all my packing done and quite ready for bed at 12 – tired out.

Friday, June 11<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 7:15 to get early start again as had three conferences scheduled, my bags to get over to ATC<sup>144</sup> office, my per diem to collect, etc. – Saw Lycett at W.O. again, at 9:30, with Maj Fielding and Col. Bloomfield, re call signs

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<sup>144</sup> Air Transport Command, the U.S. Army's wartime air supply service.



procedure. Then at 10:15 to Air Ministry for date with W/C<sup>145</sup> Johnston, who was to show me their latest portable gadget – and I saw it – again without fuss ‘n feathers. Somewhat embarrassing as they ask no quid pro quo. – At 10:45 date with Tel at Embassy to go to Finance O, where I collected

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per diem & converted some into a U.S. check. – At 11:30 to C’s office, with Tel & Al to say our farewells to him, to see Travis, De Grey and Tiltman there too. – Very pleasant chat with C and then we took Travis, Tiltman, & De Grey to Officers Mess for lunch. Tel went to Park Lane to fetch the bourbon. I bought the lunch for all. We had most pleasant time, they staying until 2:30 or 3 p.m. – Al and I went to shop in Bond Street to buy some trinkets for family – Capt. Boyd having provided me with the necessary coupons out of his own lot. I hope E, B, & John will like what I bring them. – Back to embassy where went thru cip[her] office, I having

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asked Boyd about it couple weeks ago. Then was taken over to OSS set up, where Wurtman running gadgets. Was received with great honors there, and spent about  $\frac{3}{4}$  hour or more with them. – Back to Embassy for final farewells there, thence to Mess for final dinner. Gave Jo and Eileen<sup>146</sup> each 10s – they having been nice to us, George having put us in their charge. – At 7:30 we reported to ATC HQs, got our tickets etc. – All very well organized. Bus to Euston Station – our bags all labelled and all handled for us – even to placing them in sleeping compartments in the special cars provided! Am in bed now bringing this up to date and it’s now 10:45. We

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have to be out by 5:20 a.m. so will be wakened at 4:45, an ungodly hour. With good luck we may be able to take off early tomorrow as no people waiting there.

Saturday, June 12<sup>th</sup>. – Up at 4:<sup>45</sup> a.m., wakened by porter bringing morning tea – a very fine custom which I think would be nice to adopt. Shaved & dressed quickly. It is quite light now & we are passing through some of the loveliest country in Scotland. I clocked train at 80 miles/hour as we are a few minutes late. Now getting in & will cease for time being, to resume on plane or at Prestwick. – 8:00 a.m. Am in Hotel at Pwk run at airport for ATC. We got in to Kill-manor (I think it’s spelled) at 5:40 a.m. (the train goes on to Glasgow)

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and a beautiful morning. The sun was just coming up and the sky is almost cloudless. – The train was very comfortable, and the compartments for single occupants are much like our most modern ones at home, with bed running transverse, wash stand,

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<sup>145</sup> Wing Commander.

<sup>146</sup> Evidently staff at Officers Mess.

but no toilet. Hot water for shaving, plenty of it. – At Killmanor were picked up by ATC bus and after about 10 mile run came to Pwk. Few words of instructions – to report at desk at 10:00 a.m., maybe some news then re going out. – Breakfast at 6:30 and had excellent oatmeal, powdered egg, toast, jam, & tea. Now taking it easy in hotel lobby & actually had few winks of sleep in comfortable chair. – 1:45 p.m. Had a shower at this hotel at 11:15 and the funny part of it was that there was no cold water – nearly got parboiled!

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At 11:30 the bar opened and I bought Al two double scotch & soda, he bought one so we each had three and felt fine at lunch, which was good. Sat out on the upper deck watching planes take off and land – a most interesting sight. The sun is warm but there is a cool breeze. We are now waiting to get aboard. I have passed through customs, etc & had a momentary anxiety when they asked for my exit permit about which I had not the faintest notion as nothing was said about such a thing when I signed out at the AGO's office<sup>147</sup> in Ldn. At any rate my credentials seemed OK & they did not raise a fuss about it. – We were given to understand that we land at Iceland

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for an hour or so to refuel but I'll know for certain later on. There are the usual rumours! This place is quite crowded now with incoming and outgoing people – a busy airport! – This morning wrote a letter to Grizzel [sic: see page 57] H., whose address I learned just yesterday. Also two postcards which Al had I wrote on & sent to Minna and to the Heddens. – Al & I went aboard at 2:00 and put our musette bags<sup>148</sup> on but were told to get off and wait. At 2:15 we were told to get aboard, with all other passengers. There are 26 seats but only about 22 passengers. It is a Douglas C-54, just like the one we came over on – Warming up engines from 2:15 to 2:45. – We're off and now over the water at about 2000 or

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2500 feet & still going up. – I put on my sweater & overcoat and am quite comfortable, though still strapped in with safety belt. – 4:15p now & we are about 10,000 ft up, high above the white clouds. Occasionally we pass through one higher than the general level of clouds & the plane shakes a lot. – Still not allowed to smoke. – The water looks very calm below but there are many white dots – white caps which are probably pretty good sized waves. – They've just put on the steam heat – got very warm all of a sudden & if it keeps up will have to take my coat off.

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<sup>147</sup> Adjutant General's Office.

<sup>148</sup> A kind of canvas haversack.

Still not allowed to smoke – apparently not permissible until the cabin tanks are empty of fuel – which I should think would make

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the situation more dangerous – not less. – A C.A.A.<sup>149</sup> man sitting beside me says the same. By the way, he has on exactly the same pin-stripe suit that I am wearing. – 5:15 p.m. Just clouds, white fleecy ones, scattered below, through which can be seen the green dull colored ocean, and nothing but a heavenly blue sky all above and around. – Looking down at a certain angle, toward the right of the plane I see on the clouds below the shadow cast by the plane surrounded by a rainbow circle, just a bit bigger, just enough to contain the plane's shadow. A very interesting sight. I've seen one before when flying above the Panama Canal. – Brilliant beautiful sunshine. – Still no smoking and we've been flying now for some or almost 3 hours.

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7:45 p. – Now have been flying steadily for 5 hours & no sign of land yet. No white clouds but generally overcast. Very smooth passage thus far. – No smoking allowed. – 7:50 Land has been sighted! About 35-40 minutes more to go before landing. - 8:30 p: we have just now landed & are coming to a stop. – Meeks Field at Keflavik (Camp Turner) hewn out of the rock, almost literally, has a most forbidding and barren aspect as one lands. We were driven in a staff car to the Officers Club & what a surprise awaited us as we opened the door. And what a lovely dinner we had! And here is the signature of the able mess officer: Lt [illegible]<sup>150</sup> 10:40 Back at the airport, Meeks Field by staff car – over the rough road. Plane not ready yet so Al & I went to passenger waiting

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room where we found ping pong table & played 3 fast games which I won. Rumor that we may go direct to New York nonstop – 19 hrs at least – but this is just a rumour. This room is very hot but outside there is a very cold stiff wind blowing. It would not be so cold if it weren't for the wind. Reykjavik [sic] is across the bay, about 20 miles off. I can see mountains all around, most of which have snow at the tops & those which haven't have their tops hidden in the clouds. – 11:15p. We are now aboard the plane again, waiting for signal to start revving up prior to taking off. News is confirmed that we are going direct to New York, expected arrival 6:30 a.m. local NY time. (All times given above are London time, which is 2 hrs ahead of Greenwich.<sup>151</sup> The local time at Meeks Field is two hours earlier than London time so we have passed

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<sup>149</sup> Civil Aviation Administration.

<sup>150</sup> Here Friedman had the lieutenant insert his signature in the *Diary*, but the young man's name cannot be read.

<sup>151</sup> It was, of course, Iceland time that was two hours ahead of Greenwich, not London time.

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through 2 time zones in coming from Prestwick to Iceland. It is local 9:15 here or 11:15 London time or 5:15 p.m. New York time. So 5:15p to 6:15 a.m. would make flying time 11 hours and 15 minutes. We'll see how close we come to it. Everybody is new aboard plus a lot more mail occupying last six seats. – Announcement that there would be no smoking at all to New York. – 11:37 starting taxiing toward runway. 11:44 we're up off the ground. Climbing fast. – Sunday 10:15 a.m. (Ldn time) it's quite light now. We have been flying 10 ½ hours so far. I slept at least 6 hours of that time. I woke several times and looked out. It was never completely dark and I could hardly tell whether the rosy color in the sky to the right was the setting or ris

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ing sun! It was most confusing. To that add the ½ moon visible about 1/3 of the way up from the horizon. – We passed over very large icefields and icebergs, over barren rocky country which showed no sign of life as far as one could see – must have been Newfoundland. – I woke several times with the stifling heat – very hard to control it evidently. I was alternately hot and cold but mostly the former. – It is now 10:20 by my watch, hence it must be 4:20 a.m. New York time and if what we were told is correct we should be in New York in about 2 hours. – Not a speck of land is visible now, only a vast pool of water in which one can only see very slight ripples – it's very calm down below & the plane is very steady. – As a matter of fact

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it's all quite deceptive. The noise of the props is so like the noise one hears aboard a big ship, and the absence of scenery rushing past one (as on a train) makes it seem that we are just crawling along at a snails pace, not 200 miles an hour. – 10:45 a.m. We have just been handed the usual customs forms to fill out. – Have been told we may land at Presque Isle<sup>152</sup> or New York. At last, smoking is allowed! – 11:30 a.m. Latest dope: The ice field we passed was met at our first approach to land & in vicinity of Nova Scotia. We then crossed Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1 ¼ hours we land at Presque Isle, have breakfast, then on to N.Y. where we should land at about 11:30 – 12:00 N.Y. time. – Depending on how long we stay in N.Y. we should get to Washington in early p.m.

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We're flying over Maine now, above the white clouds which are very thick but occasionally can see through them, at the farms & forests below, ribbons of roads, rivers, and a lake here and there. – It's 12:10 p.m. (Ldn) time now and I'm pretty hungry. The purser made hot chocolate an hour or so ago, which had to be thrown

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<sup>152</sup> An airfield in northern Maine.

out as the milk was sour & it tasted very funny, quite disagreeable in fact. 12:45p. We are about to land at Presque Isle. It is very thick out & can't see anything. Going down now. Seat belts fastened. 1:08p. We're on the runway now & taxiing forward to hangar. It was a very hazardous landing as the ceiling is practically zero. We couldn't see much land until right down on top of it. It's raining hard & the weather is foul! We may be held up here some hours. 1:10 p.m. on the dot & we are at a full stop now. Total time in

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4<sup>30</sup> p.m. ESDT. started warming up.

4<sup>35</sup> " - taxiing

the air from Iceland to Presque Isle was 13 hours and 35 minutes. – Bus took us to passenger terminal. Customs man took up my passport – says it can be returned to me Washington on application, State Dept. A fine breakfast, two fried eggs & bacon, tomato juice, coffee, toast. – Told all flights cancelled & we'd have to stay overnight. Possibility of getting out on N.E. Airlines commercial so we got a car & went there over bumpy roads. Plane to have left at 3:15p. was cancelled just as we got there & so got reservations on 7:15 a.m. one. Then back to terminal, where I shaved and felt better. Al & I then phoned home & glad to hear voice of Elizebeth & Barbara. John still asleep. Told her would phone from New York tomorrow. Went next door to "Hotel De Gink"<sup>153</sup> – transients & got rooms

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4:42 start making run

4:43 plane takes off

for the night – a brand new temporary building very nicely furnished. – Had a very fine shower bath after which we were notified to report to terminal at 3 p.m. as there was a ship now available! – Had a fine dinner, tomato juice, delicious thick steak, french fried potatoes, peas, corn, canned peaches, coffee. – Then repacked my gear & went to terminal building. Sure enough – a plane getting ready. Took long time to load up – a cargo plane, converted from regular C-54 passenger plane. We don't have regular seats – but what they call "bucket" seats along the walls. Not too uncomfortable. 4<sup>30</sup> p.m. Local ESDT the warming up began; 4<sup>45</sup> taxied over to runway; 4:42 began the run; 4:43 up off the ground! – At breakfast this morning the Captain of our ship told us

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that we were pretty lucky to have made a good landing as the information he'd had from the control tower was that the ceiling was 1200 feet whereas in fact it turned out to be about 200-300. He'd had a difficult time. – As we are flying along now – pretty

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<sup>153</sup> Gink: "an odd, eccentric, or stupid fellow," Lightner 1994, p. 896.

high – I can't tell how high because below us at 100-200 feet are the pure white clouds, so thick you can't see a thing through them. It was dark & rainy on the ground but up here the sun above the clouds is very brilliant. – 5:05p. still unable to see through the clouds. Quite comfortable riding as yet. – The corporal (Thurston) who runs the Hotel de Gink at Presque Isle was assistant manager of the Ambassador in Washington & also managed the Blackstone there! – We are scheduled to stop in New York and it takes about 3 hours to make the run. 5:45p. We are now just out of the cloudy

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area & the fields below are beautiful. Can see main highways with a few tiny bugs – automobiles. The sun is warm & bright.

6:00 p.m. now passing over Portsmouth N.H.

7:05 p.m. “ “ “ Hartford, Conn. Beautiful country. 7:41p. Just touched the ground & taxiing to port. – 7:44 we stop. – Upon dismounting went into hangar & phoned Elizebeth. There was supposed to be a medical examination but since the medico had gone home the chap just asked us if we'd seen him. So Al & I said we probably had, and the chap said, “OK. I won't ask any more questions.” – 8:32 p.m. Warming up & taxiing to end of runway. – 8:38 we're off the ground & climbing so fast I have to keep swallowing. The plane is about empty of cargo & there are only three passengers all told!

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We should make the run to Washington in 1 ¼ - 1 ½ hours. Al told me to tell E when I called her to tell Winnie<sup>154</sup> to have martini's ready & that he was hungry – which I did. It's dusk now & humid & hot outdoors when too [sic] off. Not bad inside the plane but I imagine when we land in Washington – me with my winter suit on & heavy overcoat. All my belongings are here – including my stick. – I was made a member of the short snorters fraternity<sup>155</sup> this afternoon at Presque Isle by two young lieutenants. 9:53 We are approaching Washington now and should be at the airport in 5 minutes. – Coming downstairs now at 9:57.

[Here the Diary concludes. On the last two pages Friedman made a list of the the names he found in the Corpus Christi College Visitor's book mentioned on p. 129:]

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C.W. Trevelyan

Anthony Eden Feb 1, 29

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<sup>154</sup> Winnifred, Alfred McCormack's wife.

<sup>155</sup> Presumably a joke, but the reference is obscure.

Henry Morris Russell, Princeton  
A Marshal Portal  
John E. Galsworthy, Apr 1924  
Americans  
Tracy Jaeckel, N Y  
Butler Hallahan Bryn Mawr  
Edward S. Mason Cambridge  
A.O. Leighton, Phila  
Henry N. Russell, Princeton  
J. De Wolf Perry, Norfolk  
Gerald A. Vulliamy, U.S.A.

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Churchill Winston S & Liddell Hart

6-8 Mar  
1926

Philip Sassoon – Jan 16, 1927  
Duff Cooper  
A. Bernstorff  
Stanley Baldwin Mar 4 1927  
J.C. Squire  
Samuel Hoare  
John Buchan  
Birkenhead  
H. Gordon Selfridge

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