NOTES

Introduction

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1 Spy Fever-ish

1. See the various witness statements in KV 2/1701, TNA. The KV series contains the records of the Security Service and its predecessors.
2. Their story was first reported in a book by the Earl Jowitt who at the time of their capture was Solicitor General; see W. Jowitt, *Some Were Spies* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1954).

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3. Statement by Werner Heinrich Walti, 6 March 1941, KV 2/1701, TNA.
4. Note on points arising from the interrogations of Walti, de Deeker and Erikson, 7 October 1940, KV 2/18, TNA.
5. For the failures of German military intelligence, see D. Kahn, *Hitler's Spies: German Military Intelligence in World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2000).
6. 'Dutchmen landing near Dymchurch', 4 September 1940, KV 2/107, TNA.
7. 'Extract from SIS report on German Espionage Centres in Norway', 1 April 1941, KV 2/21, TNA.
8. 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA. For another example where a confession was not obtained, see KV 2/3288, TNA.
9. J. Fox, 'Careless Talk: Tensions within British Domestic Propaganda during the Second World War', *Journal of British Studies*, 51 (2012), 936–66.
10. These include around forty people who were not associated with or suspected of German espionage. They were instead members of the British Union of Fascists or enemy aliens who had to be vetted in the autumn of 1940.
11. 'History of the London Reception Centre 1940–45', pp. 2–3, KV 4/7, TNA.
12. Flight Lieutenant W. V. Emanuel (A12(a)) to Wing Commander Plant (AI1(a)), 17 May 1940, KV 4/375, TNA.
13. Memo by E. N. Cooper, 20 May 1940, KV 4/375, TNA.
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15. 'HS(S)E: Collection of Intelligence from Arrivals to the UK – Notes of Meeting Held at Kinnaird House on Tuesday, 7th November, at 12 noon', Home Office (HO) 213/1978, TNA.
16. 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, p. 1, KV 4/8, TNA.
17. Photiadou, 'The Detention of Non-Enemy Civilians'.
18. The most comprehensive biographical information on Stephens is in Stephens and Hoare, *Camp 020*, Introduction.
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20. D. G. White to DDS, 15 August 1940, KV 4/81, TNA.
21. White to Swinton, 20 August 1940, KV 4/81, TNA.
22. For Stokes's background and wartime activities see R. Crowcroft, '"What is Happening in Europe?" Richard Stokes, Fascism, and the Anti-War Movement in the British Labour Party During the Second World War and After', *History* 93 (2008): 514–30.
23. Archibald Ramsay to Attorney General, 9 September 1940, KV 4/81, TNA.
24. 'Interrogation of Donovan by Mr Knight at Latchmere House', 25 August 1940, KV 2/1221, TNA.
25. Harker to B2, 8 November 1940, KV 4/81, TNA.
26. Harker to Jennifer Williams (Home Office), 12 March 1941, KV 4/81, TNA.
27. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
28. Liquidation Report, 5 February 1942, KV 2/107, TNA.
29. Ibid.
30. B24b to B13, 26 November 1940, KV 2/1452, TNA.
31. Stephens to White, 25 June 1941, KV 2/13, TNA.
32. Note for file by Milmo, 12 December 1943, KV 2/13, TNA.

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33. There was only one exceptional case where MI5 sought life imprisonment for a detainee instead of the death penalty, and this was in order to please the Free French. In the case of Jean-Charles Pelletier, a Free French agent who double-crossed to the Germans, the French wanted to pursue a capital offence but MI5 did not want Pelletier prosecuted at all; they compromised on a lesser crime for which life imprisonment was a likely sentence.
34. 'Camp 020: Liquidation Report on the Case of Florent Sylvestre Steiner', June 1945, KV 2/1315, TNA.
35. Minute by Stamp, 2 October 1943, KV 2/1936, TNA.
36. Stamp to DB, 18 October 1943, KV 2/1936, TNA.
37. Milmo to Beaumont, 3 September 1942, KV 2/1707, TNA.
38. 'Camp 020 Report dated 4th June 1942', KV 2/1147, TNA.
39. Minute by Milmo, 27 June 1942, KV 2/1147, TNA.
40. 'Camp 020: Report dated 19th July 1943', KV 2/1160, TNA.
41. Draft letter to Maxwell from Petrie, 10 January 1944, KV 2/1160, TNA.
42. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA, p. 30.
43. 'Extract from the Early Life of Lagall', 5 December 1942, KV 2/1455, TNA.
44. Ibid.
45. Milmo to Bonnefous, 6 September 1944, KV 2/1144, TNA.
46. Ibid.
47. See Draft letter to Maxwell from Petrie, 15 December 1943, KV 2/1160, TNA.
48. See S. E. Hilton, *Hitler's Secret War in South America, 1939–1945: German Military Espionage and Allied Counter-Espionage in Brazil* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1999).
49. 'Camp 020: Report dated 14th September 1943', KV 2/2439, TNA.
50. Letter by J. Salamon addressed to Herbert Morrison, 28 August 1943, KV 2/2439, TNA.
51. Maxwell to Petrie, 6 January 1944, KV 2/2439, TNA.
52. Peebles to Haylor, 6 October 1942, KV 2/1931, TNA.
53. Milmo to Smith, 10 December 1942, KV 2/1931, TNA.
54. Minute by Milmo, 4 August 1942, KV 2/1150, TNA.
55. Milmo to ADBI, 10 August 1942, KV 2/1150, TNA.
56. Stephens to Renton, 4 March 1941, KV 4/81, TNA.
57. C. B. Mills to ADB1, 25 October 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
58. For more on ISOS and cooperation between SIS and MI5 see Jeffery, *Secret History of MI6*, 487–91.
59. 'Norway: German Intelligence Activities', 25 July 1941, KV 2/3282, TNA.
60. 'Report on the Interrogation of Helmik Knutsen Wallem, Georg Lunde, Ingard Westerlid Nilsen', 28 July 1941, KV 2/3282, TNA.
61. 'Interrogation of NILSEN by Colonel Stephens. Captain Evans, Lts McKinnall and Pank present', 25 August 1941, KV 2/3282, TNA.
62. Undated note by Milmo, KV 2/3282, TNA.
63. Ibid.
64. Translation of petition by H. Lassudry (translated by Detective Sergeant William Allchin), undated, KV 2/1452, TNA.
65. B8(L) Report by Stephens, 7 September 1940, KV 2/107, TNA.
66. Hinchley-Cooke to Milmo, 17 June 1943, KV 2/1702, TNA.
67. Memorandum by the Swiss Legation, 5 November 1941, KV 2/1702, TNA.
68. 'Doctor Dearden's Report on his Interview with Erichsen at Holloway on 22.12.40', KV 2/19, TNA.

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71. Report by Inspector, REX v Karl Theo Drueke, Baroness Vera Von WEDEL and Werner Heinrich Walti, 18 March 1941, KV 2/1701, TNA.
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73. N. West (ed.), *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Volume I: 1939–1942* (London: Routledge, 2005), diary entry for 7 February 1942.
74. 'Interim Report on the Case of Joaquin BATICON Martinez', 20 June 1943, KV 2/2111, TNA.
75. 'Camp 020 Report dated 23rd January 1943', KV 2/2111, TNA.
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80. 'Camp 020 Report dated 22nd March 1943', KV 2/342, TNA.
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83. 'Supplementary Report on the Case of Nickolay [*sic*] Steen Marinus Hansen', December 1943, KV 2/1936, TNA.
84. 'Camp 020 Report dated 21st November 1943', KV 2/1936, TNA.
85. 'Interrogation of Jonsson by Colonel Stephens on 29.4.42; Time: 16.50–19.30 Hours', KV 2/1147, TNA.
86. Verbatim report of the interrogation of Vera Erichsen by Major Stephens, 1 October 1940, KV 2/14, TNA.
87. A. A. W. Petrie (Banstead Military Hospital) to Methven, 18 December 1943, KV 2/1159, TNA.
88. 'Camp 020 Report dated 14th November, 1943', KV 2/1159, TNA.
89. Milmo to Stephens, 19 June 1944, KV 2/1159, TNA.
90. Loxley to Milmo, 2 February 1944, KV 2/1159, TNA.
91. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
92. Verbatim report of the interrogation of Vera Erichsen by Major Stephens, 1 October 1940, KV 2/14, TNA. Drueke was at that point was still known as De Deeker, his alias.
93. 'Dialogue between VERA ERICHSEN AND DE DEEKER', 1 October 1940, KV 2/14, TNA.
94. 'Camp 020 Report dated 20.5.43', KV 2/295, TNA.
95. 'Interrogation of "Summer" at Latchmere House', 7 September 1940, KV 2/60, TNA.

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96. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
97. 'Summary of Interrogation of Moreira at Camp 020', 14 April 1943, KV 2/2703, TNA.
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101. C. J. Murphy, 'Dramatising Intelligence History on the BBC: The Camp 020 Affair', *Intelligence and National Security* 34 (2019): 688–702.
102. For such an example, see Stephens to Milmo and Robertson, 8 August 1942, KV 2/3414, TNA.
103. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
104. Note by Lt Col Hinchley Cooke, 30 January 1942, KV 2/15, TNA.
105. See P. Day, *The Bedbug: Klop Ustinov, Britain's Most Ingenious Spy* (London: Biteback, 2015), chapter 10.
106. Milmo to Ryde, 23 January 1942, KV 2/15, TNA.
107. Ibid.
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109. 'Source U.35: Re Vera ERIKSON', 11 March 1942, KV 2/15, TNA.
110. 'Extract from a report by SNOW on information received from BORRESEN, dated 19.7.43', KV 2/15, TNA.
111. D. Tremain, *The Beautiful Spy: The Life and Crimes of Vera Eriksen* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2019).
112. Masterman to Robertson, 13 August 1942, KV 2/1152, TNA.
113. 'Report on the Case of Pierre Morel', 19 October 1942, KV 2/1152, TNA.
114. 'Camp 020 Report', undated, KV 2/1454, TNA.
115. Memorandum on MOE and GLAD by CH Harmer, 13 May 1941, KV 2/1068, TNA.
116. 'MUTT and JEFF: SUMMARY OF FURTHER INTERROGATIONS', 20 April 1941, KV 2/1067, TNA.
117. Minutes of Group Conferences of Officers engaged on Security Work in District No. 3 (North East), 20 October 1941, KV 2/1068, TNA.
118. Note by C. H. Harmer, 9 August 1941, KV 2/1067, TNA.
119. C. H. Harmer to Marshall, 28 November 1943, KV 2/1067, TNA.
120. M. Ryder to Major Luke, 13 July 1945, KV 2/1067, TNA.
121. 'Helge John Neal MOE', 26 September 1945, KV 2/1067, TNA.
122. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
123. Ibid.
124. Brooke-Booth to Chenhalls, 7 February 1946, KV 2/295, TNA.
125. See 'Preliminary Report on the Work of Camp 020', Colonel Sampson, July 1945, KV 4/8, TNA.
126. Note by Milmo, 29 May 1942, KV 2/1147, TNA.
127. See N. West, *Churchill's Spy Files: MI5's Top-Secret Wartime Reports* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2018), Appendix 1.
128. Stephens and Hoare, *Camp 020*, p. 7.
129. See for example the story of Josef Jakobs, one of the few executed: G. K. Jakobs, *The Spy in the Tower: The Untold Story of Joseph Jakobs, the Last Person to be Executed in the Tower of London* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2019).

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2 Interrogating Hitler's Spies

1. The reports from Caroli's arrest in September 1940 can be found in KV 2/60, TNA.
2. WM (40) 123, 15 May 1940, Cabinet Office (CAB) 65/7/18, TNA.
3. The literature on pertinent topics is rich. Some key examples on Western Europe, from which most Camp 020 detainees came, include: P. Morgan, *Hitler's Collaborators: Choosing Between Bad and Worse in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); T. C. Imlay and M. Horn, *The Politics of Industrial Collaboration During the Second World War: Ford France, Vichy and Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); R. Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France During the German Occupation* (New York: Picador, 2004); I. Deák, J. T. Gross and T. Judt (eds.), *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and its Aftermath* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); P. Burrin, *France Under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise* (New York: New Press, 1996); S. Hoffmann, 'Collaborationism in France during World War II', *The Journal of Modern History* 40 (1968): 375–95.
4. 'Interrogation of Otto Joost at Latchmere House', 29 October 1940, KV 2/23, TNA.
5. See letter from Meier to his mother, 8 December 1940, KV 2/1699, TNA.
6. Liquidation Report, 5 February 1942, KV 2/107, TNA.
7. 'Liquidation Report on the Case of Artur Viana dos Santos', November 1943, KV 2/1159, TNA.
8. 'Examiner's Report: VAN DEN KIEBOOM Charles Albert', 5 September 1940, KV 2/11, TNA.
9. 'Camp 020 Report on the Case of Cornelius EVERTSEN and the "Josephine" expedition', January 1945, KV 2/546, TNA.
10. 'Personal Particulars' for Josef Martinez, KV 2/546, TNA.
11. See note by B1B on Jezequel, 19 January 1945, KV 2/546, TNA; and Stephens to White, 25 May 1941, KV 2/13, TNA.
12. 'Personal Particulars' for Cornelius EVERTSEN, KV 2/546, TNA.
13. 'Camp 020 Report on the Case of Cornelius EVERTSEN and the "Josephine" expedition', January 1945, KV 2/546, TNA.
14. 'Extract from SIS Report on German Espionage Centres in Norway', 1 April 1941, KV 2/21, TNA.
15. 'Summary of EXAMINATION of Sigwald [*sic*] LUND by Major Stephens', 28 October 1940, KV 2/20, TNA. In some places this is referred to as the 'Scandinavian's Sailors' Home' and in others as the 'Seamen's Mission Home'.
16. Report on Oscar Liehr by Major Sampson, December 1943, KV 2/2113, TNA.
17. 'Camp 020 Report dated 3rd December 1943', KV 2/2113, TNA.
18. 'Interim Report on the Case of Nickolay Steen Marinius HANSEN', November 1943, KV 2/1936, TNA.
19. Report on Vera Erichsen, unsigned and undated but most likely written by Klop Ustinov in February 1942, KV 2/15, TNA.
20. Liquidation Report, 5 February 1942, KV 2/107, TNA.
21. Translation of statement by Helmik Wallem, 24 August 1941, KV 2/3282, TNA.
22. Ibid.
23. 'Camp 020 Report dated 23rd January 1943', KV 2/2111, TNA.
24. 'Interim Report on the Case of Joaquin BATICON Martinez', 20 June 1943, KV 2/2111, TNA.
25. A. F. Plunt to Robin Cecil (Foreign Office), 29 October 1942, KV 2/2703, TNA.
26. 'Camp 020 Report dated 14th November, 1943', KV 2/1159, TNA.

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27. Translation of letter written by Viana dos Santos, 8 November 1943, KV 2/1159, TNA.
28. 'Camp 020 Report dated 14th November, 1943', KV 2/1159, TNA.
29. 'Camp 020 Report dated 1st February, 1942', KV 2/1977, TNA.
30. Milmo to Lee, 1 May 1942, KV 2/1977, TNA.
31. Statement by J. Casabayo, 30 January 1942, KV 2/1977, TNA.
32. 'Report on the Case of Homer Serafimides', 19 March 1943, KV 2/342, TNA.
33. B1B to B1B, 19 November 1941, KV 2/742, TNA.
34. Philby to Hart, 15 April 1942, KV 2/742, TNA.
35. 'Camp 020 Report dated 11th June, 1942', KV 2/743, TNA.
36. 'Interim Report on the Case of Hans von Meiss-Teuffen at Camp 020', 27 June 1942, KV 2/743, TNA.
37. D. C. Orr to Milmo, 5 February 1943, KV 2/744, TNA.
38. Special Branch Report on Meiss Teuffen, 27 February 1943, KV 2/745, TNA.
39. See Hans von Meiss-Teuffen, *Winds of Adventure* (London: Museum Press Limited, 1953), chapter XIX.
40. Minute by Ian Roy, 14 August 1945, KV 2/746, TNA.
41. 'Single Handed Sailing Feat', *The Times*, 7 April 1946, KV 2/746, TNA.
42. 'Camp 020 Report dated 24th July 1943', KV 2/2460, TNA.
43. 'Report on the Case of Claude Poisson', November 1943, KV 2/949, TNA.
44. Ibid.
45. See Minute 112 dated 15 March 1950 in KV 2/2736, TNA.
46. Unsigned SIS note, 21 July 1943, KV 2/295, TNA.
47. Report by J. Mair, 15 June 1943, KV 2/295, TNA; 'Summary of Interrogation of Mme. HUYSMANS in Holloway Prison', 3 June 1943, KV 2/295, TNA.
48. Milmo to Brooke-Booth, 4 June 1945, KV 2/295, TNA.
49. 'Interrogation of "Summer" at Latchmere House', 7 September 1940, KV 2/60, TNA.
50. Note by Dick White, 14 January 1941, KV 2/60, TNA.
51. 'Camp 020 Report on the Case of Cornelius EVERTSEN and the "Josephine" expedition', January 1945, KV 2/546, TNA.
52. H. L. A. Hart to Major Coles, 16 August 1943, KV 2/2633, TNA.
53. Note by Milmo, 26 August 1943, KV 2/2633, TNA.
54. 'Camp 020 Report dated 17th October 1943', KV 2/2634, TNA.
55. 'Camp 020 Report dated 23 July 1943', KV 2/1164, TNA.
56. 'Interim Report: The Case of Eugene van Ackere at Camp 020', 21 June 1942, KV 2/1707, TNA.
57. Major Wethered to Milmo, 9 August 1942, KV 2/1164, TNA.
58. Note to Milmo (unknown sender but a representative of the Norwegian Authorities), 17 August 1943, KV 2/1164, TNA.
59. Milmo to Newsam, 1 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
60. 'Statement of Charles Olivier Boyd', 4 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
61. Note by Masterman, 30 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
62. Note by Reed, 16 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
63. Memorandum by Milmo, 5 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
64. Statement by Boyd in Camp 020, 11 January 1943, KV 2/1156, TNA.
65. Note by Masterman, 30 December 1942, KV 2/1156, TNA.
66. 'Camp 020: Report dated 9th March 1943', KV 2/1156, TNA.
67. Deputy Governor (for Governor) of HM Prison, Dartmoor to Milmo, 11 May 1943, KV 2/1156, TNA.
68. Extract from letter from Deputy Governor Dartmoor Prison, 18 February 1944, KV 2/1157, TNA.

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69. British Military Attache, Stockholm to War Office, 19 September 1941, KV 2/1929, TNA.
70. Stephens to Dick White, 25 November 1941, KV 2/1929, TNA.
71. 'RVPS report on EIGIL DAG ROBR – Alias EIGIL ROBR HALVORSEN', 26 October 1941, KV 2/1929, TNA.
72. 'BL Report dated 10th March 1942', KV 2/1929, TNA.
73. L. L. Langer, *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1982).
74. Extract from USFET CI re-interrogation report No. 5 on Walter Sensburg, dated 25 March 1946, KV 2/1163, TNA.
75. 'Extract from: – GSI(b) Force HQ Palestine, Transjordan & Syria. 1st to 31st October, 1941', KV 2/1163, TNA.
76. See also Gibbs to Cowgill, 29 April 1942, KV 2/1163, TNA.
77. 'Camp 020 Report dated 18th August 1943', KV 2/2846, TNA.
78. Report by Milmo, 15 May 1943, KV 2/2846, TNA.
79. 'Camp 020: Report dated 14th April 1943', KV 2/1713, TNA.
80. Milmo to Lee, 1 March 1943, KV 2/1712, TNA.
81. 'Summary of Interrogation of Rot at Camp 020 by Major Sampson, 12 March 1943', KV 2/1713, TNA.
82. Note on Harlequin's views on Mirko Rot, 14 March 1943, KV 2/1712, TNA.
83. 'Camp 020 Report on Mirko ROT by Major Sampson', 14 April 1943, KV 2/1713, TNA.
84. Note by D. L. Haldane Porter, 5 May 1943, KV 2/1713, TNA.
85. 'Gibraltar Security Police report on WEXLER, Emmanuell [*sic*], dated 19th February, 1941', KV 2/3275, TNA.
86. Minute by Milmo, 8 September 1944, KV 2/3276, TNA.
87. C. B. Mills for T. A. Robertson to Pilcher, 11 September 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
88. Extract from 'Report on Ejsymont', 29 August 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
89. C. B. Mills to ADB1, 25 October 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
90. C. B. Mills for T. A. Robertson to Pilcher, 11 September 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
91. T. A. Robertson to Derbyshire (E2A), 3 December 1941, KV 2/1146, TNA.
92. N. West (ed.), *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Volume II: 1942–1945* (London: Routledge, 2009), diary entry for 19 January 1943.
93. Letter by Sukiennik to the Home Secretary, 28 October 1942, KV 2/1146, TNA.
94. Stephens to ADB1, 10 July 1942, KV 2/1146, TNA.
95. 'Camp 020 Report dated 17th October 1943', KV 2/2634, TNA.
96. Duff Cooper to Lord Brabazon, 12 November 1942, KV 2/744, TNA.
97. Stephens and Hoare, *Camp 020*, p. 107.
98. Statement by J. C. Erasmus, 18 October 1942, KV 2/1931, TNA.
99. Ibid.
100. Milmo to Lee, 30 January 1943, KV 2/1931, TNA.

3 Improvised Success

1. J. Leasor and K. Burt, *The One That Got Away* (London: James Leasor Publishing, 2015). F. Wentzel, *Single or Return? The Story of a German P.O.W. in British Camps and the Escape of Lieutenant Franz von Werra* (London: William Kimber, 1954).
2. For a discussion on this, see Neitzel, *Tapping Hitler's Generals*, pp. 25–26.
3. According to an intelligence officer: Sullivan, *Thresholds of Peace*, p. 52.

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4. An important exception is academic work by Falko Bell that is much more comprehensive in how it approaches CSDIC, but which is currently not available in English: Bell, *Britische Feindaufklärung im Zweiten Weltkrieg*.
5. See SRA288, SRA289, SRA890 in WO 208/4118, TNA.
6. Jeffery, *Secret History of MI6*, pp. 202–03.
7. C. Baxter, 'The Secret Intelligence Service, Passport Control and Jewish Refugees from the Third Reich, 1938–1939', *English Historical Review* 139 (2024): 455–84.
8. West (ed.), *The Guy Liddell Diaries, Volume 1*.
9. Bell, 'One of Our Most Valuable Sources of Intelligence'.
10. 'Combined Services Interrogation Bureau – Army Section', AG.1.a, 28 May 1940, WO 208/5628, TNA; DMO&I to DSD, 30 August 1939, WO 208/3458, TNA; see also 'Co-Ordination Arrangements for the Interrogation of P/W', undated but possibly June/July 1939, WO 208/3458, TNA.
11. See Fedorowich, 'Axis Prisoners of War'.
12. War Diaries MI9, 27 February 1940, WO 165/39, TNA.
13. This was a comment made in 1940 about conditions in 1939: Kendrick to Rawlinson, 15 January 1940, WO 208/3458, TNA.
14. 'Wednesday, October the 4th' (unsigned report), WO 208/4141, TNA.
15. SRA8, 24 December 1939, WO 208/4117, TNA. SR is an abbreviation of Special Reports, and the next initial indicates whether the prisoner was of the Air (A), Army (M) or Navy (N). In cases where the prisoners were from different services, the initial was X.
16. DMI War Diary, WO 208/5568, TNA; Minute by Perceval to MI1a, 2 September 1939, WO 208/3458, TNA.
17. Perceval (MI1) to Kendrick (CSDIC), 20 October 1939, WO 208/3457, TNA.
18. Herbert J. O. Barton (RCA Company Director) to Kendrick, 14 February 1940, WO 208/3457, TNA.
19. 'Report Foxhound' and 'Faulknor', 19 September 1939, WO 94/105, TNA.
20. A. Mitellas, *A Concise History of Trent Country Park*, version 3 (London: Friends of Trent Country Park, revised June 2015), available at https://friendsoftrentcountrypark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/History_of_Trent_Country_Park_version_3___Revised_June_2015.pdf (accessed July 2025).
21. 'Joint Proposal by MI1 and MI9 Regarding Re-Organisation of Duties in Connection with Prisoners of War and Internees' to DMI, 20 March 1940 in 'The Story of MI19', Appendix A, WO 208/4970, TNA.
22. 'Conduct of Work, MI9', 20 March 1940 in 'The Story of MI19', Appendix A, WO 208/4970, TNA.
23. M. R. D. Foot, J. M. Langley and G. Templer, *MI9: Escape and Evasion 1939–1945* (London: Bodley Head, 1979), p. 34.
24. 'The Story of MI19', p. 3, WO 208/4970, TNA.
25. 'Minutes of Meeting held in the War Office, 21 February 1940: Intelligence Combined Services and [Prisoner of War Information Bureau]', WO 208/3458, TNA.
26. Scotland, *The London Cage*, p. 67.
27. Ibid., p. 68.
28. See relevant correspondence in WO 208/3524. For medical matters, discipline and so on, CSDIC was part of London District, but was never to be inspected as other district establishments.
29. See monthly entries in the War Diaries of MI19, WO 165/41, TNA.
30. 'CSDIC and PWIS – General Policy', unsigned and undated (possibly by Rawlinson in mid-1943), WO 208/3458, TNA.

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31. War Diaries MI19, July 1944, WO 165/41, TNA.
32. War Diaries MI19, September 1944, WO 165/41, TNA.
33. 'The Army Interrogation Section (Operational)', WO 208/4970, TNA.
34. IRM78, 25 June 1940, WO 208/4195, TNA.
35. Ibid.
36. Subject Interrogation Report (SIR) 324, 11 June 1944, WO 208/3590, TNA.
37. SIR506, 3 July 1944, WO 208/3592, TNA.
38. SIR571, 14 July 1944, WO 208/3593, TNA.
39. SIR546, 11 July 1944, WO 208/3593, TNA.
40. SIR1165, 2 October 1944, WO 208/3605, TNA.
41. SIR615, 21 July 1944, WO 208/3594, TNA.
42. See examples in SIR432, 24 June 1944, WO 208/3591; SIR628, 25 July 1944; WO 208/3594; SIR973, 25 August 1944, WO 208/3601, TNA.
43. This includes Austrians. Even if they were excluded, the percentage would be 13 per cent. And even if no other foreigner was in CSDIC in 1944 and 1945, barring those in SIRs, the share in the camp as a whole would still be higher than in the Wehrmacht.
44. SIR764, 14 August 1944, WO 208/3596, TNA.
45. SIR977, 22 September 1944, WO 208/3601, TNA.
46. SIR1027, 4 October 1944, WO 208/3602, TNA.
47. SIR396, 17 June 1944, WO 208/3591, TNA.
48. SIR507, 8 July 1944, WO 208/3592, TNA.
49. SIR1374, 25 January 1945, WO 208/3610, TNA.
50. SIR1682, 27 May 1945, WO 208/3617, TNA.
51. SIR1707, 18 July 1945, WO 208/3619, TNA.
52. SIR539, 10 July 1944, WO 208/3593, TNA.
53. SIR292, 3 June 1944, WO 208/3590, TNA.
54. SIR426, 22 June 1944, WO 208/3591, TNA.
55. SIR793, 17 August 1944, WO 208/3597, TNA.
56. SIR732, 12 August 1944, WO 208/3596, TNA.
57. R.-D. Müller and J. W. Ancker, *Hitler's Wehrmacht, 1935–1945* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2016), p. 30.
58. SIR1356, 26 December 1944, WO 208/3609, TNA.
59. SIR1580, 29 March 1945, WO 208/3615, TNA.
60. SIR1519, 9 March 1945, WO 208/3614, TNA.
61. SIR411, 23 June 1944, WO 208/3591, TNA.
62. SIR1382, 12 January 1945, WO 208/3610, TNA.
63. SIR872, 8 August 1944, WO 208/3598, TNA.
64. SIR811, 19 August 1944, WO 208/3597, TNA.
65. SIR542, 12 July 1944, WO 208/3593, TNA.
66. 'Intelligence from Interrogation', S. D. Felkin, 31 December 1945, Air Ministry (AIR) 40/1177, TNA.
67. Memorandum for C-in-C, Mediterranean, POW Centre, Cairo, 15 July 1940, WO 208/3453, TNA.
68. SRA405, August 1940, WO 208/4118, TNA.
69. SRM208, 25 June 1943, WO 208/4136, TNA.
70. 'The Story of MI19', Appendix E, WO 208/4970, TNA.
71. 'The German Prisoners of War Interrogation Section in N.I.D. During the 1939–45 War', May 1947, p. 5, the Admiralty (ADM) 223/475, TNA.
72. This is from correspondence between CSDIC's Colonel Gordona and Lieutenant Colonel Barker for a book the latter was writing: Barker, *Prisoners of War*, 67.
73. Minute by Rawlinson to PW1, 5 June 1941, WO 208/3443, TNA.

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74. 'Suggested Transfer of Special Camp for Anti-Nazi PS/W from No.1 Camp to No.7 P/W Camp', VCIGS to QMC (through AG), April 1944, WO 208/3527, TNA.
75. 'Training of Selected German POW for Psychological Warfare and Civil Affairs Purposes' by the Psychological Warfare Division to SHAEF, May 1944, WO 219/1841; also in WO 219/2299, TNA.
76. 'SP Control and P/W Welfare Section', Appendix I, WO 208/4970, TNA.
77. 'The German Prisoners of War Interrogation Section in NID during the 1939–45 War', by C. Mitchell, May 1947, pp. 4–5, ADM 223/475, TNA.
78. 'The History of CSDIC(UK)', WO 208/4970, TNA. This document mentions that forty-nine individuals were used as stool pigeons, although I have identified more. This figure might refer to the prisoner identification numbers that were put aside for decoys. For example, identification number 'N1878' was used by at least seven individuals acting as stool pigeons in 1944 alone.
79. 'CSDIC(UK): Survey covering period 3rd September 1939 to 31st December 1940', WO 208/4970, TNA. See also 'Intelligence from Interrogation', S. D. Felkin, 31 December 1945, AIR 40/1177, TNA.
80. MI9 War Diary, 13 February 1941, WO 165/39; Robert Haining (VCIGS) to Major General Davidson (DMI), 16 February 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA provides Haining's response to the survey.
81. From A. R. Boyle (Air Commodore) to Davidson (DMI), 19 February 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
82. Minute 4, From Stawell (DDMI(O)) for DMI to VCIGS, 17 January 1941, WO 208/3514, TNA. His reference to the Political Intelligence Department probably refers to the clandestine Political Warfare Executive, with the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office having been its cover name: D. Garnett, *The Secret History of PWE: The Political Warfare Executive, 1939–1945* (London: St Ermin's Press, 2002), p. 81.
83. Rear Admiral G. H. Godfrey (DNI) to Davidson (DMI), 11 February 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
84. Minute 4, From Stawell (DDMI(O)) for DMI to VCIGS, 17 January 1941, WO 208/3514, TNA.
85. War Diaries MI9, July 1941, WO 165/39, TNA
86. War Diaries MI19, August 1943, WO 165/41, TNA.
87. C. H. Brooks to Valentine Williams, 30 June 1941, WO 208/3442, TNA.
88. War Diary, AMD11, entry for 4 August 1942, WO 165/129, TNA.
89. War Diary, AMD11, entry for 21 August 1942, WO 165/129, TNA.
90. War Diaries MI19, January 1943, WO 165/41, TNA.
91. 'Accommodation for CSDIC UK: History', WO 208/3456, TNA.
92. Boyle to Davidson, 19 December 1940, WO 208/3514, TNA.
93. Godfrey to Davidson, 7 January 1941, WO 208/3514, TNA.
94. 'Accommodation for the CSDIC UK: Memorandum by Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee', 7 May 1941, WO 208/3456, TNA.
95. 'The History of C.S.D.I.C. (U.K)', WO 208/4970, TNA.
96. See Neitzel, *Tapping Hitler's Generals*.
97. SRM160, 4 February 1943, WO 208/4136, TNA.
98. SRM175, 14 February 1943, WO 208/4136, TNA.
99. Report on the German Senior Officer P/W at no. 11 Camp for the Month of June 1943, CSDIC(UK), 15 July 1943, WO 208/3433, TNA.
100. Minute from Rawlinson to Crockatt, 23 July 1943, WO 208/3438, TNA.
101. Minute from Winston Churchill to Gepp (DPW), 11 June 1943, WO 208/3438, TNA.
102. Note from Crockatt 'Notes on the Extraction of Information of Ps/W', 24 June 1943, WO 208/3438, TNA.

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103. From Desmond Merton to V. F. W. Cavendish-Bentinck (Foreign Office (FO)), 6 March 1944, WO 208/3438, TNA.
104. War Diaries MI19, May 1944, WO 165/41, TNA.
105. See also Neitzel, *Tapping Hitler's Generals*.
106. H. Hinsley, *The Intelligence Revolution: A Historical Perspective* (Colorado Springs, CO: US Air Force Academy, 1988), pp. 9–10; F. H. Hinsley, 'British Intelligence in the Second World War: An Overview', *Cryptologia* 14 (January 1990): 1–10.
107. See for example 'W/1931/203/A/1: Prisoners of War No. 10 Camp – Great Britain', undated, WO 208/5628, TNA.
108. 'The Story of MI19', Appendix F, WO 208/4970, TNA.
109. P. Leighton-Langer, *The King's Own Loyal Enemy Aliens: German and Austrian Refugees in Britain's Armed Forces, 1939–45* (London/Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), p. 260.
110. 'Home Office Memorandum Ref. I/Gen.23/2', 19 February 1941, HO 213/1742, TNA.
111. SIR1647, 29 March 1945, WO 208/3617, TNA.
112. See for example 'The German Prisoners of War Interrogation Section in NID during the 1939–45 War', C. Mitchell, May 1947, ADM 223/475, TNA, pp. 10–11.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid. Similar sentiments were echoed by the Air Ministry: 'Intelligence from Interrogation', S. D. Felkin, 31 December 1945, AIR 40/1177, TNA.
115. 'The German Prisoners of War Interrogation Section in NID during the 1939–45 War', C. Mitchell, May 1947, ADM 223/475, TNA.
116. John Kirkman (HQ, Home Forces) to Crockatt (MI9) 9 November 1940, WO 208/3513, TNA; Minutes 'London District Cage – Status and Functions', October 1941, WO 208/5615, TNA.
117. 'The German Prisoners of War Interrogation Section in NID during the 1939–45 War', C. Mitchell, May 1947, ADM 223/475, TNA.
118. 'History of London and Washington Branches of Military Intelligence Research Section, 1943–1945', British Army Staff, Washington DC, 1 November 1945, WO 208/3237, TNA.
119. War Diaries MI19, April 1943, WO 165/41, TNA.
120. War Diaries MI19, March 1943, WO 165/41, TNA.
121. Director of Naval Intelligence to Assistant Chief of Staff (Intelligence), 28 March 1945, CAB 176/5, TNA.
122. See War Office to AFHQ Algiers, 17 April 1943, WO 208/3461, TNA. This point was raised in discussions for a new CSDIC on the Continent but it can be inferred, both from this and other discussions, that the UK organisation was strictly British, with some US cooperation.
123. Minute by Godfrey (DNI), 16 December 1939, ADM 1/26868, TNA.
124. Material is in TNA, FO 660/178; HS 9/455/5; FO 371/41908–9; and FO 954/9A, TNA.
125. Extract from letter from Capt. Stampe (MI9 Interrogation Officer, Scottish Command) to Major Scotland (PWIS(H)), 14 July 1941, WO 208/3515, TNA.
126. Ted Kelly (HQ Eastern Command) to Captain D. Morley (GHQ I(x) Home Forces), 13 December 1941, WO 208/3515, TNA.
127. 'The Story of MI19', Appendix E, WO 208/4970, TNA.
128. 'Reasons for the Increases and Decreases in the Proposed Amended WE for CSDIC(UK)', undated, WO 208/3541, TNA. 'Apportionment of Suggested Revised Personnel W.E. (Intelligence Personnel)', WO 208/3543, TNA.
129. 'The History of CSDIC(UK)', WO 208/4970, TNA.
130. 'Bill Barazetti', *Times*, 9 October 2000, p. 21, *The Times Digital Archive*.

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131. See Josef Lampersberger's file in KV 2/2690, TNA.
132. D. G. White (MI5) to Rawlinson, 17 March 1941, KV 2/3767, TNA.
133. 'Intelligence from Interrogation', S. D. Felkin, 31 December 1945, AIR 40/1177, TNA.
134. War Establishments Investigation Committee (W), 'Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre and Inter-Service Distribution Centres', 12 November 1941, WO 208/3542, TNA.
135. War Diaries MI9, 30 January 1940, WO 165/39, TNA.
136. For the history of MI9 see Foot, Langley and Templer, *MI9: Escape and Evasion*.
137. 'Memorandum on MI9 War Establishment' by Davidson (DMI) for JIC(41) 425(0), 31 October 1941, CAB 121/304, TNA.
138. Similarly, in July 1943 the Air component of CSDIC was upgraded to the level of Assistant Directorate of the Air Ministry; 'Intelligence from Interrogation', S. D. Felkin, 31 December 1945, AIR 40/1177, TNA.
139. War Diaries MI19, November 1945, WO 165/41, TNA.
140. See Lampersberger's file in KV 2/2690, TNA.

4 Interrogating the Wehrmacht

1. Special SR1, 6 April 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
2. Römer, *Comrades: The Wehrmacht from Within*.
3. GRS (General Report Statistical) 6(a), 19 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
4. Neitzel and Welzer, *Soldaten*. See also Welzer, Neitzel and Gudehus, '*Der Führer war wieder viel zu human*'; Neitzel, *Tapping Hitler's Generals*.
5. This is because the generals in Trent Park were not subject to direct interrogation or other direct methods. See Chapter 1.
6. The combined number of Subject Interrogation Reports and Interrogation Reports, both produced by CSDIC's Army's Section, is 2,200.
7. The amount of information produced about individuals from these different types of material also led to a 'Directory of Public Personalities in German Life' being prepared by CSDIC, spanning twenty-four volumes with biographical and often contact information for Germans in various industries.
8. 'CSDIC(UK): Survey', 22 January 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
9. 'CSDIC(UK) Half-Yearly Survey, 1st January, 1941–30th June, 1941' from Thomas Kendrick to GSOII and MI9(a), 21 July 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
10. Crockatt to DMI, 7 March 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
11. Felkin to Boyle [Director of Air Intelligence], 12 November 1940, AIR 2/5238, as cited in Bell, *Britische Feindaufklärung im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, p. 181.
12. Hinsley et al., *British Intelligence*, vol. 1, pp. 531–35.
13. Ibid.; also Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, pp. 47–48.
14. Minute 4, From Stawell (DDMI(O)) for DMI to VCIGS, 17 January 1941, WO 208/3514, TNA.
15. 'CSDIC(UK) Half-Yearly Survey, 1st January, 1941–30th June, 1941' from Thomas Kendrick to GSOII and MI9(a), 21 July 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
16. 'The History of CSDIC', Appendix K, WO 208/4970, TNA.
17. Interrogation Reports Military (IRM) 16, 20 May 1940, WO 208/4195, TNA.
18. SRM1, 27 May 1940, WO 208/4136, TNA.
19. War Diaries MI19, December 1943, WO 165/41, TNA.
20. Percentages given throughout this section are based on a survey of these reports carried out for this chapter.

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21. 'The History of CSDIC', Appendix K, WO 208/4970, TNA.
22. Ibid.
23. C. Andrew, 'Churchill and Intelligence', *Intelligence and National Security* 3 (1988): 181–93. See also R. J. Aldrich and R. Cormac, 'From Circumspection to Centrality: Prime Ministers and the Growth of Analysis, Co-ordination, Management in the UK Intelligence Community', *Journal of Intelligence History* 20 (2021): 7–24.
24. 'The History of CSDIC', WO 208/4970, TNA.
25. Minute Sheet by Crockatt (MI9), 25 July 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
26. SRA565, 20 September 1940, WO 208/4119, TNA.
27. From Robert Haining (VCIGS) to Davidson (DMI), 16 February 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
28. CSDIC(UK), 'Morale of the German Armed Forces: Report Covering Period October, 1939, to 31st December, 1940' by Lt Col Thomas Kendrick, undated (possibly spring 1941), WO 208/3455, TNA.
29. Minute from FHN Davidson (DMI) to RH Haining (VCIGS), undated (though February 1941), WO 208/4970, TNA.
30. Minutes of the 1st meeting of the Consultative Committee, Department for Publicity in Enemy Countries (To be kept under lock and key), 21 November 1939, WO 208/3450, TNA.
31. Committee of Imperial Defence, Standing Sub-Committee to Prepare Plans for the Establishment of a Ministry of Information, 'Information in Enemy Countries' Memorandum by Sir Stephen Tallents, Director-General Designate, Ministry of Information, 7 November 1938, FO 898/1, TNA.
32. Report by Sir Campbell Stuart on Sources of Information and Intelligence, 18 February 1940, FO 1093/133; Report by C. H. Brooks on talks with prisoners of war (London Area) between September 16th and 19th, 1940, FO 898/320, TNA.
33. 'The Department of Propaganda in Enemy Countries', unsigned and undated (but possibly March 1940), FO 1093/133, TNA.
34. Emery Reves to Winston Churchill, 18 October 1940, FO 898/3, TNA.
35. Memorandum by Mr F. A. Voigt, undated (but written in May 1940), TNA.
36. From Duff Cooper (Minister of Information) to Sir Campbell Stuart, 26 July 1940, FO 1093/133, TNA.
37. Report on 'Methods in Research into German Morale and Propaganda' by M. G. Balfour, 12 August 1942, FO 898/35, TNA.
38. Norman Crockatt's job title was Deputy Director of Military Intelligence (prisoners of war) (DDMI(P/W)).
39. Crockatt to Brigadier Brookes (PID), 2 January 1941, FO 898/321, TNA.
40. Brigadier Brookes to Lt Col Crockatt, 7 January 1941, FO 898/321, TNA.
41. 'CSDIC(UK): Six-Monthly Survey', 19 January 1942, WO 208/4970, TNA.
42. 'CSDIC(UK): Half-Yearly Survey', 21 July 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
43. See the relevant sections in the GRXs in WO 208/4180, TNA
44. Ibid.
45. GRX 9, December 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
46. GRX 16, reporting on surveys from July 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
47. GRX 19, reporting on surveys from October 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
48. GRX 21, reporting on surveys from December 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
49. GRX 17, reporting on surveys from August 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
50. GRX 19, reporting on surveys from October 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
51. GRX 20, reporting on surveys from November 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
52. GRX 2, 9 June 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.

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53. GRX 22, reporting on surveys from January 1943, WO 208/4180, TNA.
54. SRA2947, 10 August 1942, WO 208/4127, TNA.
55. GRX 16, reporting on surveys from July 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
56. GRX 21, reporting on surveys from December 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
57. GRX 3, 16 August 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
58. 'CSDIC(UK): Half-Yearly Survey', 21 July 1941, WO 208/3455, TNA.
59. SRM171, 7 February 1943, WO 208/4136, TNA.
60. SRM202, 20 June 1943, WO 208/4136, TNA.
61. On the 'bond' between Hitler and the German public see: Michael H. Kater, 'Hitler in a Social Context', *Central European History* 14 (September 1981): 243–72.
62. GRS6(a), 19 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
63. O. Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 106–22; I. Kershaw, 'Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism', *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2004): 239–54; I. Kershaw, '"Working towards the Führer." Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship', *Contemporary European History* 2 (1993): 103–18; M. R. Lepsius, 'The Model of Charismatic Leadership and its Applicability to the Rule of Adolf Hitler', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 7 (2006): 175–90.
64. GRX 17, reporting on surveys from August 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
65. GRS6(a), 19 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
66. GRX 5, 7 September 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
67. SRA1131, January 1941, WO 208/4122, TNA.
68. GRX 6, 9 October 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
69. 'CSDIC(UK): Six-Monthly Survey', 19 January 1942, WO 208/4970, TNA.
70. GRX 22, undated (but reporting on surveys from January 1943), WO 208/4180, TNA.
71. GRS6, 8 May 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
72. GRX 16, undated (but reporting on surveys from July 1942), WO 208/4180, TNA.
73. GRX 23, 6 March 1943, WO 208/4180, TNA.
74. GRX 6, 9 October 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
75. GRX 7, 11 November 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
76. Ibid.
77. GRS6(a), 19 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
78. GRX 7, 11 November 1941, WO 208/4180, TNA.
79. GRS11, 27 May 1944, WO 208/5522, TNA.
80. GRS6(a), 19 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
81. War Diary, AMD 11, 12 February 1943, WO 165/129, TNA.
82. See 'Story report Psychological Warfare (draft by Hollander; 10 October 1944)', WO 219/4751, TNA.
83. Bowen (PID) to Minister of Information, 12 September 1945, CAB 103/236, TNA.
84. 'A Psychological Basis for Anti-Nazi Propaganda', 16 December 1939, FO 898/3, TNA.
85. Gurfein and Janowitz, 'Trends in Wehrmacht Morale'; Shils and Janowitz, 'Cohesion and Disintegration'; Levy, 'Anti-Nazis: Criteria of Differentiation'; D. Pick, '"In Pursuit of the Nazi Mind?" The Deployment of Psychoanalysis in the Allied Struggle Against Germany', *Psychoanalysis and History* 11 (2009): 137–57; D. Pick, *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess, and the Analysts* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); M. Ffytche and D. Pick (eds.), *Psychoanalysis in the Age of Totalitarianism* (London: Routledge, 2016); K. R. Graham, 'Germany on the Couch: Psychology and the Development of British Subversive Propaganda to Nazi Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History* 54 (2019): 487–507.

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86. 'The History of CSDIC', WO 208/4970, TNA.
87. GRS6, 8 May 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
88. GRS6, 8 May 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA. Many in Germany in 1933 saw Hitler's coming to power in positive terms, especially for its potential to strengthen social unity: G. Bolitho, 'Hitlerism: Two Neglected Aspects', *The English Review, 1908–1937* (March 1934), 323–29.
89. GRS6, 8 May 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
90. GRS7, 23 June 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
91. GRS8, 17 September 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
92. GRS9, 14 December 1943, WO 208/5522, TNA.
93. GRS10, 24 February 1944, WO 208/5522, TNA.
94. Ibid.
95. In 1933 it was thought that the middle classes, viewed as supportive of National Socialism, could shift 'into mere passive supporters of the reigning order of society', if and when the regime did not improve their personal position; according to CSDIC's surveys, this predicted shift from support to apathy seems to have happened. H. D. Lasswell, 'The Psychology of Hitlerism', *The Political Quarterly* 4 (1933): 373–84.
96. GRS10, 24 February 1944, WO 208/5522, TNA.
97. Ibid.
98. GRS11, 27 May 1944, WO 208/5522, TNA.
99. Ibid.
100. GRX 16, undated (but reporting on surveys from July 1942), WO 208/4180, TNA.
101. SRA713, 9 October 1940, WO 208/4120, TNA.
102. H. L. Ansbacher, 'Attitudes of German Prisoners of War: A Study of the Dynamics of National-Socialistic Followership', *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied* 62 (1948): i–42.
103. Ibid., pp. 38–39.
104. Artemis Photiadou, 'The ABCs of Nazism: The Political Screening and Classification of German Prisoners of War in Britain in the Aftermath of the Second World War', *The English Historical Review* 141 (2026): 207–233; J. Reinisch, *The Perils of Peace: The Public Health Crisis in Occupied Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 155–59 and 168–73.
105. SRA753, 17 October 1940, WO 208/4120, TNA.
106. SRA2389, 15 December 1941, WO 208/4126, TNA.
107. SRA1908, 26 June 1941, WO 208/2124, TNA.
108. See: C. R. Browning, 'The Nazi Decision to Commit Mass Murder: Three Interpretations: The Euphoria of Victory and the Final Solution: Summer–Fall 1941', *German Studies Review* 17 (1994): 473–81; R. Breitman, 'Plans for the Final Solution in Early 1941', *German Studies Review* 17 (1994): 483–93; I. Kershaw, 'Improvised Genocide? The emergence of the "Final Solution" in the "Warthegau"', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1992): 51–78.
109. See SRA818, 25 October 1940, WO 208/4120, TNA.
110. SRA1259, 8 February 1941, WO 208/4123 TNA.
111. SRA2329, 28 November 1941, WO 208/4125, TNA.
112. SRN1075, 14 September 1942, WO 208/4144, TNA.
113. SRA1017, 12 December 1940, WO 208/4122, TNA.
114. GRX 18, September 1942, WO 208/4180, TNA.
115. SRA2670, 20 June 1942, WO 208/4126, TNA.
116. SRA3138, 13 September 1942, WO 208/4128, TNA.
117. SRA2423, 6 January 1942, WO 208/4126, TNA.

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118. SRA1227, 31 January 1941, WO 208/4123, TNA.
119. SRA1292, 15 February 1941, WO 208/4123, TNA.
120. SRA3182, 18 September 1942, WO 208/4128, TNA.
121. SRA1198, 15 January 1941, WO 208/4123, TNA.
122. SRA2678, 19 June 1942, WO 208/4126, TNA.
123. SRA895, 4 November 1940, 208/4121, TNA.
124. SRA1401, 5 March 1941, WO 208/4123, TNA.
125. SRA927, 11 November 1940, WO 208/4121, TNA.
126. SRA2734, 7 July 1942, WO 208/4127, TNA.
127. SRA2957, 9 August 1942, WO 208/4127, TNA.
128. SRA2618, 11 June 1942, WO 208/4126, TNA.
129. SRA2672, 19 June 1942, WO 208/4126, TNA.
130. See for example: B. Wasserstein, *Britain and the Jews of Europe, 1939–1945* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); T. Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994); L. London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–1948: British Immigration Policy, Jewish Refugees, and the Holocaust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Fleming, *Auschwitz, the Allies and Censorship*; Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*; Hamerow, *Why We Watched*; D. Stone, *The Holocaust: An Unfinished History* (London: Pelican Books, 2023).
131. SIR931, 9 September 1944, WO 208/3600, TNA.
132. See WO 208/4174, TNA.
133. Paper 78, 11 April 1945, WO 208/4174, TNA.
134. War Diaries MI19, March 1944, WO 165/41, TNA.
135. Extract from JIC (45) 53rd Meeting (O), 8 August 1945, 'Release of captured German documents to the press and others', HW 14/133, TNA.
136. Annex, JIC Paper 1085/45 dated 2.8.45, CAB 176/7, TNA.
137. Minutes, MI9/19 to AG3 (VW), 16 November 1945, WO 311/632, TNA.
138. See SIRs 1154, 1214, 1285 in WO 208/3605, WO 208/3606, and WO 208/3607 respectively, TNA.
139. Major Terry (WCIU) to Halse (JAG's Office), 21 November 1945, WO 208/4660, TNA.
140. 'The Intelligence Machine: Report to the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee', 10 January 1945, CAB 163/6, TNA.

5 Caged Justice

1. Affidavit of Civilian Heinz Kuckelsberg-Alexander, prisoner of war at London District Cage, 9 December 1945, WO 208/4298, TNA.
2. In secondary literature this WCIU is almost always mistaken for the War Crimes *Investigation* Unit, which was the British team doing the same work as WCIU in Germany. The two were nevertheless separate and in fact there was an explicit direction not to abbreviate the organisation in Germany, to avoid mistaking it with the UK's WCIU: 'War Crimes Investigation Unit BAOR – Instructions for hand-over', March 1946, WO 309/372, TNA. The reason for this confusion may be the fact that secondary literature relies heavily on Alexander Scotland's account of WCIU. In the unpublished version of his memoirs (WO 208/5381, TNA), he refers to WCIU as the War Crimes Interrogation Unit. In the published version, however, this is incorrectly changed (unknown if deliberately) to War Crimes Investigation Unit.

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3. The number is approximate because there were two ways to bring charges, either through the United Nations War Crimes Commission or independently. The number used here is based on data kept by the Commission, and so does not include those tried independently. The USSR was not a member of the Commission hence its own charges are not included in this data.
4. See J. Silverman and R. Sherwood, *Safe Haven: The United Kingdom's Investigations into Nazi Collaborators and the Failure of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023); K. von Lingen and M. Salter, 'Contrasting Strategies within the War Crimes Trials of Kesselring and Wolff', *Liverpool Law Review* 26 (2005): 225–66; J. Jackson and R. Winch, 'The Complexity of Investigating War Crimes', *Journal of Global Faultlines* 8 (2021): 209–18.
5. 'The Emsland Case', WCIU/LDC/1200, 1 October 1946, WO 208/4297, TNA.
6. 'Comprehensive report on "Operation Emsland"' by Major T. X. H. Pantcheff (WCIU), 12 April 1947, WO 208/4299, TNA.
7. On the topic of influencing public opinion in Germany, see R. Bessel, *Germany 1945: From War to Peace* (London, New York, Sydney, Toronto: Simon & Schuster, 2009); K. H. Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945–1995* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); C. Knowles, *Winning the Peace: The British in Occupied Germany, 1945–1948* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); C. Erlichman and C. Knowles, 'Legitimising Occupation: The Quest for Popular Consent During the British Occupation of Germany, 1945–1949', *Journal of Modern European History* 22 (2024): 435–57.
8. United States, United Kingdom and Soviet Union, 'Statement on Atrocities', in *Moscow Conference, October 1943: Joint Four-Nation Declaration; Declaration on Italy; Declaration on Austria; Statement on Atrocities* (Moscow: 1 November 1943).
9. H. Shawcross, *Life Sentence: The Memoirs of Lord Shawcross* (London: Constable, 1995), pp. 86–87.
10. Ibid., p. 87.
11. Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials*, p. 276.
12. P. Dale Jones, 'Nazi Atrocities Against Allied Airmen: Stalag Luft III and the End of British War Crimes Trials', *Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 543–56.
13. 'Note of a meeting held in Room 443, Hobart House, on Monday 11th June, 1945, to discuss plans for co–operation between service departments and the Treasury Solicitor in bringing major war criminals to trial', FO 939/437, TNA; Authorised by Royal Warrant 0160/2498, Regulations for the Trial of War Criminals, 16 June 1945.
14. 'Comprehensive report on "Operation Emsland"' by Pantcheff (WCIU), 12 April 1947, WO 208/4299, TNA.
15. A. G. Somerhough (Group Captain, Officer i/c War Crimes group (NEW)) to DAG, HQ BAOR, 1 March 1947, WO 309/476, TNA.
16. Donald Somervell to Henry MacGeagh, 3 May 1945, WO 311/3, TNA.
17. For those handed over, see WO 309/2204, TNA.
18. Lt Col Thomas C. Van Cleeve (AUS Commanding) to All interrogating officers of CSDIC (West), 27 August 1944, WO 204/11455, TNA.
19. 'Interrogation of Enemy Prisoners of War: Recommendation adopted by the [War Crimes] Commission on 17th January 1945', C.65(2), 18 January 1945, WO 311/869, TNA.
20. 'Note on the operations of War Crimes Interrogation Unit, WCIU', by A. P. Scotland, 30 November 1948, WO 208/4294, TNA.
21. Smithers to AG3 (VW); PW1; JAG, 25 June 1945, WO 311/7, TNA; Minutes, MI9/19 to AG3 (VW), 16 November 1945, WO 311/632, TNA.

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22. Colonel R. C. Halse for Mil Dep JAG to DJAG (Allied Land Forces, Oslo), 25 July 1945, WO 311/3; Frederick C. Bovenschen (Joint Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War) to Attorney General, 10 January 1945, WO 311/3, TNA.
23. 'Note on the operations of War Crimes Interrogation Unit, WCIU' by A. P. Scotland, 30 November 1948, WO 208/4294, TNA.
24. See PWIS(H)'s departmental history in WO 208/4970, TNA.
25. Draft proposal submitted by MI19 to MI1 re the PWIS(H) establishment, undated (but possibly September 1945), WO 311/869, TNA.
26. Alexander Scotland, 'The London Cage' (unpublished manuscript), 28, WO 208/5381, TNA.
27. Scotland, *The London Cage*, p. 17.
28. For the quotes used here, see 'Personalities in PWIS(H) at 30 November 1945', Alexander Scotland, WO 311/61, TNA. For other staff and more detail on the biographies of those mentioned here, see Fry, *The London Cage*.
29. 'Note on the operations of War Crimes Interrogation Unit, WCIU' by A. P. Scotland, 30 November 1948, WO 208/4294, TNA.
30. 'Comprehensive report on "Operation Emsland"' by Pantcheff (WCIU), 12 April 1947, WO 208/4299, TNA.
31. See Cheah and Vormbaum, 'British War Crimes Trials'.
32. In correspondence from September 1945, when WCIU was still operating as PWIS(H), it was mentioned that warrant officers were required to take affidavits: Draft proposal submitted by MI19 to MI1 re the PWIS(H) establishment, undated (possibly September 1945), WO 311/869, TNA. When looking at the individual reports – 621 identified for research for this chapter – there are affidavits taken by WCIU personnel, for example those of Rudolf Heinrich, Max Rugge and Walter Simon about the Emsland case from November 1945 in WO 208/4298, TNA. In many other cases, affidavits were witnessed by a JAG officer present at WCIU. See again various examples in WO 208/4298, TNA.
33. 'London District Cage – Status and Functions', October 1941, WO 208/5615, TNA.
34. Scotland to JAG, 12 December 1947, WO 208/4663, TNA.
35. Notes for WE Meeting, by WCIU, 13 March 1947, WO 311/640, TNA.
36. Ibid.
37. Report on LD 1437 Soldat Oskar Reinhoffer, LDC, 1 July 1946, FO 939/458, TNA; Terry to Sunley, 1 July 1946, FO 939/458, TNA.
38. Extract from report of Major J. R. Painchaud, undated, WO 208/4646, TNA.
39. Affidavit of Kenneth Edward Mountcastle, 27 July 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA; Affidavit of Oswald Constantine John Phipps, the Marquis of Normanby, 1 September 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA; Extracts from a letter by Major D. L. Charters in 1943, undated, as reported by Frank Rowland Viner, 9 October 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA.
40. Military Deputy's Office to Scotland (PWIS(H)), 1 August 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA; Affidavit of Kenneth Edward Mountcastle, 27 July 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA.
41. Military Deputy's Office to PW1, 2 August 1945, WO 208/4646, TNA.
42. PWIS(H)/LDC/864–U/LH, 15 November 1945, WO 208/4654, TNA.
43. Colonel Halse to PW1, 23 March 1946, WO 208/4654, TNA.
44. For the case against Rosenau see DJAG case no. 424/JAG, www.legal-tools.org/doc/5a1d05/pdf/ (accessed 5 August 2025).
45. Pantcheff to Scotland, 29 December 1945, WO 208/4299, TNA.
46. Ibid.
47. 'Comprehensive report on "Operation Emsland"' by Pantcheff, 12 April 1947, WO 208/4299, TNA.

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48. Donald Bloxham and Jonathan Waterlow, 'War Crimes Trials', in Richard Bosworth and Joseph Maiolo (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Second World War, Volume II: Politics and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 193.
49. Colonel 'A', British War Crimes Executive (European Section) to Court House, Nuremberg, 3 April 1946, WO 208/4677, TNA.
50. Director of Personnel Services to HQ BAOR, 12 September 1946, WO 311/15, TNA.
51. 'WCIU/LDC/1334–U/ML', 13 September 1946, WO 208/4648, TNA.
52. Scotland to AG3 (VW), 5 September 1946, WO 311/640, TNA.
53. Dr R. Zivkovic, Representative of Yugoslavia on the UNWCC to JAG, 15 March 1947, WO 311/61, TNA.
54. For examples see: Military Deputy's Office (JAG) to Officer i/c WCIU, 22 March 1946, WO 208/4662, TNA; Loose minute by Major Leicester-Warren (JAG's Office) to PW1, 10 January 1946, WO 208/4650, TNA; M. de Baer (Office of the Representative of Belgium on the United Nations War Crimes commission) to Colonel Halse (DJAG), 12 April 1946, WO 311/869, TNA.
55. Notes for WE Meeting, by WCIU, 13 March 1947, WO 311/640, TNA.
56. Ibid.
57. Notes for War Establishments Committee Meeting, 20 June 1946, WO 311/640, TNA.
58. An example can be found in WO 208/4645, TNA.
59. 'Note on the operations of War Crimes Interrogation Unit, WCIU' by A. P. Scotland, 30 November 1948, WO 208/4294, TNA.
60. WCIU to JAG, 17 March 1947, WO 311/640, TNA; 'Note on the operations of War Crimes Interrogation Unit, WCIU' by A. P. Scotland, 30 November 1948, WO 208/4294, TNA.
61. Scotland (WCIU) to Lt Col Arthur Harris (HQ BAOR), 14 November 1946, WO 311/640, TNA
62. Scotland to Col K. E. Savill (DSO, AG3 (B) (VW)), 15 November 1946, WO 311/640, TNA.
63. Scotland to Lt Col Arthur Harris (HQ BAOR), 14 November 1946, WO 311/640, TNA; Director of Personnel Services to A(PS4), HQ BAOR, 22 November 1946, WO 311/640, TNA.
64. Pantcheff to Scotland, 29 December 1945, WO 208/4299, TNA.
65. Sir Alfred Brown (Chief of Legal Division (Rear) Control Commission for Germany) to Lt Col Max Perceval (MI1), 2 January 1946, FO 937/110, TNA.
66. Note on Duties of Prisoners of War Interrogation Section (Home), possibly by Scotland, 27 November 1945, WO 311/61, TNA.
67. AG3 (VW) to BAS (Washington), 26 October 1945, FO 939/437, TNA. A recent study has compared the British courts in Europe with those in Asia and highlighted a number of similarities and differences, the main difference being that in Asia the system was decentralised while the distance from the UK meant they did not benefit from the close collaboration with the Department of Judge Advocate General: Cheah and Vormbaum, 'British War Crimes Trials'.
68. Chief of Staff to HQ 8 Corps District, 2 March 1946, WO 309/1, TNA.
69. Chief of Staff to HQ Corps 1,8,30, 31 October 1945, WO 309/1, TNA.
70. Major General Chilton for Field Marshal Commander in Chief to AG3 (VW), 16 December 1945, WO 309/1, TNA; AG3 (VW) to HQ BAOR; HQ ALF Norway; GHQ CMF; GHQ ME, 3 November 1945, FO 939/437, TNA.
71. Major General Chilton for Field Marshal Commander in Chief to AG3 (VW), 16 December 1945, WO 309/1, TNA.

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72. 'Comprehensive report on "Operation Emsland"' by Pantcheff (WCIU), 12 April 1947, WO 208/4299, TNA.
73. See also W. Maley, 'The Atmospherics of the Nuremberg Trial', in D. A. Blumenthal and T. McCormack (eds.), *The Legacy of Nuremberg: Civilising Influence or Institutionalised Vengeance?* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 1–11.
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75. Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial*, pp. 77–78.
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82. D. Bloxham, 'Defeat, Due Process, and Denial: War Crimes Trials and Nationalist Revisionism in Comparative Perspective', in J. Macleod (ed.), *Defeat and Memory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 117–36.
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84. Somerhough to DJAG, 9 January 1946, WO 309/2204, TNA.
85. AG3 (VW) to HQ BAOR; HQ ALF Norway; GHQ CMF; GHQ ME, 3 November 1945, FO 939/437, TNA.
86. Field Marshal Commander in Chief (HQ BAOR) to US of S, WO, 2 November 1945, WO 309/1, TNA.
87. Major General M. S. Chilton for Field Marshal, Commander in Chief (HQ Baor) to AG3 (War Office), 16 December 1945, WO 309/7, TNA.
88. 'State of Cases as at 30th April, 1946 on information available in London', WO 311/59, TNA.
89. 'War Crimes Trials: summary to 31 October 1946', WO 311/59, TNA.
90. Shawcross, *Life Sentence*, p. 133.
91. Shapcott (JAG) to DDPS(C), 21 February 1946, WO 311/3, TNA.
92. Shapcott (JAG) to Major-General N. C. D. Brownjohn (HQ BAOR), 3 June 1946, WO 311/841, TNA.
93. Scotland to AG3 (VW), 17 October 1946, WO 311/640, TNA.

6 Interrogating the 'Arch-Bastards'

1. See particularly Bloxham, *Genocide on Trial*, chapter 2.
2. Voluntary Statement by PW LD 1150, Oberfeldwebel Herbert Kempf, 4 March 1946, FO 939/458, TNA.
3. On the topic of witness testimony in this conflict, see Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Eric Stover, *The Witnesses: War Crimes and the Promise of Justice in The Hague* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

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4. WCIU/LDC/1485-MC/HFF, 20 January 1947, WO 208/4642, TNA.
5. WCIU/LDC/1508, 12 February 1947, WO 311/869, TNA.
6. See report 1458 dated 13 December 1946, WO 311/869, TNA.
7. Report on the interrogation of PW B236821 Uffz. Schaffstein, Karl Heinz, alias Graf Guenter von Alten, LDC, 14 January 1948, FO 939/458, TNA.
8. PWIS(H)/LDC/831(b)-Te/Fr, 5 November 1945, WO 208/3661, TNA.
9. PWIS(H)/LDC/828(b)-U/F, 2 November 1945, WO 208/3661, TNA; PWIS(H)/LDC/830(b)-U/R, 31 October 1945, WO 208/3661, TNA.
10. WCIU/U/LH/985, 31 January 1946, WO 208/4662, TNA.
11. Lt Col F. H. Wallis (Commandant, Botesdale Camp) to the Under Secretary of State, War Office, 25 April 1945, WO 208/4637, TNA.
12. PWIS(H)/LDC/733, 2 June 1945, WO 208/4637, TNA.
13. Report by Gefr Franz Schmidt (translated by S/Sjt Lacey), 23 April 1945, WO 208/4637, TNA.
14. PWIS(H)LDC/793, 5 September 1945, WO 208/3660, TNA.
15. PWIS(H)LDC/800, 16 September 1945, WO 208/3660, TNA.
16. PWIS(H)LDC/804, 1 October 1945, WO 208/3660, TNA.
17. See WO 235/616, TNA.
18. PWIS(H)LDC/816, 24 October 1945, WO 208/3661, TNA; PWIS(H)LDC/807, 8 October 1945, WO 208/3660, TNA.
19. Captain G. C. Sunley to Major Terry (LDC), 19 June 1946, FO 939/458, TNA.
20. Terry to Fraser, 15 August 1946, FO 939/458, TNA.
21. Report on interrogation of PW LD 1429 Gefr JUST, Karl Heinz, 25 June 1946, FO 939/458, TNA; AFAI Terry to Capt Sunley, 26 June 1946, FO 939/458, TNA.
22. WCIU/LDC/1617(a), 19 May 1947, WO 208/4684, TNA.
23. WCIU/LDC/1607(a), 12 May 1947, WO 208/4684, TNA.
24. WCIU/LDC/1754(a), 10 December 1947, WO 208/4663, TNA.
25. WCIU/LDC/972(a)-AR/LH: 'Voluntary statement by PW LD 1120 Generalleutnant Wilhelm Harster', 6 February 1946, WO 208/4663, TNA.
26. WCIU/LDC/982, 28 January 1946, WO 208/4661, TNA.
27. Terry to Halse (JAG), 21 November 1945, WO 208/4660, TNA.
28. 'Interrogation of the SS Standartenfuehrer (Col.) of the SS and Oberst der Schutzpolizei (Colonel of the Police, DAUME, Max)', interrogation carried out by Mr S. J. Nansen in No. 18 POW Camp, 6 September 1945, WO 208/4660, TNA.
29. See WO 208/4660, TNA.
30. Terry to S/Ldr CH March (ADI(k)), 14 November 1945, WO 208/4650, TNA.
31. Based on profiles available in WO 208/3504, TNA.
32. PWIS(H)/LDC/910, Appendix, 7 December 1945, WO 208/4650, TNA.
33. Major Leicester-Warren (JAG's Office) to AG3 (VW), 4 March 1946, WO 208/4650, TNA.
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81. See Petition by Otto Witt, 4 June 1943, KV 2/477, TNA.
82. Milmo to Director General, 3 July 1943, KV 2/477, TNA.
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Epilogue: Going Bad, Abroad

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16. Hayward to Director, Penal Branch (Legal Division, CCG), 7 June 1947, FO 1060/1091, TNA.
17. Addendum, 'Patients transferred to Rotenburg from CSDIC(WEA)' by Dr Günther, 21 February 1947, FO 1060/735, TNA.
18. 'Part I: Summary of main conclusions of the Court of Inquiry', FO 1005/1744, TNA.
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22. Minute from M. L. Priss to Bushe-Fox, 17 November 1950, FO 936/1190, TNA.
23. 'Report on CSDIC transfers to Rotenburg hospital' by Major Morgan-Jones (Governor, No. 3 Civilian Internment Camp, Fallingbostel), 29 March 1947, FO 1060/735, TNA.
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25. Graf Robert Buttlar Brandenfels ger Herrmann, 29 March 1947, FO 1060/735, TNA.
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Conclusion

1. Hinsley, 'British Intelligence in the Second World War: An Overview'.

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