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INAME: FRIEDMAN, Elizebeth S. **Text w/Tape:**
IPLAC E: Mrs. Friedman's Residence, Washington, D.C.
VIEWER: VALAKI, Virginia T.

Valaki: ((Cut in))...(B% and Mr.) (1G)...

Friedman: Do you want a cigarette, by the way?

Valaki: No, do you smoke? No, would you like a cigarette? I don't smoke.

Friedman: No, no! But I...I'm not...don't want one badly enough to have somebody go and get some.

Valaki: Oh, I'll get it. That's no problem. I just called, in fact...

Friedman: You have to go clear around the next block... two blocks away for a drug store, or a liquor store to get cigarettes. Forget it! I haven't smoked for several days and I suddenly had a craving for a cigarette, but, forget it. I'll forget it as soon as I get busy talking.

Valaki: Okay. It's tough. I know what it's like when I smoked myself, 'cause it's... I had the craving sometimes. But now I'm over it. ((Unidentified background sound, maybe a cork popping.))

Friedman: Well, I don't know. I feel that I haven't been very helpful at all. It seems that more and more things are coming back, though, about Riverbank days and way back there. And I suppose I probably am the oldest person alive who would remember anything about Riverbank, you know.

Valaki: Well, I'd be grateful for any information you can give on Riverbank, whether it's something specific that I asked for because, you see, I don't know enough to...even to ask the right questions.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And there's very little available on Riverbank. It's...Whatever little has appeared in the open press, you know, in the public press, and a lot of that is...really doesn't satisfy my curiosity, and doesn't answer the question from the point of view of cryptologic history.

Friedman: Mm hmm. ((Pause.)) Well...

Valaki: One of the things I've been interested in is who was teaching cryptology or cryptanalysis after you and Mr. Friedman left at Riverbank?

Friedman: Well, he kept...That...The young woman called Cora Jensen, the Danish woman who, because of something or other her parents did, she

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was... had been living in the small town, Geneva, you know, a nearby town, and so she became... She would probably have been what would have been known as a bookkeeper—she had been in that field where that... where it would have been required—but she came in very handy for Fabyan because there she was... There were no more official workers in Colonel Fabyan's field there at Riverbank, and so what would have happened to all his books? He had a... Well, one volume alone, that he had bought, and ancient volumes of, you know, cryptographia was valued at two thousand dollars.

Valaki: Which one was it? Do you remember?

Friedman: It was an Italian author.

Valaki: (XG) ((Too weak; lost in jet noise.))

Friedman: Maybe it was.

Valaki: (1G).

Friedman: It may have been the one (2-3G). Well, this brings me to the history of what became the (1G) books of cryptology. Cryptology... We didn't call it cryptanalytic because this may have (B% got) to be in the class of, say, a higher institution of learning in the field of cryptography or cryptanalysis. But... Let's see now, what was the question you specifically asked me just a while ago?

Valaki: About who was teaching the people in cryptography after you left.

Friedman: Well, she took it up, because, you know, anybody can teach cryptography if you have a series of lessons and a series of... You have a series of problems and then you have a series of lessons that you struggle and demonstrate that this can be solved, and then you go on from there to the reading of the actual messages in that system. And, ah, keeping up correspondence about them, and this university writing to know about "A" and some other college... university writing with any questions about "B" and all that kind of thing. It went on for years, and at my... I don't know whether this comes in to... This is not solutions, just plain historical. Cora Jensen stayed there as long as Fabyan was alive and, in the meantime, of course, my husband had first tried to persuade Fabyan to leave his books—his collection, the Fabyan collection—to the Library of Congress. But Fabyan was too proud, you know, to acknowledge that he'd been defeated in his plans how... as to how to use it. And then that was... She carried on through that, and finally Mrs. Fabyan inherited the library. He died in 1934, and she died in 1937. And I think if you were to check up on that, it's probably the year or at least within a year of that time would be the date on which the Fabyan library went to the Library of Congress. And there are some questions in there that are answered... some questions about his biography being there. There's some... some very solemn and serious statements made about type with Edward (B% Goff), Professor Goff, who was the greatest type designer in the world at that time. And she... He worked on the library at Riverbank. But, never... Fabyan never

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...tied him down, you know, to say this is this, or that was that. Goff was...showed what letters could be used for what and what demonstrated this; which types of type demonstrated this and that and the other thing. And that all...That's in the Shakespeare book, as a matter of fact. There's a good deal in there about...about Goff in there. And I understand that in this...In this book right now, about him going on...

Valaki: On the Voynich?

Friedman: No, not the...Not the Voynich. It was more about the Goff papers in the Library of Congress, something I had fallen upon or stumbled upon digging into the Shakespeare stuff in the Library of Congress. You could look that up. I don't know whether there's anything there that would be useful to you, but it's certainly easy enough to read that (2G), I mean, look that part up, or look that point up about Edward Goff from the index into the text.

Valaki: Do you think it was in Fabyan's character to require that all his papers be destroyed at his death? Do you think Mrs....Miss Jensen would have done it?

Friedman: Well now, that's an intriguing thought. I never thought of that. I think you better put that down in writing and let me study it for a while.

Valaki: Okay, I'll look up the papers in this case. Okay, I'll do that.

Friedman: Do you want me to give you some paper?

Valaki: No, I've got it right here. I'll write it up in, ah...this. ((Long pause.)) I'm going to stop. ((Stops and restarts with long pause.))

Friedman: Am I to talk now?

Valaki: Hmm? Yes.

Friedman: Am I to talk?

Valaki: (2-3G).

Friedman: What do you want me to talk about?

Valaki: I'm so intrigued about... about the Riverbank and getting from Bacon to ciphers... to real ciphers and developing techniques of solutions, and even arranging papers, and arranging the messages, and knowing how to look at things, I think, is a enormous feat to go from Bacon's cipher, you know, and which actions to type on figures in...into it, and all the other ciphers. And one of the things that intrigues me, too, is that the library on cryptology that Fabyan eventually acquired was in, ah, foreign...all foreign languages, which means that somebody must be able to read French and German, Italian, some Spanish and certainly Latin to be able to get anything out of it. And all I was able to find in the Library of Congress was that two works were translated; I think one was...one (B% Porter) and one (B% Fussini) but that's all.

Friedman: And they were what?

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Valaki: Translated.

Friedman: They were translated.

Valaki: They were apparently...Yeah, Fabyan commissioned translations.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And the translations were made, but therefore I feel that all those thousands of volumes either were reposing idle, not available to anyone, or available only to people who were capable of reading them in the original language.

Friedman: Well, they were available to the people who recognized what they were.

Valaki: And who of the staff at Riverbank, working cryptology, could have recognized what they were. ((Mrs. Friedman starts speaking before Valaki finishes.))

Friedman: Well, ah, like Doctor, um...What was his name? The Latin and Greek professor at the University of the City of New York?

Valaki: Mendelsohn.

Friedman: (B% Dinardi), Mendelsohn, yes. He was certainly capable of it and he could of...He could have taken the stuff down in English and shorthand as he read the English with the...from the Latin or whatever language it was recorded in.

Valaki: But was he at Riverbank? I thought he was only in Washington during the First World War.

Friedman: That's right. That's right. But, after all, that...What my husband was pulling for at that time, and eventually came about, was to get the thing in the hands of the Library of Congress. And then any person who was gifted in the qualities necessary to make that subject matter available for...to the public, so there...There it was. So there he (B% bought it).

Valaki: So that, actually, when the first manuals were written at Riverbank, on what basis were they done, the analysis (B% begin)?

Friedman: Well, uh, it was just done as a piece of work that was done by the staff. No one picture was...No one person was mentioned as the sole conqueror or anything like that. Everybody worked together as a young (1-2g/weak). Miss...There were numerous teachers...teachers of college students... of graduate students who were out there at Riverbank. There's some photographs here. Look. People... People... That's funny. I...I...If only NSA had let me know what they were...what they wanted, I mean, as I was throwing it...and going through stuff and throwing it away...

Valaki: Oh, don't tell me you threw things out!

Friedman: ((Laughs.)) Lots and a lot of stuff.

Valaki: Well, it's...I'd be happy, Mrs. Friedman, to, if I may, borrow any pictures of that period and have them reproduced and we'd send them to you.

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- Friedman:** Well, it annoys the hell out of me—excuse my language—It annoys the hell out of me, especially in the last few weeks, that's why I wasn't so disconcerted when...when you called me. I felt a little...I... There's so-and-so in that photograph, and so-and-so that I had just seen, you know, (2-3G) "Oh, I don't know!" ((TR Note: sounds as if she is imitating someone here.)) I'd have to unload that (2G) on you. ((Chuckles.))
- Valaki:** Well, I was thinking, for example, on the running-key ciphers, the book that he published in Riverbank days, and I believe the date was the beginning of January 1918, so it was before Mr. Friedman went overseas.
- Friedman:** He didn't go 'til about Decoration Day, I think. We called it Decoration Day out there in the Middle West.
- Valaki:** Like, on what date is...was that book made? Did...Was it theoretical, just based on the writings of...earlier writings of people? Or did...Was there actual running-key cipher which was solved and therefore it was written...ah, the solution was generalized?
- Friedman:** I think there were. I think it was one of those Indian...those Hindu messages. There were two sets of the Hindu messages, um, two sets of Hindus, I might say, too. ((Laughs.)) And, ah ((pauses)) let's see; how (B% can we) tie that in? Well, it was... There was no question about it. I mean, there were two cipher systems..."system's system" if I can use such an expression, if you know what I mean. This was the system that describes the working of the individual cipher, and then this over here is that cipher, but translated into more of a group of this, which is thus and so. And, uh, there were two...two sets of messages that we deciphered, uh, that originated from, uh, the British having intercepted these messages going back and forth to Europe. ((Jet noise.)) And, there was the dictionary type of cipher system. You know what that is.
- Valaki:** Yes.
- Friedman:** There'll be...Well, but you can...You can tell it from the cipher, the letters themselves, that it is that system. And then there was the...this other system, which is...Let's see; how shall I describe that? Well, I think you probably know them. You seem familiar with them. But there was this prince, (B% Hrangala Gupta), who was arrested in this country in Chicago, I think, and, ah, we got a lot of correspondence, I mean, the British authorities brought to us out at Riverbank. But see, that's another thing that (B% very) (1G) knew. Here he is reaching right up there and pulling down all the peonies, the biggest flowering plants there be that he can find, you know, just bringing that (B% within his can), just like you would eat your morning Wheaties.
- Valaki:** And how did he get these messages from the British?
- Friedman:** Well, from Scotland Yard. That's where they came from.
- Valaki:** And he had... And he had direct contact then with Scotland Yard?
- Friedman:** Yeah.

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Valaki: And when...Just cut right through all the red tape and all the channels.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Was he also able to have that kind of connection with the French, ((B% "Casie',")) or only later?

Friedman: Well, later. It was only after my husband got to Europe though, I think, that that developed. But...But he did. He did get all of that. And Ambassador Childs, you talked to him, of course?

Valaki: Yes.

Friedman: Well, he would have come into this section of the story very markedly, because he was over there. He was one of the first four young men that we trained, and we had trained them in, ah...What would that have been? 19...Hah!

Valaki: I believe it was the winter of 1917, that is, December of 1917, because Mr. Childs arrived in France on the first of February 1918.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And he landed in England in mid January.

Friedman: Mm hmm. Well, all that...Those things are available to you, and I would hesitate to say some things which might be wrong. Now, for example, that date I would not be sure of. ((Another jet going overhead.))

Valaki: But I appreciate your impressions even if the date might be a little hazy in your mind, but impressions about what the relationship was between people and (B% saying) solutions and messages going back and forth and all of that.

Friedman: Mm hmm. Well, was that up at, uh... at, uh... ((Pause.)) What was it, the French word ending in "sha?" But where's the headquarters at...?

Valaki: (B% French word, sounds like Charmant.)

Friedman: Yeah. Say it again.

Valaki: Charmant.

Friedman: Charmant. Charmant.

Valaki; My French accent might be wrong.

Friedman: No, Charmant, I think it is, because that's where mister...where my husband was. I remember that postmark. Charmant. Pronounce it. I couldn't say it, of course, but I did. Well! ((Pause.))

Valaki: I'm rather curious. Was Scotland...Well, Scotland Yard, actually (1G) then, because it was not part of the military. Scotland Yard was acting independently of the Army and of the Navy in Britian.

Friedman: Well, there were two trials in this country. One was in Chicago and one was in San Francisco; and it was in San Francisco where they (4G). ((Pause.)) There were all...all sorts of, kind of, unbelievable happenstances.

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Valaki: Yes. I got the impression from going back over that First World War period that the critical effort of this on ciphers was with respect to espionage in this country.

Friedman: Yes.

Valaki: That in the Washington Bureau, with mostly...with secret inks and, well, spy ciphers, you might say, rather than military or diplomatic ciphers.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And I was also wondering who was there with Yardley besides Mendelsohn. I believe Mendelsohn was there with Yardley in Washington.

Friedman: Yes. That's true and, uh...

Valaki: And (B% brought in) Manly. ((Both talking at the same time.))

Friedman: There was a couple of newspaper men: one was a newspaper editor and the other newspaper man was...I forget what job he had. But Manly...Professor Manly of the University of Chicago. And, yeah, it wasn't a very big bureau. There were only about...oh, about eight people working.

Valaki: It seemed to me rather small. I haven't been able to find very much about it. And most...because most of the people who were mentioned were people who specialized in things like secret ink...

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Not in ciphers per se.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: But I know that there was some correspondence between (B% the AF) and Washington, but I haven't been able to find the Washington side of it at all in the archives.

Friedman: Well now, what...What period was that?

Valaki: The First World War.

Friedman: Well, the First World War, but, I...You mean...I mean, what actual calendar dates are you referring to?

Valaki: 1918.

Friedman: Well now, that would mean Childs.

Valaki: Childs was in France then.

Friedman: He had been there almost a year.

Valaki: He was there...

Friedman: About 8 or 9 months at least.

Valaki: He was in...He arrived in France...He arrived in Europe on...in January.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And he was there for another whole year, so he was in...out of the country

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all of 1918. He was in England first and then...for a couple of weeks and then he went to France and he stayed there, except for trips to England. And Yardley was in Washington, except when he went over on a visit, and I'm not sure about Manly, whether he ever went to France. I think he went on a visit, but I'm not sure. And I don't think Mendelsohn...((Interrupted by Friedman.))

Friedman: I don't...

Valaki: Ever went to France.

Friedman: I don't recall any official visiting done by Manly.

Valaki: But I believe that Manly—I'm reconstructing now—but Manly was corresponding, probably, with Riverbank at the time he was in Washington.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: And possibly Mendelsohn as well, although I have nothing...nothing at all on Mendelsohn.

Friedman: Well, he certainly was one of the unfortunate (B% incidences,) ah, afflicted with, ah...Well, let's see; he died of spinal meningitis. I've heard of Manly's age; he was 56. (B% He taught.) ((Pause.)) He lived at the Faculty Club in New York, and they were all German leaders there, and he...No man of 56 has ever been heard...had ever been heard of to have cerebral meningitis before—a grown man—and he died! But there had never been a case in the city of New York.

Valaki: Yes. Well, I found a reference to...((Mrs. Friedman interrupts.))

Friedman: There are plenty of mysteries that you can leave dangling, ((chuckles)) enough to allure a reader, I'm sure.

Valaki: Yes, I'm sure. Well, one of the things I'd be interested in is in your own career as a girl cryptanalyst, I would say, ((pause)) going from the...Well, you were at Riverbank, and then a short time in the Navy, and then the Coast Guard, and the (1G) "*I'm Alone*" case, which, ah, was very glamorous and very exciting to read about. And I'm sure there were other things after that.

Friedman: Well, the Gordon Lim case and Canada was one of the big, big things in my life. That was, ah, (1G) all we had was, ah...Well, we only had 21 messages to start with, and then I (2G) with 23. Oh, ah, I'd better, you know, make that quite separate because it is quite separate from other things (4G). You mean to say it's only five minutes after one?

Valaki: My heavens!

Friedman: Is that what your...(1g)?

Valaki: Yes.

Friedman: I'll bet no two women ever said as many words in short a time. ((Both laugh.))

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Valaki: Well, would you like to take a break now?

Friedman: Well, yes.

Valaki: Or shall...Do you think you've had it for the day?

Friedman: Um, while we're on the Gordon Lim case, I'll chatter along because...Of course, you wouldn't want to keep all this by any means. Um, let me think a while what...when did I first hear of, ah... Well, one day... See, by then the Coast Guard had taken over—as it is in wartime—over our law... taken over by the Treasury Department, not the Navy. ((Jet noise.)) So, unless they take the whole Navy Department along with it ((laughs)) which is practically what they did. And this was kind of between the wars, and they were... They were really fighting a “rum” battle. Big ships... Great big ships (B% had, ah,) encircled the United States, begin up there in British Vancouver and come down the coast of San Francisco... of California, and so on, on down, come through the Panama Canal and up and over to **Europe** ((stressed)) to, ah... Oh, let's see, one place they unloaded... They'd take about 60,000 cases... 60,000 cases! I can't even imagine. Can you?

Valaki: (B% Good heavens!)

Friedman: Ah, they'd travel that route from British Vancouver all down that west coast of America, through the Panama Canal and all along the Gulf coast and up to New York and all along up to Nova Scotia, ah, un... unloading liquor as they went along, and then getting there, loading up again, and unloading as they go back the same circuitous route. Well, they had built... had had, apparently, a Navy officer—I don't remember how we learned that—but we did get that as one fact of... that this commander in the British Navy had given them their code system, which they used. And there were several of those big mother ships: the (B% “*Galahad*,”) and the (B% “*Bugelhorn*,”) and the (2-3G). And they each had their code... 10,000-word code. Ten-thousand word code! ((Jet noise.)) And so... Well, that method... I've... I've always... One of the things that's always interested me was their method of how they actually hauled the liquor back and forth. They... They had, ah, the liquor already prepared and sold in ready-to-use packages... in these cutie, little things. This is (5-6G) ((too weak))... just... just like this. ((Friedman walks away. Footsteps heard in background. Her comments mostly inaudible here.)) Oh dear. (2G) lay that down anywhere (B% except) there! Well, I'll bet you really (XG). They're gone. I apparently carried them... didn't carry a purse yesterday. Something else. Well, at any rate, they sawed a stanchion—(B% made) a stanchion... these big pipe-like things that go from deck to deck—They sawed a stanchion in two between two given decks, and that would give them this pipe... Well, that much of a (B% surface), probably, I mean, cavity in this pipe they had... got access to... to these pipes... to this segment that they had sawed in two. And then they filled it up with these cutie, little... They were the cutest things; (B% a bunch)... about this big, like little bales of hay—exactly what they looked like—bales of tobacco;

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no, looked more like hay. And they stuck these in those manholes, and then when they got over here, maybe had gone all the way up to ((pause)) Nova Scotia, and maybe had loaded for going back ((jet noise)) by this method of loading and so on. And, they, ah... They found these, ah, these messages, all these different stages or the places that they delivered messages to along the way. ((Jet noise.)) I can't even... My mind won't encompass the great expanse of being up there in Nova Scotia and coming all the way down the Atlantic coast, all the way **down** ((stressed)) the Atlantic coast and around in that (B% windy) **Gulf** area, through the Panama Canal and all the way up! Just imagine, (B% all the way) up... Why, it's just world shaking! Why, I can't even encompass such a thing. So, at any rate, we finally got enough traffic built up to begin to treat these systems they were using like honest-to-goodness code systems. They really were too. Ten thousand groups in a code that they built up with a language (B% of things) to be done, or... or to do with these systems: ordering, and then separating, dividing **up** the liquor on a given ship at a given place, meeting another ship at a given place at a given time. Well, we solved an awful lot of stuff and there was an awful lot of liquor that was confiscated... found and confiscated on these shiploads. And, ah, the trail eventually led—Mind you, now, (XG) coming all the way down here and around the Gulf of Florida and over into the Gulf of Mexico and through the Panama Canal, and way up to British Vancouver. And it was said that a German... I mean, a British naval officer had given them their code, and the, ah, (B% his wife) and (2-3G/too weak) (B% I know) two brothers who lived in Vancouver, very well-to-do people, getting more well-to-do by the minute with their liquor sales, ((laughter)) and so, ah, ((jet noise)) Well, we... We proved to our satisfaction and read successfully message after message after message, ah, wrote from an intermediate ship, which would be like a motorboat... a fast, fast motorboat ((loud jet noise blocking here)). The motorboat would... intermediate boat would go out and collect a load; say, maybe as many as 60,000 cases on one... on one small ship and carry it into shore and then distribute it to (1-2G) ((too weak)). Well, we were locating those things all the way up the Pacific coast; (B% It's a lot of...) On... On up all the way to Vancouver ((fades to inaudible.)) And, uh, on the... The Canadian ships belonged to the bootleggers and went on their way and simply reloaded at whichever exit they came out at, and reloaded, and started their return trip back again. And we isolated the various radio nets for the small vessels... for the small to intermediate vessels, to the intermediate... to the ship-size vessels, to the headquarters in Vancouver there, or Nova Scotia up at this end. So we began reading messages in really large numbers because you could... You could read almost everything. And there were just thousands of messages going over the air all the time. And you had to sort them out and get them classified into different ciphers. There might be... They might have as many as 21 messages, it'll say, going to a given group at a given time. And, uh, we would, uh... But this was a very, very interesting

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part of the work, because...Have you ever seen that Chinese code book? It's a 10,000-group code with the numbers and then the words. It's a Chinese commercial dictionary is what it really amounted to.

Valaki: Oh, yes ((xg/both talking at once.))

Friedman: And we were getting all that, and we very seldom had to get any help whatsoever. And I remember I was called...One Saturday at 12 o'clock the phone rang and it was Vancouver, British Columbia, wanting me to be in Vancouver for the opening of a trial on Monday morning. And, ah, I had one of the young men in my office...Do you want me to stop or something?

Valaki: I thought we might change the tape now (2-3G) ((fades). ((Recorder shut off.))

Friedman: ((Cut in)) Well, I had one of the young men in my office call the airport and there were a possible two planes for me to get that day. And, ah, so this was 12 o'clock and that...In those days there were no banks open. There was nowhere you could get any money on a Saturday. And there was no such thing as a reservation anywhere... very little to spare. Well, I finally...I decided...Something told me that I had to make that 4 o'clock plane; I don't know what it was. ((Siren outside.)) Why I was so...felt so impelled to do that, but I did. My husband came for me from his office and we went up to Chevy Chase, and I gave orders to the housekeeper, and kissed the children goodbye, and packed—they said I might be gone a month—and I had to pack clothes for a month. And off I went; drove to the airport and got away at four o'clock, and, well, that's (3-4G). The next day the *Daily News* here in Washington had this big flashing headline, "D.C. WOMAN ABOARD LOST PLANE." And that four o'clock...I mean, that 10 o'clock plane the night before it had crashed outside of Salt Lake City. And the reason I wasn't on it was because of this hunch that I had that I shouldn't wait until that 10 o'clock plane at night but should take the daylight one at four and do at least part of the journey in daylight. And the other was that I had some information that they needed for this trial on Monday morning having to do with this very large, wholesale shipping business of the liquor. And we were actually...We were dealing with Chinese code, now—actual Chinese. There is a commercial code. It's a book... a paperback book, about that wide and just about that big; it's a Chinese code that they used for commercial use, you know, like we do the Pan American Code Book, which is a little thing like that, ((jet noise)) or, ah, U.S. Steel, or something. At any rate, I didn't know anything about this plane having crashed because I didn't get into Vancouver—having changed planes here, there, and everywhere—I didn't get into Vancouver until four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, and this plane crashed the night before during the night. Well, of course I didn't see it. Nobody told me about it that day, but the next morning at the office I was told by somebody in my office...told about this accident and, ah, I forget whether I telephoned home or what the (B% connection) was, but I know that...It's

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funny how odd little things last the longest in your memory. I remember those messages because I had left here with only 22 messages, and we had felt absolutely stymied because we couldn't get any more... couldn't squeeze any more out of them. And by Tuesday morning out there I had had a (B% big) idea or two and put some suppositions of mine into the messages and lo and behold, (B% just,) ah, bloomed like flowers. And so they were very, very pleased, of course—a h, the Canadian court was. And the... It was a very big, big trial in all of Canada's RCMP history. They had so much money—this Chinese millionaire who lived over on Victoria Island named Gordon Lim; that became the Gordon Lim case—was... was there and five of his subalterns. We call them "pushers" now; I forget what they called them out there; that word "pusher" was not known. And, so they had found a few more (B% dribbling,) little messages from the time they had wired me... or had phoned me the Saturday before up until Tuesday of this day. But they brought them to us and we got... We got every single word out of these Chinese messages, every (B% time and place) in these last two or three messages that we got. And so I stayed for the trial to begin next morning, on Wednesday, only to be met with the defense counsel announcing that his... Mr. Lim had been operated on at two a.m. for appendicitis; good-old criminal trick, of course, but it worked. So the trial was postponed and I came back to the States, and two weeks later I was out again. And the third time I didn't go. These are fought out, you see, a long, long, long, long time. Each step of everything was wrung dry of every possible shred of any proof or information. And... Now what was I going to say? Ah... Well, at any rate, they were all convicted and they all went to jail. Now, whether they got to... (B% clear to the end) to complete the sentences, I don't know. Perhaps not, but they were convicted and went to jail. I thought what a difference between the United States and Canada. A person (1-2G) a second trial (1-2G) in the United States at all. (1-2g/too weak.) Something would have been arranged. That always happened. I can remember there being cases in the south, ah, but they were getting pretty good at it toward the end; I mean, our forces were getting pretty good at it towards the end; (B% they) didn't get away with murder, which they had been getting away with for years. (B% Did my) (1-2g/weak) or they were really in New York when they started... they were operating off (xg/too weak) coast. (XG) and (B% I don't know how I got off on this long trail), except it might be some information of how the information came to us and what we did with it.

Valaki: It is very interesting. It's unexpected. Did... Was there much cooperation at that time in... between the Coast Guard... say, the outfit you working with and Mr. Friedman's outfit? You know, this is in the '20s, when he was still working on contract, I guess, 'cause wasn't that... The "*I'm Alone*" case was in the '20s, of course, which was during prohibition.

Friedman: Well, the "*I'm Alone*" case was a little bit different, because it... It was, uh, um, that was... Huh! What would be the proper terminology for that? Ah, well, it became a jurist's territory, really, but, ah...

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- Valaki:** Oh, yes. Wasn't there a ca...a question about jurisdiction?
- Friedman:** Mm hmm.
- Valaki:** I was wondering about the cooperation and sharing of techniques between the Army and Navy and the Coast Guard and any other official body that was operating at the time in the '20s.
- Friedman:** Well, ah, I think there was probably as complete cooperation as you could expect. There were always people that were going to hold onto something because they wanted to get a little personal credit out of it. Or there are always people who didn't really believe that the facts were what they were claimed to be in these messages, and, uh, the methods, which were used to get the information of various sorts from various sources. All of...There are a lot of questions about many things. And it was just the sheer plowing away, and plowing away at getting the evidence which would prove certain things at certain times and so on. And (2-3G/too weak). We had...We had wonderful success, really, in those years. I can still remember that, um...that (B% bi-ped) alphabet, you know, two letters representing one...
- Valaki:** Yes.
- Friedman:** Which we had such a long, long struggle with and finally got just one message that gave us everything that cleared it up. And we fought a couple of wars in the meantime ((laughs)) with the liquor people trying to limit by physical force, and then in the end it came with a...with a jump and a leap.
- Valaki:** Of the people you got to know, cryptanalysts in the other government agencies, or, say, all the ones you got to know regardless of government agency, which ones really stand out in your mind now in that respect, in ability?
- Friedman:** Well, that's awfully hard to say because there's so many factors that come in that I'm really not capable to judge. Nobody ever came looking for me with a bushel basket full and saying, "Here is all this...this stuff. You can read it all or find out what it says." You know, there was just never any...(B% wasn't any) (2G) (B% help).
- Valaki:** Did you ever know Van Deman?
- Friedman:** Yes, but only very slightly. He was one of the...one of the better, most respected names in military intelligence.
- Valaki:** Yes, but he seems to have had close ties with Fabyan, but now I realize that Fabyan had close ties with everybody.
- Friedman:** Mm hmm.
- Valaki:** And, ah, were you acquainted with Parker Hitt's work through the years, from the early days, say, when he first showed up at Riverbank and then afterwards?
- Friedman:** Well, yes, we did. But it seemed to me that, ah, I didn't have anything to

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do, because Parker Hitt was... What he did was so consistent and so convincing that, that was that. And it was just simply taken over... handed over with hardly any work or revision of any kind as a series of lessons to be given to students. And, ah, my impression is—and this should be stated as an impression—I somehow never felt that... that the Navy really... really believed what they were going after, if you know what I mean. I don't know whether I've made it clear or not. I don't think I could say any more than that. I mean, ah... We got information in a lot of funny ways, I know. ((Laughs.)) We had... We had this information: Here's... Here's New Orleans down here and up here is Montreal. And this woman, a companion of, ah, the guy that got shot—Tom... Tim, um, not Tim or Tom. It was a guy named Clark... Marvin... Marvin Clark. And she was down here on the coast of Louisiana with (B% a marvelous), little, squiggling radio thing in her hand, and she got this message from Montreal that Clark had been arrested in New Orleans, I guess it was, or Shreveport, Louisiana, or one of the other... all kinds of places like that. ((Jet noise again.)) Can you imagine, here's various enemies or friends, ((chuckles)) all kind of joined up in one giant legal network giving out information and getting information? Ah, it was... It was really very... (1G) very weird sometimes. I can remember that, ah, (B% Lucy) Clark... Of course, Marvin Clark was killed before he was tried; he was shot in the street (B% not) long before he was tried. Oh, me, oh my! Ha! Oh, the more you remember, the more you remember! ((Laughs.)) One builds upon the other. Oh dear! If I'd only had... But you see, we had such a funny idea about things in those days. We... If we had dug into and brought into plaintext all of the stuff that came in and accumulated, and had... had done... taken one piece, or pieces, which were of the same ilk and carried them through to the end, and all that. But it was, ah... Yeah, it was very hard to decide what to permit to be heard at the trial and what not to. I mean, I was never... They might ask me if I had a recommendation for what material was to be made (B% for) the trial, but I was never asked, you know, to start with (xg/too weak) (B% because) to approve or disapprove of something. It was always committed to (B% write). ((Clears her throat.)) Well, that's it. (B% It wasn't) very helpful. For goodness sake, if you think of anything you want written down somewhere, ask me. Be glad to answer.

Valaki: Okay. All of the things I have to think about, and it isn't until you start writing that you realize you've got holes and that you can't make the logical leaps from one step to the next.

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: It seems very easy and logical, just as, you know, in a (B% polygram) miasma like that. It isn't until you kind of chain it together you find it to be (B% something in between).

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Well, I was wondering about Mauborgne as well; to leap around a little bit

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if you can stand the leaping.

Friedman: Well, my, ah...My husband's life in the Army really was, you'd say, almost totally launched by Joseph O. Mauborgne. He had solved that Quaker—for the English Army—Quaker attack on his way back from the Philippines one time when it took six weeks then to return to the States from the Philippines. And, uh...So that started him on developing an interest in codes and ciphers, and what the Army needed to use for their own purposes. And whatever... Whatever I needed, Mauborgne hands were almost invariably, in at least one form or another, or one part or another, had to do with, ah, his ideas of what was proper for use in the Signal Corps... Army Signal Corps, or that would really be the...the arm of the...of the Army, who would, ah...well, bring order out of chaos, or something like that from (3G). And (B% you might)...But you might mention (B% him) by name. Ah, (B% Joseph) Mauborgne...I mean, he and the Army...This I don't think is generally known; I don't very often see it quoted, but I think it's quite true—I know it's quite true, in fact—is that the Signal Corps, who...he succeeded General Mauborgne in carrying on, had some...They... Mauborgne and that man, that general had some quarrel (B% or other) about...It was from land to...No, sky, shall I say? Or land-to-upper air...((pause)) Well, I don't know what word to use except "messages" to communicate from ground-to-air. I remember that was where the quarrel was, was the methods of committing [sic] the messages from ground-to-air and air-to-ground.

Valaki: That would be...Would that be an airplane cipher? They used the airplanes... So, for example, for communications... for their signals, ah...

Friedman: Well, ah, it would have been. ((Jet noise.))

Valaki: For bouncing the waves... radio waves from the stratosphere.

Friedman: I just can't remember exactly when that quarrel took place, but it wasn't...It was about the time either just before, at the time, or just after Mauborgne really tried to launch this method of operation of ground-to-air and air-to-ground, and that's what they parted company on. And that's why one never heard of General Mauborgne after such-and-such a date because the Army had formed, ah, some kind of a branch or unit—I don't know what the proper word to call it is—ah, had been launched into effect. And Mauborgne was highly honored, and nothing was ever said about this, actually, but I was aware of it at the time because, you see, whatever my husband did emanated from J. O. Mauborgne. So I knew about those things, but I tried to know as little as possible. I literally did. I mean, it was so...so secrecy kept even in those days, that you just hoped and prayed you wouldn't have to know what you didn't want to know. ((Mrs. Friedman chuckles.))

Valaki: It must have been hard then, to have two professional house...two professional cryptanalysts in a household and...because not to talk... It would have been fun to talk over things, because...And, you know, it's a

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very interesting subject, and you can't help thinking that here's an interesting technique, and to have somebody with whom you can discuss it, who is of an appropriate caliber. There's no point in discussing it with somebody who is very, very junior who really wouldn't understand. I think it would be terrific to have somebody...

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: Who is working independently in another batch of problems. It would be wonderful to (1G) that information ...

Friedman: Mm hmm.

Valaki: (2-3G).

Friedman: Well, ah, my husband was a... Really, I could tell, many times there was a certain grim look that came around his mouth, and I would realize that some proposal or law that he has said either had not been passed, or had been passed in some form that he thought advisable in times like that. But I never even said anything. I never really knew, although it probably was quite plain to him. Any expression on my face he certainly could read, and he might be, ah, very cognizant of what I thought about something, I would have thought so. He never put into words and never asked me to put into words (2-3G). I was... Frankly I was grateful. I was very glad, just a little old Coast Guard and a little old Justice Department employee—nobody. But then getting (B% started) ((xg/too weak)). My mother encouraged me to go my own way.

Valaki: Were you actually in the civil service at the time, with the Coast Guard—a regular civil-service employee?

Friedman: Yes. Um, I remember that 1930 was the date in which, um, I became a genuine civil service employee. The rest of the time I had been simply a consultant. I didn't even have an office downtown. I reported to Captain (B% Luke); I took a briefcase full of stuff and a carton full of papers and (B% so forth) and went to Captain Luke's office, got together the present situation: how many rum runners were involved; where they were going; what they were doing, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera, and made sure that I had all of the dates and, uh...uh, private, uh...listed as to time and the place and all that. And then in... But in the meantime, from 1924 onwards when I first began work with, uh, Commander Luke, I... ((pause))... I guess I must have, ah... I know, I... I was beginning to come to, uh... I had asked the treasurer of the... the Treasury to appoint some aides, I suppose I must have called them—young men, or young people—who would be trained in this field, and that they, like me, would get their training from working with this current material. And so then I began to pick on... on gentlemen like Herman (B% Pool) and Robert, ah... What's his name? Robert... He died of a heart attack driving down the serpentine highway later on. Yeah, I had trained him. He had graduated at Waco, Texas, and came up to Washington, and I forget what they were called. I... Well, they were given a name by the... The Customs... The Customs Bureau agreed

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to pay for all that...agreed to pay for this small unit of people and give them a little office space. And eventually, I remember writing a memorandum...a bit long, single-spaced, several-page memorandum telling what could be done by a properly trained and authorized personalities or personnel. And so we did. I mean, that's the way it developed in 1930, and then I was given a lot of office space and a workroom about as big as this, and then each of them had some office...They shared a...Two young men might share one small office. And time went on and eventually it came to be what came to be. ((Loud laugh.)) I don't even remember what came next!

Valaki: (2G), how did you pick those two young men who came in?

Friedman: Well, I asked that they be, um, have passed the civil-service examination on either mathematics, physics, or chemistry. In other words, it had to be one of the analytical sciences, (B% they had to graduate). (B% Mr. Free.) I understand, just resigned from old age the other day. Well, not the other day—I don't know—but some time ago. And he had to stay until he...I don't know; he may even have worked longer, (3-4g/too weak). He needed to...Well, I know, but anyway, he had served his time and gone. And Mr. ((pause))...Funny, I can't remember the tall skinny guy's name. He was...He died of a heart attack while he was driving his car down the Shirley Highway. And then there was, um...There was a man named (B% Horrich)...I'm pretty sure that was his name, Horrich, who had been an analytical scientist in his training...in his college training, and he became something real...and (B% I believe it was) in the Department of the Treasury. And he was gone. And finally at the end of World War II, the only person that was left then wa...Everybody else had been taken care of; I mean, they had decided what they wanted to do. If they wanted to get out, they got out. If they wanted to stay in, in such-and-such a endeavor, they did, and all that. But at the end of World War II, the only person in that section was this young girl, whose specialty was Arabic. ((Laughs.)) I don't know why that has always amused me so, but why any girl who could speak and write Arabic would want to take a classification as such in government, whatever she wished to do, I don't know. That...You may have seen in the paper a couple of weeks ago about there is this American woman from Houston, Texas, going to Saudi Arabia to give the (B% princess/prince's) daughter a college education—personal friend of mine, Marjorie (B% McCorkdale). I met her in...She was a young newspaper woman in the coast... ah, in Houston, Texas. I was down there in 1927 on a series of vacations and something...No, I literally brought a truckload of unsolved messages from that Gulf coast, all the way from Belize through Honduras, up...and I brought it all up to New York, that area, right there. All those...All those messages were (B% done). And that was...Well, it was just plain rum-runner stuff, and it took instead of a few days, I was gone for six weeks or more. And she, as a newspaper girl, (2G). Since then she's been a big newspaper woman and a woman who, ah, taught in, ah, graduate school... Shakespeare at the University of

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Houston; was a PhD and...and head of the... English literature. I mean, oh, (B% to hear) her achievements (B% and) go on, and laid end-to-end they'd probably reach around the world, and, ah...

Valaki: Well, how about the person who new Arabic? How about her?

Friedman: You know, I don't know what became of her. She came to see me after the...after the, ah, war, but I do not remember what became of her.

Valaki: Do you remember her name?

Friedman: No! I remember it was a very short name, one syllable. Probably a name like Ward or something like that. ((Recorder shut off.))

////////////////////// **End of transcript**//////////////////////