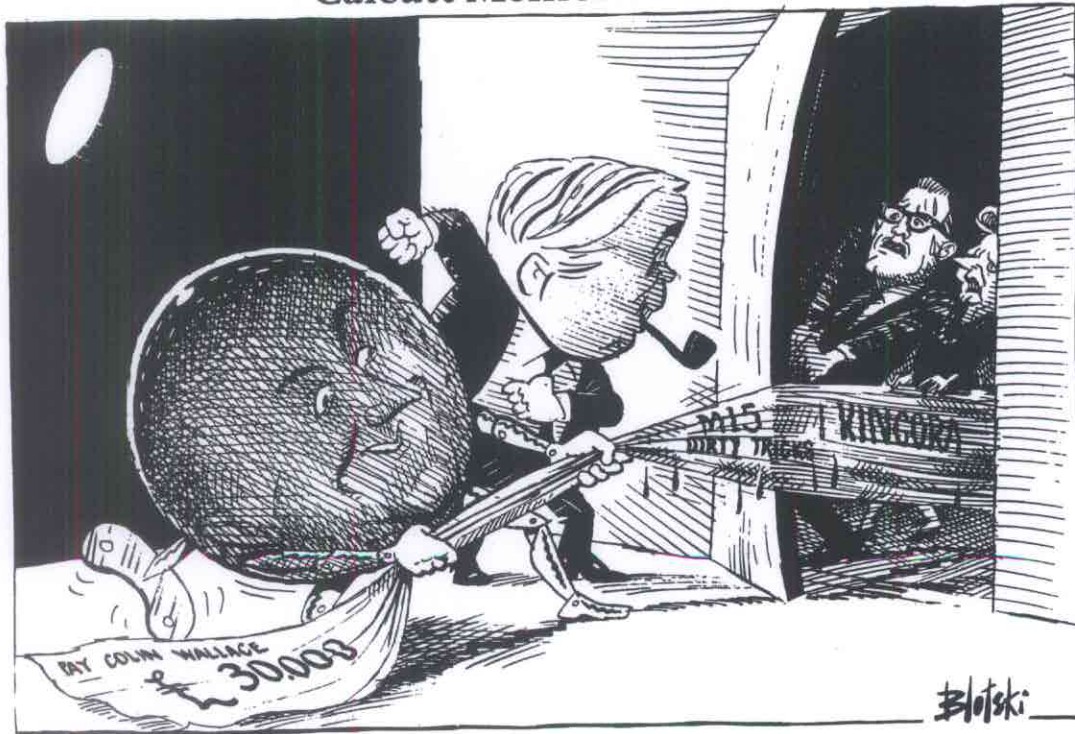


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Late breaking news on Clay Shaw's United Kingdom contacts

Anthony Edward Weeks

Introduction: Lee Harvey Oswald and New Orleans

Lee Harvey Oswald, like his mother Marguerite Oswald (nee Claverie), was born in New Orleans, on 18th October 1939, and spent his first five years in the Crescent City. In early 1944 Mrs Oswald moved to Dallas with Lee and his half-brother, John Pic. She changed addresses frequently and, after periods in Fort Worth and New York, returned to New Orleans with her children in January 1954. In late 1954, aged 15, Oswald became a member of a Civil Air Patrol unit that was run by one David Ferrie. Mrs Oswald left New Orleans again in July 1956 and returned to Fort Worth. On October 24th Oswald enlisted in the Marines.

When Oswald returned from the Soviet Union in June 1962 with Marina, his Soviet wife, they went to stay with his half-brother in Fort Worth. Oswald obtained a number of jobs that proved unsatisfactory and, unable to find further employment locally, Marina suggested he go to New Orleans to look for work. He stayed with his aunt, Lillian Murret. At the beginning of May he secured employment with the William B. Reilly Co., for coffee grinders and packagers, as a machinery greaser. Marina and their daughter joined him in a small apartment on Magazine Street. On July 19th Oswald was dismissed by the Reilly Co. for 'poor working habits'. He then organized the New Orleans 'chapter' of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), getting 'Hands Off Cuba' leaflets printed. While engaged in this pro-Castro activity he visited Carlos Bringuier, a Cuban refugee and prominent anti-Castro activist, told him he was experienced in guerilla warfare and offered his services in the armed struggle against Castro.

Oswald's one-man FPCC chapter was based at 544 Camp Street. The room he rented there was in a three-storey building that had entrances on two bordering streets, and thus had two addresses: 531 Lafayette Street and 544 Camp Street. The building was part-rented by William Guy Bannister, a racist, violent anti-communist, and member of the John Birch Society. Bannister had served in the FBI and had risen to be Special Agent-in-Charge of the Bureau's Chicago office. After retiring from the Feds he had been appointed assistant superintendent of the New Orleans Police Department, a position he lost after pulling a gun on a waiter in a local bar. He then formed Guy Bannister Associates, a private detective agency cum political front that reflected his own extremist views. One of the first people he employed was David Ferrie.

Bannister had earlier persuaded the owner of the building to let space to the CIA-sponsored Cuban Revolutionary Council, headed by Sergio Aracha Smith. Bannister's secretary, Delphine Roberts, told the writer Henry Hurt that Oswald had often come in to see Bannister, and this has been confirmed elsewhere. (For example, in Anthony Summers' *Conspiracy*.) Further, she said that Bannister was well aware of Oswald keeping the FPCC placards and leaflets in the room he rented, and that Bannister was only upset when Oswald brought the stuff into his office. The Bannister-Oswald connection, the fact that while Oswald claimed some 35 members for his FPCC chapter he only had one, and, moreover, his chapter had never been chartered by the national FPCC in New York, suggests that Oswald was running a phoney FPCC chapter as part of the FBI's Cointelpro operations against the American left.

On 9th August Bringuier saw Oswald giving out 'Hands Off Cuba' leaflets on Canal Street, a rumpus developed and Oswald (along with Bringuier and two other Cubans) was arrested, held in jail overnight and released after paying a \$10 fine. A week later he was distributing the leaflets again - this time outside the New Orleans International Trade Mart.

Marina and their daughter returned to Dallas on 23rd September. Two days later Oswald left New Orleans for Mexico City to visit the Cuban and Soviet Embassies. He re-entered the United States on 3rd October and headed for Dallas. On November 24th he was shot dead by Jack Ruby.

Clay Shaw, Jim Garrison (and others)

In mid-February 1967, nearly three and a half years after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, news reports from New Orleans claimed that the local district attorney, Jim Garrison, was investigating the President's murder. Within a week Garrison was holding a press conference and claiming that he had 'positively solved the assassination of John F. Kennedy'. On the day the news of Garrison's investigation broke in the local New Orleans *States-Item* newspaper, David Ferrie contacted the paper claiming he was targeted in Garrison's investigation as the getaway pilot for the Dealey Plaza assassins - an allegation Ferrie strongly denied.

Ferrie was a bizarre, hairless individual who glued red false hair and eyebrows to himself. A homosexual, he had been dismissed as a commercial pilot by Eastern Airlines in September 1963 for sodomizing a young boy. Ferrie was also a rabid anti-communist with good connections amongst the exiled anti-Castro Cubans who were then nearly as numerous in New Orleans as they were in Florida. He had probably worked for the CIA in some covert capacity, and on 22nd November 1963 had been in a New Orleans courtroom with Carlos Marcello, the Louisiana mafia boss, for whom he was working as a private investigator. (It was widely believed that Ferrie had flown Marcello back from Mexico after Bobby Kennedy had him kidnapped and illegally deported.) Ferrie had also worked for Guy Bannister, and had earlier run the Civil Air Patrol unit the teenage Lee Harvey Oswald had joined.

On 22nd February 1967 Ferrie's body was discovered in his apartment. The coroner later ruled that death was from natural causes, a brain haemorrhage. Garrison claimed he had committed suicide because of the tightening net of his investigation, pointing to two notes Ferrie had left, one to an ex-lover named Al, and one that read in its entirety: 'To leave this life is, for me, a sweet prospect. I find nothing in it that is desirable, and on the other hand everything that is loathsome.' Whether these unsigned notes had been hanging around the apartment for a while, were suicide notes (or 'suicide' notes), remains unresolved 25 years later.

Meanwhile in Washington the Powers That Be were showing an abiding interest in Garrison's investigation. President Johnson called Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark and spoke to him about Ferrie's death. LBJ was 'very concerned about this matter' and wanted full details.

On March 1st Ferrie was buried and Garrison announced the arrest of Clay L. Shaw for 'participation in a conspiracy to murder John F. Kennedy'. Shaw was a prominent social and business figure in New Orleans, who, nearly two years earlier, had received New Orleans' highest civic honour, the medal of the International Order of Merit. He was the director of the New Orleans International Trade Mart which promoted the commercial merits of the city around the world. Garrison would claim that Shaw was also intimate with Ferrie - politically, sexually and conspiratorially. The keystone of Garrison's case was the contention that Clay Shaw used the alias of Clay or Clem Bertrand. The DA would prove that Bertrand was involved in the assassination conspiracy and then show that he and Shaw were one and the same.

Shortly after the arrest Ramsey Clark surprised everyone by announcing in Washington that immediately after the assassination Shaw had been investigated by the FBI and come up clean as a whistle. This was news to the Feds - there had been no investigation. A Justice Department official subsequently tried to clear up the confusion and limit the Acting Attorney General's damage by saying Clay Bertrand and Clay Shaw were the same man, but this was what Garrison was saying anyway and it only succeeded in moving the confusion into fourth gear. (Later the Justice Department would declare that Clay Bertrand was not a real person and no evidence had ever been found suggesting that

Clay Shaw had used the name.)

Garrison had been led to Bertrand by the testimony given to the Warren Commission by jive-talking New Orleans 'hip pocket' attorney, Dean Andrews, who had claimed that shortly after the assassination Bertrand had telephoned him requesting that he go to Dallas and represent Oswald. (On Andrews see below.)



Dean Adams Andrews, Jr. (left)

Andrews gave conflicting accounts and descriptions of Bertrand and eventually claimed he was a figment of his imagination. He would also say that Bertrand was definitely not Shaw, though by this time so much pressure had been put on him he was only opening his mouth to change feet. He would also say, under oath, in front of a grand jury, when asked whether Bertrand and Shaw were the same person, 'I can't say that he is and I can't say that he ain't.'

Garrison marshalled a group of witnesses to support his case that ran the whole spectrum from the completely believable to the completely incredible: from the credible postman, James Hardiman, who said he delivered mail to 'Clay Bertrand' addressed to Shaw's house and that it was never returned, through to Charles I. Spiesel who freely told how malevolent strangers were forever hypnotizing him and that whenever his daughter returned from college he regularly finger-printed her to ensure that an imposter had not been substituted. There was also Perry Raymond Russo who had attended a party at Ferrie's apartment where he had met an older man named Bertrand and Ferrie's room-mate, Leon (*sic*) Oswald. Oswald and Bertrand were discussing an assassination plot. Bertrand was Shaw, Oswald was Oswald.

If Garrison was putting Shaw on trial he was also putting the Warren Commission on trial and the broadsides he fired into the Chief Justice's Report hastened its demise. This would be Garrison's great contribution to the JFK mystery. The Zapruder film was shown ten times during the course of the trial to demonstrate the 'triangulation of cross-fire' that Garrison claimed killed Kennedy.

On 1st March 1969, two years to the day after his arrest, Clay Shaw was found innocent of the charges laid against him. Five years later he was dead of cancer at the age of sixty-one.

Who was Clay Shaw? James Kirkwood, for instance, spent a considerable time with Shaw throughout the trial and wrote a 600 page account of the action with a pronounced pro-Shaw bias. Yet reading it is like watching *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. We see Shaw as Defendant and nothing else. Kirkwood frequently appears to be on the brink of saying something but pulls back at the last moment.

Harold Weisberg discovered a 1954 FBI report from a New Orleans informant that said he had 'relations of a homosexual nature with Clay Shaw', and that Shaw was 'given to sadism and masochism in his homosexual activities'. Ferrie seems to have inhabited a similar gay milieu and it is not far-fetched to believe they may have known each other in the French Quarter's sexual underground - they certainly had friends in common. Was 'Clay Bertrand' Shaw's *nom de guerre* in gay New Orleans back in the homophobic early 1960's? When Garrison arrested Shaw in March 1967 his office had discovered a chain, five whips, a black hood and cape, and a gown in Shaw's bedroom where hooks had been screwed into the ceiling. The DA would later say that what appeared to be dried blood was found on the whips. Shaw's friends at the time said that this paraphernalia was part of a Mardi Gras costume - an explanation offered to James Kirkwood by Shaw's mother which he duly reported without comment.

I have been told by a woman who knew Shaw very well throughout the 1950's and 60's that Shaw's homosexuality was no secret in his social circle. But while his friends might know he was gay, New Orleans did not. If I underscore his homosexuality it is to emphasize the compartmentalisation of his life, a trait that would be valuable for anyone with connection to intelligence operations.

In 1977 a CIA memo surfaced dated 28th September 1967 and headed 'Garrison Investigation: Queries from Justice Department'. This said that between 1949 and 1956 the Agency had received 30 reports from Shaw concerning international trade and political activities in countries ranging from Peru to East Germany, Argentina and Nicaragua. Henry Hurt has noted that while the contacts apparently ceased in 1956 Shaw continued to enjoy a good relationship with Langley and it is possible that Shaw's work became more sensitive and ceased to be recorded in the general files. Further evidence of Shaw's involvement with the CIA came in 1975 from Victor Marchetti who had resigned from the Agency in 1969. At the time of the Garrison investigation he was Executive Assistant to the CIA Deputy Director, and it was then, so Marchetti says, that helping Shaw was discussed at the highest levels of the Agency.

In 1979 Richard Helms, who in 1963 had been the Agency's Deputy Director for Plans (i.e. covert operations), admitted under oath in a trial that he knew of Shaw. He said, 'The only recollection I have of Clay Shaw and the Agency is that I believe that at one time as a businessman he was one of the part-time contacts of the Domestic Contact Division, the people that talked to businessmen, professors and so forth, and who travelled in and out of the country.' Helms had earlier denied that there was any connection. Was he now telling the truth? Allen Dulles astonished fellow members of the Warren Commission by telling them in a secret session that members of the intelligence community would lie, if need be, under oath, that the truth in some regards would never be known. Helms may have been telling the truth in 1979 but the sin may be that of omission rather than commission. In the phrase much loved by English lawyers, we need 'further and better particulars'. Shaw was probably not involved in the assassination of Kennedy, though he may well have known individuals who were. Could this quiet American have been another 'cold war warrior'? What do we know about him? What could we find out?

The address book

When Clay Shaw was arrested on 1st March 1967 his house in the French Quarter was searched and among the items taken away by the DA was a personal address book. A photocopy was subsequently deposited with the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, in Washington D.C., and it was from a copy of this that I worked. The photocopy shows the book to be a spring-backed ring-binder, rather like a Filofax, with 175 mm by 98 mm pages. The index tabs are in pairs, A and B, C and D, which frequently results in alphabetical displacement. In all there are some 56 pages of names and addresses. Most of the entries are

typewritten but corrections and additions have been done in Shaw's hand. The book is almost wholly composed of home addresses and phone numbers and it is only very occasionally that a company address or phone is given. It was obviously Shaw's social and private address book, as opposed to any 'work' address book.

There are some 216 names in the book, many with more than one address and with earlier addresses crossed out. It may well date back to the late 1950's. The vast majority of the addresses are in North America (that is the USA, Canada and Mexico), and aside from the United Kingdom entries dealt with here, the other overseas entries break down as follows: Belgium 3, Colombia 1, France 6, Germany 1, Holland 2, Italy 4, Norway 1, and Spain 4.

In his 1988 *On the Trail of the Assassins* Garrison describes the address book as 'probably the most interesting single item seized in the course of Shaw's arrest', and goes on to discuss it, pp146-7. He says it 'offered some insights into his proclivity for developing casual relationships at lofty levels of European aristocracy', which is certainly true, and he lists several titled individuals who appear in its pages. He then rather sours his point by claiming that the CIA has a 'romantic infatuation with the fading regimes', which seems to suggest he thinks Langley is preparing for the comeback of the *ancien regime*.

One very intriguing entry among the addresses that Garrison alighted upon back in 1967 is:

Lee Odom
PO Box 19106
Dallas, Tex

(On p146 of *On the Trail* Garrison transcribes it incorrectly - which makes one wonder when he last looked at the address book himself.)

In Lee Harvey Oswald's address book there appears the citation '* * 19106' (the asterisks here represent two Cyrillic characters not available on this keyboard). Garrison claims that they say P O, but either way there is an odd coincidence here. Who and what was this? Shaw's attorney at the time of the trial produced a Lee Odom who said that he had a PO Box number in Irving, a Dallas suburb, and that PO Box 19106 in Dallas had been used for a while in some barbecue company he was associated with (though it had never been in his name), and that he had met Shaw once to discuss promoting bloodless bull-fights in New Orleans! At the very least this was a suspicious coincidence and one that has yet to be explained. Oswald had written the notation in his address book no later than 1963, and yet the Dallas Post Office in that year had not yet acquired a Box with such a high number. In his book Garrison fails to mention that it was *bloodless* bullfights that Odom claimed to be promoting, and also neglects to say that the two characters preceding the number in Oswald's address book were in Cyrillic. Such omissions point to a highly selective (or sloppy) presentation of facts. What else is he not telling us?

The UK names are addresses are here presented in alphabetical order. The bracketed [T] and [H] mean typewritten or handwritten entries. Proper names rendered in caps in these notes indicate that an entry also exists for them.

Perhaps a few words on address book methodology (*sic*). On the table in front of me as I write this is my own address book, a fat red-leather bound Filofax which has been with me for fifteen years or so and which, at a guess contains a thousand or so names with addresses and telephone numbers. It contains the names of quite a few people who know quite a bit about me, but the vast majority know little or nothing. There are people I have met once many years ago and even people I have never met or communicated with in any way, whose entries I would be hard put to explain. I've taken the names and address of people at parties and never seen them again - and so on. Clay Shaw by all accounts was a witty, charming and courteous individual. He met hundreds of people. He had many legitimate business interests..... and naturally people would end up in his address book. Their presence may mean nothing.

The United Kingdom contacts

Before continuing let me tip my cap to two fellow English JFK buffs who have each made a foray into this neck of the woods. Michael Eddowes told me years ago that in the early 1970's he went through Shaw's UK contacts: 'there was nothing much of

interest - a couple of old ladies in Mayfair and so on.' This is a reference to Lady D'Arcy and Lady Hulse who are noted below. Of much greater significance to Eddowes was a discovery he made in Toronto when he knocked on the door of an apartment owned by one of Shaw's boyfriends: it was opened by a fellow named Robin Drury. Drury, a homosexual, had been the 'agent' of Christine Keeler during the time of the British sex scandal known as the Profumo Affair in 1963. Like Eddowes I had often wondered whether Shaw knew Stephen Ward, the osteopath at the centre of the affair. This discovery inches the contention forward.

Stephen Dorril is the other pioneer of UK Shaw studies (and co-author, with Anthony Summers of the best book on the Profumo Affair *Honeytrap: the Secret Worlds of Stephen Ward*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987). He had spoken to Olwen Janson (see below) several times in the mid-1970's after reading about the interview she gave to the London *Daily Mail* in Joesten's book on Garrison. The interview is mentioned under Sir Michael DUFF and details of Joesten's book will be found in the Further Reading section at the end.

The first thing that struck me when I looked through the addresses was that Shaw's London contacts all lived in the best and most expensive areas: Belgraveia, Mayfair, Kensington, St. John's Wood and Whitehall. Whoever Shaw was he did not seem to know anyone in the low rent zones.....

Frith Banbury
4 St. James Terrace
Prince Albert Road,
London NW 8
[T]

(Frederick Harold) Frith Banbury was born on 4th May 1912, the son of Rear-Admiral Frith Banbury. He was educated at Stowe School and Hertford College, Oxford, and later studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. Throughout the 1930's and 1940's he was an actor and appeared in many West End productions and several films, including Michael Powell's *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943). Since 1947 he has been a successful theatrical producer and director - his two most recent productions in London were *The Corn is Greener* at the Old Vic in 1987 and *The Admirable Crichton* at the Haymarket in 1988.

4 St. James Terrace was demolished quite recently along with a couple of its neighbours and on the site of these houses was built a very fine modern apartment block that goes under the name of Park St. James, commanding fine views across Regents Park. Banbury now lives in the block.

Banbury told me that he had met Shaw while visiting New Orleans in 1952. He was introduced by a mutual friend, an actress. It was during Mardi Gras and Banbury was staying in a hotel running up a high bill. Shaw suggested he stay with him at his house for a few days and Banbury accepted. He said Shaw was a generous and attentive host. In the late 1950's or early 1960's Shaw telephoned Banbury while in London and they had lunch together. This was the last time they met. When Banbury read about the Garrison investigation he sent Shaw a letter of support. Frith Banbury could not believe that Shaw was in any way involved with the JFK assassination, yet, like Olwen JANSON below, he could well imagine him involved with the CIA as an agent.

Lady Margaret D'Arcy
109 Earls Court Road,
London W8
[T]

Lady Margaret Florence Grace D'Arcy was born on 2nd October 1907, the youngest daughter of the (13th) Earl of Kinnoull (1855-1916). In 1929 she married a Norman D'Arcy and had several children. While raising her family she wrote four novels, all published by John Murray in London: *Down the Sky* (1935), *Sir Monckton Requests* (1936), *Malignant Star* (1939) and *Racket* (1940). She was divorced from D'Arcy in 1942.

Lady Margaret's daughter, Philippa, who now lives in Monaco, told me that her mother was a great traveller and also very active on the lecture tour circuit in the United States through an organization she believed was called British American Associates. (See John William HUGHES.) Both Philippa and her mother knew Sir Steven RUNCIMAN and Lord MONTAGU: 'but

then my mother was always very active and knew hundreds of people.'

Lady Margaret was a devout Christian. Her last published work was *A Book of Modern Prayers* (Aldington, Kent; Hand and Flower Press, 1951). 109 Earl's Court Road and its neighbour, 107, part of a terrace of modest Victorian stucco villas, were demolished in the late 1960's and replaced by a pleasing block of flats. Lady Margaret then went to live in Mayfair with Lady HULSE who had sometimes accompanied her on trips to the United States as unpaid secretary and companion. There was a rift between the two titled ladies around 1974 and Lady Margaret moved out. She died in 1976 aged 68.

★

Alan Davis
23 Ennismore Gardens
London SW7
[T]

Ennismore Gardens is one of the most attractive squares in London, situated behind the Victoria and Albert Museum, roughly mid-way between Kensington to the west and Knightsbridge to the east. Clay Shaw mis-spelt Davis' Christian name - it is Allan Davis, under which the following entry appears in the 1973-74 *British Film and Television Year Book* (London, Cinema TV Today, 1974), p104:

DAVIS, ALLAN. Director (films, TV and plays). Born 30th August, 1913, London. Entered films in 1951 after several years as a director on the stage. Went to Hollywood under contract to MGM and directed *Rogue's March*(MGM) in 1953 etc. Back in Britain he has directed many TV films in the following series: *Rendezvous*, *Dick and the Duchess*, *O.S.S.* etc.. 1960, directed feature films *Clue of the Twisted Candle*, *Clue of the New Pin*. 1961-2, directed *Square Mile Murder*, *Wings of Death*, *The Fourth Square*, etc.. Since 1962: Directing on West End and Broadway stage. 1971-73: *No Sex Please - We're British*. (stage)
Address: 23 Ennismore Gardens, London SW7.

Davis told me that in 1960 he was touring the United States lecturing on theatre and drama at various Universities through the Rockefeller Foundation. He spent a few days in New Orleans while at Tulane University and met Shaw a couple of times through people he knew on the faculty. He said Shaw was very interested in the theatre and very good company. Davis gave Shaw his address and said he must look him up if he ever came to London: they never met or communicated again. In 1967 David was startled to read about Shaw's arrest in *Time* magazine and could not believe that Shaw was in any way involved. David moved out of Ennismore Gardens some years ago and now lives in Belgravia.

The who shot John?

Suddenly we've got Kennedy assassins all over the place. In August, the former Dallas policeman Roscoe White was identified as the shooter on the grassy knoll by his son, after an alleged death-bed confession in 1973. Reports from the buff community in the United States are mixed. Attracting less attention, on May 11th the JFK researcher Gary Shaw held a press conference in Texas and announced that from an (unnamed) mafia source he had learned that a series of attempted assassinations had been planned in November 1963, organised by the mafia. The successful attempt allegedly involved Sam Giancana, Charles Nicoletti, John Rosselli and Jack Ruby, all now dead, with Nicoletti firing the fatal shot. The unnamed source originally contacted Anthony Summers. This was reported in *Conflict* no 4. (*Conflict* has since ceased publication. A note in issue 5 reported a 'a lack of interest on the part of an overwhelming majority of those who have received many free issues and have elected not to subscribe'.)

In the late 1970's Nicolletti featured heavily on Mae Brussel's radio programme for a while, though I have now forgotten in which context. We recently received a note about the Mae Brussel Research Center announcing that it had closed, apparently through lack of financial support. Brussel's library and files are now in storage. Interested parties could try contacting what is left of the organisation on 415 658 1855.

Sir Michael Duff
Vaynol,
Bangor.
Wales

[T: handwritten underneath '82 Cadogan Place']

Sir Charles Michael Robert Vivian Duff was born on 3rd May 1907. Apart from a brief spell in the RAF during the last war, he seems to have spent the greater part of his life in socializing and not much else. Sir Michael was a well-known bisexual who, according to one source, liked to dress in drag as the late Queen Mary. Cecil Beaton, the photographer, latched on to Sir Michael in the 1920's and it seems they had a long affair. They certainly remained friends throughout their lives and Sir Michael features in Hugo Vickers' *Cecil Beaton: The Authorized Biography* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985) He married the eldest daughter of the Marquess of Anglesey in 1949. His death on 3rd March 1980 from cancer was what the Victorians would have called a merciful release: he had suffered greatly.

Sir Michael is chiefly remembered today as the god-father of Tony Armstrong-Jones, the photographer who married (and later divorced) the Queen's sister, Princess Margaret, and who now sails under the title of the Earl of Snowden.

Olwen JANSON told me that Shaw always spoke fondly of Sir Michael. They had met during the war when Shaw was stationed in London. I also learned from another source that they had been lovers and, indeed, that Sir Michael may have been one of the two greatest loves of Shaw's life (the other being William Formyduval with whom he lived). Sir Michael introduced Shaw to London society, to Winston Churchill, and may even have introduced him to Peter MONTGOMERY, Anthony Blunt's lover.

As to Sir Michael's two addresses, Vaynol was his country estate near the town of Bangor on the north coast of Wales, some 250 miles north-east of London, while Cadogan Place was his London address in Belgravia, only a couple of doors away from G. R. SPENCER (and Mike Leach).

Bangor is on the Menai Straits which separate Wales from the Isle of Anglesey and there, no more than ten miles away, lived John William HUGHES. A relative of Hughes told me that she thought it very unlikely he knew Sir Michael. However Sir Steven RUNCIMAN did know Sir Michael, though he was unaware that Shaw did as well.

In the interview that Olwen JANSON gave with Charles Greville, the society columnist of the *London Daily Mail*, on 17th March 1967, she said that one of Shaw's friends was a Member of Parliament. The MP was not identified in the piece but Mrs Janson tells me she was referring to Sir Michael. In fact he was never an MP.

A third allegation is included in *The Squad: the US Government's secret alliance with organized crime*, Michael Milan, (Prion/Multimedia, London 1989) 'Michael Milan' is the pseudonym of someone who claims to have been a former OSS member and minor criminal recruited just after the war by J. Edgar Hoover into a covert FBI assassination squad. Just after the assassination 'Milan' claims he was sent by Hoover to Dallas to murder a taxi driver. Before dying the taxi driver confessed that he had been part of a (failed) Jack Ruby-sponsored assassination attempt aimed, not at Kennedy, but at governor John Connolly! Although this section is rather garbled, 'Milan' appears to be telling us that the taxi driver's version of the shooting in Dallas was not a million miles from that described in the first volume of the Shea/Wilson fantasy *The Illuminatus Trilogy*, with teams of would-be assassins bumping into each other in the bushes behind the grassy knoll. If true, 'Milan's' book is a sensation. As nothing at all seems to have appeared in the UK media on it, I assume it to be deemed a fantasy. Information on Mr 'Milan' most welcome. As for the successful assassination in Dallas, 'Milan' quotes Hoover as telling him 'I'll just say: Johnson. No doubt. We stand away.' (pp209/210)

Andrew Gillan
6 Bryce Avenue
Edinburgh 7
Scotland
U.K.

[H]

Shaw mis-spelt this name – it should be *Gillon*.

Andrew Gillon is now in his early fifties and is a successful businessman running his own computer company in Edinburgh. At the time he met Shaw he was working for IBM who had flown him to London for training. Gillon told me he met Clay Shaw 'once and once only – on a bus going out from the Cromwell Road airline terminal [London] to Heathrow. It was either 1964 or 1965. I was returning to Edinburgh and Shaw was flying to Dublin. He told me he was a retired businessman, but he had something to do with exhibitions. We were going to meet the following week when I was back in London but I came down with flu and did not return to London for a while. I never saw or spoke to him again. Then, a couple of years later, I was listening to the radio over breakfast and I heard that he had been arrested by the New Orleans district attorney. I could not believe what I was hearing. It came as a great shock meeting someone then hearing that they had been arrested on such a charge.'

*

John William Hughes
Marianglas
Isle of Anglesey
Wales G.B.
Moelfre – 392
[H]

The Isle of Anglesey is the island off the coast of North Wales that is separated from the mainland by the Menai Straits. Marian-glas (*sic*) is a small village on the north-east coast. Moelfre is the telephone exchange that takes its name from a nearby town.

I eventually tracked down a relative of Hughes', Ellen Roger-Jones, who lives on the island. She is the sister of the actor Hugh Griffiths. She told me that Hughes was born on Anglesey just before the first world war and grew up there. He was a great traveller and widely respected in his time as a journalist. He fought as a volunteer in the Spanish Civil War but she could not recall on whose side. He was a very powerful public speaker and orator and had once stood as a Liberal candidate in a general election. The name Clay Shaw meant nothing to her.

Hughes was very active in the English Speaking Union and frequently went on lecture tours in the United States for an organization called something like American-English Associates (this may well have been the same outfit Lady Margaret D'ARCY was involved with). In about 1970 he married a woman from New York who had 'aristocratic' connections, a widow with children, whose aunt was very famous in New York theatrical circles. Hughes returned with his wife to Anglesey. The woman did not like provincial Welsh life and returned home with a year. Hughes died of cancer in Bangor Hospital circa 1970. Bangor was the home of Sir Michael DUFF. Roger-Jones does not believe that Hughes knew him.

*

Lady Hulse
7 Culross St.
London W1
[T]

Lady Hulse still lives in Culross Street, Mayfair, in a very fine mews house, immediately behind the American Embassy. She could not recall ever meeting Clay Shaw or hearing the name, and neither could her house-keeper and companion who has been with her for fifty years. As Lady Hulse worked as an unpaid secretary to Lady Margaret D'ARCY on her American lecture tours it seems entirely likely that Shaw may have met her through Lady Margaret, perhaps just once, and would have no particular reason to remember it. Certainly Shaw never visited Culross Street. Lady Dorothy Hulse was formerly married to Sir Westrow Hulse, the barrister.

*

Mr and Mrs Hugh Janson
26 Laxford House
Cundy Street,

London

The Boat House, Queens Rd.
Cowes, Isle of Wight
Cowes 3849
[T]

Cundy Street is in the SW1 postal district of London on the edge of Belgravia, not far away from Victoria Station. Laxford House is one of four apartment blocks built around a quadrant and dating from, I would guess, the early 1930's. When the Jansons sold their apartment in the late 1960's it was purchased by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the former Conservative Prime Minister. The Jansons also sold their house in Cowes and they now live in the west of England. Olwen Janson told me the following.

The niece of Lord Oranmore and Browne, she was born in England in 1928. In the early 1950's she married Wayne Harriess in New York. He was the son of an ex-President of the New York Stock Exchange whose vast wealth came from oil, real estate and other business holdings. The Harriess were also close to the Kennedys at this time.

In 1953 Olwen was travelling through New Orleans with her husband when they discovered a house for sale at 613 Dumaine Street. She promptly bought it from the owner, the novelist William March (author of *The Bad Seed*). Olwen discovered a very fine local antique shop run by a Carol Lewis (not in the address book), a homosexual Veteran who had served as a sergeant in the US Army in France under Clay Shaw. It was through him that Olwen met Shaw, 'one of the most charming and engaging men I have ever met.' They became close friends and confidants almost immediately and they remained so throughout the three years Olwen lived in New Orleans. When Wayne Harriess died in 1956 Shaw gave Olwen considerable help and she believes that without him she would never have survived. After she left New Orleans in 1956 and returned to London, they remained in regular contact right up until Shaw's death in 1974. They corresponded regularly and Olwen was always the first person Shaw looked up when he arrived in London.

There was no secrecy in New Orleans about Shaw's homosexuality – he openly lived with a life-long lover, William Formyduval.

Shaw was always talking about London and he said that after New Orleans it was his favourite city. He had first visited London during the war when he was in the Army and he would spend lengthy periods there up until 1945. It was at this time he met Sir Michael DUFF of whom he always spoke fondly. They became lovers. Sir Michael introduced Shaw to London society and the two of them frequently had dinner with Winston Churchill. It may have been Sir Michael who had introduced Shaw to Peter MONTGOMERY.

During the invasion of France, Shaw was shot in the left leg and the resulting wound caused a permanent limp. He was awarded the Croix de Guerre by the French but Olwen does not know why. She believed he rose to be a colonel (Harold Weisberg thinks a major). There are as yet unsubstantiated reports that he served in OSS.

Shaw was passionately interested in the theatre and wrote a number of plays himself. One of them, about life in a submarine (did he see service underwater?) was made into a film but Olwen cannot remember the details. Tennessee Williams was a very close friend of Shaw's but, curiously, he is absent from the address book.

Olwen still thinks very fondly of Shaw. His death was a sad blow to her. She cannot believe he had anything to do with the assassination of Kennedy, yet she can believe that he played footsie with the CIA. She loaned me a copy of the 13th July 1968 *New Yorker* that contained a lengthy piece by Edward Jay Epstein on the Garrison investigation. Clay had sent it to her at the time and on the front cover, at the bottom he had written:

Olwyn (*sic*) darling –
See page 35 for the
incredible tale of the
century. Thanks for your
letter. I'll answer soon!
Much love to you and Hugh
Clay

(Hugh is Hugh Janson who Olwen married after returning to London.)

Larry Lawrence
Yewtree Cottage
Benhams Lane
Fawley Green
Hensley-on-Thames (sic)

Rubbish!
I wrote 'upper class' !!

Hensley should be Henley, some forty miles west of London and the home of the famous annual boating regatta, an important date in the social calendar of the English ruling elites. Fawley Green is an extended hamlet of a place, high in the hills above Henley, that still seems remote and arcadian. The houses here are hidden in a well-wooded landscape that tumbles down to the Thames. The present occupants of Yewtree Cottage only recently purchased the property and told me that it had passed through many hands in the 1970's and 80's. The cottage seems originally to have been a remote early nineteenth century laborer's house but additions and modifications have turned it into a picturesque exercise in gentrification.

An informant who had lived in the village for many years told me: 'Larry Lawrence worked as a chef in Henley and London. He was very handsome, and also sweet and polite. He lived in the cottage with his boyfriend who was an officer in the United States Air Force at High Wycombe. The boyfriend was quite senior - he may have been a major. Larry moved out in the late 1960's and I don't know where you would find him now.'

A boyfriend in the USAF? I wondered if this was originally Shaw's friend and that through him Shaw met Lawrence? I checked through the address book and found only one entry with USAF connections, an individual shown at various bases - Lowry (Colorado) AFB, Amarillo (Texas) AFB, George (California) AFB, and one near Tuscon (Arizona), the name of which I cannot decipher. He is also shown at one time as being in Brussels. I don't know if this person is Lawrence's friend and it would be improper to print his name.

From 1951 to 1965 High Wycombe was the USAF's Strategic Air Command nerve centre and Seventh Air Division's HQ.

*

Lord Edward Montagu
15 Mount St.
London W1
[T]

This is Edward John Barrington Douglas-Scott-Montagu, 3rd Baron of Beaulieu, popularly known as Lord Montagu. Born 20th October 1926, educated at Eton and Oxford, he served in the Grenadier Guards.

Lord Montagu's large country estate, Beaulieu in Hampshire, some seventy miles south-west of London, houses the National Motor Museum which he founded in 1952. It is probably the largest collection of vintage cars in Britain and attracts a considerable number of visitors each year. His Lordship is active in many committees and organisations relating to museums, transport history, tourism etc. Lord Montagu has been married twice.

In 1954 occurred what has come to be known as the Montagu Case. With Peter Wildeblood, the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* and Michael Pitt-Rivers, Lord Montagu was arrested and charged with specific acts of indecency (homosexuality) involving two serving members of the Royal Air Force, Edward McNally and John Reynolds, both in their early twenties. The defendants were also charged with conspiracy to commit the acts - the double-whammy to ensure that no-one got off. At this time in Britain homosexuality was a criminal offence. The police and prosecution showed much prejudice and malice at the trial, frightening McNally and Reynolds into turning Queen's Evidence. They got off, Wildeblood and Pitt-Rivers were gaoled for eighteen months, Montagu for a year.

Wildeblood wrote a good first-hand account of the case, *Against the Law* (London, Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1955) which details the unscrupulousness and severity with which the prosecution pursued the case. He also offers some explanation on pp45-6. On 25th October 1953 the *Sydney Morning Telegraph* published a cable from its London correspondent, Donald Horne, about a police and Home Office plan to 'smash homosexuality in London'. The details presented to the Australian readers were rather fuller than those presented to the British public who had merely heard from Home Secretary Sir David Maxwell-Fyffe, that a 'new drive against male vice' was needed. Horne wrote: The

plan originated under strong United States advice to Britain to weed out homosexuals - as hopeless security risks - from important Government jobs. One of the Yard's top-rankers, Commander E.A. Cole, recently spent three months in America consulting FBI officials in putting finishing touches to the plan.....The Special Branch began compiling a 'Black Book' of known perverts in influential government jobs after the disappearance of the diplomats Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, who were known to have pervert associates. Now comes the difficult task of side-tracking these men into less important jobs - or putting them behind bars.

A cursory examination of this case does seem to suggest that these three unfortunate defendants were victims of some Cold War politicking by the British Government intent on showing the United States that they could and would Do Something About It. I wondered if any any gay historian had examined the way Cold War had impinged on homosexuality in Britain during the 1950's and I was told the book to read was Jeffrey Weeks' *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London, Quartet, 1977). But Weeks merely repeats Wildeblood and adds nothing new.

Lord Montagu's very busy schedule has prevented me from talking to him so far.

*

Peter Montgomery
Blessingbourne
Fivemiletown, NI Ireland
Phone Fivemiletown 221
[T]

Captain Peter Stephen Montgomery of Blessingbourne, to use the styling favoured by the subject, was born on 13th August 1909. He was educated at Wellington College School and Trinity College, Cambridge. Montgomery was the son of Major-General Hugh Maude de Fellenberg Montgomery. His uncle became Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and his second cousin was Bernard Montgomery, Field Marshall Montgomery of Alamein, the commander of the Eighth Army during the Second World War. From 1931 to 1947 he was employed by the BBC in Northern Ireland in various capacities, including Assistant Musical Director and Conductor of the BBC Northern Ireland Symphony Orchestra (1933-38). From 1952-71 he was a member of the BBC Northern Ireland Advisory Council, and from 1963-71 on the BBC General Advisory Council. He was the Honorary ADC to the Governor of Northern Ireland, Lord Wakehurst, from 1954-64, and later Vice-Lieutenant of County Tyrone in Ulster where the family estate, Blessingbourne, was situated. These

Information Wanted

I am trying to research Black (ie of African/Caribbean decent) political organisations in the 1930's and 1940's. All of their papers have disappeared and the PRO is withholding all the files it has not destroyed. Does anybody have any advice as to how to get the PRO to release what it holds? (I've tried the proper channels.) Or how to find any of the MI5 and Special Branch men who infiltrated and surveilled them? (I'm guessing at the infiltration: the surveillance was obvious.) The main groups/men were: Negro Welfare League (Arnold Ward/Peter Blackman); Colonial Information Bureau (Ben Bradley/Reginald Bridgeman/Desmond Buckle); International African Service Bureau, later Pan African Federation (George Patmore/Ras T. Makonnen/Chris Jones); West African National Secretariat (Kwame Nkrume/Bankole Akpata/Bankole Awoonor-Renner). Reply to M.S. c/o Lobster.

Information sought on:

- April 1944 a ship loaded with arms, ammunition and gold exploded in Bombay harbour, destroying 15 or 16 ships, sending out a shock-wave recorded in Simla, 3000 miles away. Information on the explosion, casualties, location of survivors, witnesses etc.
- the Progress Foundation
- the Schumaker Foundation

Does anybody have a copy of, or information on the location of a 1982 pamphlet, NATO and the Third World War, published by Little A, England?

Reply to R.S. c/o Lobster.

bare biographical facts on Montgomery do not betray the keen interest he has for students of 20th century intelligence and espionage. While a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, he became the lover of Anthony Blunt, the Soviet spy, aka 'The Fourth Man'. In the words of Barrie Penrose and Simon



Clay Shaw

Freeman, 'Most of their mutual gay friends assumed that they had begun as lovers and then, in the parlance of the homosexual world, become sisters.' (*Conspiracy of Silence*, London, Grafton, 1986 p48). At the end of 1940 the lease that Lord Rothschild had on a three-story maisonette in Bentinck Street in London expired: Blunt moved in with Tessa Mayor (then Lord Rothschild's secretary in MI5, later his wife), Patricia Rawdon-Smith (who later married a friend of Blunt's) and Guy Burgess. They were soon joined by Jack Hewitt, a sailor boyfriend of Burgess, who very quickly switched his allegiance to Blunt. Hewitt told John Costello that during the time at the flat Blunt had only one visitor come to stay with him: Peter Montgomery. (See Costello's *Mask of Treachery* New York, William Morrow, 1988, p391) This was a kindness that was reciprocated in 1942 when, after exhausting intelligence duties in London and Germany, Blunt went to recuperate at Montgomery's estate at Blessingbourne. Robert Harbinson, who knew Montgomery and Blunt well after the war, has said that 'Anthony had an uncanny hold over Peter. They were in love, at least for a time.' (Penrose and Freeman, *op cit* p48) The secret of Montgomery's relationship with Blunt never came out during their lifetime. Had it done so Montgomery would have been ruined in Northern Ireland where many of his friends and relatives were in the Protestant Orange Order. Ulster would not have been as tolerant as Cambridge or London.

At the beginning of the war Montgomery joined the

Intelligence Corps and rose to the rank of Captain. After 1945 he remained in the army and later went to to become ADC to the Viceroy of India, Lord Wavell.

Blunt was insistent that Montgomery knew nothing of his espionage activities and he went to great lengths right up until the end of his life to protect his friend. Until his death Blunt had a bedroom reserved for Montgomery in his London apartment. In 1980 the London *Sunday Times* interviewed Montgomery in connection with the un-masking of Blunt and he said that 'I knew Anthony had been interrogated in 1964 by the Security Service and I feared that my name would come up. There were other occasions when I thought it would come out and I would get the chop.'

Montgomery died in February 1988.

Clay Shaw, in other words, had one-stop access to Blunt, Philby, Burgess and their milieu. Though there is no information that he met any of them, we know from Olwen JANSON and others that he spent a considerable time in London during the war. (According to her 'he made all his major contacts during those years'.)

A final intriguing footnote. Sir Stephen RUNCIMAN told me that he was an old friend of Montgomery's. When I told him that Montgomery was in Shaw's address book he was startled and said he did not know that they knew each other. Shortly after this he abruptly ended the conversation.

★

Robert Roper
208 Great Portland St.
London
[T; following, handwritten, on a separate sheet]

Robert Roper
Hamilton House
7 Royal Terrace
Southend Essex
4 Tilney Street
Park Lane W-1
GRO 623[?]8

Robert St. John Roper was a noted theatrical costume and dress designer who was born in 1913 in Southend-on-Sea where his father was a cobbler. (Southend can be regarded as London's Coney Island - brash, vulgar and very popular). Roper worked for the Markova-Dolin Ballet in the early 1940's and later designed for many important West End stage productions. He was at the London Palladium for some seventeen years and also designed for shows like the *Black and White Minstrels*. Amongst the films we worked on were Tony Richardson's *Charge of the Light Brigade* (1968). He was also a close friend of the late Sir Norman Hartnell, dressmaker by appointment to the Queen and the Queen Mother.

Roper lived in Great Portland Street in the West End of London in the 1950's. Around 1960 he moved to Tilney Street in Mayfair, a house now demolished, and then bought Hamilton House in Southend in 1966, one of the houses in a very beautiful Royal Terrace which dates back to the 1790's. Roper lovingly restored the house to its period grandeur and the present owner, Mrs Powell, has preserved it exactly as he left it.

One Saturday evening in May 1977 Roper told Mrs Powell, who was then living next door, that he was going to buy cigarettes. He never returned. The following day his body was discovered in the public toilets at the end of Royal Terrace. He had died of a heart attack, aged 64. One informant told me that Roper was beaten up by an American sailor and this brought on the heart attack, but as the source was not present it is hard to gauge the story's reliability. Certainly no suggestion of this appeared in the local papers. Roper's obituary appeared in the *London Daily Telegraph* in the following week.

Bill Barrell lived with Roper for the last thirteen years of his life and can only remember him mentioning Clay Shaw's name once, at the time of Garrison's investigation. Roper might have said something like 'I have met him', but that was all. There is no reason to doubt Barrell's word, but it is odd that from the evidence of the address book Shaw appeared to have known Roper for at least fifteen years. Another curious point is that Roper was always known as St. John Roper, never Robert as Shaw had it. Barrell did not recognize any of the other names in the address book.

Sir Stephen Runciman
18 Elmtree Road
St. John's Wood
London W8
Phone - Cunningham 0010

[Following, after another name]

Sir Steven Runciman
Elshieshields,
Lockerbie,
Dumfriesshire
Scotland
Tel: Lochmaben 280
66 Whitehall Court
London SW1
Whitehall 3160 Ext 68
[T]

Shaw, as can be seen, spells the first name two ways. The correct form is Steven. The Honourable Sir Steven Runciman was born on 7th July 1903, the second son of Viscount Runciman of Doxford. He was educated at Eton (at the same time as George Orwell whom he knew) and Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1927-38 he was a Fellow of Trinity College, and from 1942-45 he was Professor of Byzantine Art and History at the University of Istanbul.

Sir Steven is a very distinguished academic specializing in the history of the Middle East and Byzantium and has been awarded honorary doctorates by nearly every major university in England and America. The author of many books since 1929, he is chiefly known for his three volume *A History of the Crusades* (1951-54). His most recent book, *Mistra*, was published in 1980.

Here is a description of him at Trinity in the 1930's when Anthony Blunt was a student:

The elegant Steven Runciman, however, remained as Trinity College's resident aesthete, cutting elegant poses with a parakeet perched on his heavily ringed fingers and his hair cropped in an Italianate fringe.

This is John Costello in his *Mask of Treachery* p121, quoting Cecil Beaton's *The Wandering Years* (1961). Beaton, it will be remembered, was very close to Sir Michael DUFF.

The three addresses listed represent Sir Steven's homes over a period of fifteen years. The St. John's Wood house was leased from the MCC (Middlesex Cricket Club - Lord's is nearby) throughout the 1950's, then he moved for a couple of years to Whitehall Court, a block of service apartments near the Houses of Parliament, finally going to Lockerbie in the early 1960's where he still lives.

The first time I spoke to Sir Steven he told me that he had met Clay Shaw a couple of times in New Orleans, the last occasion being about 1965, and knew little if nothing about him except that 'he enjoyed teasing the authorities.' I asked him how often he met Shaw in Britain and Sir Steven said he was not aware that Shaw had ever visited Britain. I pointed out to Sir Steven that there were three addresses for him covering some 15 years and asked if he could be mistaken in his recollections? At that point he cut short the conversation and I did not have the opportunity to ask him to explain what he had meant by Shaw liking to tease the authorities.

The second time I spoke to him I asked whether he knew Peter MONTGOMERY. At that stage this was a shot in the dark. Sir Steven said he knew him well. I then asked him if he knew that Montgomery was in Shaw's address book. Sir Steven seemed shocked by this, there was a lengthy silence and he then said in a measured manner, 'I did not know he knew him.' Sir Steven told me that he knew Sir Michael DUFF and was equally surprised that Duff too was in the address book. Sir Steven then abruptly ended the conversation. Lady D'Arcy, above, knew both Sir Steven and Lord Montagu.

G. R. Spencer
Mike Leach
86 Cadogan Pl
London SW1
[H]

86 Cadogan Place is a very fine double-fronted eighteenth-century house on the edge of Belgravia just to the north of Sloane Square which has been recently converted into luxury apartments for

sale. I could not trace either Spencer of Leach and none of Shaw's friends know anything about them except for Olwen JANSON who just remembers that Shaw invariably stayed with them when he was in London.

*

Peter Watling
Roland Gardens
London SE7 FRE 0305

[T; a wavy line through this entry - Shaw's? A deletion?]

Off the Old Brompton Road, Roland House is a hideous pre-war brick apartment block. I could not trace Watling and none of the other English friends of Shaw knew his name. Curiously, in his book on the Lord MONTAGU case, *Against the Law* (1955), Peter Wildeblood wrote (p37): 'At this time I was living in small flat in Roland Gardens, South Kensington.'

*

Marcus Wickam [-] Boynton
4 Green St W1,
London GR 8451
(Vincent Arroyo)
[T]

Green Street is in the heart of Mayfair near the American Embassy. No 4 is situated in an elegant Victorian apartment block on the north side. Marcus is one of the two sons of Captain Thomas Wickham-Boynton (1869-1942), a wealthy Yorkshire landowner. Wickham-Boynton inherited much of his father's wealth and lived a leisured existence, chiefly indulging his twin interests of travel and horse racing. He died in his late forties on 19 December 1989.

I spoke to Vincent Arroyo who had lived with him in Green Street. The two of them were travelling on an extended holiday through the United States in the early 1960's and stayed for five days in New Orleans where they met Clay Shaw. He was a very hospitable host, inviting them to a number of parties and showing them round New Orleans. He took them to the races in the company of a tobacco heiress who was a close friend. Arroyo cannot recall her name. The only other time they met Shaw was a couple of years later when he was in London. Later, when they read of his arrest by Jim Garrison, they sent him a telegram offering their support and sympathy - they could not believe he was guilty.

Wickham-Boynton and Arroyo were friends of Lord MONTAGU.

*

Angus Wilson
(Tony Garrett)
Felsham Woodside
Bradfield St. George
Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk
Tel Rattlesden 200
[T]

This is Sir Angus Wilson, the distinguished novelist, who was born on 11th August 1913. He was educated at Westminster School and Merton College, Oxford, and worked in the Foreign Office from 1942 until 1946. He then worked in the British Museum library until 1955, after which he wrote and lectured full-time. His principal works are *The Wrong Set* (1949), *Hemlock and After* (1952), *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* (1956) and *The Old Men at the Zoo* (1961).

Bradfield St. George is a small village in Suffolk about sixty miles north-west of London. Sir Angus went to live there in the mid-1950's with Tony Garrett, a schoolmaster who was sacked when the nature of his relationship with Sir Angus was discovered by the school's governors. With Sir Angus, Garrett co-edited *East Anglia in Verse* (1982).

Sometime in the 1970's the house at Bradfield St. George was sold and Sir Angus and Garrett moved to St. Remy Cedex in France. Alas, after some years Sir Angus developed Alzheimer's Disease and Garret was forced to return him to England where he was placed in a nursing home thanks to the beneficence of the novelist P.D. James.

*

In conclusion

This enquiry had produced at least one significant name that merits further research and attention and which may help us to understand more fully the political and intelligence face of Clay Shaw: Peter Montgomery.

When I spoke to Harold Weisberg recently I thought he would be able to put me in touch with somebody playing Seth Kantor to Shaw's Jack Ruby. Weisberg told me there is no-one he knew of. I was disappointed to find that I was the only person driving down this highway, and doubly disappointed because I was just about to hit the off-ramp. I hope this piece prompts some other researchers to hit the road.

Further reading

Researching this article prompted my first major reading of the *Warren Report* in about 15 years, and it was quite startling to find what is included, even if none of the parapolitically significant stuff is ever followed up. It was even more startling to find what is excluded but that is another story. Appendix XIII, 'Biography of Lee Harvey Oswald', is very useful for dates and non-controversial facts. The edition I used was that 'prepared' by Doubleday and Company, New York, 1964. This is the gentleman's edition, in hardcover, with 'An Analysis and Commentary by Louis Nizer' and 'A Historical Afterword by Bruce Catton.' And with extra illustrations, yet! I do not know whether Nizer is still enriching the Republic with his sage reflections but this from his opening essay should make him wince:

The Commission has taken note of rumors in books, newspaper columns, radio or television programs, and lectures. It has set forth the facts and permitted the hobgoblins to vanish in their presence. Certain it is that those who have preened themselves on imaginative 'revelations', and even made a career of spreading them, will no longer be in business. A fact colliding with a theory, may produce tragedy. The report will be a tragedy for gossips and irresponsible experts.

I am not quoting this to ridicule, but.....no, come to think of it I am quoting this to ridicule Nizer. We may all have been young and innocent in those days but not that naive. The first book ringing a warning bell about the official investigation was written before *Warren's Report* was published and was based on the Washington 'line' that was being leached out of trusty establishment-oriented newspapers. This was Thomas G. Buchanan's *Who Killed Kennedy?* (New York, Putnam, 1964), which is still worth reading and is the only JFK book I know that demonstrates in a discussion of earlier US presidential assassinations that the 'lone mad assassin' was a tried and trusted formula for preventing light being shed on what was really happening.

In the opening section I rely heavily upon Henry Hurt's *Reasonable Doubt: An Investigation into the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985) which on pp261-89 contains one of the best and most balanced accounts of the Garrison-Shaw episode. Hurt is also very good on Oswald and the New Orleans milieu generally. Highly recommended. Also useful was Edward Jay Epstein's lengthy 'Garrison' that took up nearly the whole of the 13th July 1968 issue of *The New Yorker* under the 'Reporter at Large' department. I understand this piece was the basis for Epstein's *Counterplot* (New York, Viking Press, 1969) but I have not seen this.

James Kirkwood's *American Grotesque: An Account of the Clay Shaw-Jim Garrison Affair in the City of New Orleans* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1970) is the best day-to-day account of the trial and events down in New Orleans. Kirkwood is unashamedly pro-Shaw but reports Garrison's case and the courtroom events with something approaching dispassion and presents his own views as that and nothing else. I have a few other reservations about Kirkwood but no student of Garrison can afford to be without this account. Kirkwood met Clay Shaw at a dinner party given by the author James Leo Herlihy. Herlihy was an old friend of Kirkwood's, but where did the novelist meet Shaw? According to a recent issue of *The New York Times Book Review* Kirkwood died in 1989.

Garrison's own two books *A Heritage of Stone* (New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970) and *On the Trail of the Assassins: My*

Harold - the editor removed Lewis

York, Sheridan Square Press, 1988) tell us more about the district attorney than they do about Shaw. The latter is the more relevant of the two.

Harold Weisberg admits that his *Oswald in New Orleans: Case of Conspiracy with the C.I.A.* (New York, Canyon Books, 1967) was hurriedly written and needs some surgery, but nonetheless it remains a valuable, comprehensive work that can still hold its head high. Garrison contributes a foreword.

Joachim Joesten's *The Garrison Enquiry: Truth and Consequences* (London, Peter Dawney in association with Tandem Books, 1967) is a breathless scissors-and-paste job by the veteran German journalist. (Was it the CIA who leaked a Gestapo [yes, Gestapo] memo to the Warren Commission dated something like 1938 that said Joesten was an active Communist?)

For a full bibliography on Garrison-Shaw books and articles up to 1979 see pp188-97 of DeLoyd J. Guth and David R. Wrone's *The Assassination of John F. Kennedy: A Comprehensive Historical and Legal Bibliography 1963-1979* (Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1980) - a volume worth its weight in gold and one that badly needs updating. Guth and Wrone also detail every relevant article in *The New York Times* relating to the Garrison inquiry.

For more up-to-date accounts of Oswald and New Orleans see Anthony Summers' *Conspiracy* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1981) and John F. Davis' *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1989). Davis makes a valiant attempt to stick the assassination on Marcello but his argument relies too heavily on selective evidence and special pleading. Nevertheless a provocative and useful book.

Acknowledgements

Aside from those people mentioned or alluded to in the foregoing, I would also like to thank the following for their help: Timothy D'Arch-Smith, Allen Daviau, Stephen Dorril, Nick Frewin, Mysha Frost, Robert Harbinson, Jim Hougan, Marthe Kurtyanek, Angie Liegh, Michael Mordaunt-Smith, Charles Peltz, Robin Ramsay and Chris Rushman.

L'Envoi

After finishing this I was fanning through the pages of Kirkwood's *American Grotesque* when a name caught my eye, an intriguing name. It occurs on p282 when Shaw's attorney, Irvin Dymond, is cross-examining Perry Russo in an attempt to find out whether he, Russo, had ever discussed the case with a Layton Martens who was then under indictment for perjury for refusing to cooperate with Garrison's investigation. Layton Martens - the name rang a bell. I checked through Shaw's address book and found the following:

Layton Martens
Box 544
U.S.L.
Lafayette, La.

Then I remembered a cross-examination much later in the book. It comes on p407 when James Alcock, an Assistant District Attorney, has Clay Shaw on the witness stand:

Alcock: Did you know a Mr Layton Martens?

Shaw: Yes, sir, I did.

Alcock: Did you know he was [David] Ferrie's roommate?

Shaw: No sir, I did not.

Alcock: Do you know a James Lewallen?

Shaw: Yes.

Alcock: Did you know he knew David Ferrie?

Shaw: I did not.

Lewallen is not in the address book. But then who else is not who should be.....?



Dean Andrews' testimony to the Warren Commission

The strangest thing about Jim Garrison's recent book on his investigation of the assassination is the fact that he never mentions Clay Shaw's homosexuality. This is about par for the course, for the number of gay men in and around the assassination - Shaw, David Ferrie, J. Edgar Hoover - is rarely commented on. To this list I would add Jack Ruby, who never married, lived with young men, owned a strip club yet never apparently showed any interest in the young women he employed, and appeared to be smitten with men in police uniforms. On the basis of this anecdotal evidence alone the rumours that Ruby was gay, that he hung out at the gym in the YMCA in Dallas, that he met Oswald when Oswald was living there, are of some interest.

It is in this context that the testimony to the Warren Commission of New Orleans lawyer Dean Andrews is so interesting. When I skimmed through the Warren Commission's twenty plus volumes of evidence and testimony twelve years ago Andrews' contribution practically leapt off the page, not just because of what he said, but because of the way he talked. The testimony of the other witnesses is extraordinarily dull and dry for the most part, hundreds of pages of (mostly white) Americans, trying their best to politely answer the questions of this team of big-wigs from Washington D.C.: yes sir, no sir, three bags full if

you say so, sir. Then Andrews appears, bringing with him New Orleans' ethnic, cultural and sexual subcultures, talking of 'blowing weed', 'freaky', 'cloud nine' etc., and the lifeless dialogue crackles into life.

Reproduced below are some extracts - perhaps 10% in all - from Andrews' testimony from vol. 11 of the published Commission hearings. Andrews doesn't state that Oswald was gay, but certainly it is (just) suggested by Oswald's connections to the 'gay kids' and 'Clem Bertrand'. As Andrew Weeks reminded me, Priscilla Johnson McMillan's dreadful book *Marina and Lee* contains considerable prurient detail on Oswald's violent and incompetent sexual relationship with Marina. Certainly there is nothing in that which would contradict the hypothesis that Oswald was a gay man struggling to resist his sexual identity in button-down, homophobic, white America.

All of which means? Nothing, perhaps: at best we have more layers to the onion, central figures in the drama with lives already draped in concealment, to whom we might properly attribute another layer of deception. Gay gangster, gay businessman, gay FBI boss, gay anti-Castro activist and, perhaps, emerging gay patsy. As Dean Andrews might have said, 'How d'you like them apples?'

Robin Ramsay

Mr. LIEBELER. I am advised by the FBI that you told them that Lee Harvey Oswald came into your office some time during the summer of 1963. Would you tell us in your own words just what happened as far as that is concerned?

Mr. ANDREWS. I don't recall the dates, but briefly, it is this: Oswald came in the office accompanied by some gay kids. They were Mexicanos. He wanted to find out what could be done in connection with a discharge, a yellow paper discharge, so I explained to him he would have to advance the funds to transcribe whatever records they had up in the Adjutant General's office. When he brought the money, I would do the work, and we saw him three or four times subsequent to that, not in the company of the gay kids. He had this Mexicano with him. I assume he is a Mex because the Latinos do not wear a butch haircut.

Mr. LIEBELER. The first time he came in he was with these Mexicanos, and there were also some gay kids. By that, of course, you mean people that appeared to you to be homosexuals?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, they swish. What they are, I don't know. We call them gay kids.

Mr. LIEBELER. How many times did he come into your office?

Mr. ANDREWS. Minimum of three, maximum of five, counting initial visit.

Mr. LIEBELER. And did you talk about different subjects at different times? As I understand it, the first time he came there, he was primarily concerned about his discharge, is that correct?

Mr. ANDREWS. Well, I may have the subject matter of the visits reversed because with the company he kept and the conversation—he could talk fairly well—I figured that this was another one of what we call in my office free alley clients, so we didn't maintain the normalcy with the file that—might have scratched a few notes on a piece of pad, and 2 days later threw the whole thing away. Didn't pay too much attention to him. Only time I really paid attention to this boy, he was in the front of the Maison Blanche Building giving out these kooky Castro things.

Mr. LIEBELER. When was this, approximately?

Mr. ANDREWS. I don't remember. I was coming from the NBC building, and I walked past him. You know how you see somebody, recognize him. So I turned around, came back, and asked him what he was doing giving that junk out. He said it was a job. I reminded him of the \$25 he owed the office. He said he would come over there, but he never did.

Mr. LIEBELER. Did he tell you that he was getting paid to hand out this literature?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. LIEBELER. Did he tell you how much?

Mr. ANDREWS. No.

Mr. LIEBELER. Do you remember telling the FBI that he told you that he was being paid \$25 a day for handing out these leaflets?

Mr. ANDREWS. I could have told them that. I know I reminded him of the \$25. I may have it confused, the \$25. What I do recall, he said it was a job. I guess I asked him how much he was making. They were little square chits a little bit smaller than the picture you have of him over there [indicating].

Mr. LIEBELER. He was handing out these leaflets?

Mr. ANDREWS. They were black-and-white pamphlets extolling the virtues of Castro, which around here doesn't do too good. They have a lot of guys, Mexicanos and Cubanos, that will tear your head off if they see you fooling with these things.

Mr. LIEBELER. My understanding is, of course, that you are here under subpoena and subpoena duces tecum, asking you to bring with you any records that you might have in your office indicating or reflecting Oswald's visit, and my understanding is that you indicated that you were unable to find any such records.

Mr. ANDREWS. Right. My office was rifled shortly after I got out of the hospital, and I talked with the FBI people. We couldn't find anything prior to it. Whoever was kind enough to mess my office up, going through it, we haven't found anything since.

Mr. ANDREWS. No; nothing at all with Oswald. I was in Hotel Dieu, and the phone rang and a voice I recognized as Clay Bertrand asked me if I would go to Dallas and Houston—I think—Dallas, I guess, wherever it was that this boy was being held—and defend him. I told him I was sick in the hospital. If I couldn't go, I would find somebody that could go.

Mr. LIEBELER. You told him you were sick in the hospital and what?

Mr. ANDREWS. That's where I was when the call came through. It came through the hospital switchboard. I said that I wasn't in shape enough to go to Dallas and defend him and I would see what I could do.

Mr. LIEBELER. Now what can you tell us about this Clay Bertrand? You met him prior to that time?

Mr. ANDREWS. I had seen Clay Bertrand once some time ago, probably a couple of years. He's the one who calls in behalf of gay kids normally, either to obtain bond or parole for them. I would assume that he was the one that originally sent Oswald and the gay kids, these Mexicanos, to the office because I had never seen those people before at all. They were just walk-ins.

Mr. LIEBELER. Is this fellow a homosexual, do you say?

Mr. ANDREWS. Bisexual. What they call a swinging cat.

Mr. LIEBELER. And you haven't seen him at any time since that day?

Mr. ANDREWS. I haven't seen him since.

Mr. LIEBELER. Now have you had your office searched for any records relating to Clay Bertrand?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. ANDREWS. I wish I could be more specific, that's all. This is my impression, for whatever it is worth, of Clay Bertrand: His connections with Oswald I don't know at all. I think he is a lawyer without a brief case. That's my opinion. He sends the kids different places. Whether this boy is associated with Lee Oswald or not, I don't know, but I would say, when I met him about 6 weeks ago when I ran up on him and he ran away from me, he could be running because he owes me money, or he could be running because they have been queuing the quarter pretty good looking for him while I was in the hospital, and somebody might have passed the word he was hot and I was looking for him, but I have never been able to figure out the reason why he would call me, and the only other part of this thing that I understand, but apparently I haven't been able to communicate, is I called Monk Zelden on a Sunday at the N.O.A.C. and asked Monk if he would go over—he interested in a retainer and go over to Dallas and see about that boy. I thought I called Monk once. Monk says we talked twice. I don't remember the second. It's all one conversation with me. Only thing I do remember about it, while I was talking with Monk, he said, "Don't worry about it. Your client just got shot." That was the end of the case. Even if he was a bona fide client, I never did get to him; somebody else got to him before I did. Other than that, that's the whole thing, but this boy Bertrand has been bugging me ever since. I will find him sooner or later.

Mr. LIEBELER. Does Bertrand owe you money?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes; I ain't looking for him for that, I want to find out why he called me on behalf of this boy after the President was assassinated.

Mr. LIEBELER. How come Bertrand owes you money?

Mr. ANDREWS. I have done him some legal work that he has failed to pay the office for.

Mr. LIEBELER. When was that?

Mr. ANDREWS. That's in a period of years that I have—like you are Bertrand. You call up and ask me to go down and get Mr. X out. If Mr. X doesn't pay on those kinds of calls, Bertrand has a guarantee for the payment of appearance. One or two of these kids had skipped. I had to go pay the penalty, which was a lot of trouble.

Mr. LIEBELER. You were going to hold Bertrand for that?

Mr. ANDREWS. Yes.

Mr. LIEBELER. Did Oswald appear to you to be gay?

Mr. ANDREWS. You can't tell. I couldn't say. He swang with the kids. He didn't swish, but birds of a feather flock together. I don't know any squares that run with them. They may go down to look.