

German Espionage in Ireland  
in World War II

by Carolle J. Carter

# The Shamrock and the Swastika



Incredible and revealing! These words truly describe this thorough, documented study of German espionage in Ireland in World War II and of Eamon De Valera's battle to keep his country neutral during this crucial period in history.

This "spy story" is based on official and unofficial sources, especially captured German files used here extensively for the first time, and on personal interviews with many of the participants—Irish government officials, Irish Republican Army members, and the German agents.

It discloses to what extent the IRA collaborated with the Germans in their efforts to achieve nationalist goals. And it exposes the incredible, almost unbelievable, bungling of the German Abwehr (Military Espionage) in its Irish mission because of internal jealousies, falsified reports, and amateurish agents.

Although it may read like a Peter Sellers movie at times, this book, points out one of the chief participants, marks a considerable advance in our knowledge of what really went on publicly and secretly in Ireland in this exciting period.

The apparent lack of support in Ireland's southern twenty-six counties for Britain's life and death struggle in World War II brought sharp criticism from English and American leaders, as well as many exaggerated tales about the extent of Irish cooperation with Germany and the hospitality accorded German spies by the IRA. In fact, the Irish government was unsympathetic toward Germany and sought to suppress the IRA, but few people

- 1990). The authors also found that the frequency of use of the Internet was positively related to the frequency of use of the telephone, and that the frequency of use of the Internet was negatively related to the frequency of use of the television. These findings suggest that the Internet is being used as a substitute for other forms of communication, and that the Internet is being used as a substitute for other forms of entertainment.
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My dear friend



With love always,





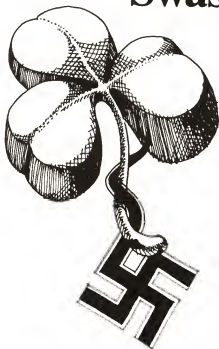
## **THE SHAMROCK AND THE SWASTIKA**



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Map on page 16 by Duilio Peruzzi.

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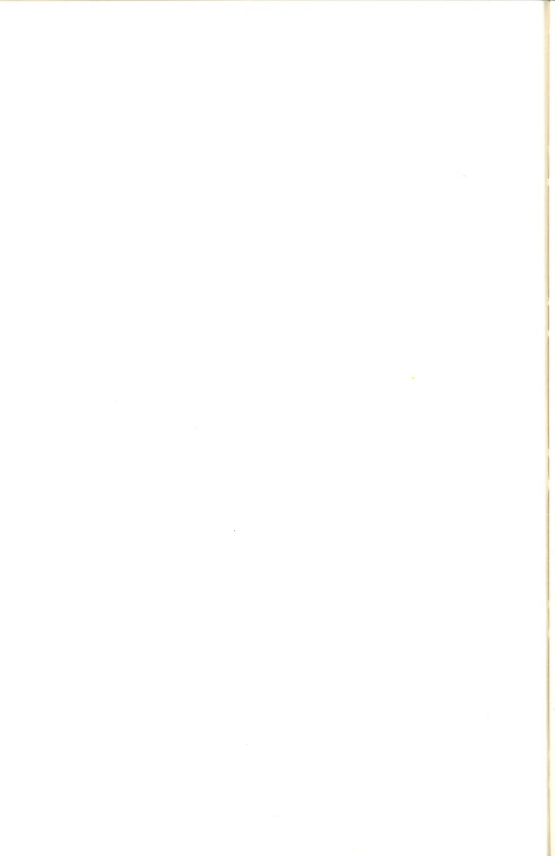
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TO CHARLES B. BURDICK  
*for his guidance and encouragement*





## Foreword

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Several books and newspaper articles have been published dealing with events in Ireland during the World War, 1939-1945. Most of these have been inaccurate in many matters they purported to describe because the authors had access only to limited sources of information and there was a tendency, perhaps natural, to try to offer explanations based on speculation for things not fully understood, even by those who participated in them. The process of sifting information will go on for many years in the future before a reasonably accurate picture of events and their multiple causes will emerge as official sources become more available. Personal recollections by members of the IRA, and by German agents active in Ireland during the period have been the basis of most of what has been already published and it is valuable to have had these recorded while the individuals in question were still living.

The official files of the Irish and of the British governments are not yet available to historians, but those of the German government were captured almost intact at the end of the War. These records have been put on microfilm and made open for public consultation in the United States. It is true to say that all the German files were not microfilmed but most of the material of Irish interest can now be consulted. The value of Mrs. Carter's volume depends very largely on these German sources, now used extensively for the first time. Not only has she examined these in great detail but she has used the information she found in them to question by personal interviews a large number of those engaged on one side or another in the Irish scene. Her book, therefore, marks a considerable advance in our knowledge of what went on publicly and secretly in Ireland in this exciting period. She can claim to have used all the sources available at the present time, and she has been careful to quote her authorities for nearly all the statements she has made.

It is not surprising that there is still much in detailed matters which

seems confusing and at times contradictory. This is due to faulty memories of events now recalled some thirty years later, but some of the contradictions are more apparent than real and one must remember that people relate how things seemed to them at the time they experienced them and official papers can for the same reason also mislead because those who made official reports were, at the time, themselves misled.

RICHARD J. HAYES, LL.D., Litt. D.  
The Chester Beatty Library  
Dublin, Ireland

## Preface

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At the outbreak of World War II, the Allies were startled when the leaders of the twenty-six counties of Southern Ireland announced that their country would remain neutral. Many outsiders believed this so-called neutrality concealed pro-Axis sympathies and, years after the conflict had ended, more than a few have continued to entertain this idea. Americans in particular found it difficult to accept the Irish stand, especially after Pearl Harbor.

In order to understand the Irish position, it is necessary to look at her history. Traditionally, internal Irish politics have revolved around a lengthy struggle to free the country from the British. Domestic policies have reflected the fluctuating relations between the two countries, and on occasion some Irish groups have looked to outside powers for support.

During World War II both sets of belligerents infringed on Irish neutrality, and every act of espionage, every bomb accidentally dropped on Ireland, affected the Irish political position. Allied reactions to violations varied, however. David Gray, the American ambassador to Ireland, did not think the Irish responded strongly enough to provocation. The British, on the other hand, felt that De Valera would bargain neutrality for an end to partition. Outwardly condemning Ireland, they in fact recognized her active support for the Allied war effort in the form of voluntary enlistments in the armed forces and cooperation in matters of intelligence. The tenuous rapprochement between the ancient enemies was made easier because certain long-standing differences had been resolved the year before the war broke out.

Allied capture of entire offices full of documents during the post-D-Day sweep across Europe has meant that more complete records are available for the German side of this story than for either the British or the American. The confiscated papers included reports sent

by Eduard Hempel, German Minister to Dublin from 1937 to 1945, which made it clear that the German Foreign Office hoped to avoid giving the Irish an excuse to become more pro-Allied than they already were. Nevertheless, Hempel did all he could to keep his superiors informed on a variety of other matters ranging from evaluations of Irish diplomats to military information gleaned from informers. Only rarely was anything authenticated. The documents also reveal that within Germany, interdepartmental clashes, jealousies, and other bureaucratic limitations to effective communication often made Hempel's job difficult, particularly at those times when he found it necessary to justify specific violations of Irish neutrality. These conflicts affected not only diplomatic relations between Ireland and the major powers but also the amount of assistance an agent sent to intrude upon that neutrality could expect to receive.

In this book, neutrality and the IRA serve as a backdrop for a story of espionage. Although Ireland did not crawl with spies, as many people believed, the Germans tried several times to place agents on the island. Sporadically the IRA attempted to collaborate with them and their masters as a means of achieving nationalistic goals. At the same time, the Germans tried to utilize a number of Irishmen who, for various reasons, found themselves in Germany during the war. None of them altered history. They did not even affect the outcome of the war, although in some cases they made quite an impact upon those who came in contact with them. What is important is how Ireland dealt with them, for therein lies evidence of her true position vis-à-vis the belligerents.

CAROLLE J. CARTER  
Saratoga, California

## Acknowledgments

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No story about Ireland as a neutral ally would be meaningful if the writer relied solely on documentary sources. In order to make this story come to life, the author found it necessary to consult those, both Irish and German, who took a part in this story, or were instrumental in policy-making. Without their cooperation, there still would be many unanswered questions.

Particularly hospitable and helpful in providing first-hand accounts were Colonel Dan Bryan, Head of Irish Army Intelligence, retired, Commandant James Power, retired, who was in charge of the internment camp at Athlone during the war, Richard J. Hayes, Director of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Colonel Eamonn de Buitlear, former aide-de-camp to President Douglas Hyde, Frederick Boland, Undersecretary of External Affairs during the war years, General Jacob Devers, U.S. Army, retired, and Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy. Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Guilfoyle, Sergeant Martin O'Donnell, Sergeant John Power, and Corporal John Dillon were among the many Irish Army personnel who shared their recollections. James O'Donovan and Stephen Hayes assisted in the IRA side of the story. Other noteworthy contributions came from Helmut Clissmann, Gunther Schutz, and the late Jupp Hoven. Many others rendered invaluable assistance. Among them were Romaine and Henry Ponleithner of Pacific Books, Publishers, Francis Stuart, Judge Hubert Will, William Warnock, later Ambassador from Ireland to the United States, Congressman Don Edwards, Dr. James Walsh of San Jose State University, Douglas Gageby, publisher of the *Irish Times*, the late Eduard Hempel, Terence Prittie of the *Manchester Guardian*, and John Hammond MacVeagh, Secretary of the American Legation in Dublin from 1938 to 1940. Obviously, much academic research was also required, and for helping me unearth obscure bits of information, I am indebted

to Dr. Kenneth Glaser of the University of Calgary, to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, California, where the Healy Collection on Irish history is housed, to the British Imperial War Museum, the National Library, Dublin, and to the San Jose State University Library.

As a civilian, Dr. Richard J. Hayes, Director of the National Library in Dublin during World War II, and author of the foreword to this book, assisted Intelligence with his vast knowledge of codes and languages. Because of this affiliation, Dr. Hayes, who provided invaluable "inside" information for this book, requested that he not be cited by name in the documentation. He therefore is referred to as Mr. Grey, an Irish code expert, a civilian who performed tasks for Military Intelligence, "H. G.," and as one of the confidential government sources.

Dr. Hayes died in the winter of 1976, when the book was in a stage of production that made changing the citations impossible. Having respected his wish for confidence during his lifetime, the author now wishes to disclose his identity as a major source of information consulted by the author in preparation of this volume.

Special thanks are also due to Dr. Duilio Peruzzi and Dr. Charles Burdick of San Jose State University, to Doug Kass, and to my son, Craig, for assistance in proofreading, and to my husband, David, technical adviser and patient mentor.

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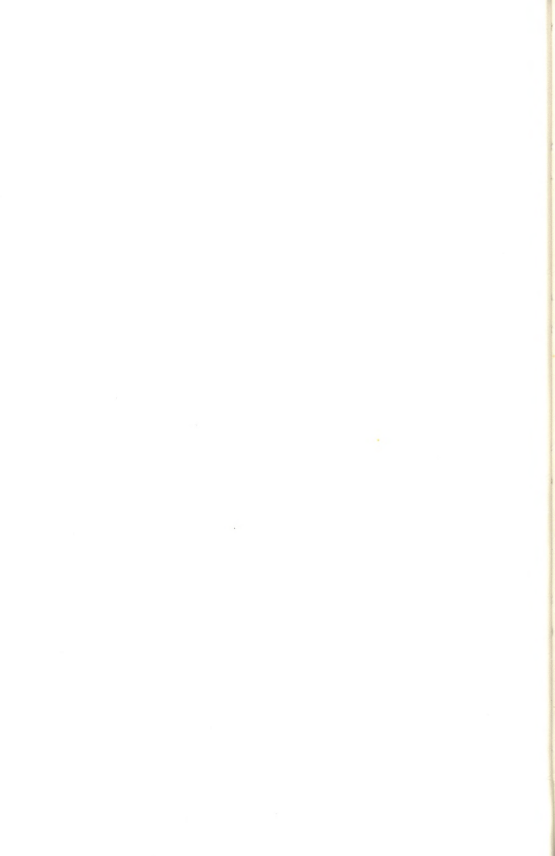
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## **PART I: ISSUES OF NEUTRALITY**



## England, Ireland, and the IRA

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In 1899, Arthur Griffith, a mustachioed young Irishman, began publishing a newspaper called the *United Irishman*, which focused attention on a sentiment that had been growing steadily—the desire to recreate a separate Irish nation.<sup>1</sup> In 1905, Griffith founded Sinn Féin (“We Ourselves”), a body destined to have great influence on twentieth-century Irish history.

Griffith believed Ireland should separate from England, but he spoke in terms of a dual monarchy, partly to conciliate the pro-British, or Unionist, North and partly to hold together his divergent supporters. Irish members of Parliament should leave Westminster, he declared, form a legislature at home, and gradually take over the executive powers exercised by England. Then, he felt, with public support in the form of civil disobedience and passive resistance, Irish rule could eventually supplant the British.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly before World War I broke out, the Unionists created an auxiliary military force to oppose the implementation of Home Rule, which had been passed earlier by Parliament. In retaliation, one faction of Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, organized a military force called the Irish Volunteers. In the traditional hope that Britain’s misfortune would be Ireland’s good luck, they hoped to be able to take advantage of Britain’s involvement in international war. When faced with the Kaiser’s August threat, however, only about 12,000 indicated an interest in planning a revolt against Great Britain. Some of their leaders expected an open fight if the British enforced conscription. On Easter Monday, 1916, approximately 1,000 IRB men seized the Dublin post office and other public buildings and proclaimed the Irish Republic. For six days the British besieged them, devastating a portion of the city, and upon surrender of the IRB, executing more than a dozen and deporting and interning thousands.<sup>3</sup>

Because these measures and the subsequent imposition of martial law brought the undecided elements in the Irish population into sympathy with the dissidents, the Easter Rising in a sense marks the beginning of the history of modern Ireland. It was also a time when, as in the past, insurrectionists looked abroad for help. Guns had been run into Howth as early as 1914. More significantly, Sir Roger Casement, a former member of the British consular corps who had been knighted in 1911 before becoming involved with Irish nationalism, went to Germany as a representative of the IRB. There he tried to organize Irish soldiers captured while serving with British forces into a military unit to invade Ireland, but only fifty-two men volunteered. Of these, only two ultimately accompanied Casement in a submarine to Ireland on Good Friday, 1916, where the British caught and executed him shortly after landing.<sup>4</sup> Of the other two, one, a soldier named Dowling, saved himself by turning state's evidence, and the other, Captain Monteith, escaped to the United States.

Casement's involvement with Germany showed subsequent revolutionaries that major powers were willing to provide support for a popular rising. Sinn Fein, however, was basically a non-violent organization, and the Easter Rising did not belong to them as much as to the IRB. Their style of marching into town, proclaiming the Republic, and capturing public buildings was, in a sense, a last expression of nineteenth-century romantic nationalism. Although it did not free Ireland, it did attract world-wide attention and increased domestic support for Sinn Fein.

In 1917 the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, invited representatives of all Irish political parties, the leading religious organizations, unions, businesses, and local governments to a convention in Dublin to deal with the Irish problem. As a goodwill gesture he released Irish political prisoners being held in England, but still the Sinn Fein leaders refused to attend. They gained additional strength at the polls after those who did attend failed to accomplish anything, and the British assumed the right to enforce conscription, thus destroying all hopes of a negotiated settlement. Irish members of Parliament walked out of Westminster in protest, and the militants, led by the half-Spanish, American-born Eamon De Valera, called the British action a declaration of war on the Irish nation.<sup>5</sup> Britain answered by imprisoning about 100 of De Valera's party on the basis of an imaginary German plot, enhancing further the image of Sinn Fein as the ultimate symbol of Irish resistance. During the 1918, or Khaki, elec-

tion, Sinn Féin candidates won handily over opponents who wanted Ireland to send representatives to Parliament once again.<sup>6</sup>

Assembling in Dublin, the victors promptly designated themselves Dail Eireann, the national legislature of Ireland. In 1919 they elected De Valera president of the Dail. Simultaneously, Irish spokesmen at the Versailles Peace Conference were working to gain self-determination for their country. When they failed, the Irish Republican Army, as the insurgents now called themselves, launched a campaign of terror, guerrilla warfare, and murder. They quickly pushed back their adversaries, and in 1920 a desperate Lloyd George proposed the Government of Ireland Act, creating one parliament for six counties of Ulster and another for the remaining twenty-six in the South. In the long run, this was what guaranteed that the Irish could never achieve both total independence and control over their entire island.

To restore order, the British increased their military forces in Ireland to 50,000 men. At first, regular troops were sent, but when more men were needed, unemployed veterans and misfits were recruited. With little sense of or use for normal military law, they quickly became notorious for their brutality. Known as Black and Tans because of their uniforms, they killed local civilian leaders and burned down towns, including much of Cork, in retaliation against the guerrillas. The British executed only one Tan for murder during this bloody campaign, but they sentenced many IRA men to death for their part in it.

Except for a cry from the Irish in the United States, the Irish received little international encouragement because of British censorship. British counter-revolutionary propaganda and the absence of Irish representatives, who might have set forth the Irish case in Parliament, also obscured the Irish position. Gradually, however, the situation began to attract notice. IRA military feats and events such as the death of the poet, Terence MacSwiney, after a 74-day hunger strike, helped win public support for the Irish.<sup>7</sup>

A truce between the warring sides was declared July 11, 1921, and formal negotiations opened in London the following October. De Valera refused to attend and he gave no definite instructions to Michael Collins and Griffith, the leaders of the Irish delegation. The major differences to be settled were over fiscal and economic policy, executive and military matters, the Constitution, and Ulster. Instead of dealing with the most vital issue, Ulster, the Irish lingered so long on the question of the limits of the authority of the Crown that Lloyd

George threatened all-out war. The Irish then accepted a stipulation that members of the Irish Parliament would subscribe to an oath of primary allegiance to the Free State and secondary allegiance to the Crown. In return, Lloyd George promised that Ireland would be unified after a commission had resolved questions relating to the border.<sup>8</sup> Griffith and Collins agreed to let one British, one Six-Counties, and one Free State commissioner serve on it, operating under guidelines they would choose themselves.<sup>9</sup>

When the conference closed, Britain retained certain ports and the right of appeal to the Privy Council from all Irish legal decisions. Except for these restrictions and the Ulster question, Irish demands held everywhere. De Valera repudiated the Treaty and its makers, nonetheless, but the country wanted peace. In January, 1922, the Dail elected Griffith president. Sinn Fein promptly split into pro- and anti-Treaty factions. The dissatisfied, or Republican, group denied the legality of the Dail and fighting broke out in Dublin. De Valera supported the insurgents against Griffith and Collins, both of whom died in the civil war. The government defeated the rebellion and won the August, 1923, general election almost three to one.

Imprisoned for his part in the civil war, De Valera soon changed his tactics. In 1925 he broke with the IRA and the following year founded the Fianna Fail, or Warriors of Destiny Party. He entered the Dail in 1927, signing the necessary oath just as, he claimed, he would autograph a newspaper.

De Valera's political strength began to increase and after 1931 so did that of the IRA. They practiced marching and occasionally shot at or intimidated their enemies. During the Depression they even developed a leftist faction, Saor Eire (Free Ireland).<sup>10</sup> The northern section, more volatile than the southern, occasionally engaged in acts of sabotage and terror. In 1937 the German Minister in Dublin, Eduard Hempel, advised his government against taking them too seriously, especially since neither the British nor the Irish wished IRA activities turned into major issues.

Generally, the IRA opposed the following:

1. Tying the Irish monetary system to that of Britain.
2. The encouragement of trade between the two countries.
3. Partition.

In 1932 Fianna Fail gained enough seats to name De Valera Taoiseach (Prime Minister). He followed a policy of temporizing with the IRA until they committed a series of outrages, including the murder of English Vice-Admiral Henry Boyle Townsend Sommerville at



his country home in Cork. After thorough investigation by the local authorities failed to turn up the killer, a court of inquiry decided Sommerville had died for political reasons.<sup>11</sup>

Only after incidents such as these did the government begin clamping down on the IRA. With a new constitution being written and an election looming, however, they had to consider the nationalist vote. Although the IRA and even its parades were declared illegal by the Declaration of Unlawful Organization Order, passed on June 18, 1936, the government took only a few members into custody. Attacks on the British in the North persisted.

In December, the De Valera government promulgated the new constitution. Among other things, it changed the name of the country from Irish Free State to Ireland (in Irish, Eire) and abolished the office of Governor-General. Henceforth, the duties of the Governor-General were to be distributed among the President, Speaker of the House, and Cabinet. The King would represent Ireland in foreign affairs only with Irish consent.

The new constitution invalidated some of the old laws prohibiting revolutionary activity, and the Dail passed new legislation in June, 1939, to deal with the problem. No sooner had it gone into effect when the IRA attacked a bank, injuring many bystanders. In Fermoy, troops had to be called in to control violence and demonstrations.<sup>12</sup>

It appeared that the IRA was little more content with the government of its virtually independent country than it had been with the British. Pressing for stronger action, they began striking more directly at the British and Northern governments, a course of action which may have reflected the change in IRA leadership. In 1938, Sean Russell, formerly Director of Munitions, became Chief of Staff. A steely-eyed activist, Russell became deeply involved in an IRA bombing campaign in England in January of 1939. In April of that year he journeyed to the United States to address a fund-raising appeal to a group formerly affiliated with the IRB, the Clann na Gael.<sup>13</sup>

The bombing campaign, known as the S-Plan, had been laid out by a former IRA Director of Chemicals, James O'Donovan. Tall, thin, with an accent more English than Irish, O'Donovan had graduated from University College, Dublin, in science. He had lost three fingers of his right hand in an explosion during an early experiment. O'Donovan had supported De Valera against Collins and Griffith in the Civil War, but in 1924 he presented his application for a "leave of absence" and quit the IRA. He joined the Electricity Supply Board and remained with them until his retirement in 1961. In the late 1930's,

Sean Russell approached him, saying that with war looming between England and Germany the IRA wanted to have another whack at England. O'Donovan was not enthusiastic. He never intended rejoining an organization he did not feel was "decent," but did agree to lend a hand because the IRA had no one qualified to discuss things on a high level, particularly with the Germans. He began by conducting classes in explosives and sabotage for young IRA men but soon found himself doing virtually everything for a group suffering, he thought, from a shortage of brains.<sup>14</sup>

Financed with American and German money, the S-Plan resulted in more than a hundred incidents between January, 1939 and March, 1940.<sup>15</sup> IRA men exploded various types of tear-gas bombs and incendiaries. Most commonly they used time-bombs activated by alarm clocks set in a circuit with a half-penny. Many failed to go off, however, because the economy-minded IRA used cheap, unreliable clocks.

The campaign opened with an ultimatum in the form of a letter to the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, on January 12, 1939. Six IRA leaders claiming to be the true representatives of Ireland and able to declare war demanded that all military and civilian personnel and equipment be withdrawn from Northern Ireland within four days.<sup>16</sup> On the 16th of January, IRA sympathizers plastered similar proclamations on walls in Northern and Southern Ireland and in England and exploded bombs in London subway stations.

Scotland Yard, suspecting the existence of a wide sabotage network directed in part from Eire, sent agents to Dublin to work with the Irish police and to arrest saboteurs who had fled England, but the Irish government refused to honor their warrants.<sup>17</sup>

In the meantime, English police had begun rounding up suspects. They picked up Joseph Kelly, who was carrying a copy of the S-Plan at the time of his arrest. Other documents they unearthed included recipes for making bombs, "battalion orders," and revolutionary poetry. Coded documents and their cipher keys were sometimes found together in the same drawer. Once, a shed in Coventry used as an IRA meeting place and bomb factory blew up when someone dropped a lighted cigarette onto its potassium-sprinkled floor.<sup>18</sup>

The haphazard attacks reached a climax in late summer, 1939, diminishing but not entirely ceasing thereafter. Many lives were lost and much property damaged as, for example, when an explosion in a Lancashire power plant started a fire. In the long run, these revolutionaries were not nearly as effective as they might have been had they begun their campaign after the British defeat at Dunkirk. Their activi-

ties warned the British of holes in their island's defenses, stimulated a certain amount of anti-Irish sentiment, and induced Parliament to pass the Prevention of Violence Bill and to expel certain suspected persons from England.<sup>19</sup> The Irish government took a reserved position on this issue because, some believed, De Valera remembered the 1920's when international war had threatened and the IRA had had a plan for action involving outside help.<sup>20</sup> He responded to incidents in England and the North in accepted diplomatic fashion. When a bomb exploded outside the hotel in Tralee where the son of Neville Chamberlain was staying, the Taoiseach expressed his regrets over the occurrence to the Prime Minister, but as long as there were no major disturbances in Ireland he did not intend to worry about explosions set off in Great Britain.<sup>21</sup>

At no time immediately before or during World War II did the IRA conduct systematic guerrilla warfare against the lawful Irish government. In 1939, however, many of the approximately 10,000 IRA members still felt Ireland's problems could be solved only at a time when England was involved in a major struggle. Old freedom-fighters, pointing out the importance of timing, advised making formidable attacks during the international crisis. The "new" group, accusing them and De Valera of indecisiveness and opportunism, was impatient to strike. Stephen Hayes, whom Sean Russell had appointed to serve as Chief of Staff while he was in the United States, had reservations about soliciting help from an outside power, especially when it involved inviting a foreign country like Germany to invade Ireland. Once the Germans were in Ireland, he felt, it would take a hundred years to get them out. Further, he perceived that Hitler was clearly in league with the enemies of the republican movement. While agreeing that an emissary should be sent to Germany, he disagreed with the "new" leaders over the scope of such a mission, which, he felt, should be limited solely to a request for money and military supplies.<sup>22</sup>

Because he had violated the prohibitions against revolutionary activities, Hayes was imprisoned in early 1939. After his release that fall, the IRA appeared to grow more violent, especially after the English sentenced Peter Barnes and James Richards to death on December 14 for masterminding an August 25 explosion in Coventry that killed 5 people and injured 10.<sup>23</sup> Tensions mounted as Hayes's group, cut off from its usual sources of income by the war, began robbing banks for money to keep its operations going.<sup>24</sup> To obtain ammunition, they raided the main government arsenal in Phoenix Park, Dublin, on the night of December 23, 1939. A small unit, the 7th (Dublin) Infantry

Battalion, was guarding the Arsenal.<sup>25</sup> Both the outer gate and the inner gate to the magazine fort were left open at the same time, a violation of regulations. At 8:30 the bell rang at the outside gate and when the guard opened it, a man in civilian clothes with a bicycle said he had a package for the officer in charge, who had gone to confession. When the guard stepped forward to take the package, IRA men overpowered him and IRA trucks poured through the gates. The raiders rounded up the guards, all but two of whom were in the guardroom, and made off with almost a million rounds of ammunition.<sup>26</sup>

The police immediately began raiding suspected hiding places. Sometimes, however, detectives who were actually IRA activists tipped off Hayes. Hired when De Valera first came to power, these men had joined the police to chase the fascistic Blueshirts and were not always prepared to run down their IRA comrades.<sup>27</sup>

The IRA could not utilize all the stolen ammunition, because they did not have enough rifles, and by means of purchases and surprise raids, about 90 per cent was recovered within six weeks, some as far away from Dublin as Dundalk.<sup>28</sup> The usual procedure was to stage decoy raids and holdups to protect police informers. While these raids were in progress, detectives would watch a yard where a truckload of munitions was parked. Sometimes, however, Hayes's men passed him the word and after diversionary raids on other places, police would arrive at the real location only to find the truck gone.

One agent, Sergeant Gill, was especially successful in dealing with the IRA and in infiltrating it at the lower levels. A member of the police before De Valera came to power, he had pursued suspects like Frank Ryan (see Chapter 10) but, because De Valera did not want people who had harassed his allies, Gill's superiors, deciding he was only an acting sergeant, reduced him in rank to ordinary guard, or constable. In 1939, Gill began legal action against the Police Commissioner to regain his rank. Just as the case was due to go to court, the government reinstated him.

After the magazine fort raid, Gill told his superiors that if they would give him men that he handpicked he could apprehend the IRA raiders. The police had to take Gill on his own terms. He was immensely successful, maintaining a certain independence from his superiors, yet working closely and sharing sources of information with Military Intelligence.<sup>29</sup>

After the Phoenix Park raid the government pushed through the Emergency Powers Act and strengthened the Offenses Against the State Act.<sup>30</sup> By the beginning of January, 1940, fifty IRA men sat in

Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, awaiting trial in the Special Criminal Court.<sup>31</sup> In August, 1940, emergency directives made the following offenses subject to the death penalty:

1. High treason.
2. Receiving, writing down or spreading messages endangering public or national security, and possessing such documents.
3. Acting to damage the effectiveness of administration of defense authorities.
4. Murder.
5. Firing weapons to prevent arrest or resisting arrest.
6. Kidnapping.
7. Possessing arms and munitions to endanger life.
8. Possessing explosives or causing an explosion.
9. Being an accessory to any of the above.<sup>32</sup>

In the face of stiffening governmental regulation, the IRA ceased to exist as a well-organized force after 1939, but remained one of the government's chief headaches. IRA troublemakers, almost 600 of them during the war, were interned in the Curragh Camp in central Ireland. One could avoid internment by a written promise henceforth to refrain from activities against the state. Then, with police approval, he could be freed immediately. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why the only serious confrontations between the IRA and the government were incidents involving attacks on detectives escorting the mail of British, Irish, and American diplomatic representatives and the killing by Charles Kerins of Tralee of Detective-Sergeant Dennis O'Brien, a man obnoxious to the IRA. Kerins was executed on December 1, 1944.<sup>33</sup>

From time to time the IRA sent Hempel in Dublin information to be passed on to Berlin, but even he knew that by referring to the legal Irish government as "the enemy," the IRA had polarized public opinion and thereby lost support.<sup>34</sup> Hunted and hounded by the authorities, they had failed to recognize that those who had once advocated terror as a way of achieving nationalistic goals now served their country in other ways and condemned subversive actions. The IRA's attempts to follow the traditional pattern of seeking aid from the powers warring with England, although stimulating the Irish army to greater alertness, resulted only in further repression.<sup>35</sup>

## The German Legation in Dublin

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Eduard Hempel replaced Erich Schroetter, Germany's Minister in Ireland until July, 1937.<sup>1</sup> Two days before leaving Germany to take up his new post, Hempel talked with Reichschancellor Adolf Hitler. After the war Hempel claimed the Führer had revealed quite a knowledge of Ireland and its relationship to Great Britain in this conversation.<sup>2</sup>

Although not a Nazi himself, Hempel was prepared to go along with party policies. A shrewd and sensible diplomat of the old school, he was a personal friend of Ernst von Weizsäcker, Under-Secretary of State in the German Foreign Office. Hempel's job was to keep Ireland neutral until the "balloon went up in the West," presumably when more definitive action would be taken.<sup>3</sup>

An example of Hempel's caution was his concern for correctness at the time the Irish reelected Dr. Douglas Hyde their President. Although the office held only nominal authority and Hyde had run unopposed, a courtesy call was in order. Before going to the President's country home, Hempel requested explicit directions on what to say and whether congratulations should properly come from the Führer or from the German government.

A few months later, as Hitler stood ready to march into Poland, the Foreign Office instructed Hempel to tell De Valera in a clear but friendly way that though Germany entertained strong sympathy for Ireland's national aspirations and intended to respect her integrity so long as she remained neutral, the Reich would not be responsible for any trade alterations brought about by the war.

The Foreign Office also hoped that Hempel would be able to return to Germany for some additional briefings. Under-Secretary of State Paul Woermann, Director of the Political Division of the German Foreign Office, told William Warnock, First Secretary of the Irish Legation in Berlin, that Irish cooperation in this matter would be a

visible sign of the salutary relations existing between their two countries. Woermann hoped that Irish mediation would help gain Hempel an English guarantee of safe passage, but the Irish did nothing to facilitate the German request.<sup>4</sup>

After Hitler exchanged declarations of war with England and France in early September, 1939, the Foreign Office gave up the idea of holding personal chats with Hempel, who began to entrench himself in his Legation. Three of his diplomats and one civil servant carried pistols, and a fifth armed man always slept there. Bolts were placed on all the windows and a ferocious guard dog was kept on the premises.

The Irish police also protected the German diplomats.<sup>5</sup> Stationing men at the Legation enabled them to keep an eye on things. In addition, Military Intelligence at one time contemplated approaching a servant through a newspaper editor, a prisoner-of-war in Germany during the First World War who was familiar with the personnel and routines of the Dublin Legation. Fear that the servant might complain to the Minister decided them against this action. Someone acting on his own did make overtures to a maid in Hempel's Monkstown residence. When she was dismissed, the aforementioned newspaperman claimed Intelligence had been responsible and was therefore obligated to compensate her. They refused.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Irish did not infiltrate the German Legation, others did. The London-based Czech government planted a serving man there who managed to place listening devices in strategic spots. Not too long after the war started, Hempel and Frederick Boland, Under-Secretary of the Irish Department of External Affairs, went into the garden to have coffee. The Czech agent steered them to a table in front of a particular bush. Sometime later Boland was surprised to receive a report of his conversation from the British. Afterwards, with a view toward protecting Ireland's diplomatic position, he told the Czechs to remove their man.

Second to Hempel in authority was Legation Counsellor Henning Thomsen. Hempel confided to Boland that Thomsen had converted to Nazism quite recently, exaggerated his own importance, and liked to enjoy himself. Considered a strutting Nazi by some Irishmen, Thomsen was receptive to would-be collaborators throughout the war.<sup>7</sup>

The rest of Hempel's staff was comprised of Kordt, Müller, Kochner, Bruckhaus, who ran the Legation and kept the books, and two female secretaries. No military attaché such as those Germany maintained in other neutral countries was included.

In late 1940, the Legation's increased importance as a watchpost

led Hempel to request two additional officers and another radio operator, all of whom would ostensibly be civilians. The Foreign Office instructed Hempel to obtain the necessary papers for them from the Irish government rather than from Berlin, where they felt the British would be sure to find out about the assignments.

Hempel gave the Department of External Affairs a list of the new people's names. Selected as Legation Secretary was Hans Böhm-Tettelbach and as Consul, Major Kurt Fiedler, who had filled a similar post in Geneva. Hempel wanted the necessary papers for them, Böhm-Tettelbach's wife, and the three-man crew of the civil plane that was to take them to Ireland. He worried that the condition of the Irish airports might delay their arrival and wondered whether they should travel by seaplane or regular airplane. He advised Berlin that after receiving Irish approval some time should pass before the new personnel were sent so that the rapidity of his communications, made possible by his secret transmitter, would not be noticeable.<sup>8</sup>

These precautions reveal Hempel's awareness that the idea of increasing his official staff did not please the Irish bureaucracy. He probably did not know just how much of a panic his request stirred up, however. The Irish army called officers to active duty and cancelled the leaves of enlisted men, explaining why only to those officials who needed to know. Many believed the crisis was due to an impending British invasion from the North.<sup>9</sup> Joseph Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, told Hempel that the Irish government had grave misgivings in regard to the requested staff additions, and that he must consult with De Valera, then in the hospital undergoing an eye operation.

Replying that such a delay ran counter to his directives, Hempel asked Walshe to work out the details necessary to implement the transport of his people. When Walshe did not contact him the following day, Hempel telephoned him, only to learn that the Irish had instructed their representative in Berlin to deny his request because of its undesirable political implications.<sup>10</sup>

That night Hempel chatted socially with Boland, whom he considered more open than Walshe. He came away with the impression that the Irish government was genuinely concerned over possible British and American reaction to the staff additions he had requested. People in the United States were impressionable and the sudden arrival of a German plane carrying legation personnel could weaken American support for the Irish. Boland said he hoped Hempel understood the



Irish position and wondered whether the Germans could arrange a method of transportation that was less noticeable and less dangerous.

Hempel informed Berlin of this conversation, adding that although the Irish respected German military prowess, they would be highly displeased if they were to learn the true functions of the new staff members, i.e., to encourage closer involvement between Ireland and Germany. Furthermore, the Irish might well begin to doubt the credibility of remarks made by German officials regarding Hitler's intentions toward neutral countries. On the other hand, Hempel speculated, if things were handled quietly and without haste, the Irish might even be induced to provide an airplane and the landing site.

About a week later Hempel again pressed Walshe for an answer. Still setting forth objections, the Secretary agreed to discuss the request with De Valera and suggested that Hempel make his appeal to the Taoiseach personally. The Minister refused, reminding Walshe that one of the newcomers would simply be a replacement for a man named Wenzel who had died the previous April. Refusing permission for a replacement, he concluded, constituted a serious violation of neutrality.

Later that night Walshe talked with Hempel again. He said De Valera felt that permitting the Germans to add to their staff in Dublin might give the British grounds for alleging either a German-Irish plot or that Ireland was being used for espionage. De Valera assumed that the friendly Germans would understand why there might be a further delay in making the necessary arrangements. This led Hempel to tell Berlin that he had changed his mind about speaking with De Valera personally, adding that:

1. The Irish feared the new members might endanger neutrality even though he had never revealed their true function;
2. The Irish realized refusal violated international obligations, and Warnock was basically requesting only that Irish objections be taken into account;
3. If he did not allow Irish objections to influence him, he could stand pat and at the same time recognize a basis for further delay.<sup>11</sup>

Hempel went to visit De Valera two days later. The Taoiseach expressed his disapproval of unorthodox methods of bringing people into the country, such as by parachute, but said he would accept those arriving by conventional transport. Thereupon Hempel set about finding another way to get people into Ireland. With dismay he noted that all passenger ships and freighters stopped at English ports before going to Ireland, part of the extensive wartime cooperation between the Irish

and the British.<sup>12</sup> Two American shippers, the Eire Line and the General Atlantic Steamship Corporation, maintained regular service between New York and Liverpool via Dublin. Their ships sailed under the Panamanian flag and used British *navicerts* obtained after cargo had been carefully inspected and each passenger thoroughly identified. The management of both lines was pro-British, however. Furthermore, unless the Irish Consul in New York or Washington issued visas in cooperation with the Irish Minister, the effort to get the Germans into Ireland would become generally known.

Sending people through a neutral country was also considered, but Ireland had no representation in or trade with Brazil and maintained no regular contact with Argentina, Uruguay, or Spain. Some ships plied between Irish ports and Lisbon occasionally, but until after February, 1941, none traveled that route on a schedule and the British permitted departure only if travelers possessed the proper passports.<sup>13</sup>

When Wendell Willkie flew to Ireland in an English plane in early February, 1941, the Germans considered repeating their request to fly people in for the Legation. If the request was denied again they felt that only two courses of action would remain open:

1. Sending only one or two persons, provided Dublin agreed;
2. Sending people illegally via U-boat with the aid of the military intelligence sub-office in Brest or Navy command vessels, which would mean procuring visas from the Irish representative in Berlin. Should Warnock question why the documents were still being requested, he would be told they were being sought in case an opportunity to send someone suddenly appeared. If he cooperated, a man could be sent as soon as a rendezvous outside Irish territorial waters with a small boat from an Irish port had been arranged. Obviously dangerous, this plan had an additional drawback in that persons sent surreptitiously were certain to be less effective than those arriving in more orthodox fashion.<sup>14</sup>

Hempel continued to impress upon his superiors that pressuring the Irish to permit an increase in personnel could provide an excuse for Anglo-American intervention, and the Germans yielded at last to Irish wishes. Throughout the war the German Minister in Dublin contented himself with his existing staff, although other nations sent military attachés to Dublin quite openly.<sup>15</sup>

Hempel did consider giving the DNB (German news agency) representative, Karl Heinz Petersen, some extra duties. Petersen regularly supplied bits of information for which he was paid at the lowest negotiable rate, and people wishing to communicate with the Legation often

approached him. Hempel, however, suspected that the newsman was constantly shadowed. Furthermore, when a newspaper report from Washington declared that "Neutral Ireland was a source of information for the Axis," Walshe believed it had stemmed from gossip Petersen had used irresponsibly.

In this case, however, Hempel himself was probably the source. On September 28, 1939, he radioed Berlin that on October 2 an American passenger ship, the *Iroquois*, would leave Cobh Harbor for the United States. Two days later he reported that the steamships *St. John* and *Arcadia* would depart on the 3rd and 5th, respectively. The German Navy sank the *Iroquois* as a result, Grandadmiral Erich Raeder said, of a tip from an American naval attaché in Ireland. Because the Americans had no naval attaché in Ireland, suspicious English and Irish newsmen questioned Hempel. He defended his right to protect German interests in Ireland and denied any Legation involvement in the matter. Simultaneously, he advised Berlin that Raeder should say something to turn suspicions away from his Legation and Petersen, especially since many persons automatically believed remarks coming from persons in the Admiral's position. He suggested that Berlin proclaim that the IRA had spread suspicion among Irish-Americans about future sinkings of American ships and that the Washington Press Association had falsely concluded that the Raeder message had originated in Ireland.

Hempel thought this explanation would be believed because the American papers had mentioned that the information might have come from the IRA. He also felt that it would be ill-advised for him to discuss these things except in casual conversation. Woermann, although he did not think the fact that Hempel had supplied the information could be determined by outside parties, urged Hempel to avoid discussing it, instructed him instead to claim that the story had originated with the press and had nothing to do with either the Legation or Raeder.<sup>16</sup>

By May of 1940, Petersen was so busy working for the Legation that he no longer had time to report to the DNB, nor to the German General Paper (*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*). Hempel continued to pay him 500 marks per month for his services, but gradually changed his mind about Petersen's value. Both the man's publicity work and his liaison with the press were unsatisfactory, partly, Hempel thought, because he was young and lacked the political understanding and self-assurance the position demanded. The Minister's opinion of Petersen sank even further when he clashed with an Irish officer and a police-

man who alleged that Petersen had behaved drunkenly and aggressively. Petersen did admit drinking six or seven whiskies, but claimed that when he had requested protection from the officer and the police, bystanders had deliberately provoked him. After Hempel complained that the police usually did not exercise proper discretion regarding German Legation personnel, the authorities promised to investigate the matter. Hempel hoped his charges of unsatisfactory police conduct would stick, but was prepared to accept any results of the inquiry. He suggested to the Foreign Office that when a ship or plane brought new personnel to Ireland, Petersen could take it back to Germany, adding that the good work Petersen had done previously should encourage someone in Berlin to help him find a job there. The ship or plane Hempel was hoping for, however, never came.<sup>17</sup>

Hempel and the other Axis representatives in Ireland were entertained only at government functions or as demanded by international protocol, and they were isolated from their homelands by the strict English censorship.<sup>18</sup> When Hempel did receive expressions of pro-German sentiment, he hastened to relay them to his superiors. For instance, when Irishmen sent items such as cigarettes and Christmas gifts for German POW's in England, he mentioned that it would make good propaganda for the English-language radio broadcasts that originated in Germany.<sup>19</sup>

The Washington press report worried Hempel because it touched off worldwide speculation about regular, secret contacts between the German Legation in Dublin and Berlin. Hempel did keep a wireless transmitter in his Legation but, because international law was obscure on the legality of belligerent diplomats possessing such an item, he preferred to keep it quiet and even went through the motions of trying to establish other paths of communication.<sup>20</sup> For instance, in September, 1939, Woermann asked Warnock to send coded messages for Hempel to Dublin. Warnock replied that he would need to check before doing so, because his own contact was through Rome and France, and added that he had been hoping the Germans could send some mailbags to Ireland for him. At this time Woermann was not certain whether Warnock had made arrangements for sending and receiving telegrams because he had never received any. Later the Germans learned that Warnock used a route through Geneva, a short-wave, and a Lisbon-England mail circuit that provided him with Irish papers two months old.

Warnock mentioned to Woermann that Hempel had informed the Irish government that Germany intended to respect Irish neutrality.

He wondered how this order had been transmitted. Woermann said he did not know but presumed it had gone via the United States or on an American plane. In fact, no such route existed at that time and the only alternative to a wireless transmitter would have been sending sealed mailbags by way of England and France.<sup>21</sup>

Hempel asked the Italian Legation in Dublin to cooperate in the matter of communicating with Germany. Reluctant to compromise themselves, the Italians refused to help except in rare instances. Hempel, who considered the Italians indiscreet, told the Italian Minister, Berardis, that his messages to Germany traveled by way of the United States,<sup>22</sup> and never admitted that he had a transmitter. Hempel assumed the Irish knew he had a transmitter and in the early days of the war, he discussed with them the possibility of establishing a reciprocal radio station. Woermann doubted that the Irish could provide the necessary equipment, however, and preferred that the initiative in such a matter originate with them. It never did.<sup>23</sup>

In the spring of 1940, Hempel advised the Foreign Office that their prompt reporting of events in Ireland might have alerted the Irish to the fact that he had a wireless transmitter.<sup>24</sup> He knew the British were searching for one; what he did not know was that they were looking for an IRA transmitter in County Wicklow. The Irish Secret Service was also looking for one thirty miles north of Dublin. When the true location of Hempel's sender was finally determined, the Irish began monitoring it day and night from a house within fifty yards of the Legation.<sup>25</sup> The following year Hempel temporarily stopped using his set except for messages of utmost importance, because Walshe had told him in a careful, friendly way that the British had provided the Irish government with details about it, including a timetable of his transmissions. The Secretary said he was surprised that they could do so.

In the spring of 1941 Hempel, confident that the Irish would do nothing about his set for awhile, told Walshe that his Legation had always acted within its rights. Privately, he conjectured that discovery of the transmitter had resulted after German stations called him. He suggested the following protective measures:

1. All messages should be sent on secret, predetermined frequencies to avoid giving the impression that the Legation was contacting German war units, ships, or planes in the vicinity of Ireland;
2. All transmissions should be shortened and even regularly scheduled reports eliminated, if there was no important news, which could be indicated by sending a code word earlier the same day;

3. Transmissions should be scheduled at various times and the recognition signs changed;

4. More wires should be sent to Washington for recoding and forwarding to Berlin, a route that had been kept mainly for appearances. Once Hempel had even urged stopping what he considered a sudden rush of telegrams from Washington;

5. As an alternative to the foregoing, the Irish government could be approached about setting up direct communication. When the Italians had made such a request, they had not been definitely refused; Hempel presumed that if he were to ask, however, the Irish would say he already had a connection.

In the spring of 1941, British allegations that military information was being sent from the Legation led Hempel to warn Berlin that Walshe's advice to transmit only in emergencies should be heeded.<sup>26</sup> When circumstances warranted the risk, he said, he could disguise a message by making it harder to decode or confusing the code with signals sent from planes and submarines. He also considered moving his set to a Dublin suburb.

De Valera told Hempel that the English probably knew the German code. He did not add that they shared this knowledge, but not the contents of messages intercepted from the Dublin Legation, with Irish Intelligence. Hempel relayed this information to Berlin, adding that the Irish government's wariness toward the IRA and the indiscretion of a spy-riddled population made things worse. De Valera, he said, had chosen his words carefully so as not to be accused of having pro-German sentiments or of failing to observe strict neutrality. In the meantime, the Legation was watched and German agents tried to send him messages.<sup>27</sup>

In February, 1941, the Chief of German Military Intelligence, Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, declared that weather reports from Dublin were no longer necessary because they were obtainable from other sources. Inasmuch as duplication of information merely reflected the poor communications that existed between his office and others, Canaris ordered all transmission sharply cut down.<sup>28</sup> Supposedly, Walshe's department had already halted this German activity sometime in the fall of 1941. When Thomsen was in charge, however, the transmissions actually seemed to increase. Then two German battleships, the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau*, escaped the British blockade of Brest in a snowstorm. British press claims that the Germans had acted on weather reports transmitted from Dublin precipitated a crisis.<sup>29</sup> Later, when the Allies were firming their plans for an invasion of Europe and anxious



*Colonel Dan Bryan, Chief of Irish Military Intelligence. Beginning in 1941, he skillfully conducted the Irish counterattack against German espionage in Ireland. (Photo courtesy of Colonel Bryan)*

to keep them secret, they induced the Irish government to remove Hempel's set from the Legation. In early January, 1944, Hempel's staff and people from the Ministry of Justice put it into a suitcase, which was placed in a steel casket and deposited in a safe at the Munster and Leinster Bank. Hempel had the only key to the suitcase. Both he and the Ministry of Justice could open the steel container but it took all four bank directors to open the safe.

Hempel believed these steps were difficult for De Valera to take because he appreciated the sacrifice Hempel made in surrendering the radio. Hempel assumed that in an emergency such as an Allied attack on Ireland it would be returned to him. He did not want another set dropped into Ireland because its discovery would give the Allies a pretext for invading the country. Besides, German-Irish relations were worth more to him than the risk of a needless confrontation.<sup>30</sup>

The man originally told to pick up the transmitter was a junior Military Intelligence officer named John P. O'Sullivan. His special talent was monitoring German transmissions emanating from a station near Berlin. Every day the station sent messages to Ankara, Madrid, Lisbon, and Tokyo. People in these cities transmitted back to it, and O'Sullivan became so familiar with the operation that he could spot the slightest variation. In the morning he might say, "Something's wrong with the network. I think Berlin must have got a tap last night," and soon the paper would announce that there had been a thousand-bomber raid.

Irish Intelligence also tapped the Legation telephone. Some would-be collaborators were picked up as a result, such as Jan van Loon, a fascist who deserted from a Dutch Navy ship serving under the British Admiralty.<sup>31</sup> In September, 1941, van Loon left his base in Northern Ireland and crossed into Southern Ireland carrying drawings of British convoy layouts. He met Herr Müller at the Legation and showed him the sketches, but Müller would have nothing to do with them. Van Loon left and the Irish police picked him up. The drawings provided enough evidence to intern him in Ireland for the rest of the war.<sup>32</sup>

Hempel could theoretically use mail routes and the telegraph, too, to communicate with Berlin. He wanted to send correspondence through Holland and Belgium, and suggested further that mail be sent from Germany to Washington and then forwarded to Ireland. He had no sealed diplomatic bag, however, and all regular mail passed through England.<sup>33</sup> After the fall of France, the British picked up the undersea cable between Ireland and the Continent and brought it to England. Thus, all cables from Ireland had to pass through England. Messages



were sometimes delayed as long as six days while the British examined them. Censorship existed within Ireland, too. It extended to everyone except postal officials, foreign legations, and persons with special connections. If the Irish censor happened to be negligent, his British counterpart certainly was not.<sup>34</sup>

Ireland was quite isolated from the rest of the world as far as transportation was concerned. After the United States declared herself neutral and banned her ships from the war zones, American vessels carried goods bound for Ireland only as far as Lisbon. They were then transferred to English or Portuguese ships which, until the Irish put a few small boats of their own on the Lisbon run, constituted Ireland's sole contact with the Continent. The Irish inspected all vessels before they left Ireland and all ships going to and from Ireland had to bunker in South Wales, where the British searched them. This meant that before a ship sailed to or from Ireland it was examined at least twice.<sup>35</sup>

Occasionally, this procedure bore interesting fruit. A German flier named Konrad Neymeyer, interned with his crew after going down near Blasket Island, cut the steel wire surrounding the internment camp during the night of January 18, 1942 and escaped. The guards did not notice his departure until they counted the men in the compound two days later.

Hempel advised Berlin to alert the coast stations and the sea emergency service in case Neymeyer needed to be picked up. Neymeyer, however, a stowaway on an Irish freighter he thought bound directly for Lisbon, was discovered during a routine search when the vessel stopped for food and fuel in Port Barry, Wales. He claimed to be a Swiss citizen, but the port authorities handed him over to the police, who knew of his escape.<sup>36</sup> He had managed to get as far as Wales because the ship had not been properly searched at its point of departure. The Irish government quickly corrected this laxity by appointing a Royal Marine Service officer to oversee inspections at the Port of Dublin.<sup>37</sup>

At all times Hempel did his best to keep Berlin informed regarding military conditions in Ireland. Before the war, he noted that the Irish government was emphasizing the need for public instruction in air raid and gas attack defense and that De Valera wanted the defense budget increased to modernize the army. He wanted to purchase weapons in Sweden and expand the 6,000-man army. An enlistment campaign had attracted 170,000 men by August, 1940.

When the Foreign Office wanted to know how much conscription had increased the Irish Army, about its organization, over-all distribu-

tion, and the progress of mobilization, Hempel replied that the organization was based on tradition and geared to the type of small war that had successfully been waged against England in the past. Reorganization did not have to include conscription because volunteers filled the ranks. Some volunteers went into the local security forces, which were divided into Groups A and B. Both groups were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice except during wartime when Group A, a unit Hempel thought deserved special attention, came under army authority. Though limited to defense of the local district, this group was armed, uniformed, and considered combat-ready. Group B always retained a police character.

Hempel said the Air Force had been increased from 40 planes to 170 regular aircraft and 12 seaplanes. Although Ireland possessed a few armed patrol boats rather than a fleet, harbor forts had been strengthened with heavy artillery and a new coastal defense force consisting of experienced seamen had been created. All the forces lacked light weapons, particularly hand grenades, which the Irish did not manufacture, and which England could no longer provide.<sup>38</sup>

In February, 1942, Hempel reported that a Vauxhall tank factory employing 15,000 workers was operating 50 km from London. Nearby were the Percival Aircraft Company with 3,000 workers and 200 inspectors, the Fleet Air Arm School, the Electrolur Works, the Skefto-Bullit factory, and an electrical plant where the British worked on, among other things, an additive to change the color of airplane exhaust. (Airplanes emitted red exhaust and the distinct color enabled pilots to identify an enemy aircraft, despite its deceptive camouflage.)

Hempel guessed that about 1,000,000 Englishmen and 100,000 Americans were stationed in southern England in June of 1942 and that about 60,000 Americans had remained in Northern Ireland after almost all the British had left.<sup>39</sup> Earlier German estimates had vaguely reported one unidentified division and "garrison troops and foreign formations of unknown strength" in the North.<sup>40</sup>

In July of 1942, Hempel said that about 16,000 Americans and Canadians bound for England and Ulster had gone down with the *Queen Mary* off Belfast. The ship was later sighted in Glasgow, but not before Hempel's report had attracted attention in Berlin. So did the news that big, fast American and English vessels no longer sailed in convoys and that the English government, presumably depressed over shipping losses and the threat to Egypt, had postponed an attack on the Continent planned for the end of June, 1942.

In this communication, Hempel also noted that the United States

was producing planes on a large scale. These planes were the Liberators, B-24's which by mid-1942 were flying across the Atlantic to Foynes on the Shannon Estuary, then continuing on to England or going back and forth to Lisbon. The Liberators gave Ireland her only air contact with the Continent during those years. Berlin wanted information on the type of service established and asked Hempel for names and precise details. Hempel, unclear as to the exact way the planes were used, believed Ford and Kaiser produced them and that they probably saw bomber duty and carried passengers between Canada and Britain. He regarded Allied efforts to replace land and sea with air transport as natural.

Rather early in the war, Hempel informed Berlin that an "Irish nationalist" was almost positive that the British War Office was planning a march into Belgium and an offensive in Trans-Caucasia. Later, anonymous reports put the planned assault in Holland, and in August, 1942, he speculated that the British had called up everyone who knew the French coast, especially retired seamen, and were massing Canadian and Australian troops in southern England.<sup>41</sup>

An informant designated as "N" told Hempel about a munitions factory 40 feet underground, seven miles from Bath and 25 miles from Bristol. Three thousand men had worked on it for three and a half years until it was completed in spring, 1943. Employees entered the factory through a stone quarry in an otherwise undistinguished landscape. "N" later added that a Scottish construction company had built the place 80 feet rather than 40 feet underground for Bristol Aviation. It began at Corsham and the main entrance was at Hawthorne. Production had been started with enough parts to build 700 planes, "N" said, and the 14,000 employees, who worked under neon lights, could avail themselves of such facilities as stores and a church.<sup>42</sup>

Actually, there never was a factory such as "N" described. There was and still is a large underground storage and repair installation in the vicinity of Bath, however.<sup>43</sup>

"N" prepared to go to Libya with his unit in January, 1943. He suspected an Allied invasion of France was planned for April or May, claiming that a British pilot had noted troop concentrations in Brighton, that pilots were being called back from the Middle East, and that radio and ground personnel of the Eighth Army were being transferred to India. The pilot had told "N" that most Americans in Northern Ireland had been taken to Scotland, but that a Missouri regiment consisting mainly of Ku Klux Klan members remained.<sup>44</sup>

A former ship's captain reported to Hempel that British and prob-

ably other Allied vessels had been fitted out below the waterline with netting, which was kept in place about twenty feet from the ship by derrick cranes. Supposedly the netting was so effective that five torpedoes had been found in the netting of one ship.<sup>45</sup> The netting had been standard on all major warships until 1914. It was gradually discontinued during World War I because it slowed the ship too much and could be penetrated by special types of torpedoes. For a short time in World War II it was tried as a defense against airplane and human torpedoes, but never with the kind of success described to Hempel.<sup>46</sup>

A few months later, Hempel reported that England was building poison gas-proof shelters because she feared German gas attacks. Yet he acknowledged that most Englishmen seemed confident of eventual Allied victory, a feeling that increased after the Allies won victories in North Africa and Sicily and their planes began to bring death and destruction to major German cities.<sup>47</sup>

The value of the information Hempel relayed to Berlin is doubtful, not only because the Irish authorities watched him so closely, but also because the British kept feeding him false information. That Hempel had an inkling of such activities is evidenced by his extreme caution in dealing with people who came to offer their services to him.<sup>48</sup>

## Volunteer Spies and Irish Diplomats

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Hempel often received offers of cooperation from nationalistic and anti-British groups. One, the Scottish Republican Brotherhood, advised him they were willing to become more active and asked that the Germans indicate their support of Scottish nationalism with a special statement on their English-language broadcast. In a clumsy way, one of their members also let Hempel know that he had escaped from Scotland to Ireland and wanted to send materials to Germany. Hempel, questioning his sincerity and that of the organization, saw no way to oblige him. The Scots, perhaps thinking he desired more specific proposals, then sent him a long letter stating what they expected:

1. German planes to drop pamphlets over Scottish cities;
2. Direct radio appeals to Scottish nationalism;
3. References in broadcasts to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland rather than to Great Britain;
4. Good treatment and anti-English propaganda for captured Scottish draftees;
5. Naming of Scottish prisoners, either on the radio or in pamphlets;
6. Propaganda references to the cultural creativity of the Celtic nation, which England suppressed and exploited;
7. Inclusion of a stronger anti-capitalistic note, calls for strikes, and demands for a Scottish republic.

In this communication they also thanked Hempel for arranging earlier propaganda, which he had not done. Displeased, he urged Berlin to do nothing that would lead anyone to believe he had passed along their requests.

Sometimes Englishmen wrote to him offering their support to Germany. Wilfred Hopkins of Dorset enclosed a letter to be forwarded to Goering.<sup>1</sup> D. Glavey, living in East Ham, London, under the name of George Anderson, volunteered his services. B. G. Carter, an American

technical engineer living in London, visited Dublin and sent word through an intermediary that he held a confidential position with access to very valuable materials, which he could make available for no less than £25,000.<sup>2</sup> Possibly he was referring to some kind of classified material. Hempel valued these "offers" enough to relay them to Berlin, where his superiors circulated memos to the various departments in the Foreign Office, asking about the individuals concerned. Invariably the officials answered that there was no record of the person in Germany.

Occasionally informers provided Hempel with technical information. One, claiming to be a follower of the English Nazi, Oswald Mosely, said a Swedish firm was making 7-inch by 6-inch tin cylinders, each with tightly rolled strands of eight or nine wires, which were to be shot from cannon at planes. The exploding cylinders would open, throwing the wires out for gradual descent to the ground and, it was hoped, to be entangled in the aircraft propellers.<sup>3</sup>

Somewhat different was the case of Major K. E. Fitzgerald-Lombard. Reputedly a homosexual,<sup>4</sup> he told Hempel he had recently come to Ireland from England. He claimed to be related to Dr. Hermann Raumer of Berlin, who had told him before the war that he might be able to serve Germany. Hempel considered the man a senile political snob but wondered if an intermediary should contact him anyway, because of his connections with important Irish people. Berlin then checked with von Raumer, related to Fitzgerald-Lombard through von Raumer's deceased father-in-law, who confirmed meeting the Irishman in London in 1934 but denied discussing any position with him. Von Raumer regarded the man as pro-British on the outside but anti-British and Catholic-Irish on the inside and a bit odd mentally. Not surprisingly, neither the Foreign Office nor German Intelligence found any use for him.

Oscar Metzke, a Sudeten German who had known Thomsen earlier, also came to the Dublin Legation. He told Thomsen that in 1937 he had shipped out of Hamburg as a stoker but had lost his job when the Gestapo said he talked too much. He then made his way to the Balkans, where he offered his services to the German Embassy in Belgrade. After they told him to show what he could do, he and another Sudeten went to Switzerland to attempt to obtain secret information from the Orlikon plant. Swiss police promptly arrested him in connection with an embezzlement. When Metzke then asked to be sent to Germany, the Swiss refused because he was a Czech citizen and sent him instead to France, where he was told to choose between a concentration camp and the

army. He chose the latter and after the fall of France, was evacuated with his unit to England, where he went to work in a technical laboratory. When his superiors there began to suspect he was not trustworthy, he took some military documents that had previously been reported burned and fled to Northern Ireland. In December, 1942, after sending a message to the Legation under a false name, he tried to give the stolen documents to Thomsen, who rejected them as having nothing to do with the Legation and as being impossible to get to Germany. Metzke then asked for financial support and employment as an agent so he could fight his way into Germany. When both requests were denied, he departed, leaving an envelope on a table.

Hempel reported that Metzke had made a "soldier's impression" but had spoken nervously and harshly, perhaps because he had been without a roof over his head for some days. The envelope contained the following supposedly secret brigade and troop locations:

1. North Wales Commandos have moved to Ramsgate. The Americans are concentrated in Somerset, Cornwall, and Dorset, and Canadian tanks sit near Plymouth.

2. Near Swansea, a big factory produces synthetic gasoline and the British Army conducts poison gas and other experiments on animals.

3. American troop transports landed in Londonderry and Larne and left again for Scotland.

4. Convoys gather six miles east of Newfoundland.

5. The 1st and 2nd Czech infantry battalions and 1st artillery are in Lowestoft. They practice air landings on the Salisbury Plain and other places.

6. 300 parachutists (many of whose names Metzke knew) are being instructed in German, Serbian, and sabotage techniques. They will be dropped in Czechoslovakia in late January or early February.<sup>5</sup>

A Berlin investigation revealed that Metzke had moved to Glak on November 28, 1938, and worked in street construction until he disappeared in a manner suggesting escape on January 17, 1939.<sup>6</sup> He had become involved in foreign broadcasting, was suspected of provocation, and was wanted for high treason. The Reich would never be able to press these charges, however, because Metzke, who was not a young man anyway, never went back to Germany. After leaving the Legation, he wandered around southern Ireland until the police picked him up. Shortly thereafter, it is thought, he committed suicide.<sup>7</sup>

Irishmen occasionally volunteered their services as agents, too. In November, 1942, Hempel learned that three young northern IRA men were available to work in the North and wanted to go to Germany. The

man who had brought their message thought they could be picked up in a U-boat, but Hempel considered it unwise to get involved with them unless they could be used profitably. Six weeks later they checked with the intermediary to see if Hempel had contacted Germany. When he said no, they proposed going to the Continent in a motorboat and asked him to make sure they would be welcomed by the Germans.

Hempel thought Berlin should consider working with them as a way of increasing German influence over the northern IRA and keeping informed about affairs in the Six Counties. He had heard that the northern wing of the IRA might try to get arms from Germany and believed that the three could work in the North and perhaps also go to England, as long as they understood they were not to act against the Irish state. He added that although the government seemed to realize that earlier fears of IRA collaboration with Germany had lacked foundation, opposition to the illegal army had been so pronounced that the Southern and Northern authorities were working together to suppress it. Total repression was impossible, he thought, for if pushed too hard, the dissatisfied elements in the IRA might turn Communist. On the other hand, refusing to help the three Irishmen without destroying their faith in the Reich would require tact. Hempel further stated that he had been assured that the northern group was strong, and that it had sabotage plans, plenty of guns and ammunition, and adequate matériel. Newspaper reports that leaders had been jailed and large amounts of arms confiscated were greatly and regularly exaggerated, as were stories about the discovery of documents relating to planned sabotage, and requests for aid and support from invading Germans.

When it came to direct collaboration with the IRA, however, Hempel had grave reservations. Apparently he thought they wanted the British to attack Ireland in order to increase public support for Germany. To him, their raid on the Magazine Fort expressed their feelings for Irish nationalism in the same way that the Fianna Fail Party did when it held a celebration commemorating their founding.

Hempel also suspected the IRA was involved in and victimized by provocateuring. His doubts increased when word reached him that a John R. or Joseph Stewart had passed himself off to them as a German agent. For a while, Stewart gave the IRA messages, supposedly from the Legation, about future German actions against Ireland, and in return they gave him information about their plans.<sup>8</sup>

In early 1943 a solicitor from a small town near Galway, Charles B. C. Phillips, approached Hempel. In an attempt to make some money he had traveled to Germany before the war, and after being enlisted as



a German agent had returned to England. He was told to report troop movements and other activities by sending various colored postcards back to Germany. The British had taken note of his trip to Germany, however, and when he returned home the Irish kept an eye on him, even after the police in his home town told them Phillips was a very respectable man.

Phillips had contacted the Legation because his business was in distress. He told Hempel his father-in-law had arranged a position for him in England but that the British had denied him entry. Because he had worked in England for the Germans until July of 1939, he felt he could still be useful.

After three times requesting an answer from Berlin, Hempel was informed that Phillips had served as a German agent in a military capacity. Because Hempel's superiors thought Phillips confused and unreliable, they saw no point in trying to work with him further, and he never received an answer. Phillips then moved to Dublin, where the Irish authorities called him in for a chat. He promptly told officer Harrington all about his pre-war dealings and how he had put a letter into the German Legation mailbox. After struggling to make a living in Dublin, he was picked up again, this time for passing bad checks, and then disappeared from the scene.

In April, 1942, Hempel reported that the English were preparing to send a spy named Mrs. Marlow from Ireland through Spain to Germany. He said she pretended to be from Hamburg although she was actually a Norwegian Jew married to a Scot. She spoke good German, Swedish, and Norwegian, but broken English, and had short black hair and bad front teeth. Hempel's communication regarding this woman seems to indicate he did not understand British methods. The British Secret Service was hardly likely to send someone to Ireland who would talk about such an assignment. Furthermore, anyone bound for Lisbon from England would not need to stop at Shannon.

Hempel probably never knew about Connolly, a man who had gone to New York City, and become involved in various labor groups. Connolly returned to Ireland and became an officer in the Marine Service. His flamboyant attitude attracted attention and he was picked up for questioning in Cobh. During the interrogation, he remarked that he was surprised that Intelligence would "put a woman on him," referring thus to a woman he had picked up in a bar who was always writing in a notebook. After he was released, Connolly took the train to Cobh. Enroute he struck up a conversation with a British officer. He told him he was a German officer and in the Irish Service because he was able

to do so much more for the Fatherland in that capacity than in Germany. Somewhat shaken, the British officer got off at the next stop and hurried to relate this to his superiors, who ultimately learned the facts from the Irish.<sup>9</sup>

Hempel did nothing to encourage such volunteers, but he did send a report of every known contact to his superiors. He also provided them with information on Irish politicians and diplomats. Walshe, he said, favored working closely with England and corresponded regularly with low-ranking officials in Britain whose friendliness impressed him. Sympathetic to Jews, he had traveled to Palestine with a Jewish friend whom Hempel thought might have paid his expenses. He strongly opposed an independent Ireland and boasted of having talked De Valera out of the idea of a republic. He ran the Department of External Affairs incompetently, gave no instructions to ambassadors about government policies, did not bother to read reports from his colleagues in other capitals, and allowed his skillful Under-Secretary, Frederick Boland, absolutely no initiative. Requests to clarify instructions went unanswered, in some cases because Walshe considered them to be intrusions into his private affairs. De Valera excused these practices, according to Hempel, by saying it would be impossible to distribute instructions or to circulate reports without employing at least two new steno-typists.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps Hempel's estimate of Walshe was partially correct. In his youth in Waterford the Secretary had studied to be a Jesuit. An odd, naive man, he was ill-suited to the job entrusted to him in those crucial times, and a poor administrator. At best his task would have been difficult, for De Valera kept his foreign policies close to his chest and expected Walshe to implement them rather than initiate programs. During the phony war and after the invasion of France, De Valera's policy was based on closeness to Britain, but as Germany began to over-run Europe, De Valera and Walshe became more guarded. Policy regarding the war evolved as events unfolded, and only De Valera, Walshe, Frederick Boland, and Walshe's secretary, Sheila Murphy, knew what it was.

Another view of Walshe was offered by the Irish Minister to the United States, Robert Brennan. He regarded Walshe as a careful fellow, hardly apt to say anything dramatically opposed to the regime. Ironically, while Hempel considered Walshe to be pro-British, the British kept his name on a list of German sympathizers.<sup>11</sup>

Hempel reported that Graf O'Kelly, the energetic, efficient delegate to Paris from 1929 to 1935, was half-Austrian, had few political con-

victions, and would be loyal to any Irish government. Although he was titled and very popular in diplomatic and French circles, O'Kelly had been relieved of his duties.<sup>12</sup> Art O'Brien, a leader of Sinn Féin in England during the conflict with the British, replaced him. De Valera, although he had appointed O'Brien, refused to visit the Paris Legation "as long as that man is there." The hard feelings between them may have resulted in part from a visit De Valera made to Paris during which O'Brien reportedly said, "Eamon, you can't have the car today because my sister wants it." In 1938 O'Brien rejected invitations from the British Ambassador to attend ceremonies connected with a visit of the King and Queen of England, pleading previous engagements. Walshe telephoned that he must accept. When O'Brien still hesitated, Walshe sent him on vacation and dismissed him shortly thereafter. According to Hempel, the press was forbidden to write about this unpleasantness in the inner circles of the government.

Sean Murphy, a relative of Walshe from Waterford, then took over the post in Paris. Hempel thought him very much under the Secretary's sway and more distinguished for his favors than for his ability. At one time, however, Murphy had been very much annoyed with Walshe. Murphy had requested a transfer abroad which Walshe refused. On the assumption he would be remaining in Dublin, Murphy then bought a house, and shortly thereafter was appointed to Paris.<sup>13</sup> After the fall of France, Murphy served in Vichy. On one occasion he had so much difficulty trying to get permission from the Germans to go to Paris to take care of the Legation building that Warnock took it up with Woermann. Murphy, he said, had informed him that his request to go to Paris had first gone unanswered, and then been refused without reason. Woermann replied that trips from Vichy were allowed only in special cases, whereupon Warnock pointed out that inasmuch as diplomats such as the Yugoslavian and Finnish ambassadors had received permission for such trips, Murphy was wondering if the Germans objected to him personally.<sup>14</sup>

Hempel also sent reports on men serving in Madrid, Rome, London, Switzerland, Washington, Montreal, and Berlin itself. Leopold Kerney, emissary to Madrid, complained that government laziness and lack of interest made keeping up the Irish-Spanish trade impossible.

Michael MacWhite had been named to Rome over the objections of Walshe, who did not even greet him when he visited Ireland. Although MacWhite was energetic and had good contacts, Hempel expected him to be replaced immediately after the peace settlement.

A former British marine named B. J. Macauley had served at the

Vatican. His wife had left him one million dollars, which allowed him a splendid life style. He traveled in American and British circles and had served as a witness at the wedding of the English Ambassador's daughter. Just before Italy declared war, he flew to America to consult his dentist, he said, and then announced it would be impossible to return.

Hempel thought that Dr. Cornelius Cremin, who represented Ireland in Switzerland, was a typical "little" official. Cremin believed strongly in the League of Nations, democracy, and liberalism. His counterpart in Canada, John J. Hearne, had at one time spoken out against Sinn Fein, but after becoming a lawyer, he talked harmlessly about such things as the legal place of women in the modern world.<sup>15</sup> Hearne was more than just a lawyer, however. He was the man who designed the 1937 Irish Constitution. Cremin was actually the Counsellor to Murphy in Paris. Once, when some Nazi acted very officiously, Cremin objected, which may cast some light on Hempel's disparaging judgment of him.<sup>16</sup>

Hempel considered John Dulanty, Irish High Commissioner in London, to be of greater importance. He described him as London-born, former director of a large firm there, ambitious and possessed of extensive influence in English political and industrial circles.<sup>17</sup> Dulanty actually was humbly born in Lancashire and a very able official. He had acquired a university education on scholarships and before World War I had run an Irish political organization in England. At that time, Churchill was standing in an election and Home Rule was one of the major issues. With Dublin politicians undecided as to whom to support, Dulanty threw the Irish vote in Lancashire to Churchill. Dulanty and Churchill became friends, a friendship that benefited Dulanty during World War II, when he had access to Churchill when others did not.<sup>18</sup>

Hempel knew little about Robert Brennan, Minister to the United States, except that he was an extreme nationalist. In fact, Brennan had gone to Washington when De Valera acceded to power and was probably accredited more to the Taoiseach's Irish-American supporters than to the State Department.<sup>19</sup>

Sean Lester, League of Nations Commissioner in Danzig, had requested a diplomatic post after the war broke out, which Hempel thought he stood a good chance of getting.<sup>20</sup> Lester had been seconded from the diplomatic service to the League of Nations long before the war. The government's public relations officer until the post was abolished, he went to Geneva as Irish representative to the League. He so irritated Hitler and the Nazis that, as part of the policy of appeasement,

he was removed. He had first been made assistant deputy secretary of the delegation. Then, during the war, he acted as Secretary-General of the League.<sup>21</sup>

Charles Bewley, a Quaker converted to Catholicism, had been Irish Minister in Berlin. He felt Hitler misjudged De Valera's anti-English sentiments and believed Ireland's economic dependence on its neighbor would lead the Irish people to support England. He did not believe that either the United States or the British planned to invade Ireland. Bewley withdrew from the diplomatic service just before the war, established himself in Rome, and did some propaganda work for the Italians. Probably more fascist than Nazi, he wrote a book on Goering after the war.

The man selected to replace Bewley was Thomas Kiernan. For ten years he had been Irish High Commissioner in London. From 1935 on he had been Director of Radio Eireann, where supposedly he let every party except the Republicans express opinions on the air. Hempel said choosing him showed an attempt to pick someone not anti-Semitic and pro-German. Hempel had always enjoyed good relations with him and thought him friendly, careful, introverted, and not particularly outstanding, with a reputation for skill in economics, interest in Celtology, and solid work habits.<sup>22</sup>

In order for Kiernan to be granted ambassadorial rank, the King of England had to sign his credentials. No Irish representative to Germany could get that kind of authorization, so the Germans considered accepting Kiernan when either De Valera or Douglas Hyde had signed the appointing documents. If De Valera authorized his appointment to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kiernan could assume the position of *chargé d'affaires* but with the title of Ambassador.

Claiming that they wanted Kiernan to have complete accreditation, the Irish delayed Kiernan's departure first until after Christmas, then indefinitely. They cited constitutional questions as the reason for the delay but, according to Hempel, it was most likely because of policy and fear of needlessly antagonizing England. Eventually, he came to doubt the value of sending Kiernan at all, mentioning the man's weak personality and the good work of Warnock, who had been performing Bewley's tasks in the interim. He was still concerned that Germany had a higher-ranking diplomat in Dublin than the Irish had in Berlin and wished to be instructed to express the expectation that the post would be speedily filled. He did not expect much to result from such a protest.<sup>23</sup>

Kiernan was subsequently sent to the Vatican, and Warnock re-

maintained Ireland's representative in Germany for the larger part of the war. A report drawn up on Warnock in Berlin stated that he had taught in the High School in Dublin, served as a secretary in the Department of External Affairs for some years, and after 1938 was stationed in Berlin. He spoke German well and impressed the German political department as being interested in and having an understanding of the new regime. They watched him closely,<sup>24</sup> read all his cables,<sup>25</sup> and judged him to be cautious. He never indicated any sympathy for the Allied cause, and on occasion, voiced regrets over the "harmful" attitude of the American government, as well as anti-British sentiments. Irish Military Intelligence knew that Warnock's minor staff helped themselves to his diplomatic codebook, which was only a variant of the British code.<sup>26</sup> Some of the Irishmen who spent the war in Germany thought Warnock curried favor with the Nazis and remarked that when they dined at his Legation the food was less ample and of a different quality than when Hitler's officials attended. In his youth Warnock, a Protestant, had been very active in pro-British and Church of Ireland groups like the Boys' Brigade.

Perhaps part of the German evaluation of Warnock came from Helmut Clissmann (see Chapter 9). The two had been students together at Trinity College, Dublin, and saw each other occasionally throughout the war. On one occasion Warnock told Clissmann how unhappy he was about his financial position in Berlin. For instance, when attending the type of function that other diplomats arrived at in chauffeured limousines, the Irish representative had to drive himself and park his own car.<sup>27</sup> In 1943, the year the RAF demolished the Irish Legation building in the Drakestrasse, Cremin replaced Warnock.<sup>28</sup>

Although the information Hempel sent to Berlin about Irish diplomats was gleaned largely from casual conversations, reaction to brief meetings, and some newspaper research, the authorities in Berlin gave it consideration when they formulated German policies toward Ireland. They also paid close attention to information he sent relating to the Allied war effort and would-be collaborators.

Generally, this information was as unverified and dependent on hearsay as were his reports concerning Irish diplomats. Furthermore, Berlin did not utilize it properly, for the Germans failed to realize Ireland's potential nuisance value with respect to Great Britain.<sup>29</sup> At the Nuremberg trials, Rudolph Hess said that in his talks with Hitler the island had only been mentioned incidentally as having done nothing for Germany in the war, and Hess supposed Hitler lacked interest in Anglo-Irish relations.<sup>30</sup>

After the indefinite postponement of Operation Sea Lion, the German plan to invade England in the fall of 1940, Hitler began thinking that some sort of foothold in Ireland might help German raiders trying to hit the northwestern ports of Britain. If Ireland could be occupied, it might also be possible to cut England's Atlantic lifeline and shorten the war.<sup>31</sup> At a naval staff meeting called to discuss this possibility, however, Grandadmiral Raeder reported that invasion would be impossible even if the Irish called for German assistance because it would require naval supremacy, which the Reich did not have. Invasion would need to be launched from the coast, which would mean sacrificing the element of surprise. Furthermore, because the Irish terrain would afford the troops no protection, their position would be analogous to that of the Allies at Dunkirk. The weather, unpredictable at best, complicated air support, and there were no defended bases or anchorages invaders could occupy. If by some chance a landing could be carried out in spite of all these obstacles, there still would be no way to establish supply lines.<sup>32</sup>

Luftwaffe opinion coincided with the Raeder report, although it did concede Ireland's importance as a weather station.<sup>33</sup> In January, 1941, however, General Kurt Student set forth an idea for a diversionary landing in Northern Ireland in conjunction with a hypothetical invasion of Britain. Troops from Brittany would be dropped in a triangular area between Divis Mountain, west of Belfast, and Lough Neagh, with orders to capture three airfields. At Lisburn they would capture road and rail centers. Dummies would be dropped in remote places like the Mourne and Sperrin Mountains to distract defenders. Fighter squadrons would follow. If the mission failed, troops were to withdraw to Eire and be interned rather than be captured in Ulster, where they would be made prisoners of war.<sup>34</sup>

Unless war was declared between Ireland and England, Germany could make no use of Ireland without Irish cooperation. With Irish compliance or assistance, blockade runners could bring in weapons, and aid in other forms could be provided.<sup>35</sup> German policies throughout the war encouraged such schemes and agents were sent to stimulate Irish support.<sup>36</sup> Propaganda played up a threatened British invasion while espionage and other activities that might disturb German-Irish harmony were curtailed. Communications with an important and cooperative Irish military figure were stepped up to ascertain whether a request from the Irish government for aid seemed forthcoming. When the Irishman wanted to know how much war matériel could be sent in exchange for Irish support, General Walter Warlimont, Chief of the

National Defense Branch, OKW, drew up a list of what might be expected:

1. Stronger U-boat concentrations for Irish harbors the English might occupy.

2. More German airplanes over these and similar locations.

3. Arms ready for shipment: 46 cannon, 550 machine guns, 1,000 anti-tank guns, plus ammunition.<sup>37</sup>

The General Staff also drew maps of Ireland that indicated roads, telephones, and other strategic facilities. The maps contained grave errors, such as, for example, designation of abandoned railroads as operating lines. Near the end of the war, the Allies captured some of them, along with booklets containing picture-postcard type photographs of seaside resorts that might be suitable for amphibious landings.<sup>38</sup>

The Germans did not markedly alter official policy toward Ireland, although relations between the two countries changed with the fortunes of battle. The history of German-Irish relations can be divided into five phases: (1) To June, 1940; (2) June to November, 1940; (3) November, 1940, to June, 1941; (4) June, 1941, to December, 1941; (5) December, 1941, to May, 1945.

No direct Nazi threat to the British Isles existed prior to June, 1940. The German Foreign Office expressed little interest in Ireland during this period, and Hitler seemed unaware of the island's strategic value.<sup>39</sup> The Irish government, although it assumed even before Munich that war was only a matter of time, apparently did not foresee the collapse of Western Europe and the subsequent extension of German air and sea power into the Atlantic around Ireland.

This illusion of Irish immunity<sup>40</sup> ended with Hitler's invasion of the Low Countries in May, 1940. The Irish government, displeased at violations of other small nations' neutrality, demanded an explanation; when none was forthcoming, the German silence was interpreted as cowardice. De Valera made a speech in Galway denouncing the overthrow of Belgium, and Hempel sought to lodge a diplomatic protest. The Taoiseach commented that he would listen to anything the Minister had to say except a declaration of non-aggression. Frederick Boland subsequently told Hempel that the Irish often wondered about the anti-German press in bordering countries. He said that anti-government propaganda such as they put out would not be tolerated in Ireland, but then neither would agents like those in Holland who had paved the way for Hitler.<sup>41</sup>



During the second phase, some thought England was preparing to end Irish neutrality.<sup>42</sup> Secretly, however, De Valera planned to call on the United States if either Britain or Germany attacked his country.<sup>43</sup> In the meantime, his government launched a campaign to encourage enlistment in the army. In one of his speeches, De Valera cautioned that when big powers warred, small nations had no rights unless they armed themselves.<sup>44</sup>

Rumors began circulating that British troops were massing across the border. Commandant James Power, at that time head of the eastern branch of the Irish Army, decided to investigate the situation personally, without letting the British know. Power took a car, told his driver not to be surprised at anything that might happen along the way, and to play along with him. Power then directed him to cross the border and to act as if they were lost. At the British post on the border, Power proceeded to berate the driver very loudly. The British soldiers invited him to sit down with them, have a cup of coffee, and cool off. In this casual fashion, Power was able to observe unobtrusively what the British were doing. He noticed that maneuvers were underway, but learned from his hosts that they were actually defensive exercises in anticipation of a presumed German invasion into Sligo.<sup>45</sup>

In 1940, German reconnaissance planes noted that shipping in the Irish Sea had increased. The Minister in Dublin, fearing an invasion, urged Berlin to cut down propaganda that played up the British threat and suggested German assistance in reunifying the island. He wondered whether, in case of attack, he should destroy all secret materials before letting the British take him or run the risk of trying to hide his transmitter, code, money, etc., with Thomsen and Müller. In order to keep some German representation in Ireland after the British took over, he suggested attaching Bruckhaus as a civil servant to the Swiss, Italian, or Spanish Embassies.

Hempel thought that influential friends might be able to prevent his being sent to England immediately in event of his capture. The Irish government had promised to protect the Legation, but the Irish could not hide him for any length of time, and they might not be able to withstand British pressures to gain custody of him. In an emergency, he and Thomsen, who both lived near Dun Laoghaire, the port of Dublin, could bring their families, which included five small children, to Dublin.<sup>46</sup>

Weizsäcker instructed Hempel not to contact the Swiss because Germany and Switzerland had different interests. Hempel did destroy some

of his secret papers, but by October, 1940, the German offensive had diminished fears of a British assault on Ireland and political tenseness abated.<sup>47</sup>

Phase 3 hinged on Hitler's postponement of Operation Sea Lion and a reawakening of German interest in Ireland. Nazi propaganda continued to stress the possibility of British invasion, and a declaration in favor of ending partition was drafted in an attempt to bring Irish nationalists closer to Germany. Plans were also drawn up for landing agents in Ireland to act as liaison, and efforts were made to determine whether German help and personnel would be invited. After German armies marched into Russia, most of these ideas were shelved pending the outcome of the eastern campaign.<sup>48</sup>

German interest in Ireland never completely disappeared, but the invasion of Russia shifted the war's focal point to the East and undoubtedly caused it to decline during the fourth period. This phase ended with the capture of the only German agent in Ireland who had been able to avoid arrest for any length of time, a man whose dealings with the IRA had actually served to strengthen public support for De Valera's policies. Almost simultaneously, the United States entered the war, and Ireland became openly friendly to the Allies, a policy that continued for the remainder of the war.<sup>49</sup>

It is inconceivable that at any time during the war the Irish government really feared an English attack. England, busy defending herself, would have needed to consider American reaction before taking such a step. If she had sent warships and troops to Ireland, it would most likely have been on the pretext of a German danger.<sup>50</sup> From the beginning, De Valera clearly demonstrated that Ireland was friendly to the Allies. He never wavered, not even when it was suggested that American influence could be used to end partition.<sup>51</sup> Churchill made strong statements against the Irish position and against De Valera personally, but his remarks may have been designed to strengthen the Taoiseach's domestic position by boosting his anti-British public image.<sup>52</sup>

## Irish Neutrality and Britain

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During the early years of the Irish Republic, De Valera dealt with many of those destined to be Britain's policy-makers in the late 1930's. He disagreed with some of them, but with at least one, Anthony Eden, he shared similar views on many international problems.

Eden felt that although Ireland was still part of the Commonwealth, Britain should have the kind of diplomatic representation there that she maintained in other countries. He hoped a suitable arrangement could be worked out, but Eire demanded at first that a full-fledged ambassador be sent to Dublin. Eventually both sides in the dispute agreed that England would send a "Representative" and Sir John Maffey,<sup>1</sup> later Lord Rugby, assumed the post. Consistent and well-informed on Ireland, Maffey usually took De Valera at his word and ignored propaganda about how the Irish were aiding the Axis.<sup>2</sup>

Under the terms of a 1938 treaty, Britain returned the ports of Lough Swilly, Berehaven, and Cobh to the Irish.<sup>3</sup> This move was supported by all the Conservative members of Parliament except those from Ulster, and Winston Churchill, who spoke against it in May of 1938. He likened an Irish declaration of neutrality during a war, to giving Gibraltar to Spain or Malta to Italy. A few months later he suggested that the same "malcontents" who were throwing bombs in London could refuel U-boats in western Ireland. Churchill did not fail, however, to recognize that if the Irish government invited Hitler to use the ports it would divide the Irish people and bring war to the island. He also knew that since U-boats could cruise for up to thirty days, their crews' need to get home would be more important than the need to provision the craft. Churchill feared that losing the ports would cut down the range of British destroyers, make it difficult to keep open food supply lines, and endanger the approaches to the Clyde and Mer-

sey Rivers. When the Cabinet for a time considered seizing the ports in October of 1939, Churchill was one of the last to give up the idea.<sup>4</sup>

Anxiety over the North Atlantic supply lines caused Churchill to seek American support. He told President Franklin Roosevelt in 1940 that he expected Hitler to step up attacks on shipping and extend air operations over the Atlantic. Being denied use of the Irish ports and airfields had strained Britain so much that she could no longer subsidize Irish growers or carry any of the 100,000 tons of seed and fertilizers she usually brought them, he said. (Wartime subsidies to growers were actually paid by the Irish government, not the British.) Britain needed her ships more than the food they brought, and British public opinion and that of the merchant navy were opposed to risking air and submarine attacks to supply Ireland while De Valera sat by and let England strangle. Churchill hoped this small squeeze would encourage De Valera to act more cooperatively. In the expectation that American influence would induce the Irish to let Britain use the southern and western port facilities, he suggested that the United States proclaim British survival to be in the American interest. The American Ambassador to Ireland, David Gray, did not think that the results of not supplying the Irish were so readily predictable, however. He warned the American Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, that while it might bring the situation home to the Irish people, De Valera, whose power was based on a genius for utilizing anti-British sentiments, would be able to capitalize on it politically, too.

Churchill was prepared to use partition as a bargaining point. Although he did not think Ulster could be forced to join the South, he stated that if De Valera showed his solidarity with the English-speaking democracies and cooperated regarding the ports, a Council for the Defense of all Ireland could be set up, out of which Irish unity in some form would probably emerge after the war.<sup>5</sup> The ports were vital to De Valera's long-term plans, however, and he continued to refuse Britain permission to use them. At the same time, he looked the other way when the British stationed armed motor boats and rescue tugs in them.<sup>6</sup>

On October 17, 1938, Hempel reported to Berlin that after Munich, Irish relief and joy had immediately given way to anxiety over the future. Whatever pro-German sentiment existed came not so much from sympathy with irredentist claims as from the desire to avoid a major conflict. The fear that new problems would arise before old ones were solved was always present.

Rifts in Irish public opinion appeared during the weeks preceding

Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia. Hempel had the impression that the Irish anticipated a general war but that many, while disapproving of Germany's behavior toward Czechoslovakia, France, and England, thought a large-scale fight would be a power struggle having no direct bearing on Irish interests.<sup>7</sup> Some Irishmen correlated the reuniting of the Sudeten Germans with their own problems, he said. Others, favoring Germany but not her tactics, tended to take their cues from Church reports, and were unhappy when they read of Catholic clergymen being persecuted.

The big question was which side Ireland would take should there be all-out war. When Hitler marched into Poland, Irish Anglophiles favored adhering to the British agreement to back Poland, while Irish nationalists stepped up their agitations, clearly reluctant to fight in any war on the side of England. Hempel expected the Irish government to follow as flexible a policy as possible. He assumed that Ireland leaned toward neutrality, and advised Berlin that if Germany wanted her to stay neutral, she would have to tolerate the preferential treatment the Irish would render England, such as supplying her with food and gasoline. He told De Valera that Germany would respect whatever position the Irish took and was not surprised when shortly after Hitler's takeover in Poland, De Valera announced that his country intended remaining neutral. When the German press insinuated that in a showdown Ireland would help Hitler, Hempel asked that such allusions be stopped because they made good propaganda for the British.<sup>8</sup>

At the time he proclaimed neutrality, De Valera also announced that Ireland would defend herself.<sup>9</sup> He discounted warnings in the English newspapers that Irish cities would be bombed immediately, threats Hempel suspected were actually preliminary shots fired to disguise attacks the British were preparing to make on Ireland and then blame on Germany. When the British stationed soldiers in the North, he protested that it was to wage war on Eire from the northern bases.<sup>10</sup> Defense Minister Frank Aiken stated that any attack on Ireland by a belligerent power would be repelled. Many wondered how the Irish planned to back up a policy of neutrality when their country was so weak.<sup>11</sup>

The question of whether Irishmen could be conscripted to serve in the British forces arose when Parliament passed a Conscription Act in 1939. There was some doubt as to whether this applied to the North, and after a series of demonstrations there the British decided not to enforce it.<sup>12</sup> There was also the problem of drafting Irish citizens who were living in England. The British decided to exempt these individuals

from compulsory military service and also agreed to permit Irishmen in England to return to Ireland if they chose to. Hempel told Berlin that the Irish government expected 10,000 to 30,000 to take advantage of this, even though admitting so many could create a housing shortage. He marked the settlement of the draft issue as an important diplomatic success for the Irish, especially in light of British claims that the Irish were citizens of the Commonwealth. He did concede that the British decision was probably wise, inasmuch as the Irish had not indicated a willingness to cooperate in the matter of the draft anyway.

When Russia denounced her 1934 nonaggression pact and invaded Finland in November, 1939, the Irish grew apprehensive. When Walshe told Hempel that the Finns had not used good judgment in political dealings with their powerful neighbor, Hempel suggested a parallel between the Finnish-Russian situation and England's designs on Irish harbors. Walshe replied that the circumstances were so different that no parallel could be drawn. In the unlikely event that England used force, Walshe said, Ireland would resist and ask for help, particularly from the United States, in order to avoid Finland's fate.

Hitler's invasion of Norway in April, 1940, had even greater impact on Ireland than had the invasion of Finland. Apologists for the Germans claimed that British submarines had been repaired in Norwegian harbors in violation of the strictest tenets of neutrality, and claimed that England planned to spread the war to Norway and Sweden. They also alleged that Churchill had spoken out against Scandinavian neutrality and had proposed sending an expeditionary corps to Finland. Hempel advised Berlin not to capitalize on this type of reporting as it was read primarily in influential, albeit limited, Church circles and could lead to stricter English censorship.<sup>13</sup>

Ireland's position was sensitive but it differed from that of the Scandinavian countries because of her ties to England.<sup>14</sup> After Hitler overran the Low Countries, however, she was the only small neutral in Northern Europe except Sweden. The Opposition leader in the Dail, James Dillon, and Deputy Chairman W. T. Cosgrave, whom Hempel considered Germany's strongest enemies in the Irish political arena, said Ireland could be invaded at any moment. In radio speeches connected with the military recruitment campaign, they claimed that some citizens advocated surrendering like the Danes should the island be invaded, even at the risk of arousing the Irish-Americans, on the chance of gaining a military advantage over the British. These people, the Opposition leaders said, needed to realize that in Denmark invasion had closed the chapter whereas in Ireland it would turn the country

into a battlefield. On the other hand, if Ireland refused to allow herself to become a base for military operations, the German General Staff would decide invasion was not worth the cost, which could insure Irish freedom as well as improve the chances of reunification within a generation.

Hempel suspected that De Valera was willing to make agreements in order to keep Ireland neutral. He therefore advised Berlin to immediately broadcast the following statement over the English-language radio:

The English have up till now tried without success to undermine Irish neutrality. They are now planning, though rather late and under pressure, to promise concessions to Northern Ireland. By doing so they hope to win over the totally disinterested Irish people and to prepare them for an end to neutrality and involvement in the British war. . . . but Ireland knows the value of English promises from the [First] World War. The infamous Ireland-hater Churchill wants to do the same as was done to John Redmond.

Hempel's message went to Berlin at a time when both Walshe and Northern Ireland's Lord Craigavon were in London. Hempel feared they were making some kind of deal. Craigavon did say that in the interest of both North and South, he was prepared to enter into the closest cooperation on matters of defense, but with the stipulation that De Valera stand with the Empire, clear out German and Italian representatives, and not raise any constitutional issues. An official speaking for the Taoiseach commented that as neutral states had been invaded, the Irish must unite and not let anyone take advantage of their divisions. In so doing, they might snatch freedom for the entire island out of the current crisis.<sup>15</sup>

Hempel's statement to Berlin reflected his belief that De Valera cared nothing for the war's moral issues, even the Catholic ones. He felt that De Valera was concerned over the fact that England continued to hold the Six Counties,<sup>16</sup> yet not so concerned that he would stumble into a trap over neutrality, even to gain the North. Walshe suggested to Hempel that Northerners, fearing a German attack, might agree to unite with the South, thereby obliging British troops to leave the country. When Hempel said this action might undermine the Irish position, Walshe agreed it was possible. The German Minister also suspected the English might try to pull Ireland into the war by making it appear that Germany was tampering with Irish neutrality.

In August, 1940, Irish anxiety about neutrality appeared to be increasing. Hempel attributed this growing concern to the impending presidential elections in the United States, speeches made by Rudolph

Hess, and Germany's decision to enlarge war industries and move them from northwestern Germany to less dangerous places.<sup>17</sup> He reported to Berlin that De Valera thought Ireland's chances of successfully resisting invasion would be better than those of other neutrals, who would have needed great strength to defend themselves, and because an invader on unfamiliar ground would need to fight with small units. The expected intervention of the other belligerents would also help. Hempel felt that the Irish had originally elected De Valera because he knew how to play the intransigent nationalist in contrast to Cosgrave's compromising with the British. Uninformed voters still thought of him in this light, and his concessions to the British, either economic and not understood, or political and not made public, contributed to this image. True, some members of the Irish government scolded England, but this did not bother the British, who knew De Valera had made concessions. With the censor's help, war had stilled criticism of him, and the opposition, having once attacked him for stubbornness, did not want to look foolish by accusing him of too much flexibility. His other major critics, the IRA, with no representation in the Dail, were virtually without official influence. De Valera knew that the Irish public, with Irish-American support, was demanding neutrality, and neutrality was what he sought to insure. In the meantime, about one-third of his population was in Liverpool, many working in British munitions factories.

Hempel recognized that although De Valera did not rush to offer England Irish support in the name of democracy, liberalism, or freedom, he did hope for an English victory. Hempel based this assumption on the following observations:

1. De Valera's political friends and followers, including MacWhite in Rome, were all convinced followers of the English;
2. The Opposition parties, Cosgrave, and the anti-German workers, had declared themselves solidly behind him for the duration;
3. He did not try to work with the republicans, which he would have done after declaring a political truce if neutrality had been his only goal;
4. Ulster nationalists like Cahir Healy had rejected cooperation with him. No important opposition to De Valera existed because:
  - (a) The various political parties had declared their solidarity with him for the duration of the war;
  - (b) The elections had been canceled for the same period;
  - (c) Most IRA leaders had been jailed;
  - (d) Censorship;



(c) The crisis of early 1941 had not resulted in any opposition to De Valera.

Hempel made the foregoing observations in February 1941, when the question of including Ireland in a German blockade of England had not been settled. Berlin presumed that only the IRA extremists would protest imposition of a blockade.<sup>18</sup> Hempel had earlier advised that drawing a blockade line between England and Ireland would deprive the British of about 5 percent of their foodstuffs, chiefly meat and dairy products. Such products could probably be purchased overseas and carried in Irish freighters, but Ireland had traditionally exchanged her meat for English coal, which could not be replaced easily. A blockade, therefore, would hurt Ireland more than it would England. These considerations, in addition to the possibility of strong outcries from America about violating neutrality, had caused the German Foreign Office to recommend in June of 1940 that Ireland be excluded from the blockade.<sup>19</sup>

Many, including the Italians, thought a blockade would hurt the Irish more than the British, especially the small farmer, who would have no way to sell his products. In spring, 1941, the tea ration in Ireland was reduced from one ounce to one-half ounce per week. By 1943 the Irish were getting only 25 percent of their normal tea supply, 22 percent of their textiles, and 20 percent of their gas. No coal was available for household use, and families had to rely on peat for fuel. Passenger train service dwindled until by 1944 no trains ran in Dublin, and only two trains per week journeyed from Dublin to Cork. A German agent in Lisbon was told by an officer on a neutral tradeship traveling between Portugal and Ireland and England that so many ships were arriving in English ports that restrictions on buying food and everyday items could almost be lifted in that country, while food and clothing were still scarce and rationed in Ireland.<sup>20</sup>

Hempel advised Berlin to be lenient. He cautioned that the Irish government was prepared to prevent British exploitation of Irish territorial waters, even if they had to cut all supplies to England and lay mines off the Irish Coast. They hoped the Germans would grant special consideration to Irish ships, but the Germans were not prepared to make allowances for Irish ships going to Ireland. They would assist in moving Irish exports to the Continent via Bordeaux, however, should the Irish feel unable to maintain their economy.

Hempel also urged Berlin to include Ireland in a blockade in light of what he considered serious Irish efforts to prevent re-exportation to the British of cargoes ostensibly destined for Ireland. This had been

a problem when, for example, a U-boat had stopped and then released a ship carrying 2,000 tons of Swedish wood to a Dublin construction company. When it arrived in Eire, the wood was put on a train, supposedly destined for Harland and Wolff and the Ulster Timbuckty Company in the North, but actually bound for England.

Some time later, the McGee Company requested that Hempel provide documents for ship captains to show U-boat commanders to verify that a particular ship carried wood for purely domestic use. Hempel refused for diplomatic reasons, privately thinking such papers could easily be granted if the Irish would make certain guarantees in return. He then learned that although McGee had been a reputable wood importer for eight years, the government did not intend to issue them a re-export license. Boland assured him the re-export would be stopped because wood was needed in Ireland. When Hempel mentioned rumors that such practices continued, Boland had them investigated and reported that they were untrue. Hempel thought the Irish rather gullible, and while he did not discount gossip entirely, he did not bother to press the matter of re-export further or to warn that such shipments were dangerous. He told Berlin that too much pressure over this kind of thing could drive Ireland to the side of Britain and suggested that in consideration of sincere Irish guarantees, cargoes of wood that Germany was currently holding be released. Failure to do so could impair German-Irish relations, especially if the Irish construction companies who paid for the wood in advance found themselves in financial difficulties because their deliveries had been stalled. Hempel also advised stopping rumors that Hitler planned to halt all wood trade between Ireland and Scandinavia and to confiscate the cargoes already held.<sup>21</sup>

Ireland cooperated with the British in many ways besides re-exporting. For instance, the Intelligence services of the two countries worked so closely that the results of interrogations by the Irish were immediately made available to the British.<sup>22</sup> Anything of value to the Allies that was picked up in Dublin one day was in London the next, because Ireland had been anti-German from the beginning (although they had been more discreet about it when Germany seemed to be winning the war) and looked the other way whenever it helped England to do so.<sup>23</sup> For instance, the Irish government could have passed a foreign enlistment act, punishing anyone who joined a belligerent fighting force, but no steps were taken to prevent from 150,000 to 180,000 men from crossing the border to enlist although British recruiting posters were forbidden in Ireland.<sup>24</sup> Seven of these volunteers won Victoria Crosses.<sup>25</sup> To avoid the embarrassing sight of men in British uniform

walking the streets of neutral Ireland while on leave, a Cabinet-endorsed depot for civilian clothes was established at Holyhead. A soldier arriving there would exchange his British uniform for a suit, and before catching the ferry back to England, he would return it and put on his uniform.

Individuals also worked to help the British. Sir Charles Taggart, an ex-Indian official, went to Dublin and tried to set up an information-gathering organization. His group gave people radio sets for use in reporting on the Germans. Other British sympathizers worked to effect the escape of interned RAF pilots, whom the British valued at £10,000 each. Sir John Maffey frowned on their activity, warning that it might lead to criticism. The Irish government arranged to have all the interned fliers returned to the British by D-Day.

Occasionally problems grew out of this cooperation. An example was Teeling, a friend of Churchill and a Conservative member of Parliament before the war, who became an RAF education officer in the North. He often went to Galway, because he owned property there, and talked with the commander of the local Irish-speaking battalion, Tommy Ryan. Ryan's "friendliness" with Teeling came to the attention of his Chief-of-Staff and for this and other reasons, Ryan was eventually relieved of his command.

In March, 1942, a reckless Irish officer, Lt. Thornton, absconded with an Irish plane. The authorities feared he was going to take it to Germany, but instead, Thornton landed in Cornwall. Both he and the aircraft were returned to Ireland, where he was courtmartialed, dishonorably discharged, and sentenced to a year and a half at hard labor. After his release, Thornton went to England and joined the RAF, deserted after a while, and returned to Ireland.

The Irish position during World War II consisted of doing anything to help the Allies that did not openly conflict with the official stand on neutrality. The facts directly contrasted with Churchill's accusations early in the war that submarines refueled off the western coast of Ireland. At the time of the Prime Minister's remarks, the British set up an organization, largely stillborn, to look into such activities. The Director of Naval Intelligence sent a man to Ireland. He moved around freely until he began asking too many questions of people in the Coast-Watching Service. Irish Intelligence then had him detained and eventually sent him back to England.<sup>26</sup>

De Valera appeared adamant in the face of temptations the British offered with respect to Northern Ireland, which increased public confidence in him, even in radical-nationalistic circles. Some radicals be-

lieved that because Ireland acquired no guns except through British courtesy, neutrality was never a real issue. They thought De Valera, bypassed in Allied decision-making and intentionally blind to arrangements between the British and Americans, unimportant,<sup>27</sup> but had he done otherwise, the Taoiseach would have been trading Irish freedom for unity. He recognized that genuine unity required the confidence and goodwill of the Six Counties as well as friendly relations with Britain. One of the world's ablest politicians, De Valera knew when public opinion was behind him.<sup>28</sup> In 1945, attempting to clarify Ireland's role in the Commonwealth, he described her as an independent republic associated with Britain externally. Dillon promptly coined the phrase, "De Valera's Royal Irish Republic," and a wit wrote a song called the "External Anthem":

God save our neighbor's king,  
Bless our external king,  
God save the king.  
Send him victorious,  
To fight the war for us,  
Exterior to us,  
God save the king.<sup>29</sup>

Certainly it was true that De Valera's successful defense of neutrality put the Irish in a position to effect final separation from the Commonwealth after the war. It was not De Valera who announced this to the world, however, but John Costello, who did so in a speech in Canada. The British, then under a Labour government, accepted it.<sup>30</sup>

## Irish Neutrality and the United States, 1939-1945

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By May of 1940, rumors were circulating that the United States would soon enter the war.<sup>1</sup> At the same time that American relations with the Axis powers were being strained, her traditional friendship for Ireland seemed to be deteriorating, too,<sup>2</sup> partly because President Roosevelt had made it clear to Robert Brennan, the Irish Ambassador, that he disapproved of Irish neutrality, although the United States continued neutral herself. The American press reported that a fifth column existed in Ireland, that German agents served in the Irish army, and that a secret transmitter sent military information to Berlin from the Dublin Legation.<sup>3</sup>

Prior to Pearl Harbor, the United States prohibited her ships from entering the war zone. When the Irish government requested that American ships be allowed at least into the western harbors lest trade and the Irish economy be damaged, the Americans refused on grounds that the President's proclamation had come only after careful investigation and that it had been made with other non-combatants in mind.<sup>4</sup>

The prohibition on American vessels entering the war zone made travel difficult for Americans in Ireland. When the Secretary at the American Embassy, John Hammond MacVeagh, was called back to Washington, he had to sail on a Panamanian freighter. Hempel asked Berlin whether he should advise MacVeagh not to take the ship or precautions could be taken not to sink it.<sup>5</sup>

MacVeagh had run the American Legation between the time the American Minister, John Cudahy, was appointed Ambassador to Belgium in 1939 and the arrival in Dublin of the new Minister, David Gray, in March 1940. Walshe showed MacVeagh Irish communications with Germany and stated that Ireland hoped to maintain a bene-

volent neutrality toward England. De Valera told MacVeagh that God had made Ireland one island that no one should divide. Its artificial division would be solved by the natural increase of the Catholics, he said, who would, at a propitious time, call for a plebescite to end partition and British occupation in the North.

MacVeagh understood Irish policy. To him the "Anglo-Irish" were most Irish when they traveled in England. He did not agree with Gray's interpretation of how diplomacy should be conducted, however, and in the summer of 1940 he left the diplomatic service. He and Mrs. MacVeagh returned to New York on the *President Fillmore*. A small group in New York had taken this ship out of mothballs, chartered it under the Panamanian flag to escape American restrictions on shipping, and used it to carry freight to England. The ship was not a passenger liner so at a salary of \$1.00 MacVeagh signed on as purser and Mrs. MacVeagh as a stewardess for the voyage to New York with a cargo of Irish whisky.<sup>6</sup>

The American Ambassador to Ireland, David Gray, did not contribute much to harmony between the United States and Ireland. His instructions from President Roosevelt were to get Ireland into the war and to cooperate with the British to this end. In one of his first interviews with De Valera, Gray accused the Taoiseach of collaborating with the Germans.<sup>7</sup> He regarded De Valera not only as the most adroit politician in Europe, but also, in time, as a martyr, a fanatic, and a Machiavelli whom no one could outwit, frighten, or intimidate. He described him in dispatches as neither pro-German nor anti-British but pro-De Valera and not likely to do business on any terms but his own unless forced to.

According to Gray, De Valera had at one time believed in Hitler but later came to condemn him. The Taoiseach expected the post-war world to involve a German-controlled Europe with England and Ireland aligned with the Commonwealth nations and the Americas. Gray reported that Walshe, when asked if he believed Great Britain was fighting for something worthwhile, replied that no one outside Britain thought that. When Brennan reported to De Valera that the speech on the ports had received a favorable press in the United States, Walshe commented that Ireland's offer to accept refugees had helped reduce American antagonisms.

On May 18, 1940, Gray wired Cordell Hull, American Secretary of State, that:

1. The American military attaché in Ireland, Brigadier General Sherman Miles, should be instructed not to ask permission to inspect

weapons depositories because the Germans might seek the same privilege;

2. De Valera had confidentially requested him to ask if the United States would proclaim that the Irish status quo was vital to American interests because of her strategic position vis-à-vis Atlantic air and sea traffic. Gray thought doing so would strengthen De Valera;

3. He doubted the ability of the Irish army to cope with anything like an Axis parachute invasion staged in conjunction with a submarine running in arms or a major fifth column movement. He asked De Valera if he intended preparing the public for such an occurrence, and the Taoiseach slowly replied, "yes," but declined making any commitments that might have led to a detente with the North.<sup>8</sup>

Hull sent this message, together with an answer he had composed, for President Roosevelt's approval<sup>9</sup> and on May 22, Gray received his instructions. He was to tell De Valera privately that Ireland enjoyed a very special place in the hearts of Americans, who hoped and prayed she would be spared the horrors of the war then raging throughout much of Europe. The United States would gladly assist her in some ways. A statement that Ireland was vital to American interests, however, would imply a departure from traditional policies regarding European affairs and inevitably lead to misunderstanding at home and abroad. Furthermore, the extent to which such a declaration would contribute to Irish safety was questionable.

In June, 1940, Brennan tried to buy military equipment from the United States. He sought artillery, armored cars, anti-aircraft guns, planes, and rapid-fire small arms like Lee-Enfield rifles. De Valera asked Gray to help facilitate this purchase, adding that the situation was more dangerous than he dared specify. Gray acknowledged the gravity of the situation and asked if military experts might suggest American-made substitutes should Lee-Enfields prove unavailable. Privately, he questioned whether making Ireland able to defend her neutrality would serve the Allies.

The next month Dennis Devlin, Secretary of the Irish Legation in Washington, asked Edgar P. Allen of the National Munitions Control Board, about the chances of Ireland getting one or more destroyers, saying the need for them was urgent. Allen informed him that no legislation authorizing such a sale existed and that, inasmuch as the United States was trying to build up its own navy, selling ships to other powers would seem very unlikely.

Almost simultaneously, Brennan was talking to Joe Greene in the State Department and to Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau,

Jr., the most active member of the Control Board. He learned that under normal conditions arms could be sold, but with the British clamoring for so many, all orders were difficult to fill. Roosevelt had directed that the last batch of 80,000 surplus Lee-Enfield rifles be sold to Canada. The Canadians had not requested that many, and the Irish wanted only 10,000 but to the President's mind, if Britain wanted the Irish to have guns, she would provide them one way or another. Direct American action would constitute a breach of confidence. Besides, it was more in the interest of hemispheric defense for the Canadians to have them than the Irish.

The State Department advised the American Ambassador in London, Joseph P. Kennedy, of the Irish request and asked him to determine the British attitude toward it. Unless the British gave the Irish request top priority, it would be many months before the guns could be delivered.

Kennedy learned that the British approved of American sales to Ireland as long as they did not interfere with deliveries to Britain. Because American arms manufacturers could not keep up with British orders, this seemed to settle the matter as far as the Irish were concerned. When Walshe requested Gray to ask again, Washington replied that no rifles were available for transfer. Gray was then advised of the Canadian sale and told that Brennan had been discussing the problem with the British Purchasing Commissioner.<sup>10</sup>

Brennan failed in his efforts to buy part of the Canadian Lee-Enfield shipment, but Lord Lothian, British Ambassador to the United States, indicated that more equipment would soon be available. He had learned from Colonel MacMorland of the Control Board that an additional 100,000 rifles had been quietly declared surplus. Brennan and Purvis, a Canadian, reached an agreement and advised Lord Lothian that when the location of these arms was determined, Ireland would get 20,000 rifles.

At first Hull denied there were additional rifles to be sold, but shortly thereafter he wired Gray that more were being shipped to the British and that the Irish might wish to re-open direct discussions with England. During the ensuing negotiations, De Valera again complained to Gray about his inability to get arms. When the British stated that they would not sell guns to a country that withheld its sympathy and might conceivably use them against England, De Valera countered by saying that they would be used against England if Irish sovereignty were threatened. England replied that such a step would be taken only for Irish protection, to which De Valera retorted, "Give us arms and



we will protect ourselves and you, too!" Eventually, although De Valera continued to assure Gray that if Britain trespassed he would not hesitate to fight, Ireland managed to acquire the desired weapons.

The ports presented a different problem. Britain wanted to use them for the duration, which Opposition leader Dillon said De Valera would not allow. If he, as Opposition leader, proposed giving port access to the United States and De Valera opposed it, he would beat De Valera in the next election 3 to 1, Dillon alleged.<sup>11</sup> Walshe said that Ireland could never let the ports be used without some kind of American guarantee for fear they would never be returned. When asked what would happen if the United States were attacked and needed naval bases, the Secretary said that use of the ports could probably be arranged. Gray warned Walshe that if Churchill announced plans to occupy these vital bases and fell back on Chamberlain's undocumented understanding that they would be available when needed, Ireland should expect to see his position supported in the American press. Walshe responded that should the United States be drawn into the war, she would do better to approach Ireland in terms of regrouping the democracies after the war and acquiring permanent bases to control the North Atlantic.

Gray believed Walshe envisioned an American buffer against England. He predicted that if Churchill attempted to negotiate for use of the ports he would fail, and that forcefully occupying them would mean bloodshed. Furthermore, Irish cities lacked the defenses that would be necessary if the British were to make use of them.

De Valera reiterated his position on the ports in a speech on November 10, 1940, which the American Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, told Brennan made the Irish position very clear. Welles said that having the ports would undoubtedly help the British and added that the Irish appeared to be jeopardizing their own security by not cooperating. He wondered what the Irish situation would be if Germany defeated Britain and gained dominion over the British Isles. He next instructed Gray to point out to De Valera that if Hitler defeated Britain, there would be no question of freedom for the Irish. Welles claimed to speak for virtually the entire American press and public.<sup>12</sup>

Gray conveyed this information to De Valera in a letter requesting an interview. At their meeting, he said his countrymen felt the Irish were enjoying security, lack of rationing, and neutral rights by the grace of, and at the expense of, Great Britain. If the Irish did not explore the possibilities of cooperation, there might be enough criticism

in the United States to adversely affect relations between the two countries.

De Valera answered that he thought it strange that the neutral United States should withhold the right of neutrality from a small nation. Gray denied that his country did this, saying that all Irish rights ultimately depended upon the power of American public opinion. To this, De Valera retorted that there was a God in Heaven who would support him, and if necessary, they would all die defending their sovereignty.

In a series of articles written after the war, Brennan commented that Gray's statement about power sounded like a Nazi concept and that the meeting must have been very stormy. He acknowledged the importance of the ports, but felt public sentiment was so strongly opposed to granting use of them to Britain that doing so would have set off a revolt. Furthermore, because the country had no way to withstand German air attack, neutrality was the only practical policy. No one in Ireland had ever heard of an understanding to return the ports if they were needed by Britain. More generally, people there believed that Chamberlain, under the influence of his naval advisers, acknowledged that the ports could not be used successfully without the goodwill of the Irish.

In Washington, Brennan told Welles that according to Gray the United States expected to get into the war in the near future, and inasmuch as the bases would have to be made available at that time, there was no reason why the British should not have use of them at once. Brennan added that he did not remember exchanging any remarks with Gray that should have led him to these conclusions.

Welles replied that Gray's comments did not represent American policy, and that if there had been some misunderstanding, it could be clarified. He said further that any action to aid Britain would be favored by the United States because keeping the Irish ports closed had made it more difficult for Allied convoys to resist the attacks of German submarines prowling the North Atlantic.

Brennan repeated that Eire could not withstand the kind of aerial bombardment Britain had been undergoing, adding that every De Valera speech emphasized more complete neutrality. The alternative to the existing policy would be civil war. As Brennan saw them, the exigent choices were inevitable destruction from the air and possible sea invasion, or potential British defeat and German ascendancy.

Brennan voiced further concern over the activities of William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Indiscriminately urging prominent Irish-Americans to speak out for cession

of the bases, the committee approached a number of old-time Fenians and in the process stirred up fears that Britain sought the bases solely to restore domination over her former territories. If such propaganda did not stop, said Brennan, all progress toward British-Irish understanding made in recent years would be lost. Brennan also took up this matter with Lord Lothian and, as a result, White Committee agitations regarding the Irish stopped. The Montana Branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians went on record against Lend-Lease, nonetheless, and urged that pressure on the Irish be halted.<sup>13</sup>

In March, 1941, Irish Defense Minister Frank Aiken went to Washington. Aiken was also in charge of censorship, and some felt he was unduly vigilant in suppressing British propaganda. His strong anti-British views led Gray to report that the Irish government was using his mission to elicit sentiments indicating American approval of Irish neutrality. Gray thought the State Department should demand that Ireland clarify its position.<sup>14</sup> On April 11, Aiken handed Hull a letter from De Valera. Among other things, De Valera pointed out how hard it was to get Britain to do the proper thing. Hull, thinking this beside the point, spoke highly of Ireland and added that the United States felt Tokyo and Berlin were waging a war of total conquest. After a lengthy exposition of American policy from 1933 on, he stressed his desire to get 35 or 40 countries behind a broad program of commercial and economic rehabilitation. Hull condemned Hitler as one who would sacrifice even a loyal follower or a peaceful neutral to serve his purposes.

Aiken made little response to this. Two weeks later Hull instructed Gray to mention the Defense Minister's hostility toward Britain to the Irish government and say that he had not seemed to appreciate how much future Irish security and safety depended on an Allied victory. He was also to say that although the United States did not question Ireland's right to stay neutral, she would continue sending arms not needed for her own re-armament to Britain and to the other Allied democracies. If Eire wanted arms, she would have to cooperate with those nations. Because of food shortages in Ireland due to the decline in shipping, Gray was then to advise De Valera that the United States was prepared to transfer to the Irish two freighters to carry food.<sup>15</sup> Two ships, the *Irish Pine* and *Irish Oak* (formerly the *Western Hematite* and *Western Nerris*), were subsequently chartered to Ireland. The *Pine* was torpedoed October 28, 1942, and the *Oak* the following May. When De Valera tried to lease more ships, Gray said that the United States felt the sinking of the two ships should have been protested.

Since unprotected ships made easy targets, he went on, no more would be made available.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of Aiken's visit to Washington, Hempel believed positive support for Ireland could be expected from certain members of the United States Congress. Walshe had told Hempel in July of 1940 that Brennan had been instructed to establish contact with American Senators friendly to Germany to ask for help in stopping rumors in the press about German designs on Ireland.<sup>17</sup> Senator James E. Murray from Montana, a liberal Democrat and a backer of Irish neutrality, then attempted to counteract what he considered British invasion propaganda by causing an *Irish World* editorial to be printed in the Appendix of the *Congressional Record*. It said that Ireland enjoyed a unique opportunity to stay out of an English war and to avoid the kind of situation that in the past had only harmed her cause. It set forth three dangers to the island's status quo, each involving the possibility of assault from one side or the other. An oversimplified and very brief account of Irish entanglements in earlier British military adventures was coupled with a denial that Ireland wanted the enemies of England on her shores. The editorial concluded with a plea for people to alert their Congressmen to the need to support the Irish position.<sup>18</sup>

Murray also worked behind the scenes to halt American aid to England. He told Hans Thomsen, the German Ambassador in Washington, that if either belligerent occupied Eire, it would have a strong impact on Irish-Americans. Thomsen, who regarded Murray as a fanatic, interpreted his remarks to mean that the Irish would rather have the British violate them than the Germans, so they could even old scores.<sup>19</sup>

In February, 1941, Wendell Willkie, the unsuccessful Republican candidate for President who later became a supporter of Roosevelt's foreign policy, visited Ireland. Fianna Fail politicians told Hempel that he had made a bad impression in Ireland and that De Valera told him to tell Churchill and King George that Ireland would trust England only if the English declared themselves to be not dangerous once every day for the next three months. Hempel questioned the exactness of these remarks, but thought it quite possible that De Valera might have treated his American visitor to strong language.<sup>20</sup> From Ireland Willkie went to England, where he told members of the British government that De Valera considered partition a threat. Willkie himself thought partition irrelevant to the matter of ports and bases, and he startled the Taoiseach by pointing out that American public opinion did not favor the Irish position. Pressured, the Taoiseach had told Willkie he wanted

Britain to win the war but feared that Dublin would be bombed if he leased bases to the United States.<sup>21</sup>

American policy-makers made clear distinctions between neutrality and giving encouragement to Germany. Just before Christmas, 1941, Hull handed Brennan a message for De Valera, which expressed the Administration's hope that the free institutions, liberties, and independence the Irish enjoyed might be preserved. Doing so would require a united defense to withstand Hitler's policy of conquest and enslavement, however. This was Roosevelt's hint for De Valera to cooperate more fully in vital matters; as such, it keyed the American attitude toward Ireland for most of the duration. De Valera, after listening to continual protests from Gray over Irish policy, merely reiterated that Ireland would defend herself if Germany attacked and would continue to request arms. President Roosevelt commented: "If he would only come out of the clouds and quit talking about the quarter of a million Irishmen ready to fight if they just had the weapons, we would all have higher regard for him. Personally, I do not believe there are more than 1,000 trained soldiers in the whole Free State and even they are probably efficient only in the use of rifles and shotguns."<sup>22</sup>

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By the spring of 1941, hundreds of American technicians and workmen were building bases in Scotland, Londonderry, and Belfast, and Flying Fortresses had begun flying over Ireland in increasing numbers.<sup>23</sup> When Brennan asked Cordell Hull what was going on, he was told that the bases were being constructed on territory the United States recognized as part of the United Kingdom and that inquiries regarding them should be addressed to London.

American military personnel began landing in the North in the early summer of 1941 to work on the bases. De Valera promptly complained that inasmuch as he had not been informed that they were coming, he would not withdraw his claim for unification of the North and South and hence for jurisdiction over the entire island. Partition, he expounded, was as indefensible as any other kind of aggression.<sup>24</sup> The Americans replied that if he considered the Six Counties to be part of Eire, he should have protested when the Germans bombed them.<sup>25</sup> Brennan told Sumner Welles that the presence of American forces in

the North indicated United States approval of partition. He received assurances to the contrary, and was told that rumors of an American plan to attack the South were false.<sup>26</sup>

Prior to Pearl Harbor, American personnel in the North communicated with the government there through Cabinet officers. American civilians in Ulster claimed that their private employment with the British government, a belligerent, did not violate American neutrality. They denied that American workers were involved in constructing naval bases.<sup>27</sup>

Having Americans around was sometimes handy, too. For example, when shipments of stout were threatened with delay owing to lack of coal to run the trains, it was probably American fondness for the beverage that helped make fuel speedily available.<sup>28</sup>

American soldiers stationed in the North often came to Dublin to relax. Once at a bridge tournament, a drunken American plunged a knife into one of the players. Instead of arresting the attacker, the police hustled him over the border. Those who witnessed the knifing had come from all over Ireland, and they rushed home to tell their friends what had happened. When no account of the knifing appeared in the press, many concluded that important items often did not make the papers.

The treatment this American soldier received was one example of the true stance of the Irish toward the United States during the war. Another was the case of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the fall of 1942, during one of the first non-stop transatlantic flights to England, bad weather forced her plane down at Foynes very early one morning. An American diplomat in Dublin, notified by cable of Mrs. Roosevelt's arrival, called his colleague in Cork and asked him to meet her. Both these men had formerly served in the Soviet Union. When they wished to exercise special caution, they habitually conversed in Russian. The Irish Secret Service had monitored their call, however, and sent a man to the airport at Foynes to keep an eye on events. When the American Embassy man expressed surprise to see him at that odd hour, the Irishman first offered some feeble excuse but then, unable to resist taking the other man aback, said, "Mrs. Roosevelt should be here in about ten minutes." This episode was one of the reasons why the Americans later charged that the Irish were reading their cables.<sup>29</sup> In addition, an Irish clerk in the American Legation regularly rifled the files.<sup>30</sup>

Mrs. Roosevelt's aircraft carried several female military personnel who had to change to civilian clothes before leaving the aircraft to

avoid internment. The President's wife thought this a farce and believed it indicated that De Valera closed his eyes to certain questionable occurrences. She said as much when she visited her uncle, David Gray, before proceeding to England and a meeting with the Queen.<sup>31</sup>

Another incident involving an important American occurred in early 1943, when an unarmed Flying Fortress carrying General Jacob Devers, commanding general of the United States armored forces, crash-landed near Galway. Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall had given Devers permission to take a group of officers to visit the British Eighth Army in the Middle East to learn first-hand about specific tank problems. After a tour of British and American theaters of operations, Devers and his party flew to Gibraltar, enroute to England.<sup>32</sup>

A B-17 could take off from the short Gibraltar airstrip only if the winds were favorable. Once off the ground, it was necessary to go out over the Atlantic a certain distance before turning north for Lands End in England. Take-off during the day also meant having to fly out a long distance to avoid German bombers patrolling the Bay of Biscay. Devers therefore persuaded the navigator to take off immediately after a front passed, at midnight, when the darkness would permit them to turn north sooner, pick up the Lisbon light, and make a quick trip to Lands End.

The plane went too far west before it turned north, although the clear night should have made navigation easy. As they continued flying well beyond the time they were supposed to land, Devers realized the crew was lost, and told them to turn east. They sighted land in fifteen minutes. After making landfall they began circling and, fuel tanks almost empty, landed with a terrific crash.

Devers crawled through the broken rear section of the plane and looked around. The plane was damaged beyond repair, but no one sustained any major injuries. Two men were approaching out of the woods, and from another direction came a young soldier, running and yelling threats and carrying the biggest rifle Devers had ever seen. After the other two men told him he was in Ireland, Devers explained he was on a friendly mission. A jovial crowd including the commanding officer of the Irish Army in that area soon arrived. Trucks and cars escorted the Americans to a hotel in the town of Athenry. The townspeople prepared a reception and a meal for which General Devers insisted on paying. While lunch was in progress, Devers was called to the telephone. It was the American Minister saying, "We can't talk over the phone but relieve your mind. Everything is going to be all right."



*General Jacob L. Devers, U.S. Army, crashed in Ireland while enroute to England from North Africa in early 1943. Rather than interning the general and those who accompanied him, the Irish transferred them to the British, an indication of the true nature of Ireland's wartime neutrality. (U.S. Army Signal Corps photo courtesy of General Devers)*



The Americans planned to leave after dark, around 9 o'clock, but the townspeople were determined to give them a banquet in return. Without waiting for authorization to do so, Devers turned over the B-17 to the townspeople and later that evening left with his group for Northern Ireland. After getting lost and stopping at practically every Irish outpost, they arrived at the border just as the sun was coming up. General Hill, who commanded an airfield in that area, greeted them and they set out once more, this time successfully, for London.

Devers had always been proud of the Irish blood in his background and felt that fate had deposited his group in the midst of these splendid people. Everyone in Devers' party was grateful for the kind treatment they received. Three days after their departure a tanker arrived at a western port with oil the people had badly needed for six or eight months. Devers had nothing to do with the tanker's arrival but the townspeople always felt he had.<sup>33</sup>

Hempel learned about Devers' crash through a coincidence from Hans Becker, a passenger on the train between Galway and Dublin, which passed near the spot where the B-17 had come down. Becker gathered as much information as possible about who had been aboard, talked to people in the area, and passed along what he heard to Hempel. Becker was a former exchange student who had remained in Ireland at the beginning of the war. The Nazi Party considered him valuable there, and the Foreign Office authorized Hempel to pay him £12 per month, which Becker supplemented by conducting German classes. A careful observer, he often reported what he saw to Hempel.

When Hempel mentioned the crash of the American plane and his source of information to Frederick Boland, he was told the plane carried passengers on the Canada-Britain run. To justify releasing it, Boland cited the Swedish release of a German aircraft downed while flying a military mission.<sup>34</sup>

Devers appreciated the way Irish neutrality operated, but many Americans did not. Henry Steele Commager, a prominent historian, said neutrality had cost Ireland American good will and the possibility of unification. William L. Storer, a journalist, warned that the Axis probably would not have the same qualms the British would have once they reached Dublin, and that Irish independence, recently won at so much sacrifice, would be swiftly ended. Others claimed that the German Legation radio broadcasted freely, that the country was filled with spies, and that several hundred Japanese roamed the country.<sup>35</sup> The *New York Times* described Hempel as one who entertained lavishly, paid high prices for bad paintings by Irish artists, and otherwise threw

money around. The Communist press wrote that Oscar Karl Pfaus, former editor of the Chicago *Deutscher Weckruf*, who had disappeared in the spring of 1939, had written to a contact in New York City: "Due to my tireless work it is finally realized that the Irish element in the United States is of the utmost importance. They have to take the lead in preserving America for American ideals and not for the interests of a Jewish-British-Red combination."

In late 1942, Bruce Gould, co-editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, went to Dublin. Upon returning to New York, he said David Gray had authorized him to "tell the American people that Ireland is not standing by us." Gray denied ever having talked with Gould, which Gould eventually had to admit. By contrast, the author of the *Forged Case-ment Diaries*, William Maloney of New York City, quoted James Ryan, Minister of Agriculture, as saying that when the Irish situation became acute, some would favor a departure from neutrality and there might even be a stampede to join the Allies.<sup>36</sup>

As the Allied invasion of Europe drew nearer, the question of Axis representation in Dublin grew in importance. Gray suggested that shipments of industrial raw materials to Ireland be shut off unless Axis diplomats were ordered to leave the country. Roosevelt thought that without strong military justification, any such action by the United States could lead to charges that she was doing Britain's dirty work. Nevertheless, in February, 1944, Gray handed De Valera a note formally requesting that Ireland expel the Axis diplomats. De Valera replied by denying charges that the German Legation had transmitted recently, that planes had dropped two parachutists with radio equipment, or that spies were operating around the countryside. He said that five parachutists had come down but that all of them had been rounded up within a short time. Currently, the Irish government was holding eight foreigners and two Irish nationals for espionage.

A week later Hull cabled John Winant, who had replaced Joseph P. Kennedy as American Ambassador in London, to determine how the British would feel if the United States sent a further message on this subject.<sup>37</sup> Winant learned that Churchill was somewhat concerned lest information about the pending invasion leak through the German Legation in Dublin to Berlin. Although not deeply worried himself, Churchill wanted to worry the Irish, because he believed reassuring De Valera would be like a doctor telling a patient the medicine just prescribed for his nerves was colored water. He did not want to halt necessary trade between Britain and Ireland, but he did suggest stopping vessels going from Ireland to Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere until after the invasion was launched. Ships could appear to start off in one direc-

tion, then change course, as could planes. Although ships were relatively easy to stop, aircraft were not. Claiming that he wished only to save Allied lives, Churchill said he wanted telephone service cut and the Anglo-Irish air line and other communications restricted to a minimum. Should the Irish retaliate by taking some action solely to annoy the Allies, such as closing the Foynes facilities, he would consider stopping the cross-Channel trade and other steps.<sup>38</sup>

Robert Brennan told the American newspapers that no damaging information had been sent out of Ireland in two years. The German Legation had no diplomatic pouch at their disposal, he said, nor overseas telephone; the cable went through London, mail was censored, and the vigilant Coast-Watching Service received whole-hearted cooperation from longshoremen and fishermen. The only foreign radio still broadcasting in Ireland was American. Brennan recalled how Irish Intelligence had outwitted the British in 1921-1922 and said that, inasmuch as they knew that no efficient spy network existed, American uneasiness must be a product of their own credulity. As for domestic troublemakers, "Those members of the IRA likely to cause friction between ourselves and the British are in jail. The IRA is ancient history."<sup>39</sup>

After Gray's note, Irish Intelligence offered to explain to the OSS the security measures they had been taking. General William Donovan, head of the agency, had gone to Ireland on a propaganda mission early in the war, but the State Department knew of no other contacts between OSS and Irish Intelligence because Gray had reported none. In 1942, David Bruce, then a member of OSS, had visited the Department of External Affairs. They agreed to discuss matters with Spike Marlin, an OSS man, a former student at Trinity College, Dublin. In a sense, Marlin was treated in the same fashion as the British even though the Americans were not in a position to send reciprocal information. Marlin and Gray fell out, however, over exaggerated stories Gray was told about espionage in Ireland. Marlin laughed them off and annoyed Gray by telling him that he was gullible.<sup>40</sup>

Prior to the D-Day invasion, Hubert Will, Chief of the Counter-espionage Branch of the OSS in Europe, was sent to Ireland to work out certain arrangements and to try to prevent news of Allied plans from reaching the Germans. A large number of Irish nationals worked in the United Kingdom during the week and returned home on weekends, and the British requested American involvement in the security matter because they felt the Irish were reluctant to be fully cooperative.

Will was met at the railway station in Dublin by the head of Irish Military Intelligence, Colonel Dan Bryan. They drove to the Royal

Hibernian Hotel, chatted briefly, and arranged to meet with other officials at the University Club the next morning. Discussions centered around steps being taken to prevent information from reaching the wrong people, a subject Will also discussed with Joe Walshe.

Will had brought a naval officer, Edward J. Lawler, who stayed on and assumed the day-to-day responsibility for maintaining liaison. Marlin was in London at this time. Lawler wanted to bring him back but Gray would not have him.

In retrospect, Will doubted whether British-Irish or American-Irish relations were improved by his efforts or Lawler's. He did not think the pending invasion was of as great concern to the Irish as it was to the Allies. He did feel that the Irish, with American cooperation, were successful in preventing the leakage of any plans through their country.<sup>41</sup>

Axis diplomatic representation in Ireland continued right up to the end of the war. When Hitler killed himself in April, 1945, De Valera, conforming to the diplomatic code, paid Hempel a courtesy call. Hempel knew the Taoiseach would be criticized for this action and sympathized. The reply was: "No matter. I do what I think is right."

The following week Hempel and his staff burned all the documents in the Legation. After the German surrender, Hempel handed Walshe the keys to the Legation, declaring that he no longer represented Germany. The Irish in turn handed them over to Allied control. Hempel and his staff had destroyed everything they thought should be disposed of; what was left was taken to Belfast and a man from London came to look at it. Sir John Maffey, British representative in Dublin, said to him, "The Germans have been through this and the Irish have been through it. Do you think there is anything left for you?" One item it is certain the British never saw was a receipt for a contribution to Hitler's "Winter Relief Fund" that had been made by a prominent Dublin businessman and Nazi sympathizer named Devlin.

Hempel told De Valera that although he was prepared to return to Germany, he hoped his wife and children would be permitted to remain in Ireland. De Valera then offered Hempel asylum, which was gratefully accepted. In the years that followed he made a living selling prefabricated houses, medical instruments, and electrical goods, until his wife opened a home bakery that made enough money to support him, their four surviving children, and Mrs. Hempel's mother and sister, who had come to join them in Ireland. In 1950 Hempel accepted an offer to join the Foreign Office in Bonn. This position entitled him to a pension and he retired to a farm near the Black Forest in 1952, where he lived until his death in 1972.

## Violations of Irish Neutrality

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Dealing with infringements on Irish neutrality was not too great a problem until Europe fell and the Luftwaffe began flying over the Atlantic and Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Then planes were sometimes shot or forced down into Irish territorial waters or over Ireland itself, and the fliers interned on the grounds that they had been engaged in operational flights. When British and American air crews were forced to land in Ireland, they claimed to be on training missions, even when carrying bombs, and were allowed to cross the border. RAF ground crews then came south, repaired their aircraft, and flew them back to England.<sup>2</sup>

At first the Germans were tried before being interned, but as their numbers grew, the Irish government discontinued trials. The various crews were interned separately until a large number of sailors were picked up from a sinking vessel. Then all German crews were interned in a part of the Curragh Camp, County Kildare. More closely supervised than their counterparts in Sweden, they were nevertheless well treated and occasionally allowed to go into Dublin for special reasons and to study.<sup>3</sup>

In late November, 1940, a plane piloted by a First Lieutenant Neymeyer made an emergency landing close to Blasket Island off the southwest coast of Ireland. Five men, one of them wounded, were picked up. Eyewitnesses and the crew said Neymeyer had flown northwest to Blasket Island and crashed inside Irish territorial waters. Neymeyer claimed to have come down five or six miles northeast of the island and outside Irish jurisdiction. The following month, another wrecked crew rowed to the uninhabited island of Innisvickilane after their plane was brought down outside Irish waters. Two days later, fishermen found them and brought them back to the mainland.

Walshe told Hempel that the Irish government refused to release men because the Sea Fisheries Protection Act of 1933 stated that

waters up to five or six miles south and west of Innisvickilane were Irish. Although the Germans would have liked to get their men back, Hempel cautioned against forcing the issue. He believed more Englishmen would be finding their way to Irish shores from downed planes and sunken ships than Germans, and if the Irish released the Germans, there could be no excuse for holding the British. Boland had told Hempel the government had planned to intern British sailors from the *Empress of Britain*, who were sighted rowing and swimming to Ireland. A British destroyer picked them up before they landed, however. Hempel doubted whether they would have been interned, but felt a precedent favoring Germany should be established. Although his superiors thought the Irish should give reasons for refusing to release Germans, he believed that to avoid committing themselves the Irish were basing every decision on the location of each plane crash.

In March, 1942, a British destroyer shot down a Heinkel 15 km. southwest of Ireland and the crew was sent directly to the Curragh. Six months later, Hempel talked with another downed pilot, Hauptmann Berndt. His destination had been Northern Ireland but as he had approached from the sea, Spitfires had intercepted him. They forced him south all the way to Dublin, finally knocking out one of his engines. Heading toward the southern coast, he spotted more Spitfires, which he thought part of the regular British coastal patrol. He turned north and fled inland for several miles, guns blazing at his tail. Finally, unable to maneuver further, he brought his aircraft down at Tramore.

Hempel protested these incidents as British violations of Irish air space. Earlier, he had protested when an Allied plane crashed on the border. Then Berlin had wanted to learn whether the plane was British or American,<sup>4</sup> but Thomsen could not even get confirmation that there had been a plane crash. The plane, a Royal Canadian Air Force warplane carrying arms, ammunition, and four men, came down in Roscommon. Within five weeks it was taken apart and transported to Northern Ireland. The men had been released earlier. When an American P-51, one of a nine-plane squadron, landed in December, the Allies provided even speedier service; pilots came from the North to pick it up the same night.

In mid-April, 1943, a Flying Fortress carrying a military crew and sealed arms drew some anti-aircraft fire as it passed over Dublin on its way to England. The crew brought her down, refueled, and departed three and a half hours later. Hempel knew that during similar landings in Clare, Sligo, and Donegal, planes had been refueled and sent on their way, and he suspected that such had been the case this time. He

always reported such incidents to Berlin, calling attention to Ireland's unneutral behavior and advising that it be brought to Warnock's attention. He worried about the German position in other neutral countries, especially in Sweden, and he wondered if Warnock had officially protested that German planes flew over Ireland.

It was not until 1943 that Walshe admitted that the Irish procedure for downed fliers had not always adhered to the rules of neutrality. He pointed out that other neutrals applied them only to those directly engaged in acts of war and conveyed the impression that henceforth such would be the Irish practice.<sup>5</sup>

Indignant Irishmen regarded bombings of their territory to be the grossest infringement of their country's neutrality, especially when the Germans bombed a Dublin suburb in December, 1940. Hempel planned to claim that the British had dropped the bombs as part of preparations to attack Ireland, especially after Weizsäcker wired that there had been no German planes over Ireland at the time, and the fact that the bombs were German did not mean a German plane was responsible. The British could have taken them from a downed plane and used them as provocation, Weizsäcker said. In the end, however, Hempel took responsibility for this bombing. When Dublin was again attacked on the night of May 30, he feared strong British pressure.

Some thought Dublin had been assaulted to intimidate the Irish into maintaining a stricter neutrality.<sup>6</sup> Others believed Hitler hoped to encourage an Anglo-Irish embroilment by persuading irate Irishmen that the attacking planes were British. Another theory was that the bombs were to warn the Irish what to expect if they made further concessions to the British.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the German planes had set off for England flying on a radio beam directed from Germany. The British bent the beam and, still thinking themselves over England, the pilots dumped their loads on partially blacked-out Dublin. Just after the war started, Hempel tried to get this blackout lifted, but Walshe told him the Ministry of Defense had requested it to prevent the British from flying over. As time went on, the British press called for a stricter blackout and even Hempel acknowledged that, unpopular as the darkening procedure was, Irish lights should not serve to orient combatants.<sup>8</sup>

The Germans had developed the beam system in order to guide their bomber formations in night raids on England. Initially the system greatly assisted the airborne navigators to locate blacked-out London. The "beam system" consisted of highly directional, high-powered radio transmitters placed in northerly and southerly locations on the Continent. The radio transmissions were directed so that they intersected over

London. Ground transmitters were turned on as the German bomber formations grouped over the Continent. The Pathfinder planes leading the formations utilized sensitive receiving sets to locate the northern or target beam. As the Pathfinder planes, followed by the mass formations, flew westerly along the beam, they locked onto the center of the beam by flying a path which enabled them to receive a maximum power signal from the transmitter. If planes began to wander off to either side of the center of the beam, the received signal would start to diminish and they would correct their position to stay on the center of the transmitted signal. When the planes arrived over London, the second radio transmission, or "homing beam," from the south would be detected. This signal reached a maximum amplitude when the planes were at the center of the intersecting beams, over the target. At this point, the lead planes would drop high incendiary bombs to start fires on the ground to pinpoint the target for the rest of the air armada. The pinpointing of targets by this "beam" method became so accurate that the Germans were able to intersect the beams either directly above London for general bombing of the city or to the east above the docks on the Thames estuary. After dropping their bombloads, the planes would fly back along the southerly or homing beam.

To counteract this method of night attack, the British installed sensitive radio receivers north of the Thames in East Anglia on the path of the north or inbound beam. When the signal transmission started, the receivers picked up the signal, which was amplified and re-transmitted at a tangent to the original beam so that it passed north of London in a westerly direction across the Midlands to Wales. Most of the area that the beam was re-transmitted across was unpopulated. Farther west it became mountainous. The re-transmission of the signal could not be directed south because it would intersect the homing beam east or southeast of London. Populated areas would be bombed when the pilots detected the second beam.

The bending of the beam led the German bomber fleets to follow the stronger false signal across the English countryside directly west and north of London. Some of the formations eventually detected the weaker homing beam, released their bombloads over open farmland, and followed the second beam back to the Continent. Others continued farther west into Wales and even over Ireland before finding a suitable target. Not knowing exactly where they were, the Germans bombed indiscriminately. Until the Luftwaffe realized what the British were doing, London had a reprieve. Occasionally Dublin and Belfast became German targets instead, but air losses from planes running out of fuel



over England or during the return to the Continent made the Germans very reluctant to trust again in any type of radio beam navigation that could so easily be countered by the enemy.<sup>9</sup>

On April 16, 1941, after an April 7 testing raid had revealed the inadequacy of the city's defenses, 180 German planes bombed Belfast, destroying much property and killing 700 people. On May 5, 200 planes attacked the city again, damaging the harbor extensively. Both these raids caused great indignation in Eire. Relief organizations were mobilized as thousands of homeless refugees streamed over the border and De Valera made no excuses for the great amounts of money raised to help them. Cardinal MacRory, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote Hempel pleading for him to use his influence to forestall further bombings of Armagh, the ecclesiastical center of Ireland.<sup>10</sup>

Hempel believed that those in Irish Church circles, especially people like MacRory, wanted to cooperate with Germany and thought ill of English Catholics because of their anti-neutrality agitation. To strengthen his position with them, he asked Berlin to send a list of new German and Catholic writings he could cite to contradict propaganda about Nazi persecution of the Church and Christianity in Germany. He also wished to know if he should try to get closer to the Catholic authorities and expressed his fear that further attacks on the North would endanger domestic politics in the South. Later, even the Italian Minister, Berardis, agreed that for political reasons military actions against the North should be stopped. After Hempel passed this message on to Berlin, the raids decreased.<sup>11</sup>

Hempel found German attacks on Irish cities and other violations for which he had to take responsibility awkward to explain. The latter ranged from Germans flying over Ireland and her territorial waters to the attack on ships. Just before Hitler marched into Poland, the commander of the submarine U-30 mistook a passenger liner named the *Athenia* for a cruiser and sank her. The only Irish passenger was rescued, but because he was not a reliable witness, the Germans did not feel that the Irish had been seriously offended.<sup>12</sup> In September, 1939, the *Inver-Liffey*, a British tanker struck from the Irish register for trading contraband with England, was sunk while flying the Irish flag. The U-boat commander arrogantly told the Norwegian press he had seen the ship's flag but sank her anyway.<sup>13</sup>

Opposition members in the Dail asked for a German guarantee that ships flying the Irish flag would not be molested in the future. De Valera said that if ships carried contraband to England, they could expect to be attacked, but eventually he prohibited combatant ships from en-

tering Irish harbors under military control unless they were in dire need and displaying an SOS.

When the Germans issued a formal warning to Irish citizens not to travel in English or French ships, De Valera requested that passenger traffic between England and Ireland not be attacked because the only way to go between the islands was by British ship. Sinkings threatened neutrality, he said, and the Germans had promised to permit normal traffic as much as possible, provided Ireland stayed neutral. The Germans replied that their pronouncements had been of a general nature and were not directed solely to the Irish.<sup>14</sup>

In February, 1940, the *Munster*, a 4,300-ton freight and passenger vessel, sank after striking a mine. The *Munster* had also been changed to English registry at the outbreak of war. The English, however, had refused to provide ships to cross the Irish Sea in exchange for her. She was then taken out of service and after a few months put on the Belfast-Liverpool run. When Hempel voiced surprise that Irish ships would be used between British ports, he was blandly told that the *Munster* was the only Irish ship moving between the British ports. Hempel suspected the *Munster* had not struck a mine at all but had been blown up by the IRA in retaliation for the execution of two of its men. The *Munster* had taken an hour and a half to go down, however, so he was probably wrong.<sup>15</sup>

A short time after the *Munster* was sunk, German bombs struck the *Kerry Head* a mile and a half outside the entrance to Oyster Harbor, County Cork. The *Kerry Head* was carrying coal from Swansea to Limerick, flying the Irish flag, and had Ireland's colors brilliantly painted on both sides. Admitting that the German pilot had probably made a mistake, Walshe protested the sinking. The Irish government claimed damages for the uninsured ship. Warnock told Woermann the Irish did not want to be difficult but were concerned because the British tended to use such incidents as evidence that Ireland could not defend her own neutrality. Woermann advised him that German pilots had been ordered not to attack Irish ships and that an investigation had been started. The Luftwaffe then offered the following explanation: On August 1, two German planes operating in the area saw and recognized the nationality of the steamship. One plane notified the other, but not before a bomb had been dropped without causing any damage.<sup>16</sup>

Hempel made an official apology. At the same time he notified Berlin that even though the Irish understood that no guarantees of safety could be given, it would be prudent to spare Irish ships, at least when they were outside English ports.<sup>17</sup> When the Irish government re-

quested assurances that such incidents would not be repeated, he retorted that the danger would be lessened if ship traffic between England and Ireland were decreased.

Even more difficult for the Germans to explain was the machine-gunning of the *Edenvale* two miles off the Waterford coast on the night of October 17, 1940. The *Edenvale* flew the Irish flag and was emblazoned with the words "Edenvale Eire," painted in very large letters on her side; the national colors, painted 24 feet by 3 feet; and flags 20 feet by 19 feet which covered her hatches. The marauding pilot, who flew so low his markings were easily identified, clearly could not have mistaken the flag-wrapped *Edenvale* for another country's vessel.<sup>18</sup> The Irish government lodged a formal protest and demanded full compensation for the *Edenvale*. Walshe again told Hempel that he understood such incidents could occur, adding that the government was publicizing the protest to make it clear to England that Ireland would not fail to stand up for her rights. The fact that the *Edenvale* had been attacked within Irish territorial waters was not published, yet many people had the impression that Germans systematically flew back and forth over Ireland.<sup>19</sup>

German violations of Irish neutrality were not limited to bombing and strafing of Irish ships. Magnetic mines of German origin were found in Dungarvan Bay and in Eniskerry, and German planes did fly over Ireland at night while raiding cities in the west of England. In August, 1940, two twin-engined Heinkels, flying one behind the other, came over Ireland from the southeast. They separated, flew in circles, and one headed north, attacking Campile, near Waterford. Flying on to Wexford, it bombed a dairy, killing two girls, wounding two others, leaving two buried and two others in shock. The pilot then flew north, bombing haphazardly, and both planes left to the southeast, flying 15 kilometers apart at heights of 800 and 1500 meters, respectively.

According to Hempel, the Irish government assumed the pilot thought he had been hitting the north side of the Bristol Channel. Irish newsmen chalked it up to a navigation error, but the whole affair had great propaganda value for the American press, which said the plane had dropped the bombs in order to lighten its load after a British plane pursued it. Hempel asked to be given instructions to express regrets and condolences immediately and without Warnock knowing of his request. He criticized the pilot for not realizing he was over neutral territory when anti-aircraft guns had not fired at him, and deemed it politically important to accept responsibility quietly and quickly.

Warnock lodged an official protest over this incident. Woermann

told him that the Luftwaffe did not think the fact that a German bomb had been dropped proved that a German plane had dropped it. Pieces of an unexploded bomb were then sent to Germany for examination at the same time Hempel composed an apology to send the Irish newspapers:<sup>20</sup>

In connection with the bombing of Campile, County Wexford, on 16th August, the German Foreign Office has informed the chargé d'affaires at Berlin that although exhaustive investigations have given no reason to believe German aircraft have flown over or bombed Ireland, in view of the available evidence with regard to the markings on the bombs and the desire to settle the matter in a friendly spirit, the German government is prepared to admit that possibly a German aircraft whose pilot had lost his way due to bad visibility dropped the bombs.

On this basis, the Foreign Office has expressed the regret of the German government at the occurrence and sincere sympathy for those who have suffered to the chargé d'affaires. At the same time, the German Foreign Office expresses the willingness of the government to pay compensation for the loss and damage sustained, subject to determining a method of doing so.

Before this apology could be printed, it was discovered that in addition to German words and manufacturing marks printed on the side of one of the bombs, the words "Cartoucherie Française" were pressed into it. Hempel, Thomsen, and an Irish lieutenant-colonel examined the remains of one bomb that had lost its head and fins after striking the wall of one of the farm buildings. A black cartridge case drilled with round holes found there also indicated French origins. Thomsen gave one of the interned fliers, First-Lieutenant Mollenhauer, a rough drawing of it. He verified that the parts were German but could not explain the cartridge cases either.

By this time everyone had a theory. Hempel thought it had something to do with pistols carried by the pilots. The Irish officer believed it was a special device for igniting charges at high altitudes. To Boland, it meant that Germany was using materials confiscated in France. Although Hempel did not think Boland attached much importance to the episode or that the government planned any action, he continued urging speedy resolution of the case because of its psychological impact on Irish opinion.

Two days after Hempel communicated these thoughts to Berlin, the riddle was solved. Some days before the bombing, Irish military exercises had taken place in the vicinity with equipment that included cartridge cases made by a Parisian firm, a fact that had been overlooked by the Lieutenant-Colonel, who was new in his post.<sup>21</sup> When the press release finally appeared, reference to "German aircraft flying

over Ireland" had been omitted at the request of the Irish government, which hoped to avoid all comments on the subject.<sup>22</sup>

German violations of neutrality hurt Ireland. For instance, when five vessels carrying grain exclusively for Irish use were sunk in the summer and fall of 1940, Warnock alluded to the special treatment Germany was supposed to be giving Ireland. When he cynically asked where other ships with goods destined for Ireland were located, the Germans did not answer directly.

In principle, German planes were not supposed to attack Irish ships or operate within the ten-mile zone. When they did, their movements were difficult to conceal and often resulted not only in claims for damages but also in press and radio reports about German designs on Ireland. Such reports prompted the Irish to reaffirm their neutral position and their willingness to defend it against all invaders, whereupon the Germans would deny such accusations dismissing them as the work of British and American propagandists.<sup>23</sup>

## German Military Intelligence Becomes Interested in Ireland

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From December, 1941 to January, 1943, the diplomatic initiative in Irish matters belonged to the German Foreign Office. Officially they respected neutrality; unofficially they continued their efforts to muster opinion against England. In gathering information, they relied on active support from anti-British elements and at least the tacit support of those who wanted a united Ireland at any price.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to 1943, the agency most concerned with espionage was the *Amt Ausland-Abwehr des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*—the Office of Military Intelligence, commonly known as the *Abwehr*. When it was established as part of the War Ministry in 1921<sup>2</sup> under Colonel Gemp, the *Abwehr* consisted of two or three General Staff officers, a half-dozen officers, and some clerks. Divided into East and West units, it stationed people at each of the seven military command posts Germany was allowed to maintain.<sup>3</sup> Its annual budget was 100,000 marks.

When Hitler came to power, Navy Captain Conrad Patzig replaced Gemp. He soon found himself in conflict with the regime, particularly with Reinhard Heydrich, head of the SS, and requested a return to active sea duty. He suggested that Captain Wilhelm Canaris could get along better with Heydrich and might also help keep the *Abwehr* under the control of the Navy.<sup>4</sup>

Canaris was born in Aplerbeck in 1887, the son of an industrialist. In 1905 he entered the Navy and, after a 1915 battle off the coast of South America, was interned. Escaping, he made his way to Spain, where German Military Intelligence employed him to arrange the secret purchase of goods and their transport to Germany. Returning home, he was given command of a submarine. In 1919 he married Erika Waag, daughter of an industrialist. The following year he participated

in the Kapp Putsch, a rightist attempt to overthrow the Weimar regime. In 1934, when he was asked to replace Patzig, he was in command of the naval base at Swinemunde. He had met Heydrich in 1922 when serving as a first lieutenant on a training cruiser, the *Berlin*, and for many years they maintained a cautious social relationship.

Canaris was politically a monarchist and spiritually an aristocrat.<sup>5</sup> Some thought him a personality of pure intellect.<sup>6</sup> He abominated Hitler, his system, and particularly his methods. He helped many Jews escape from Germany during the war, and it has been rumored that he was a British agent.<sup>7</sup> Many of his key subordinates in the Abwehr were later involved in attempts to overthrow Hitler.<sup>8</sup>

After Canaris became its Chief, the Abwehr took the name of Foreign Countries and Counter-Espionage at Supreme Armed Forces Headquarters (OKW). It grew into a service organization divided into three main sections: the Central, the Foreign, and the Abwehr. Colonel Oster commanded the Central section, sometimes called Department Z, which was mainly concerned with financial and legal administration. The Foreign Section, under Captain Buerkner, provided the three armed services with political and military information gathered from the foreign press and acted as liaison between the Wehrmacht and the Foreign Office.

The Abwehr was divided into three sub-branches. Branch I, under Colonel Pieckenbrock, was divided into five groups concerned with active reconnaissance and espionage. The first three groups performed specific tasks for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and collected special information for them. The fourth group, I-G, was concerned with photography, invisible ink, personal documents, passports, etc. The fifth, I-I, designed wireless sets and trained operators.

Branch II was headed by Colonel Erwin von Lahousen, an Austrian Intelligence officer who had become part of the Abwehr after the *Anschluss*. Branch II dealt with dissatisfied minorities in other countries, prepared sabotage, and performed special tasks. Like Branch I, it had three sub-groups devoted to Army, Navy, and Air.<sup>9</sup> The plans of Abwehr II were recorded in a war diary kept so that one day the German people and the world would know how those who had guided the fate of the world at this time had acted.

Abwehr III, under Colonel Egbert Bentivegni, was made up of an armed forces group and other offices concerned with security in official and civilian circles, industrial and economic security, sending false information to foreign intelligence services, infiltration of foreign intelligence services, and counter-espionage activities. Later in the war, this

office took responsibility for security in POW camps and technical posts and sent agents with advancing troops to do counter-espionage.

In addition, the Brandenburg Regiment, a special-duty force similar to the British Commandos, was under Abwehr jurisdiction. Formed as a company on October 15, 1939, under Captain Theodor von Hippel, by early 1940 it had expanded to a battalion under Major Alexander Kewische. By October of that year, it was a brigade, and by December, 1942, a division.

The Abwehr maintained sub-offices, or *Abwehrstelle* (abbreviated AST), each under an A/O, or *Abwehr-Offizier*, at many military posts. In neutral countries these sub-offices were sometimes disguised as businesses, in which case they were called *Kriegsorganisationen*, or KO, and operated with minimum personnel. After the fall of France, Brest became the principal German intelligence post for Western Europe.

The Germans conducted little active intelligence against Great Britain before 1936, when its agents began certain types of activities. Placing people in Britain proved difficult, however, partly because of the tight British customs regulations and partly because the British regarded all foreigners with suspicion.<sup>10</sup> Still, plans were made to support the Irish and Welsh nationalists there and to cooperate with insurgents. The Abwehr and the Foreign Office agreed to work closely in matters of anti-British agitation and even held weekly meetings about them.<sup>11</sup>

In conjunction, the Abwehr and the Foreign Office sent students abroad. Some studied Celtic lore and culture, and German Military Intelligence penetrated and almost controlled one Celtic society in Berlin.<sup>12</sup> This group sent an anthropology student named Jupp Hoven to Ireland, where he spent a good deal of time on an island off the coast of Donegal ostensibly "chasing down Mongoloid types."<sup>13</sup> Hoven became acquainted with almost every barmaid in western Ireland and also with a former IRA man for whom he arranged a trip to Germany. This man had been one of the principal guerrilla chiefs during the Black and Tan War but he had done little but write his memoirs since that time. The trip was probably arranged so the IRA man could discuss the bomb campaign that had started in England around that time, and IRA-German cooperation.<sup>14</sup>

In November and December, 1939, the Abwehr planned to send V-men (trusted agents) to Ireland by submarine in order to strengthen relations with the IRA. They believed the IRA was weak because many of the leaders involved in the S-campaign were behind bars.<sup>15</sup> The agents were instructed to approach the IRA on the basis of Germany's desire to see Ireland united. One of their main goals would be to per-



suade the IRA to drop political and propaganda activities in favor of military undertakings.<sup>16</sup>

German Intelligence made its first contact with the IRA in Ireland in 1937 through a Breton, Mill Arden, a long-time resident of Ireland married to an Irishwoman. Another came through Eivars and McCutcheon, two former students at Trinity College, Dublin, who went to Germany to study. Evidently sympathetic to the activities of the Nazis, they had returned to Ireland by the time Europe collapsed. One of them later obtained a job in an American university. Around Christmas time, 1939, a man named O'Toole also returned to Ireland from the Continent. He had met with military people in Germany, received an offer of arms, and talked with persons in Military Intelligence.

Another contact with the IRA came through a representative the German Academic Exchange Board sent from Germany to Dublin. This man, Helmut Clissmann, studied in Ireland from 1933 to 1936, returned to Germany, and went back to Dublin as the Exchange Board's secretary in 1938. He remained there until the war broke out and married Elizabeth Mulcahy, member of an Irish family known for its anti-English activism. During his stay in Ireland, Clissmann attracted the attention of both Irish and British authorities because he moved in extremely anti-British circles. The British, fearing such associations might strengthen the IRA, focused their attention on a German who worked as an accountant for the Electricity Supply Board and lived on a hill overlooking the sea south of Dublin. Neighbors reported suspicious lights in his house. Police, thinking he might be signaling, raided his house but found nothing of a compromising nature.<sup>17</sup>

The Germans, not surprisingly, also looked to rightist groups for support. The most important group, the Blueshirts, was led by General Eoin O'Duffy, who had fought with Michael Collins in 1917, joined the hunger strikes, and taken part in the treaty negotiations with Britain in 1921. From 1921 to 1925, O'Duffy served successively as Deputy Chief of Staff, Chief of Staff, and Commanding General of the Free State forces. In 1922 he was appointed Police Commissioner, a post he held until 1933, when he organized a private guard, the Blueshirts, to suppress IRA violence. Soon O'Duffy merged the Blueshirts with other opponents of De Valera to form the Fine Gael Party, and served as party chairman until he tried to withhold land annuities from the Fianna Fail as well as from the British. De Valera then dismissed him as Police Commissioner, probably to placate the IRA, and the Dail passed an act outlawing the Blueshirts.

During the Spanish Civil War, O'Duffy organized an Irish Brigade to fight for Franco.<sup>18</sup> Fourteen hundred men went with him to Spain during late 1936 and early 1937. Six months later they were back without having won any notable victories. They gave unsanitary conditions, typhoid, and other diseases as reasons for their quick return, and denied it had been because the Irish government had prohibited Irishmen from enlisting in the Spanish forces.<sup>19</sup>

In some way, German Intelligence was behind the transfer of O'Duffy's group to Spain. The Germans believed O'Duffy and his followers to be more important than they actually were, and even expected them to be able to work with the IRA on the basis of common nationalism. In October, 1940, Hempel reported that O'Duffy was trying to make contact with the IRA. O'Duffy had let the Legation know that he expected future German action in Ireland and that when it came he wanted a part in it. He said he hoped for a promise from the Germans regarding Northern Ireland and that, although his public statements praised Irish neutrality, he would work for an official policy similar to that of the Axis. Hempel was interested in using what he thought were O'Duffy's important connections with the Irish Army, but warned Berlin against dealing with him in a careless manner, because he believed O'Duffy's ideas were vague.<sup>20</sup>

Germany did not have much of a foothold in Ireland at the time war broke out, except among the segments of the IRA prepared to cooperate in varying degrees with the Germans, the Blueshirts, and the representatives of quasi-cultural groups. The idea that during the war the island crawled with spies and Nazis is a misconception. The head of the Irish Nazis, a former German music master named Brase, who had been in the Irish Army since 1922, died during the phony war, and most of the Nazis who had been sent to Ireland earlier were in Nuremberg attending a party rally when Hitler invaded Poland, and were unable to return to Ireland. One, Austrian-born Professor Adolph Mahr, an archeologist and Keeper of Irish Antiquities at the National Museum, was the local Nazi leader for Ireland. He used to take field trips, sketching ancient ruins and, incidentally, airfields. In summer, 1939, Mahr attended the Nuremberg rally. Prevented from returning to Dublin because of his political activities, he was at loose ends with no way to make a living in Germany. Eventually, however, the Party found a minor position for him in the section of the radio service that gathered information for propaganda.<sup>21</sup>

The British agreed to allow Germans in Ireland, who had been recalled or who wanted to return to the Continent, to do so, and in Sep-

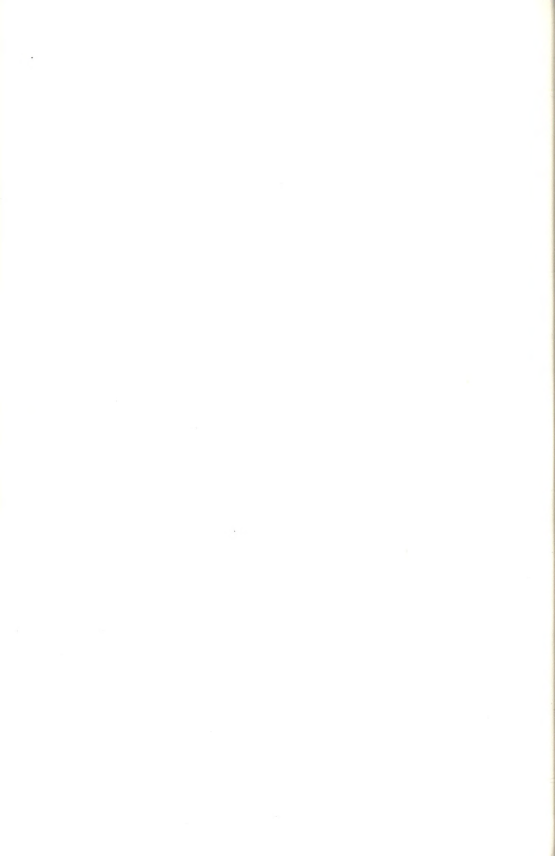
tember, 1939, 50 or 55 of them were permitted to travel through England enroute to Germany. The departure of these potential spies made the Abwehr realize that if Ireland was to serve any useful purpose in the German war effort, skilled agents would have to be sent there. Hempel usually assumed such persons were busier than they actually were<sup>22</sup> and continually urged Berlin to restrain them before they gave the Irish government legitimate grounds for complaint.<sup>23</sup>

German agents sent to Ireland after war broke out had to be briefed before leaving Germany by supposed "Irish experts." Usually, the "experts" had been out of touch with the situation in Ireland for so long that they could provide little assistance.<sup>24</sup> Other problems that plagued the Abwehr were:

1. Amateurs who thought they had talent;
2. Inadequate communications between departments. Officials of the Brandenburg Regiment sometimes made major decisions themselves rather than waiting for directions from Berlin;<sup>25</sup>
3. British Intelligence planted false information, which was passed on to Berlin as part of an unending flow of reports;<sup>26</sup>
4. Inefficiency, lack of cooperation, and competition between departments and between the Abwehr and the Foreign Office.<sup>27</sup> After 1940, agents could not be sent to Ireland without Foreign Office approval.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the Gestapo also set up its own overseas political intelligence service called the Sicherheitsdienst, or SD. Although the SD was not supposed to deal with military information, sometimes its activities overlapped those of the Abwehr. Often decisions regarding Ireland were based on SD reports such as that of August, 1942, which stated that:

1. De Valera follows nationalistic politics, which strengthens the people in their anti-British feelings;
2. The BBC propaganda has no influence. German broadcasts are preferred;
3. The IRA has become stronger, and unofficial cooperation between them and De Valera is expected in the future;
4. British-Communist circles in Ireland will try to use the handling of the Church in Germany to turn the Irish against Germany;
5. It is expected that the United States will use the Free State strategically and will occupy it in Spring, 1943.<sup>29</sup>

Acting on such misinformation, the SD, which by 1943 had taken control of intelligence, dropped men into Ireland, but they accomplished nothing as Ireland's role in the German scheme of things, which had always been limited, steadily dwindled.<sup>30</sup>



## **PART II: IRISHMEN IN GERMANY**



## Irish Military Intelligence and the First IRA Contacts with Germany

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In 1938 De Valera resolved a six-year economic dispute with the British by publicly guaranteeing that in exchange for certain concessions Ireland would in no way allow herself to be used as a base for attacking England. Keeping spies off the island was complicated by the fact that no passport control existed between England and either Northern or Southern Ireland. Consequently, after mid-March, 1944, the British Home Office virtually suspended travel between Britain and all of Ireland, thus treating the entire island even more as a unit than it had before. Theoretically, this meant that while the customs inspectors could watch people traveling to England from the Continent, anyone entering Ireland from England could disappear without a trace. In practice, however, a cordial relationship between British passport control, which was tied in with security, and Irish Intelligence made this unlikely.

In early 1939, Irish Intelligence consisted of only 43 men. The first test of their abilities came in February, when Oskar K. Pfau, a German propagandist, arrived on their shores.<sup>1</sup>

An adventurer, Pfau had left Germany after World War I to go to the United States, where he was a railroad tramp, lumberjack, cowboy, and Chicago policeman. He attended evening classes and began writing for various newspapers, primarily about the injustices of the Versailles Treaty. According to the communist press, Pfau also served in the regular army under General George van Horn Mosely, later nominated by Father Coughlin as a potential American führer.<sup>2</sup> He became editor of the German-language paper, *Weckruf und Beobachter* (*Roll Call and Observer*), and founded the German-American Bund, an émigré organization sympathetic to the Fatherland.

The consulate in Chicago brought Pfaus to the attention of the *Fichtebund*,<sup>3</sup> a German propaganda agency founded in 1914.<sup>4</sup> Pfaus accepted their offer to direct the agency's department dealing with English-speaking territories, and returned to Germany.

Soon after the IRA bombing campaign began, Lieutenant-Commander Walter Scheidewind of the Abwehr asked Pfaus to go to Ireland to establish contact with the dissidents. Pfaus agreed, even though he knew the Abwehr had not lifted restrictions on collaborating with anti-government groups in Ireland, and met with Captain Friedrich Carl Marwede, code-named Pfalsgraf, Director of Office 1 West in Abwehr II. Professor Franz Fromme, whom the Abwehr regarded as an Irish expert, briefed him. To some, Fromme might have passed as an Irishman. He had lived in Ireland for several years and had made good contacts, including Jim O'Donovan, but most of Fromme's knowledge was related to old Celtic customs and early Christianity.

Pfaus sailed to Harwich and then proceeded straight to London. British Passport Control tipped off the Irish that he was heading for Dublin. Since Pfaus had earlier tried to get his writings into certain newspapers, the Irish thought he was coming to Ireland only to arrange German propaganda. Because they did not suspect espionage, they did not keep him under close surveillance. Pfaus arrived in Dublin on February 3, and took a room in a boarding house. When he asked General Eoin O'Duffy to put him in touch with the IRA, the fascist O'Duffy was shocked and said he was unable to oblige. Pfaus soon discovered, however, that O'Duffy's adjutant or secretary, Liam D. Walsh, was able to, and he recruited Walsh as a sort of propaganda agent.<sup>5</sup> Walsh took Pfaus to Maurice Twomey, a well-known IRA man, who owned a stationery shop on O'Connell Street. He had preceded Sean Russell as IRA Chief of Staff and though no longer an official member of the IRA at the time Pfaus arrived, he helped the organization out and was on friendly terms with Jim O'Donovan.

Twomey drove Pfaus to a house in the Dublin suburb of Clontarf, where Pfaus found half a dozen or so members of the IRA Army Council. After being questioned for hours, Pfaus feared that he would be unable to leave the room unless he shot his way out or made a run for it. Then unexpectedly the men relaxed and extended welcoming hands. During their lengthy interrogation they had supposedly sent a wire to the *Fichtebund* asking, "Where is Oskar K. Pfaus?" The reply, "In Dublin," satisfied them as to their visitor's identity, although whether there was time for this to have been done is questionable.<sup>6</sup>

Pfaus impressed Jim O'Donovan as a "real SS type," but both



O'Donovan and Sean Russell thought cooperation between the IRA and the Abwehr would be a good idea.<sup>7</sup> Pfaus told them to send a representative to Germany to discuss mutual activities and the possibility of the IRA acquiring German arms. They agreed, then decided on a signal to identify the emissary. O'Donovan tore a £ note in half. Pfaus would take one half back to the Abwehr, and the IRA contact man would bring the other half when he came to Germany.<sup>8</sup>

Sean Russell selected Jim O'Donovan, whom some considered very pro-German, to act as IRA intermediary. In February, 1939, on the first of three trips to Hamburg, he presented the IRA's half of the torn £ note to Oskar Pfaus. He discussed with Dr. Pfalsgraf the organization's role in the event of war between England and the Reich, and the possibility of Germany supplying the IRA with arms.<sup>9</sup>

After three days, O'Donovan left Hamburg. On April 26 he returned to discuss wireless sets, establishing a courier route, and setting up an accommodation address in London. On May 15 he tried out the courier route.

In August, on O'Donovan's last trip, he took along his wife, Monty. They traveled on the same ship as Joseph McGarrity, one-time head of the Clann na Gael in the United States. McGarrity had visited Ireland often and Jim knew him, but for reasons of caution they had agreed not to recognize each other on this journey. Only after the ship docked and they were walking to town did McGarrity look around and, seeing nothing but dreary quays, say something to him in Irish. German customs officials gave the O'Donovans, who had denied having any goods to declare, a rough time when they found several cartons of cigarettes. A thorough search for other contraband was promptly conducted, and an extremely angry Mrs. O'Donovan was ordered to disrobe while a female officer examined the seams of her clothing. To avoid a stiff fine, O'Donovan had to sign a certificate donating the cigarettes to the German Red Cross. He expressed his displeasure to members of the Abwehr and returned home with mixed feelings about getting further involved with the Germans. Everyone in Germany seemed to be peering at each other through keyholes.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after O'Donovan returned to Ireland, both the Abwehr and the IRA realized that radio communication between them was still not possible because they had not agreed upon a key code-word. Kurt Haller, a club-footed civilian attached to the Abwehr, thereupon selected "House of Parliaments" and sent a Foreign Office employee with it to a courier in Brussels. The courier, Paul Moyse, and his girl friend then took a train to Ostend, caught a steamer to Dover, and

proceeded to London. Moyse gave the code key, information relating to times of transmissions, and general instructions to the IRA's contact there.<sup>11</sup> In spite of these preparations, the Abwehr received no radio messages from the IRA until October, when O'Donovan requested arms and other apparatus without specifying how it was to be sent.<sup>12</sup> The extent of the contact between Germany and Ireland at that time is illustrated by the fact that Berlin had to learn about disturbances in Dublin from the American radio.<sup>13</sup>

During the early years of the war, the bulk of IRA transmitting activity consisted of propaganda broadcasts. Sometimes, when it was suspected that the German Legation did the broadcasting, Hempel temporarily ceased all transmitting, even of weather reports. O'Donovan prepared much of the propaganda material and occasionally did a broadcast himself, using a Scott radio McGarrity's group in America had provided. In prewar days it had been easy to ship such items from the United States to Ireland through Hamburg, Antwerp, or London in crates labeled "machinery." Chemicals and explosives were brought in this way, too. To a dedicated revolutionary, the small penalty of £20 or a month in jail for falsifying the bill of lading was well worth the risk.

To prevent the authorities from finding their transmitters, the IRA continually moved them around.<sup>14</sup> The police, with the assistance of Military Intelligence, persisted in tracking down the source of the propaganda. Information from private sources, together with a radio locator unit provided by the British, helped narrow the areas. In late December, 1939, the police seized the broadcasting station and its operator in the Upper Rathmines district of Dublin. O'Donovan's association with it and with Germany remained unknown, however,<sup>15</sup> until the fall of 1941, when he was arrested and interned in the Curragh Camp.<sup>16</sup>

After 1939, the IRA no longer transmitted to Germany, but the Abwehr did not know they had lost their equipment until February of 1940.<sup>17</sup> The Foreign Office then learned from Hempel that the IRA could receive messages but lacked certain parts necessary for transmitting. Hempel also said persons sympathetic to the IRA had warned him to exercise care when dealing with that organization. Although he did not consider these warnings overly important, Hempel did feel caution should be used, if only because of the IRA's indiscretions, carelessness, and the possibility it was mixed up in British espionage.<sup>18</sup> In the meantime, the Irish police regularly raided the IRA, confiscated various experimental transmitters and, in 1941, one that worked.

The Abwehr received a first-hand account of the IRA's transmitting difficulties from Francis Stuart, one of the few Irishmen who willingly spent the war years in Germany.<sup>19</sup> An Australian-born writer, Stuart was a product of the English public schools. During the late 1930's, he had lectured on Anglo-Irish literature at Berlin University before returning to Ireland for family reasons. His wife, Iseult, was the daughter of Maud Gonne MacBride and Lucien Millevoye, member of the French Chamber of Deputies, with whom she had lived while separated from her husband, Major John MacBride.<sup>20</sup>

In the fall of 1939, marital and financial problems caused Francis Stuart to return to Germany, where he had been offered a job. He was attracted, at least initially, to Hitler. Politically, Stuart could be described as a kind of non-aligned, non-violent anarchist. Strong figures who could disrupt what he saw as a skeptical, materialistic, middle-class civilization attracted him, including, perversely, Stalin. Yet, he was apparently a man of little political conviction aside from his Irish nationalism, his interests running more to philosophy and religion. His writings did contain strains of anti-intellectualism and distrust of democracy, however.<sup>21</sup>

Stuart went to the authorities in Dublin to arrange his affairs, saying he was going to Switzerland for his health. When Intelligence warned External Affairs that he was probably headed for Germany, they responded, "Remember, we are neutral."<sup>22</sup>

Stuart then conferred with Hempel, whom he and his wife knew well. The Minister told him that the IRA regularly requested transmitters from him, a practice he did not appreciate. Afterward, Hempel informed the German Embassy in Switzerland that Stuart was coming and asked them to provide further visas. He also wired Berlin that Stuart hoped to arrive there in mid-November and advised he be treated confidentially because of the danger of difficulties with England. In a later communication, Hempel urged assistance for Stuart as a responsible representative of Irish nationalism. He saw him as a sober influence in contrast to other Irishmen who might be inclined to go to Germany. Often more extreme and more anxious to get Ireland involved, these men could have made Hempel's already difficult position untenable.

Before Stuart left Ireland, Sean MacBride, Stuart's wife's half-brother, told him the IRA wanted a message delivered to the Abwehr in Berlin. Stuart also met with Stephen Hayes, then on the run, at Jim O'Donovan's house. Then he left for Switzerland with an exit visa from



*Oscar C. Pfau of the Fichtebund journeyed to Dublin in February 1939 to establish contact between the Abwehr and the Irish Republican Army. Neither British nor Irish Military Intelligence suspected that his visit involved more t'han finding outlets for propaganda. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*

*Francis Stuart, an Irish novelist who lectured at Berlin University throughout most of the war. For a time he sympathized with Hitler's wartime goals enough to broadcast anti-British propaganda from Berlin. (Photo by author)*



*James O'Donovan. Expert in chemistry, he masterminded the S-Plan, basis of the IRA's bombing campaign against England, which began in 1939 and resulted in a concerted effort by both British and Irish authorities to suppress the already illegal IRA. (Photo courtesy of James O'Donovan)*

England and a transit visa through France. After staying briefly in Switzerland, he obtained a Swiss visa and went to Germany in January, 1940.

Hempel had provided introductions to several people, but when he arrived in Berlin, Stuart contacted only Weizsäcker. They talked about their mutual friend, Hempel, and the situation in Ireland. Whatever help Stuart received during his years in Germany came from Weizsäcker and the Foreign Office. They provided papers identifying him as an Irishman lecturing at Berlin University at the request of the German government and, at various times, gave him other documents permitting him to travel and live in places otherwise restricted.

On February 4 Stuart delivered the IRA's message to the Abwehr. Those who greeted him seemed suspicious, possibly because he was an English-speaking foreigner claiming to have a message from the IRA chief. They rang up Fromme, who knew MacBride and other members of Stuart's family well. Fromme went to Stuart's flat to talk to him and then cleared up the matter.<sup>23</sup>

Stuart had brought the Abwehr news that, contrary to their instructions to O'Donovan, the IRA had used its transmitter not only to contact Germany but also to broadcast propaganda. The police had confiscated the transmitter but had found neither the code nor the receiver. O'Donovan wished a new set to be delivered speedily<sup>24</sup> and requested that someone be sent to Ireland as a liaison officer.

Stuart asked the Abwehr to send a wireless message to the IRA saying he had arrived safely and advising them to tell his wife. He then began teaching at the university. His only direct contact with Ireland after that was through letters from his family, which first came through England and later via Spain. In return, he sent support money home through a Swiss bank. When it was necessary, Hempel handled communications concerning these transactions.<sup>25</sup>

Shortly after Stuart arrived in Germany, he declined Helmut Clissmann's request that he go on a lecture tour of the country. In February, 1940, he began writing for William Joyce, known to his audiences as Lord Haw Haw. He wrote for Joyce until Joyce began writing his own material six or eight months later. Stuart made English translations of news items for broadcasts, and in time, began delivering his own talks.<sup>26</sup>

Broadcasts to Ireland and elsewhere had begun before Stuart arrived in Germany. Members of the broadcast group were no doubt encouraged by feedback such as Hempel's testimony that the Irish government was pleased at their use of the Irish language and that

listeners liked the speaking manner of Celtic expert Ludwig Muelhausen, a professor of Gaelic at Berlin University. Hempel believed in moving carefully when it came to propaganda, however, and suggested they first survey German-Irish cultural relations and Irish civilization. Next, they could express an unselfish interest in Ireland while presenting information on German scientific progress. He also thought descriptions of German life would help the Irish form a better opinion of present-day Germany.<sup>27</sup>

The broadcasters were poorly organized and apparently had little Irish material. Irish Intelligence, monitoring the programs, noted that sometimes they merely read the diaries of Wolfe Tone. An investigation at the National Library revealed that the radio people were using an uncommon edition. The Secret Service continued its interest in the programs because they suspected that concealed messages were being sent to Ireland and discussed this possibility with Cecil Liddell, the British liaison man. No effective way of arranging such contacts between Ireland and Berlin existed, however.<sup>28</sup>

In June of 1943, the Irish government formally complained that Stuart was trying to influence the Irish position in the war with his talks. Warnock told Hemcke in the Foreign Office that while there was no objection to talks about Ireland, even when they had an anti-British tone, verbal attacks on the Opposition party made the government suspect German pressure. Warnock, who saw Stuart quite often in the early days and occasionally invited him to the Legation for dinner, never said anything to him directly about the broadcasts. In fact, until Stuart said something relating to the Irish elections, he laughed about them.<sup>29</sup>

A German, Dr. Shaubert, headed the Irish propaganda section, which was a sort of appendage to the British section. Stuart was the only Irish person in the section for any length of time with the exception of a woman named Nora O'Meara. Whether or not she was truly Irish is doubtful. She assumed she was Irish through her father, whom she had never known, and had romantic notions about her homeland. General Ian Hamilton, the man whom the British sent to capture the Dardanelles in World War I, and his wife adopted her between the wars. Quite sympathetic to Hitler, they often went to Germany and met the Führer in Munich. Nora elected to remain in Germany after the war broke out. Hermann Goertz (see Chapters 12-15) gave her some work, and later Stuart engaged her as his secretary. At the time the Nazis invaded Poland, they captured the radio station in Warsaw

as one of the first steps of their take-over, and Nora O'Meara broadcast accounts of Hitler's successes in the field. Sometime later, Goertz said, she became pregnant by a Ukrainian.

Stuart did not care for the broadcast group in general, but participated because he hoped his speeches would be a partial antidote to the flood of British propaganda inundating Ireland. In them, he stressed the importance of maintaining Ireland's neutrality regardless of her proximity to England. At the same time, he did not encourage Ireland to enter the war on the Axis side. Stuart's interest in his talks continued until the Germans began making suggestions about what he should say. A man named Schobert told him he should emphasize the German struggle against communism and Russia, neither of which Stuart saw as enemies of Ireland. In one of his last broadcasts made from Luxembourg, he said, "If I don't speak any more it will be because I can no longer say what I want, what I think is the truth. I will be asked to say things I don't believe, so if I stop talking, you'll know why."

He made such remarks freely because he believed that no one was monitoring him, although the Germans had listened to him at first. Even before this last statement, Stuart's hosts would have been displeased at some of his remarks had they tuned in.

When Stuart left Luxembourg for Berlin, several people who knew he was quitting the radio came to see him. Persecuted in minor ways, he asked Warnock to renew his lapsed Irish passport but was not surprised when his request was denied. Later, when Cremin replaced Warnock, Stuart was better received, but still he could not get his passport updated.

He then gave up any idea of returning to Ireland, acquired documents for obtaining ration cards and such necessities, and went to Munich with the woman who would later become his second wife, Madeline. As the end of the war approached, he again went to the Irish Legation, which had moved near Lake Constance, and said he wanted to leave. Cremin tried once more unsuccessfully to reinstate his passport.

Germany's surrender made travel possible once again, even when one possessed only lapsed documents. August of 1945 found Stuart in Paris, able at last to renew his papers and trying to get Madeline out of Germany. Unsuccessful, he returned to Austria, where they had been living. His departure from Paris was a relief to the First Secretary of the Irish Legation there, who had openly stated that Stuart's efforts to get into Ireland could be embarrassing to the government.



The British had Stuart's name on more than one list, and felt they had a moral case against him. Possibly at their instigation, the French occupying forces in Austria arrested both him and his wife. They were imprisoned for eight or nine months without being interrogated. The letters Stuart wrote never reached their destinations. A close friend in Paris learned of their predicament and contacted a general, who then recommended that Stuart be interrogated. One sympathetic French officer said, "I hear you were a communist," which he had heard from Schobert. Another informed him that neither the French nor the British had any further interest in him. He and his wife were thereupon released, and the French helped them get ration cards and accommodations. They stayed in Paris for some years before moving to London and, finally in 1959, to Ireland. At the time they debarked in Ireland, no questions were raised about Stuart's World War II activities.<sup>30</sup>

## Operations Dove and Sea Eagle

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Francis Stuart had been in Germany almost six months when Sean Russell arrived there. Russell, born in Dublin in 1890 and trained as a cabinet-maker, had been imprisoned for a time by the British after the Easter Rising. He served as the IRA's Quartermaster-General during the Black and Tan War and later as Chief of Munitions Supply. An honest, idealistic bachelor, whose chief desire in life was to see Ireland free, he was a devout Catholic whose religion did not interfere with his politics. He abhorred violence among Irishmen, blamed De Valera for the civil war, and broke with him in 1927 after De Valera became convinced that Irish reunification and other IRA goals could best be achieved by joining the government. In the 1939 bombing campaign against England, Russell was reportedly the IRA man the British took most seriously. He cared little what economic system might prevail after Ireland had broken all ties with Britain, and although not a fascist, he was the person most responsible for an attempt at rapprochement between Germany and the IRA.<sup>1</sup>

Russell became IRA Chief of Staff in 1938 and selected Stephen Hayes as his Adjutant-General. He left Hayes as Acting Chief when he went to the United States in 1939 to raise funds for the bombing campaign.<sup>2</sup> Many of Russell's followers thought this trip unnecessary. The action against England was not costly and small amounts always seemed to trickle into the illegal army. Many also thought Hayes, who drank heavily, a poor choice as a replacement.<sup>3</sup> Russell and Joseph McGarrity toured America making speeches and answering questions about the IRA. The crowds they addressed were made up of Clann na Gael members and other political and financial supporters, Nazis, communists, and the U.S. Secret Service.<sup>4</sup>

In his speeches, Russell freely took credit for the bombing campaign in England and said it would continue until the British took their troops

out of Northern Ireland and released Irish political prisoners held in England.<sup>5</sup> When King George VI and Queen Elizabeth arrived to open the British section of the New York World's Fair, the American government detained Russell, then in Detroit. A storm of protest immediately arose from Irish-Americans and the 76 Congressmen of Irish descent. Even after Russell was released on bail, the matter continued to receive considerable publicity.

Russell next made overtures to Germany<sup>6</sup> through John McCarthy, a steward on the ocean liner, *George Washington*. McCarthy informed the German consul in Genoa that Russell wanted to go to Germany,<sup>7</sup> and the message was relayed to Berlin. At first Canaris approved the request; two weeks later, however, he referred the decision as to whether or not Abwehr II should contact Russell to the Foreign Minister. Ultimately, the Foreign Office returned authority in this matter to Abwehr II, with the stipulation that Russell perform military, not political, tasks, and that any later decision to send him to Ireland be submitted to the Foreign Office for approval.

John McCarthy returned to Genoa in mid-February and met a representative of the Abwehr. A month later, Franz Fromme, returning from Italy to Berlin, reported that Russell wanted to go to Germany, providing he could get a residence permit there. He wanted to leave the United States before April 16 when his bail, posted by McGarrity, expired.

At first, Russell prepared to board ship disguised as a blind passenger but then he jumped bail and, using an alias, signed aboard the *George Washington* as a fireman.<sup>8</sup> Fromme met him in Genoa on May 1 and by the night of May 3 had installed him in the home of a bank director just outside Berlin. He was to live there at the expense of the Foreign Office, which controlled and financed activities involving politics.<sup>9</sup> Fromme and an Austrian non-commissioned officer named Planer kept an eye on him. Fromme acted as his interpreter, both to help him and to insure his cooperation with the Abwehr. The Germans, though more interested in De Valera, recognized the potential value of having in Germany a leader who commanded a large following at home dedicated to Irish reunification.

Two weeks after his arrival in Germany, Russell began studying the latest sabotage techniques in a laboratory set up for him by Dr. Edmund Veessenmayer, who was "Special Advisor, Ireland" to the Foreign Minister and later Hitler's Ambassador to Hungary. He also observed commando units in the Brandenburg Regiment working with arms, explosives, and incendiaries made from simple ingredients, and he ex-

hibited a certain flair for handling these materials.<sup>10</sup> When Veesenmayer preached Nazi propaganda to him, however, Russell complained to Lahousen.

Veesenmayer, who saw Russell once or twice each week, admired his character and intelligence. Ribbentrop thought Russell the only "decent" revolutionary leader connected with the IRA, although their viewpoints differed greatly. For instance, Ribbentrop did not think the Irish would be able to pin down any sizable British forces, although he did believe that if the IRA gained power through a coup and declared for Germany, the people would support them. In all their conversations, Russell firmly held that the Irish would accept German aid only on their own terms.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after he arrived in Germany, Russell asked the Germans if they could arrange the release of Frank Ryan, an IRA associate, from a Spanish prison. The Franco government had been holding Ryan on a commuted life sentence because of his activities in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. Ryan had joined the International Brigade when the Spanish Civil War broke out and had achieved the rank of Acting Brigadier before his capture in 1938. He was under sentence of death for shooting women and children when some American journalists visited the prison. When they published articles about Ryan, Irish readers began clamoring for his release, the Irish Red Cross sent him parcels, and De Valera wired General Franco to plead for his life.

At the end of the Spanish Civil War, the Irish government stepped up efforts to free Ryan. The Irish Minister in Madrid hired a Spanish lawyer named Champoucin, who doubled as a German agent, and managed to get the death sentence commuted to thirty years penal servitude in January, 1940. The Abwehr decided to aid in Ryan's release when both Jupp Hoven, its former agent/anthropologist in Ireland, and Russell requested it.<sup>12</sup> After Admiral Canaris, a good friend of Franco, concurred, Franco agreed to turn Ryan over to the Germans on the condition that he never return to Spain. He was then transferred to another prison, from which an escape was arranged on July 14 or 15. Wolfgang Blaum of the Abwehr's Madrid office drove him to the international bridge at Irun/Hendaye. Champoucin, following in another car to make sure Ryan left Spain alive, watched him drive off with Sonderführer Kurt Haller in the direction of Paris.<sup>13</sup>

In Paris, Ryan rested for several weeks. His health broken by solitary confinement, improper food, and lack of medical care, Ryan was, at 38, quite deaf and badly in need of medical attention. Helmut Cliss-

mann, who had known Ryan through his wife's family, traveled to Paris two or three times to see him and then brought him to Berlin on August 4. Ryan promptly met with Abwehr II representatives, Dr. Veessenmayer, and Sean Russell, who was exceedingly glad to see him. Russell's cordiality surprised Ryan, who had anticipated some friction. Veessenmayer, who had been planning to send Russell on a mission to Ireland alone, asked Ryan if he would accompany him. Ryan accepted at once. He and Russell did not have much chance to discuss the mission during their one night together in Berlin. They had many other things to talk about and Russell, because of training and long affiliation with a clandestine group, had become a secretive man.

Ryan and Russell were to go to Ireland together. There Russell was to decide how to serve both Germany and Ireland, presumably by organizing the IRA and preparing it for a thrust into Northern Ireland once the still-projected German invasion of England was underway. The Germans hoped that Russell's advance into the North would impel De Valera to occupy the Six Counties.<sup>14</sup> Russell's activities were to be financed with funds provided by Veessenmayer through the German Legation in Dublin.<sup>15</sup> An agreed-upon signal such as a pot with red flowers placed in a certain window of the Legation would tell Russell when to strike. (Hempel observed that this signal could work if the flower boxes were put in the main window on the first floor and remained there permanently so they did not attract attention).<sup>16</sup>

On August 6, Dr. Pfalsgraf, Sonderführer Haller, Veessenmayer, Russell, and Ryan left for Wilhelmshaven to make final arrangements. For this operation, code-named "Dove," Veessenmayer provided practical direction, the Abwehr necessary technical help, and the Navy, unwillingly, a submarine.<sup>17</sup> Two Irishmen from Glasgow, picked up in skirmishes with the British near the Maginot Line, were scheduled to go along as radiomen, but the Navy refused to carry four passengers in a U-boat. (The would-be passengers had seen Russell when he toured the POW camps prior to Ryan's arrival and may have volunteered just to get back to Ireland.)<sup>18</sup>

Russell and Ryan left Wilhelmshaven on August 8,<sup>19</sup> expecting to land in Smerwick Bay, southwest Kerry, on August 15, where it was hoped they would escape notice in the crowds gathered to celebrate the Feast of the Assumption. Both men knew the area well and expected to be able to get to nearby Tralee before proceeding separately to Dublin.

Twenty-four hours after leaving Wilhelmshaven, Sean Russell, who had a history of stomach trouble, became very ill. A few days later he



*Sean Russell, IRA Chief of Staff. Arrested by American authorities during the 1939 visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth, Russell jumped bail, fled to Italy, and was taken by the Abwehr to Germany in 1940. He died on a U-boat that was transporting him and Frank Ryan to Ireland. This, the last known picture of Russell, was taken without his knowledge at a sidewalk cafe in Berlin prior to his departure for Ireland. (Photo courtesy of Helmut Clissmann)*



*Frank Ryan. An IRA man who was imprisoned for his activities in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, he later was released to the Abwehr. He set out with Sean Russell for Ireland but after Russell's death at sea, Ryan returned to Germany, where he died in 1944. (Photo courtesy of Helmut Clissmann)*

died and was buried at sea. Hans-Jerit von Stockhausen, commander of the sub, wanted to take Ryan on to Ireland. Ryan, however, regarded himself more as a passenger, a traveler returning home, than as the co-organizer of a mission. Furthermore, Russell had not confided in him before their departure, and confidential conversation with a deaf man on the crowded, noisy submarine had been quite impossible.<sup>20</sup> Ryan's experience with the IRA and the Republican movement had taught him how difficult it is for insurgent groups to make outside contacts, and he may have thought of himself as the only link between the Irish nationalists and the German high command. At any rate, he requested von Stockhausen to cable Veesenmayer for fresh instructions before proceeding to Ireland.<sup>21</sup>

The U-boat was supposed to complete a two-week tour of duty raiding Allied shipping in the Atlantic before heading back to Germany, but a mechanical defect sent it to Bordeaux for repairs. Shortly afterwards, its commander was killed in an auto accident in Berlin which, coming so soon after Russell's death, suggested mystery in some circles.<sup>22</sup> Rumors circulated that Ryan had poisoned Russell. He and other eyewitnesses to Russell's death were questioned; the official conclusion was that Russell had died from a burst gastric ulcer.<sup>23</sup>

Little information about these events reached Ireland. Russell's death marked the end of any real possibility of cooperation between the IRA and the Abwehr, for he was the only Irishman who could have been an important agent for Germany. Frank Ryan was never used as anything more than an "Irish advisor," like Francis Stuart and Charles Bewley.<sup>24</sup>

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Although the details of Russell's death were not known in Ireland, news of Ryan's release from the Spanish prison spread rapidly. By early fall of 1940, amid much speculation about what had become of him, an Irish newspaper began a "Where is Frank Ryan?" campaign, that created such a public outcry that the Abwehr decided to reassure the Irish government indirectly about his whereabouts.<sup>25</sup> They sent Mrs. Elizabeth Clissmann, the wife of one of their agents, to Madrid. She told Ambassador Kerney that Ryan was safe in Germany, and tried to ascertain whether the Irish government suspected a connection between Ryan and the Abwehr.



A personal friend of the Kerneys who had been their guest for a year during the 1930's, she and her infant son flew to Madrid on December 11. She did not tell Kerney how Ryan had entered Germany or exactly where he was located, but said that he was safe, in excellent health, and advising the German government because he wanted to. She said that Russell had died in France.

The Irish government still did not know that Ryan was in Germany. Mrs. Clissmann advised sending them a discreet official report and telling Ryan's family of his whereabouts, but keeping the information out of the newspapers. With Irish public opinion quieted, the Germans thought, Ryan could be utilized without incriminating Germany.

Helmut Clissmann subsequently met Kerney five times: in November, 1941; January, 1942; May, 1942; August, 1943; and July, 1943. He felt his reports influenced German policy toward Ireland. Each time, Kerney was reassured that Ryan was well and Irish responses both to British and American pressures to hand over the ports and to German offers of weapons were evaluated.<sup>26</sup>

Veesenmayer accompanied Clissmann to Spain twice. He was given additional tasks on these trips so no one would suspect his real purpose. From what Kerney said, he concluded that De Valera would strongly resist any attempt at invasion and that he would ask Germany for help if the invader were England or the United States. In the event of invasion, he said, Kerney felt that De Valera and the IRA would automatically close ranks. Kerney said he did not believe De Valera would go to extremes to maintain his policy of neutrality. Rather, he would declare war on the Allies the moment a chance of liberating Northern Ireland appeared. If the Germans chose to assist him, they would first have to deny any interest in Ireland and declare that their troops would stay only long enough to wage the collective struggle against the Allies. Kerney said friendly German gestures such as making payment for Irish ships sunk by U-boats were appreciated, but that in his opinion, Ireland was more interested in obtaining replacements for them than in payment.<sup>27</sup> When De Valera found out how far the Minister had gone in expressing his thoughts, he rebuked him, which may explain Kerney's coolness toward the Germans during a last meeting in Biarritz in 1943.<sup>28</sup>

In 1941, however, on the basis of what was presumed to be Irish policy, Veesenmayer and Haller discussed sending money, agents, and a radio installation to the IRA via seaplane. This discussion represented a change in the German attitude toward Ireland, because previously *Abwehr II* had been forbidden to cooperate with the IRA. The

new plan was a revamped version of Operation Whale, a plan Veesenmayer had presented in November, 1940. Operation Whale had involved landing a man equipped with a rubber raft on an Irish lake.<sup>29</sup> After Ribbentrop had turned it down, Clissmann and Veesenmayer proposed landing a plane on an unguarded spot in western Ireland. This proposal appealed to Woermann, who recalled how a similar procedure had been successful in Scotland. Because the difficulties in getting use of a U-boat and the technical problems involved in parachute drops precluded use of those methods, Woermann urged the project be approved.<sup>30</sup>

By June 7, 1941, Haller had left for Paris to make preparations for Operation Sea Eagle, as the plan was now known. The Abwehr, which was responsible for its technical aspects, placed Clissmann and a radio-man named Rieger at the disposal of the Foreign Office, which was in charge of the project. Before they could get underway, however, the insistence of the Irish government that no weather reports be sent from the Dublin Legation led Veesenmayer to revert to the idea of restoring radio contact between Germany and the IRA. This time, however, he wanted to use not only Clissmann and Rieger but also Frank Ryan<sup>31</sup> because he felt that Ryan's forced inactivity in Germany might wear down his morale. Besides, whatever influence Ryan had in his native land would diminish if he did not return within a reasonable time.

Veesenmayer drew up the final proposal for Operation Sea Eagle on August 24, 1941. He scheduled it to take place between September 15 and 25 on a dark but stormless night. A seaworthy and noiseless Heinkel, piloted by an experienced man, would glide in from a high altitude and drop Clissmann, Ryan, Rieger, and rubber dinghies onto Brandon Bay. The dinghies would carry supplies and collapsible English bicycles for use on shore. Brandon Bay was selected because it was popular with tourists, which meant strangers could go unnoticed. Also, local fishermen might be willing to transport the agents to the nearby Valencia Peninsula.

After the agents landed, it was thought, they should wait four to eight weeks before beginning their tasks. Then Clissmann was to establish contact with the IRA, activate their work in Britain, and deliver funds to them. Rieger's task would be to transmit weather reports and military information. In case the Allies occupied Ireland, Clissmann was to help organize guerrilla warfare.

The political tasks assigned jointly to Ryan and Clissmann consisted of establishing a general and effective liaison with the IRA, transferring £40,000 sterling to them, and if expedient, trying to get De Valera and

the IRA to cooperate. Veessenmayer thought Ryan particularly well suited for this task and expected him to strengthen not only Irish neutrality but also the desire to resist Britain. A possible side benefit might be the propaganda appeal to Irish-Americans. In addition, Clissmann might be able to influence the Irish nationalists and to send more accurate reports on internal Irish affairs. Accounts of any English or American activities in Ireland would be invaluable.<sup>32</sup>

Clissmann's mission, then, involved both political and military activities, while Frank Ryan's concentrated on making peace between De Valera and the warring factions of the republican movement. In further discussions with Clissmann and Ryan, Hotzel of the *Abwehr* decided to land them by seaplane on one of three lakes in the Sligo area rather than on Brandon Bay, the site of many plane crashes. He did not realize that landing on any of these lakes would have been foolhardy because they are studded with tiny islands. The *Abwehr* also seemed unaware that providing the agents with anything as unusual as collapsible bicycles would have assured their being noticed and captured.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, even if a highly experienced pilot blessed with favorable weather had succeeded in landing the three agents, they probably could not have escaped detection long. The plane would doubtless have been detected by the Coast-Watching Service, and a search of the countryside begun immediately.

The Coast-Watching Service was originally designed to cope with the type of submarine problem that plagued the British during World War I. Because World War II submarines operated much farther out in the Atlantic, the Coast-Watchers necessarily became Sky-Watchers. Eighty to ninety lookout posts were located around the country, each manned by local people on eight-hour duty watches, who diligently reported aircraft flying over Ireland to one of four Military Intelligence stations in constant communication with each other. In addition to this network, every military post and police station was alerted to watch for aircraft. Control was maintained with the help of British early-warning, long-range radar, which covered the east coast at the beginning of the war and was gradually extended to cover the entire island. With the exception of the plane that brought Hermann Goertz (see Chapter 14), only two planes managed to fly over Ireland during the war without the Coast-Watchers detecting them. One crashed in the Wicklow Mountains and was not located for about twelve hours. The other, an American plane, went down in the Kerry Mountains, and was not discovered for several weeks. The vigilance of the Coast-Watching Service would no doubt have led to an almost immediate

arrest of Clissmann, Ryan, and Rieger, no matter where they came down.<sup>34</sup>

Feeling isolated after Russell's death, Frank Ryan asked to see Francis Stuart, the only Irishman he knew in Berlin. Haller brought Stuart to Ryan's flat and, very upset, Ryan told Stuart he had returned to Germany because he knew virtually nothing about the purpose of their expedition. Once settled in Berlin, he had found himself in the equivocal position of being a leftist freed by the Nazis and under their protection.

With certain exceptions, Ryan got along very well with Clissmann, who arranged for him to have a ration card such as diplomats had, medical care, and a hearing aid, which was difficult to acquire in war-time. He visited Clissmann's family in Copenhagen several times. In January, 1942, he was injured in an accident on one of these visits, and his health began to deteriorate. Ryan had stayed in a hotel because the Clissmanns did not have enough room in their flat to accommodate him. At the end of the visit, Clissmann picked him up in a car driven by a friend from the German Embassy. An erratic cyclist caused the driver to swerve on the icy road and to skid into another car. Ryan was knocked unconscious. The driver was stunned, but Clissmann, uninjured, cleared Ryan's pockets of identifying papers and took him, bleeding heavily, to a hospital. He was released after five or six days, but afterwards found it necessary to visit a Berlin clinic several times.

To occupy his time in Berlin, Ryan studied German, did a great deal of reading, and wrote articles he evidently never intended publishing. Occasionally Ryan, Clissmann, and Stuart had lunch together, but Ryan would not help Stuart with his propaganda broadcasts or actively aid Germany in any other way, even though at first he had appeared willing to do so. No doubt he would have liked a German offer of arms for the IRA. Possibly he would even have been receptive to the idea of a German landing in Ireland if the British had demanded the Irish ports, but as time went on he grew more and more skeptical. For one thing, he did not like Veesenmayer, who occasionally tried cajoling him. When Ryan heard that Hitler's troops had marched into Russia, he told Veesenmayer flatly, "Your war is lost."

When Clissmann went to North Africa in 1943, Ryan moved in with a German family. After a paralytic stroke he was in and out of hospitals for months. When able, he visited and received calls from Clissmann's family in Copenhagen and from Francis Stuart. His landlady, a pharmaceutical chemist, looked after him and kept track of his belongings when he was hospitalized.<sup>35</sup>

In January, 1944, he entered the sanitarium at Dresden-Loschwitz for six months. He returned to Berlin in May, but in June he went back to Dresden, where he died on June 10, 1944. Though well-treated during his confinements, letters Ryan sent Stuart by messenger indicated that he was disillusioned and virtually a prisoner. Ryan was buried at Dresden under a headstone marked Francis Richards, the alias he had used in Germany. Below was his real name, in Irish.

After the funeral, Mrs. Clissmann traveled to Budapest to tell Veesenmayer, then German Ambassador there, that Ryan's death should not be kept secret. She also wrote Kerney in Madrid, but her letter did not reach him until December. Kerney directed inquiries to Berlin, but Warnock had been transferred to Stockholm. Dr. Cornelius Cremin, who served in his place, contacted a Dr. Weber, Veesenmayer's successor in the Foreign Office. Weber, unaware that Ryan and Richards were the same person, told Cremin that nothing was known about anyone named Francis Richards. Cremin then wrote to Mrs. Clissmann and, after an exchange of angry letters, summoned her to Berlin. After she explained that Richards was really Frank Ryan, Cremin notified the Dublin government of Ryan's death.<sup>86</sup>

Despite Veesenmayer's careful planning, Operation Sea Eagle was never launched. Canaris, who disapproved of the plan, snarled the talons of Sea Eagle so effectively in red tape that it never took flight.<sup>87</sup>

## The Friesack Camp

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Sean Russell, who wanted to use about 200 POW's for an Irish Guard, suggested to the Germans that they make use of Irishmen taken as prisoners-of-war while fighting with the British forces. In so doing, they would be following a precedent set in World War I.

At first, the Germans did not respond; then, not long after Russell's death, Hoven and Clissmann, assisted by Frank Ryan, began organizing just such a group. Clissmann told Haller he did not like the idea of setting up an Irish Brigade but Hoven spent a great deal of time going through POW camps looking for prospects. Many Irishmen told him what they thought he wanted to hear in hopes of being transferred to the special installations being established for the new "Brigade."<sup>1</sup> The efficiency of Hoven's screening process can be seen in the selection of nine officers who were taken to Luckenwalde, twenty-five miles south of Berlin. Three had been chosen because the Germans had misunderstood their answers to questions, two were doctors who wanted to take advantage of the better rations and daily near-beer the volunteers would receive, and another, a journalist looking for a spy story, was not even Irish. The remaining three carried British War Office codes smuggled to them before they had left for Luckenwalde. These codes were based on letters, numerals, and a "grid," which the men took turns in using in the weekly letters they were permitted to send. The prisoners' correspondence was de-coded by the British before it was forwarded to the addressees.

Interrogations in the Luckenwalde camp usually were concerned with questions of what would happen if the British occupied Eire, sending German troops to "protect" her, the need to unify Ireland, the existence there of an efficient news network, and the presence of Irish nationals who were in close touch with the Germans. To weed out the less promising officers, interrogators mentioned names of German

sympathizers in Ireland and that the Legation in Dublin had established contact with the IRA. Finally only three men remained: Lt. Bissell, the journalist, and two who had the War Office codes. Eventually, an interrogator who knew Ireland well checked up on the families of the two and decided that their letters looked very suspicious. Shortly afterward, they were sent off to a punishment camp at Thorn, in Poland, while Lt. Bissell joined other members of the "Irish Brigade" at the special camp established near Friesack.<sup>2</sup>

Because he had trouble determining who was sincere, Hoven asked Frank Ryan to talk to some of the men, while he, Clissmann, and Stuart toured one of the areas dressed as civilians. Ryan, Clissmann, and Hoven went to Friesack several times. Once, a prisoner recognized Frank Ryan and greeted him by name, though people in Germany knew him only as Francis Richards. It was through this man that news of Ryan's cooperation with the Nazis leaked back to Ireland, confusing friends who had always thought of him as leaning toward the left.<sup>3</sup>

During the first half of 1941, Hoven made several trips to Rome trying to get an Irish priest assigned to the camp. He told the Church authorities that Germany wanted to help its Irish prisoners out of respect for Irish neutrality; most of the religious orders he contacted, however, suspected other motives. Finally, he went to Father Slattery, Superior of the African Missions Society, and requested a specific man, Thomas O'Shaughnessy, who may have come to Hoven's attention because he belonged to a German-language study group. Dressed in civilian clothes and using the name Reiners, Hoven picked up O'Shaughnessy at his quarters and drove him to the Villa Rosa, a restaurant in a park. There he interviewed him and arranged for him to spend six months in Germany as a guest of the government at a salary of 465 RM per month (approximately \$250).

O'Shaughnessy thought Hoven looked like a baby-faced spy and talked like an IRA man. Unenthusiastic about going to Germany, he was determined not to become a dupe of the Nazis. He worked out a warning system with his superior before he left: if he discovered that he was expected to serve mainly a political function, he would write, "I am studying my Italian." If his function was priestly, as it was supposed to be, he would signal, "I am studying my German." Nonetheless, when his letters over the next months stressed how hard he was studying Italian, no one in Rome attempted to bring him back from Germany.

O'Shaughnessy arrived in Berlin in July, 1941. Hoven, this time in uniform, met him at the depot and took him to a hotel. O'Shaughnessy

noticed the gloomy atmosphere of the city and observed how war had deprived Berliners of many needed commodities. During lunch, Hoven spoke at length about his days in Ireland before the war.<sup>4</sup> Later, he introduced his guest to Georg Voss, who had accompanied him there in 1936.<sup>5</sup> Voss had recently survived the paratroop invasion of Crete and, at the time he met O'Shaughnessy, was engaged in training replacements for the German soldiers lost there. He and the priest had lunch the following day and spent the afternoon touring the castle of Frederick the Great at Sans Souci. Voss evidently thought his companion was pro-Nazi, for he spoke freely about his times in Ireland and how he had investigated glider sites in the West.

Hoven escorted O'Shaughnessy to his place of duty, the camp six miles from Friesack. It was divided into "dams," each housing a separate nationality, where men were screened prior to being trained in sabotage, a violation of international law. A Captain Öli was in charge of the entire camp; a Lt. Gillis controlled the Irish dam. O'Shaughnessy was appalled at the condition of the prisoners. The Irish were in rags. They lacked soap and cigarettes, and had received no Red Cross packages, because, the men suspected, several POW camps had the same address, Stalag XXA, and the Germans were directing all mail to one place. One of the first things the priest did was to induce Hoven to give the camp's correct address to the Red Cross. After a few months, packages began arriving, whereupon the prisoners' circumstances became better than those of their guards and of the Italian workers who labored on the farms just beyond the camp's barbed-wire perimeter.

At Friesack, food was very scarce. Father O'Shaughnessy and the German officers, treated better than the prisoners, received eight slices of black bread and some ersatz coffee every morning. At midday, whatever remained of that ration was supplemented with soup, usually made of cabbage and water. Once, to his surprise, the priest found a piece of meat in the soup. On Sundays, two boiled potatoes and a slice of meat enlivened the menu.

Many of those at Friesack were "Liverpool Irish," meaning they had worked in England prior to joining the British forces. They did not immediately accept Father O'Shaughnessy, at first suspecting him of either spying for the Germans or of being a clandestine IRA man. Contrary to what Hoven had said, they had not requested a clergyman. Some of O'Shaughnessy's personal idiosyncrasies increased their wariness, too. After serving in Africa for several years, he had grown accustomed to casual dress and often would run his finger around the inside of his collar as though it were unfamiliar. Some, like Gilmore,



never stopped opposing him, but gradually he won over others, such as Timothy Ronan, a ship's wireless operator from West Cork.

Every morning the Germans marched prisoners who were enlisted men out to work on the roads, leaving O'Shaughnessy with nothing to do except talk to the highest ranking prisoner in the camp, Colonel John McGrath. From McGrath O'Shaughnessy learned that he had no real authority with the men because his authorization had come from a German chaplain and not from the British Army.

Before the war, McGrath had been a British reserve officer decorated by both the French and the British during World War I. In 1939 he was captured and taken to a castle where the Germans took those they felt had special promise. There he was allowed to study, listen to lectures and eat rather well. McGrath had given up this comparatively comfortable life to volunteer for Friesack so he could distribute War Office codes among the men there. He had requested and received a promotion to colonel on the grounds that such a rank would command greater respect from the enlisted personnel at Friesack.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the men in the camp regarded McGrath as well as O'Shaughnessy with suspicion.<sup>7</sup> So did Clissmann, who met him at a dinner that the Germans gave for a few prisoners they thought could be useful in improving mutual relations.<sup>8</sup> McGrath played the collaborator so convincingly that for a time, even the British thought he had gone over to the other side. Actually, he told the men to cooperate with the Germans, get themselves sent on missions if possible and, once out of Germany, turn themselves in at the nearest British Embassy. He also requested that should a man be lucky enough to get to Dublin, he contact McGrath's former employer at the Theater Royal, Louie Elliman, and let him know how McGrath was faring.

A Professor Troitler acted as a go-between and interpreter for O'Shaughnessy and the Germans. Troitler also lectured the men on the righteousness of the Nazi cause. The son of a minister in Breslau, he was a devout Nazi. When the men argued with him, he lost his temper and, as a result, his point. Father O'Shaughnessy was not displeased when word of "incidents" between them circulated through the camp. Troitler supplied the priest with books, including many on Ireland. He was probably not aware that one of the books he brought carried an account of how the Germans had provided a priest for Casement's Brigade during World War I. The parallel was not lost on Father O'Shaughnessy, however.

The prisoners continually dug tunnels and tried to escape. Periodically, some would succeed and, though always recaptured, manage

to enjoy a few days of freedom. One evening O'Shaughnessy and Troitler walked into Friesack, six miles away. The priest knew a break was scheduled to take place while they were gone. He was disappointed upon his return to camp to learn the plan had not been carried out.

Another day O'Shaughnessy entered the compound with Hoven. A prisoner was repairing the barbed-wire, and Hoven made a sarcastic remark to the effect that the man was fixing the wire so he could keep himself in. "No sir," rejoined the man, "it is to keep the Germans out!"

One prisoner, Arthur Hunt, was assigned as Father O'Shaughnessy's batman. Fearing that Hunt had been planted to spy on him, the chaplain let him know he kept a diary. Then he counted blank pages from the back and in a certain place inserted a minute scrap of paper in such a way that it would fall out if someone opened the book. For three weeks he baited this trap, but when neither the book nor the paper was disturbed, he decided Hunt had taken the job because it meant easy duty.

During private conversations, O'Shaughnessy told the men that the Nazis were propagandizing them with talk of Hitler's victories and that ultimately the Allies would win. In this way he tried to give them hope and counteract Troitler's lectures and the morale-weakening German radio, the only source of news at Friesack. O'Shaughnessy, unaccustomed to rigorous censorship, had listened regularly to the BBC, even in Rome, where Italian military people had often come to his quarters to hear it.

From time to time Hoven took O'Shaughnessy to other camps around Germany and in occupied territory. Hoven always stayed close and would not allow the priest to hear confession when they traveled. A few weeks after O'Shaughnessy arrived, Hoven had given him a passport in the name of Thomas Kelly and urged him to use it during these trips. For a while O'Shaughnessy refused to do so. When Hoven said that if O'Shaughnessy did not sign the passport, serious trouble could result, O'Shaughnessy signed the document.

On a trip to Thorn in Poland they were accompanied by an SS man named Brugeremann. At the Vistula River they discovered that the bombed-out bridge had been replaced with a rickety footbridge. Up to that point, Brugeremann had been carrying O'Shaughnessy's mass box, but as they crossed the bridge, the priest took it from him. Hoven asked sarcastically, "Aren't you afraid you'll be helping the German Army?"

One night during this trip, the military commander of the area came up to the three men as they sat in a hotel dining room. He wanted

O'Shaughnessy thrown out because he was a priest, but when Brugermann turned back his lapel to reveal his SS badge, they had no further trouble. Brugermann, a hard-core Nazi, had worked as a hotel desk man before joining the army. Although he had a wife and family, he had a fondness for women and had made many conquests in the vicinity of the Friesack camp. During this trip, he and O'Shaughnessy shared a bed, but the next morning Brugermann planned to share it awhile with the maid. His face fell and his disappointment was clearly evident when the door opened and a sixty-year-old butler walked in instead.

They stayed in Thorn only a few days. O'Shaughnessy made contact with the men of his church though the language barriers prevented him from conversing with them. When it came time to move deeper into Poland, Hoven said the three of them were to meet at the railway depot the following morning. At the agreed-upon hour, O'Shaughnessy boarded the train without seeing the others. After a while, he realized the train was heading back to Germany. Seeing no point in turning back, he went on to Berlin, where he caught a train for Friesack. He missed his stop in the dark and went all the way to Hamburg before he could get off. By the time he reached Friesack, he had been traveling twenty-four hours. A few days later, Hoven appeared at the camp.

O'Shaughnessy's apparent misadventure on the train was only one of many things that distressed Hoven about the chaplain he had chosen. When O'Shaughnessy arrived in Berlin, Hoven had set up an appointment for him with his superior officer in Abwehr II, General Lahousen. Although Hoven had stressed the importance of punctuality and furnished him with a detailed map, O'Shaughnessy got lost in the strange city, and arrived at Lahousen's office an hour late. Infuriated, Hoven planned no further meetings with his superiors for O'Shaughnessy.

Hoven could not understand why O'Shaughnessy refused to meet Francis Stuart or William Joyce, or why he declined to visit with the Clissmann family in Copenhagen. When the priest indicated a desire to see Warnock, however, Hoven refused to allow it, saying that doing so would only complicate things. Secretly, O'Shaughnessy planned to run to Warnock if his situation became too difficult or if the Germans refused to let him leave the country because he knew too much about their operations. When his six months were completed and he expressed no desire to remain longer, however, no one attempted to change his mind. He returned his salary and prepared to leave for Rome. He carried a five-page document in which McGrath described the Friesack situation and an account of what the men believed the

Germans had in mind for them. They had implored O'Shaughnessy to transmit this information to the British because they feared people outside Germany might think they had defected.

O'Shaughnessy spent his last night in Germany at a Berlin hotel. Hoven warned him about searches at the border and described the heavy penalties handed out for smuggling contraband or secret messages. In parting, Hoven handed him the following note for the Irish chargé in Rome to transmit to Clissmann's in-laws: "Helmut and Jupp are fine."

From Berlin, O'Shaughnessy journeyed to Vienna, where he had to make an overnight stop. There he took a lady he had worked with in Africa and her husband to dinner. They advised him to memorize the document he was carrying, destroy it, and rewrite it in Italy. He decided to risk getting it to Rome intact, however, because it was in McGrath's handwriting and had been signed by many of the men. Fortunately, the Germans did not search him at the border. Rome had notified the guards he was coming, so the Italians accepted him from the Germans and whisked him to Rome. He quickly delivered his message to Kiernan, who telegraphed it to Dublin in a special code De Valera had given him for emergencies.

O'Shaughnessy told Kiernan that Irish peasants in the Friesack camp were making a joke of the Germans. They were receiving extra privileges and rations for volunteering, yet spent their time shouting "Up the rebels" and "To hell with England."<sup>9</sup> Kiernan was sympathetic. His wife, a former ballad singer named Delia Murphy, had often used her diplomatic immunity to help British POW's escape into Switzerland, hiding them under a rug in the back of her car and driving across the border.<sup>10</sup> It was an activity commonly engaged in by most of the Irish diplomats in Italy, particularly toward the end of the war in that country. Often the Italians helped, too.

Father O'Shaughnessy remained in Rome, studying and writing his thesis on missionary science. After becoming the first Irishman to receive a special doctorate in that field, he returned to Ireland in 1943. He traveled via Lisbon, where he chatted with the pro-Allied chargé, O'Donovan. The guest of British Intelligence, he continued on to London, where he learned that someone from the Friesack camp had preceded him home.

In 1940, the Germans had captured a freighter on which James O'Neill of County Wicklow was serving as ship's carpenter. O'Neill had an honest face and large, confident eyes,<sup>11</sup> and seemed intelligent but not talkative. Because his family had taken part in anti-British

demonstrations during World War I, the Germans thought he might be used as an agent. First he was taken to Friesack. Then, in the fall of 1941 the Hamburg office of the Abwehr code-named him Isebart and trained him to build transmitters. The Abwehr expected him ultimately to work in Northern Ireland and to send back reports, especially on military intelligence there. They sent him to a construction site in France near the Spanish border and told him to vanish across the border and try to contact Kerney in Madrid for papers that would enable him to travel legally to Ireland. After a waiting period, O'Neill was to start work in Ireland using cover addresses in Spain and Sweden, if contact with Hamburg proved impossible.<sup>12</sup>

The Abwehr did not expect any political problems to result from using O'Neill, but the Foreign Office had not lifted its restrictions on sending agents into Southern Ireland and stipulated that he work only in the North. By December of 1942, they began wondering where he was and what he had accomplished. In response to their inquiries, the Abwehr informed them that he was traveling as planned, but that he had been instructed to wait two or three months before making contact.<sup>13</sup>

What the Abwehr did not know was that O'Neill had volunteered for this mission only because his wife had given birth to their first child soon after he had sailed away, and he was determined to see his baby. He was the only man to get out of Friesack that way. Once out of the hands of the Germans, he turned himself in to British Intelligence as soon as he could. Exaggerating his own importance, he told them that the Germans planned to use the men at Friesack for, among other things, blowing up the Gatun Dam.

After telling British Intelligence of his experiences, O'Shaughnessy continued on to Ireland. In Dublin, he talked to Irish Intelligence at the home of Joe Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, and noted that the Irish files on him matched the ones in London. This was because Michael MacWhite in Rome, who was very pro-American, very enterprising, and who had been in Paris during the fight against the British in the 1920's, habitually cabled all kinds of information to Dublin in code. It was probably passed on to Cecil Liddell, who often traveled to Dublin for conversations with Irish Intelligence and was the brother of the No. 3 man in M.I.5.

O'Shaughnessy also talked with De Valera, whose chief interest seemed to be in conditions in places like Spain rather than in Friesack or Germany. He then assumed teaching duties in Northern Ireland and was thus occupied when the war ended. One day in 1946, an advertise-



*Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, left, and Major John McGrath. Dr. Jupp Hoven brought O'Shaughnessy to Germany from Rome to tend the spiritual needs of the Irish POW's he expected to train for spying missions to Ireland. The group was located at Friesack, and McGrath, their senior officer and a British agent, helped O'Shaughnessy thwart the German plans. (Photo courtesy of Thomas O'Shaughnessy)*

*Dr. Jupp Hoven. Before the war he visited Ireland, ostensibly to conduct anthropological research. Later, as an official member of German Military Intelligence, he was instrumental in obtaining Frank Ryan's release from the Spanish and in the attempt to duplicate the Casement Brigade of World War I using Irish POW's in Germany. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*



*James O'Neill, left, with unidentified companion. A prisoner in the Friesack Camp in 1941, O'Neill was the only Irishman to get out by volunteering to go to Ireland on a mission for the Germans. Once out, he turned himself over to the British, who took him to London for interrogation before sending him home. (Photo courtesy of Thomas O'Shaughnessy)*

ment in the *Irish Independent* came to his attention. A man in Dublin named McGrath was seeking a Father Thomas who had been in Germany during the war. O'Shaughnessy called on McGrath, who was then back at his old job managing the Theater Royal. They met several times after that, and McGrath gave his old friend the use of his personal box at the theater. About a year later, O'Shaughnessy was called to the bedside of the dying McGrath to say goodbye.<sup>14</sup>

While the Friesack experiment was underway, the Germans took ten men including McGrath to a house in Berlin for training. Though supervised, the enlisted men used their additional freedom chiefly to drink and to pursue the German girls. Most notable in this was Sergeant Codd, a wild, hard-drinking, woman-chaser, who also had maintained a homosexual relationship in Friesack with a fellow-prisoner named Stringer. The Abwehr subsequently sent Codd from Berlin to Dusseldorf, but he hit a policeman there and wound up in prison. Haller arranged his release and brought him back to Berlin. When the Germans discontinued the Irish Brigade effort, Codd was put into a concentration camp. After the war he showed he had not lost any of his resourcefulness. He married a German girl and they managed to be picked up as enslaved workers by British and American units and returned to Ireland through France long before anyone else was.<sup>15</sup>

Twice the Abwehr made plans to utilize the Irishmen at the Friesack camp. The first, Operation Innkeeper, involved sending two men, possibly Codd and a prisoner named Le Page, to London with a radio installation. The second was Operation Seagull I. An agent known as "Vickers" was to be dropped south of Glasgow, where he would hide with loyal Irish friends and form a three-man sabotage group. Then an agent named "Metzger" was to land southeast of Ballycastle in Northern Ireland, contact IRA friends, and plan sabotage. Both Metzger and Vickers were to communicate by radio.<sup>16</sup>

Vickers' real name was Walshe, and Metzger was the alias of an Irishman named Brady. Both were extremely anxious to get home. After they were trained in radio operation and sabotage, Haller took them to Norway. Before they could set out on their respective tasks, however, the Abwehr office in Berlin ordered them arrested and cancelled the operation. Walshe had contacted someone at the house in Berlin before he left Germany, and the Germans had monitored his telephone conversation.<sup>17</sup>

No further attempts were made to send the Friesack men on missions or to form an Irish Brigade. By November, 1943, all who remained at Friesack had been dispersed to other camps.<sup>18</sup> In 1942,



McGrath vanished into Dachau, where the Nazis kept prisoners not allowed to communicate with the outside world. The British feared he had been liquidated, when actually he was in distinguished company, including the former Austrian Chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, and an anti-Nazi bishop from Munich. After the war, McGrath informed the War Office about his experiences in this camp.<sup>19</sup>

The Friesack effort was even less successful than Roger Casement's attempt to provide the Germans with an Irish Brigade in World War I. Frank Ryan subsequently commented to Francis Stuart that he considered his own involvement in the Friesack camp to have been a mistake. He feared the men there had compromised themselves with the British for no reason since nothing ever came of the German plans. Hoven always regarded Friesack as one of the least successful of the many espionage activities he was involved in during the war.<sup>20</sup> The frustration of his efforts was undoubtedly a source of great satisfaction to the British.

## Lenihan, O'Reilly, Kenny, and Weber-Drohl

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About the time the Friesack project was getting underway, the Germans dropped an Irishman named Lenihan into Ireland. Originally from Clare, Lenihan left Ireland in 1939 for the Channel Islands. When they were occupied by the Germans, he was taken to Germany to work. He volunteered to spy and the Abwehr dropped him over County Meath on July 18, 1941. After visiting his brother, who lived nearby, he crossed the border into Northern Ireland and surrendered to the British. They sent his wireless set to Dublin for examination and flew Lenihan to England. Because Lenihan's only reason for cooperating with the Germans had been to get a trip home, he was soon released with the stipulation that he report to the British periodically. Lenihan promptly disappeared. The British called Dublin to see if he had turned up there, but he had not. Meanwhile, cattle had pulled his parachute from its hiding place, and a search for a parachutist began immediately.

Lenihan was the only agent except Goertz (see Chapter 12) after the collapse of Europe to escape almost immediate detection. Unlike others who came, he knew Ireland. He knew how to live by his wits, could give plausible explanations for his actions, and hitch-hike to his destination.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of using men captured on the Channel Islands as forced labor in Germany was the brain-child of John Francis O'Reilly, himself captured there and put into a forced labor camp. O'Reilly had been a junior member of the Irish Civil Service before he was sacked for hitting his superior. Under his plan, about fifty Irishmen were taken to Germany during the summer of 1941 to work in Hermann Goering's Watenstedt plant. Agricultural workers engaged in seasonal work, they

normally would have left the Channel Islands after the tomato harvest, but like so many others, they had been surprised by Hitler's rapid advance across northern France.

The harsh conditions and primitive housing at the Watenstedt facility soon led to tensions between the Irish and their managers, who suspected the influence of labor agitators. In an attempt to cool off the situation, the Germans sent the Irish back to Jersey for a four-week leave in early January, 1943. When it came time to return to Germany, the Irish refused to go. The Irish Legation, which had tried earlier to get them released, proposed they be allowed to remain in Jersey, but the plant managers, Goering, and the labor bureau in Braunschweig asked the Commander of Jersey to help get them back. He refused to intervene in the matter.

Irish defiance of the Germans was difficult to keep secret because of the exposed nature of the island of Jersey. Fears that the Irish might try to escape from Jersey to England led Veesenmayer to suggest that anyone who had worked in an important armament factory should be removed from the dangerous activities and hostile influence of Jersey.

While his compatriots had been locked up in Watenstedt, O'Reilly had found himself a job as a radio announcer in Berlin at a salary of 4,000 RM per month.<sup>2</sup> Calling himself "Pat O'Brien," he read the same news in English that Professor Ludwig Muelhausen and Dr. Hans Hartmann read in Irish.<sup>3</sup> At the end of 1942, O'Reilly quit this job and applied for one as a V-man with the Abwehr in Bremen. Although Berlin questioned his sincerity, the Bremen office accepted him, obtained a passport for him from the Legation in Berlin, and gave him a radio. There seemed to be no definite plans for getting him and the set to Ireland at that time.

In late summer, 1943, when a need for more Irish announcers arose, O'Reilly was called upon to help, but he refused, saying he could not get along with Dr. Hartmann and no longer wanted to trouble himself with the sub-office in Bremen. He had joined the Security Department, at that time involved in the revival of enemy newspapers, and no doubt preferred to be in touch with many jobs at the same time in order to play off one against the other to his advantage.

Another reason O'Reilly would not accept the radio people's offer was that he wanted them also to hire a friend of his named Liam Mulally.<sup>4</sup> Mulally had taught English at the Berlitz School in Vienna before the war and later in Berlin.<sup>5</sup> Then he had worked in broadcasting until 1943, when he was fired, probably for talking too much.<sup>6</sup> The Germans had told Mulally to close his broadcasts by saying, "Are you

in favor of Bolshevism,—because if not you must support the German Reich.” Francis Stuart told him he was mad to do so in view of possible Russian retaliation if he were captured.

Through Mulally, Stuart became acquainted with O'Reilly. He thought him strange, not seriously involved in the German cause, and desirous of returning home for private reasons.<sup>7</sup> Some of the Germans concurred. They doubted that O'Reilly would ever be heard from if he were sent on a mission to Ireland.

Veesenmayer took up the matter of O'Reilly with Canaris, reminding him that since mid-1941 a strict agreement had existed between the Abwehr and the Foreign Office regarding Ireland. Now the Bremen office, cooperating with a Captain Alrichs, planned to send O'Reilly to Southern Ireland, he said.

Veesenmayer had asked a co-worker to apprise Alrichs of the earlier agreement between the two offices. Alrichs agreed to get in touch with the Director of the Foreign Office, but did not do so. Thereupon Veesenmayer wrote Canaris that he objected to sending someone to Ireland for political reasons. Anti-German elements there had grown stronger, he said, and the man who was to be sent was well known and therefore an unsuitable choice. The Foreign Office, he said, sympathetic to such undertakings in the past, felt it was foolish to attempt them now when there seemed so little chance of success. Veesenmayer said he regretted not having been informed earlier of what was taking place and closed by recalling that the matter of placing Frank Ryan in Ireland was still pending. If the O'Reilly matter could be worked out, he said, perhaps this more important action could begin.

A conference in Veesenmayer's office followed. Alrichs acknowledged that undertakings such as the one being considered needed Foreign Office approval and agreed that it was necessary to keep a balance in situations where politics was at stake. He did not know beforehand why this conference was called nor did he suspect the kind of reaction his comments about utilizing O'Reilly would elicit. Afterward, he talked with Canaris and a Captain Menzel. Canaris forbade the planned action with O'Reilly, which pleased Veesenmayer, who felt the entire problem had been presented from the Foreign Office point of view.

O'Reilly had been expected to travel legally to Southern Ireland via Lisbon. After moving to either Northern Ireland or to England, he was to begin reporting items of interest, such as English ship movements and troop maneuvers. When plans to use him were cancelled, he was turned over to the SD. Instead of watching him, they put him to work.

Without consulting either Intelligence or the Foreign Office,<sup>8</sup> they dropped him near Foynes airport on December 16, 1943. The Germans thought the noise of the plane bringing him would attract less attention there than elsewhere. O'Reilly, who carried a wireless, codes, and about £300, was picked up by the Irish authorities almost immediately. He had just been through one of the 1,000-bomber raids on Hamburg and was only too anxious to get out of the war. He told Lieutenant-Colonel Joe Guilfoyle that the German military boots he wore had belonged to a German soldier with whose widow he had formed an alliance. Guilfoyle responded, "I've often heard of people being in dead men's shoes, but until now I've never seen it as a straight fact!"

Three nights later the SD sent O'Reilly's subordinate, John Kenny, to the same area. He could not free himself from his gear when he hit down. The wind dragged him and he cracked his head on a wall. He also was picked up immediately. Joe Guilfoyle, who also questioned him, described Kenny as uneducated, inept, and dull.

The Irish government did not intend that the capture of these men be publicized. One newspaper succeeded in partially overcoming censorship, however, by reporting that an injured man had been found in a field in Clare.<sup>9</sup>

O'Reilly was lodged in Arbor Hill. In July, 1944, he broke out, supposedly by slipping between the bars of the lavatory window,<sup>10</sup> and made his way to his father's house in Clare. O'Reilly senior, the man who had arrested Roger Casement in 1916,<sup>11</sup> was a former member of the Royal Irish Constabulary.<sup>12</sup> He turned his son in and collected the £500 reward the Department of Justice had posted. The son was then returned to Arbor Hill. After the war he took the reward money, which his father had banked for him, and opened the Parachute Bar in Dublin. He also got married. After his wife's death years later, O'Reilly went to Nigeria. Later he returned to Dublin, where he became the proprietor of the Esplanade Hotel. He died in May, 1971, in West Middlesex, England.<sup>13</sup>

Several events coincided with the arrival of O'Reilly and Kenny in Ireland. First, an Irish ship rescued 164 German sailors and brought them to Ireland. Then the Irish government confiscated Hempel's wireless set. When Berlin offered to send him another, he declined, fearing that one more provocation added to the O'Reilly-Kenny case might bring on an Allied invasion of Ireland. He reminded his Foreign Office that the Irish had long requested that their territory not be used for war purposes.<sup>14</sup> The emotional pitch in Ireland had risen and the Depart-

ment of External Affairs was beginning to act very stiffly toward him. Walshe, with whom he had been trying to make arrangements for the internees, had become moody and unpredictable. For instance, after talking to Hempel for three days about the fliers and other matters, he suddenly sent a sharp letter. Furthermore, he did not send a note of sympathy when Irish soldiers attacked one of the internees, Hauptmann Müller. Hempel wondered if this unfriendliness had been deliberate. He knew the Irish had looked on parachute jumps with disfavor and had heard that influential members of the Irish government felt Germany harmed Irish neutrality by giving the IRA transmitters and working with dissidents. De Valera continued to stress staying out of the war, while the Allies stepped up their demands that diplomatic ties with the Axis be broken. Hempel feared Irish opposition to these demands was weakening.

The Foreign Office agreed that any action arousing suspicions that Germany had contacts with the IRA could make the Irish bow to Allied wishes. They also recalled that for two years Intelligence had not sent anyone to the island without contacting them first and circulated a memo that all parties should keep this in mind.

On February 17, Deputy James Dillon brought up the matter of the two parachutists in the Dail. After receiving a brief summary of the facts from De Valera, he demanded to know why Germany was sending parachutists to Ireland. If they were spies, he said, the intent was to hurt Ireland. He knew that one of the men had carried a suitcase and wondered what had happened to it. Had it been found and, if so, what did it contain?

De Valera, in his capacity as Foreign Minister, affirmed that a case had been found and said officials were trying to determine why the men had been sent. Dillon asserted that the German Minister probably knew why and asked if he had been questioned. When De Valera responded that the investigators probably had not overlooked it, Dillon declared that the Irish Parliament had a right to know why a foreign power was sending secret agents to Ireland and demanded to know whether Hempel had been asked. If so, what he had replied?

De Valera demurred on grounds he was not prepared to answer at that time. When Dillon asked if he would have been had he known the question in advance, De Valera claimed he could not give detailed answers in such matters and refused to acknowledge that the German Minister had been questioned about the agents. Dillon retorted, "Good, I'll give you time to think about it."

At that point Cosgrave, another Opposition member, asked if Hem-

pel had even replied to questions. De Valera answered that making such connections took time, causing Dillon to remark that that was probably because it was a long way to the German Legation on Northumberland Road. De Valera parried, "It is a long way to your headquarters." The exchange closed with Dillon remarking that cabled messages traveled very fast.<sup>15</sup>

Six days later, Dillon again asked if inquiries had been made at the German Legation. De Valera said he had nothing to say about this. When pressed, he added that he had already given all pertinent information. Dillon, recalling De Valera's earlier remarks about giving more information, asked if he had changed his mind.

De Valera replied that, after thinking it over, he had concluded he was doing the right thing.

"Then you did change your mind?" rejoined Dillon.

"No," replied De Valera.

"You surely have done something very close to it," Dillon said.

A week later the question of requiring people crossing the border from the North to carry identification papers came up. De Valera said methods of implementing such a policy were under investigation. Dillon then asked if similar steps were being planned for people who arrived by parachute. De Valera retorted, "Certain members specialize in asking questions aimed at getting us into conflict with one or the other of the warring parties. In my opinion, the only thing is to help our neutrality, our state, and our people. . . . there are all kinds of rumors but nothing to worry about at the moment."<sup>16</sup> Deputy Dillon agreed that this was true.

Perhaps the greatest significance of the O'Reilly-Kenny landings, aside from the furor they caused in the legislature, lay in the fact that theirs were the only missions to Ireland the Abwehr did not control and direct. By late 1943 the Abwehr had become subordinate to the SD. O'Reilly, Kenny, and Lenihan were typical of men who offered their services to Germany solely as a way of getting out of occupied Europe. Once home, they made no effort to communicate with Berlin.<sup>17</sup>

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One stormy night in early February, 1940, a 60 year-old arthritic German secret agent waded from a rowboat to the shores of Waterford.<sup>18</sup> It was not his first trip to Ireland, but his earlier visits had been

made by more conventional transportation and for professional reasons. This time, Dr. Ernst Weber-Drohl came via submarine as a secret messenger to the IRA.

Born near Vienna in 1879, Dr. Weber-Drohl as a youth achieved a substantial reputation as a wrestler and weight-lifter. He traveled all over the world under the stage name of "Atlas the Strong" and settled for a time in the United States. In 1907, hoping to add a few medals to his growing collection, he journeyed to Ireland to perform at the International Exhibition. His visit lengthened when he formed an attachment with an Irish girl, who bore him two sons. After a time, he returned to the United States where he continued to wrestle and began to study chiropractic. After earning the title of "Doctor," he practiced his new skill for a while, then in the 1930's moved to Nuremberg, Germany, where his fluent English and familiarity with Ireland attracted the attention of the German Military Intelligence Sub-Center, Nuremberg. When they asked him to go to Ireland with a radio operator, he agreed.

The Abwehr hoped Weber-Drohl would be able to strengthen relations between Germany and the IRA, but did not expect him to establish active cooperation with them or to provide them with leadership. Rather, he was to deliver a transmitter to the IRA as a replacement for the one Stuart said had been confiscated. Presumably the IRA would then find a cottage in some isolated spot where a radioman could transmit without being disturbed.

The man selected to accompany Weber-Drohl was, according to Kurt Haller, Section Leader in Office 1 West of Abwehr II, "one of the best German amateur radio operators. Although he would take an elaborately built wireless set, he was capable of building such a set from the bare components." At the last moment, however, the operator backed out of the trip because he did not care to associate with Weber-Drohl. So Weber-Drohl packed up the transmitter and codes along with a large sum of money Jim O'Donovan had requested for operating expenses. He also carried messages from the Abwehr to the IRA, advising them to confine their future activities to significant tasks and requesting them to send an emissary to Germany.

Weber-Drohl was scheduled to leave Wilhelmshaven at the beginning of January, 1940, but bad weather delayed his departure until January 28.<sup>19</sup> In early February, Submarine U-37 deposited him in a rowboat off the Irish coast, and its commanding officer, Lieutenant-Commander Hartmann,<sup>20</sup> radioed Germany that the agent had been landed. In his struggle to reach the shore through wind-whipped break-





*Dr. Ernst Weber-Drohl. The Abwehr landed Weber-Drohl off the Irish coast by submarine in February 1940 with money, instructions, and equipment for the IRA. Ultimately, the Irish interned him for the duration of the war. Prior to his fling at espionage, Weber-Drohl had been a professional wrestler and a chiropractor. (Photo courtesy of John Dillon)*

ers, however, Weber-Drohl lost the wireless transmitter. He arrived at Jim O'Donovan's house in Dublin bringing only money, a code, and some words of advice.<sup>21</sup> Although the money and code were gladly accepted, the members of the IRA's top echelon were not uniformly pleased with Weber-Drohl himself. Stephen Hayes described him as a "typical breaking-up-a-gang kind of Kraut, not highly intelligent and poorly informed about Irish conditions."<sup>22</sup> O'Donovan, on the other hand, thought him a "very decent fellow" and saw him often.

The Irish police arrested Weber-Drohl in March, 1940, at a hotel in Westland Row. He was charged with violating the Aliens Act by landing in Ireland without the consent of the authorities,<sup>23</sup> and ordered to appear at a hearing in one week. Berlin had informed Hempel of Weber-Drohl's mission only a few days before they learned that "W had delivered the gift," but had been arrested. Hempel commented that the man seemed to "have behaved himself correctly" during interrogation and had told him that a British agent had tried to follow him. Hempel thought the Irish police believed that German agents were pouring into Ireland especially to contact the IRA.

The following day, Hempel considered the problem further. In a message to Woermann he stated that "W had informed him he had contacted the Irishman M.B." who, the Minister noted, was very anti-British and reliable, yet retained strong sympathies for France and had contacts with the French Embassy. Hempel probably referred to Sean MacBride, half-brother of Mrs. Francis Stuart, whose contact with the French Embassy stemmed from his position as a foreign correspondent for a French newspaper. As M.B.'s position with respect to Germany was not completely clear, Hempel advised care in dealing with him, especially since everyone from the English House of Commons to the English newspapers was discussing secret German radio transmissions. Newspaper stories about new, more powerful IRA-operated transmitters, plus the discovery of Weber-Drohl, pointed to a need for greater caution when using the radio, and with the police watching the Legation more closely than ever, future spying ventures could jeopardize Irish neutrality. The British might refuse to tolerate anti-English activities on Irish territory or De Valera's government could react negatively to German support of radical-nationalists in Ireland.

In addition, Hempel was faced with the immediate problems created by the arrival and arrest of Weber-Drohl. For one thing, the Irish thought a question about the agent's citizenship existed. On March 21 Hempel cabled Berlin that Weber-Drohl's attorney had requested a passport for his client, but Hempel had told him that the man's Ger-

man citizenship would need to be verified before one could be issued. This ploy camouflaged Hempel's real plan, which was to get a sympathetic politician to request a passport. It would be delivered after about ten days when Weber-Drohl's status, actually known to both Hempel and to Berlin, would supposedly have been checked.<sup>24</sup>

On the grounds of clearing up these legal matters, the lawyer managed to get the trial postponed for a month. Not until April 24, 1940, did Weber-Drohl appear in a Dublin court to explain why he had entered Ireland in such a clandestine manner. Relating a fantastic story of love for the children he had left behind, he told how he had written to their mother and sent her \$500. Both this letter and a later one were returned to him unopened, he said. Unrelentingly, he had continued to inquire, first writing to the Dublin police in 1920, then going to Dublin to search for his sons personally. Finally, he contacted a woman who "passed as the boys' aunt." She told him that their mother had died. In 1938, Weber-Drohl went on, he began corresponding with a Dublin chiropractor in Westland Row, who led him to believe that if he came to Ireland he could reach his long-lost sons. Before he could do so, Weber-Drohl suffered a stroke that crippled his right arm and impeded his speech; he set out for Ireland anyway. He went from Nuremburg to Antwerp, where he boarded a steamer. As the ship lay off the Waterford coast in darkness, Weber-Drohl and a cooperative sailor lowered a rowboat into the choppy water. As they made for the shore, their boat capsized. Weber-Drohl managed to scramble over the rocks and get to dry land despite his crippled arm. The seaman returned to his ship and Weber-Drohl made his way first to Kilkenny, then to Dublin. On February 9, at 8:30 P.M., he presented himself at the house of his surprised colleague.

The court wished to know how Dr. Weber-Drohl had kept himself busy since February 9. The German replied that he had done what he came to do—make contact with his children. He had discovered that one son, now married, lived in England. The other son was in England, too, but in an institution. When the hearing was over, the judge fined Weber-Drohl £3 for violating the Aliens Act, and he left the court a free man, unquestioned by Intelligence because his cover story had convinced the highest Irish authorities. He remained in Ireland but not under close surveillance, even when he tried to re-establish communication with the IRA.

Weber-Drohl then decided, in spite of his advancing age and declining health, to resume his earlier profession as a muscleman. He wrote Jim O'Donovan that he had found a partner for his act and was

seeking bookings. His arrangements were never completed, however, because Military Intelligence picked him up shortly after Western Europe collapsed, interrogated him as a possible spy, and interned him for the rest of the war.<sup>25</sup>

Hempel warned Berlin that sending more people like Weber-Drohl could damage the good relations that existed between Germany and Ireland by heightening Irish anxiety over the twofold threat of German invasion and British intervention. He felt his denials of any connection with Weber-Drohl had been successful only because of his confidential relationship with the Irish government.<sup>26</sup>

Weber-Drohl was effectively out of the picture after he was interned. The officers who arrested him overlooked certain documents Weber-Drohl had left at O'Donovan's, some ultra-patriotic poetry and a handwritten statement of Weber-Drohl's objectives in coming to Ireland (see Appendix A). This document contained news that a Dr. Schmelzer would soon be coming to Ireland.

Because he was able to deliver this message and most of the items with which he was entrusted, Weber-Drohl was at least partially successful in his mission. To a large extent, his strange character, personal idiosyncrasies, and non-political interest in Ireland set the tone for the other agents who were to follow him to Ireland.<sup>27</sup>

### **PART III: GERMAN ACTIVITY IN IRELAND**



## Hermann Goertz and Operation Mainau

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The IRA selected Stephen Carroll Held, a moderately wealthy manufacturer, to go as their emissary to Berlin. The illegitimate son of an Irish mother and a German father, Held sympathized with the aims of the IRA and was acquainted with some of its leaders. Held had a legal wife in the United States but shared a large house in Tempelogue with a mistress and his mother. In the past he had acted as an IRA messenger when business took him to the Continent. In April, 1940, Held journeyed through Great Britain to Belgium, crossed the frontier into Germany, and presented the Abwehr with the Artus, or Kathleen Plan. This plan, drawn up by an IRA member named Liam Gaynor, involved German parachute landings near both Divis Head and Lisburn, cutting off Belfast, while amphibious forces landed at Lough Swilly, Magilligan Point, and Benbone Head. The German troops were to be helped by IRA forces crossing from the South.

After a few days in Germany, Held returned to Ireland, not knowing that his discussions with the Abwehr had been overheard from a back room by the man Weber-Drohl had referred to as "Dr. Schmelzer." In fact, Dr. Schmelzer had delayed his own departure for Ireland a few days in order to observe him.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Schmelzer was really Hermann Goertz, a 50-year-old lawyer from Lübeck. His father, Dr. Heinrich Goertz, also had been a member of the bar, and at one time had taken a leading part in Lübeck civic affairs. A governess had taught young Hermann English, and later he studied law at Heidelberg, Paris, Edinburgh, and Kiel. During World War I, he served in East Prussia and on the Western front. After being wounded in 1915, he was transferred to the Air Force as a lieutenant. He received an Iron Cross in 1917, the year he began teaching re-

connaissance observation at a flying school in Schwaring. He also helped interrogate captured British and American pilots. His gentle, friendly manner enabled him to be highly successful in gathering useful information.

In 1916, Goertz married Ellen Aschenborn, an admiral's daughter. After the war they settled in Bremen, and Goertz entered his father's law firm. He became a solicitor in 1925, a notary in 1927, and a solicitor of the Hamburg Law Courts in 1929. He specialized in international law and on occasion traveled to Great Britain for clients. Never a financial success, he joined the "shadow Luftwaffe" in 1928 and later a group called the Flying Storm Troopers. He volunteered to collect information on England's air facilities in 1935, under the guise of an author doing research on old monuments. With Marianne Emig, a pretty, 19-year-old stenographer, who spoke practically no English, and a half-finished manuscript, he landed at Harwich on August 29 of that year. In the documents he was required to fill out there, he described himself as a lawyer-novelist and told the immigration officer that he had come to England to study export law cases at Cambridge and London.<sup>2</sup> Goertz and Miss Emig stopped in Cambridge, then went to Burton Mill near Thetford in order to get a good look at the Mildenhall Aerodrome. Goertz took photographs and made sketches of this base as well as those at Feltwell, Hunstanton, Martlesham, and Cardington. He concluded from these observations that the German Air Force was more modern than the British.

On September 11 Goertz and Miss Emig rented a cottage in Broadstairs for six weeks to enable Goertz to see Manston Aerodrome. Miss Emig was introduced to the landlady as Goertz's niece. She soon told Goertz she was becoming nervous, because her parents in Hamburg were beginning to ask questions about what she was doing, and she wanted to return to Germany. Goertz, who was short of money and had only been able to get £10 from Nazi headquarters in London, agreed to take her back to Germany and they left for Hamburg on October 24. Fully expecting to return, he left behind his motorcycle, a locked trunk containing some incriminating letters, a sketch of Manston Aerodrome, books on the Royal Air Force, and his diary containing these entries: Thursday, Aug. 29, 1935 Mildenhall; Saturday, Aug. 31 Duxford; Sunday, Sept. 1 M'hall; Monday, Sept. 2 Hunstanton; Tuesday, Sept. 3 Feltwell; Thurs. and Fri. Sept. 5 and 6 London; September 7 Hatfield; Thursday Sept. 10 Martlesham; Wednesday Sept. 11 Broadstairs, Ramsgate; September 12 Broadstairs; Friday Sept. 13 Mildenhall; Thursday Sept. 19 Broadstairs.<sup>3</sup>





*Dr. Hermann Goertz and his companion, Marianne Emig. In 1935 they traveled to England so that Goertz, under the guise of writing a book on monuments, could accumulate information on British air bases for German Military Intelligence. The British caught him and after four years in prison, he was deported to Germany in 1939. In 1940, the Abwehr sent him to Ireland. In spite of his clumsiness, some have considered him a master spy. (Photo courtesy of National Library, Dublin)*

Goertz sent his landlady, Mrs. Florence Johnson, a postcard from Belgium saying he had found it necessary to go to Germany, but that he would return to England on the 26th, and asking her to look after a motor combination suit he had left behind. When Goertz did not appear by the 26th, Mrs. Johnson examined his bungalow. Recognizing the purpose of the articles she found in the trunk, she called the authorities, and they arrested Goertz at Harwich as he was disembarking on November 8.

Goertz, who was carrying a diary and a clipping containing a reference to Wing-Commander Smith of the RAF, protested he did not understand what the arrest was all about. After he had been taken to the police station, Superintendent Webb of Sandwich showed him a photostat of the aerodrome sketch and told him it was a copy of a sketch found in his belongings. After Goertz admitted that it was his sketch, he was charged with violating the Official Secrets Act. The next day he made the statement he repeated in his speedily arranged trial: he had been writing a novel in the eastern counties, was interested in aerodromes, and had been collecting information for a popular essay about the Royal Air Force. He had only looked at the Martlesham installation from the road and an airman told him that one could do what one liked on the public road. He had made his sketch quite openly, he said, and improvised on his work later at home, and denied doing anything unlawful.

After preliminary testimony relating to the evidence, the prosecution asked that the courtroom be cleared of spectators so three witnesses could testify. The judge complied and when open court reconvened, the defense counsel, Mr. Croom-Johnson, after requesting to no avail that the charges be dismissed, opened his defense. He stressed the openness of Dr. Goertz's movements and the worthlessness of the drawings for which the man was standing trial. He also reviewed Goertz's background—how he had come to England from 1929 to March 1931 representing the Siemens Company in an action against the British government and how, when the case was lost, he had had to sue Siemens for his fee. The leading counsel in that case had made himself responsible for Goertz's remuneration, however, so when Goertz could not prove that a formal agreement existed with Siemens, he lost his case. Almost 40,000 marks in debt and with creditors pressing him, Goertz decided to supplement his income by writing a post-war novel. It was to this end that he had visited England.

In cross-examination, Goertz denied ever having applied for employment as the kind of secret agent who goes abroad to gather in-

formation (although one of the discovered letters dated September 15, 1934, was his application for an assignment in Military Intelligence; as qualifications for such a post he listed his World War I experience and his familiarity with England, France, and the United States). He said the Air Force's rejection of his application for a position without giving any reason had depressed him so much that friends had urged him to take a vacation. For financial reasons he had decided to tie the vacation in with his literary work. He had previously written a play that the German Chamber of Culture was considering producing and a novel called *Brigetta*. His wife had sent the novel to a magazine, but the publisher had said it was too long for one issue of the magazine and too short for two. He advised Goertz to write another story and suggested he could make money writing professionally about a subject he knew—aviation. He planned to write a book about a German family and an English one and call it "Bridge over the Grey Sea," the name used in Germany for the North Sea. An actress friend of Goertz's in Dortmund was willing to lend him the money to get away and rest, so he had come to East Anglia to get the right atmosphere for the novel. Then he had discovered Mildenhall Aerodrome, only a few miles away.

At Broadstairs, he claimed, he studied Victorian history, and went on cycling expeditions with Marianne to various places, including Manston, which he already knew and considered old-fashioned. He admitted to the court he had taken note of where bombs and gasoline were kept but denied wanting to take any sketches or information of this sort back to Germany. He described his idea for an English-German air pact. England, he said, was bound to have a strong Air Force by reason of its geographical situation; since Germany was too, the two nations should mutually limit their expansion.

Goertz said he had returned to Germany with Miss Emig because he needed money and hoped to get a job with the Chamber of Culture in Berlin. He denied having visited the Intelligence branch of the Luftwaffe during his brief return, but admitted having been with Colonel Dressler, his former squadron leader, a brother-in-law who was in the War Ministry, and a friend. When asked about the positions these individuals currently held, he declined to answer, saying to do so could be construed as high treason in Germany.

The defense rested its case on Goertz's conduct, which it said precluded his being a spy. At worst, the defendant could be regarded as an amateur. They stressed that he never intended betraying the hospitality England had shown him and his fellow countrymen. The prose-

cution, however, steadfastly alleged that the man who had drawn the aerodrome plans was no mere tourist. "What would you say," the prosecutor charged the jury, "if in the course of a hostile air raid over this country there was a direct hit upon the very shed in the aerodrome which contained the explosives and bombs which were to be used by our own airmen in the course of a war and it turned out there had been in the possession of the enemy a plan on which was indicated the spot where the shed was situated?" Goertz had told them the Manston facility was out of date, when in fact it was currently in use, and there was no reason it would not be used in wartime. The prosecutor felt the jury could understand how detailed drawings of RAF bases, old-fashioned or not, would be appreciated in Germany.

In his instructions to the jury, the judge discounted the fact that the information in the sketch was generally available from other sources. The main question, he said, was Goertz's purpose in making it. After deliberating for an hour, the jury declared Goertz guilty as charged. Then the judge addressed him:

Hermann Goertz, you have been found guilty after certainly a very patient hearing by the jury and I am not going to add anything to what they have said. One realizes that there are, of course, different points of view on this offense. That it is one which must be dealt with seriously by any country is, of course, well known and it is also well known to anyone who takes part in such an act. Therefore, I can do no other than mark one's sense of the seriousness of the offense and I think in all the circumstances, the least sentence I can pass is that you be kept in penal servitude for a term of four years.<sup>4</sup>

Goertz was taken to Maidstone Prison to serve his sentence. Three years later, because he was a well-behaved prisoner, the British released him and sent him back to Germany. Later, he claimed to have met IRA men while in Maidstone, but actually he had left before the bombing campaign that resulted in their being imprisoned there started.

Goertz spent the next five months with his family in Travenmuende before reporting for air intelligence duties over Russia. Then, in the spring of 1940, Abwehr II selected him for a mission called Operation Mainau. Goertz was to go to Ireland (1) to gain the assistance of the IRA in a possible German attack on Britain, and (2) to enlist their support in severing Ireland's connections with the British Isles. He was to exercise great care not to involve the Irish government, because Germany wanted Ireland to remain neutral. It was hoped that Goertz would be able to persuade the IRA to stop fighting De Valera and to concentrate instead on intelligence against the British in Northern Ire-

land and gathering plans of Irish harbors, landing grounds, and military installations.

Code-named Gilka, Goertz learned how to make parachute landings and took training courses in explosives and hand-to-hand fighting at an Abwehr camp near Brandenburg.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Fromme introduced him to Francis Stuart, who briefed him about Ireland,<sup>6</sup> and on May 5 Goertz left Cassell in a Heinkel piloted by a Lt. Gartenfeld.<sup>7</sup> Over Ireland, Gartenfeld headed north to County Meath, then turned south and dropped two parachutes. One bore Goertz, his money, gun, binoculars, and maps.<sup>8</sup> The other, carrying a transmitter, shovel, and miscellaneous provisions, floated off into the night. Local authorities retrieved some of Goertz's equipment but never found the radio.

After a safe landing, Goertz hid his parachute under a bush and began a fruitless search for his missing equipment. He then determined his location and set out for the home of Mrs. Iseult Stuart, seventy miles away. As he walked, he discarded his heavy outer clothing, keeping only a black military beret to drink from, a map, a plan for bringing arms to Ireland by submarine and landing them on rocks near Dingle, a list of possible anti-De Valera contacts and, for sentimental reasons, some medals from the First World War.<sup>9</sup>

On the second night of his journey, Goertz swam the River Boyne, as he later wrote, "with great difficulty since the weight of my fur combinations exhausted me. I lost the invisible ink pad sewn into the shoulder of my jacket. I had no Irish money and did not realize English money was acceptable currency."<sup>10</sup> The image of Goertz, then fifty years old, trudging across Ireland in his jackboots, a black beret on his head and a pocket full of medals from the 1914-1918 war, symbolizes German Intelligence action in Ireland during World War II.<sup>11</sup>

Goertz later claimed that he marched twenty hours nonstop before he reached Mrs. Stuart's house in Laragh, County Wicklow. He related his conversations with her husband to Mrs. Stuart and she let him in to rest. After he went to bed, she left for Dublin, where she purchased a large amount of men's clothing at Switzer's Department Store, and sent it to Jim O'Donovan. That evening O'Donovan came to her house to get Goertz but he, fearing the police, fled into an adjoining field. Finally, Mrs. Stuart persuaded him to go with O'Donovan, who really preferred that Goertz stay with a friend of his. When the friend said he dared not risk harboring an agent, O'Donovan took Goertz to his own house in Shankill. Goertz spent that night in O'Donovan's son's room. The following day the two men converted the garage into sleeping quarters.

Two or three days later, four young IRA men came to the house to ask Goertz to hand over the money he had brought and to come with them to other accommodations. After some arguing, he agreed and they drove to Konstanz, Stephen Carroll Held's home, which was larger and more luxurious than other IRA dwellings. As they drove, Goertz told his new associates that he was worried about his parachute and uniform. Later, they brought the parachute to Held's, but they were not able to find the discarded uniform.

At Held's, Goertz discussed the Kathleen Plan and the IRA's need for weapons with Stephen Hayes, whom he had met earlier at O'Donovan's.<sup>12</sup> Beyond this, he accomplished little the first few weeks. His arrival had not escaped international notice, however. On May 14 the BBC broadcast that there had been reports of parachutists descending into Ireland and that those who came down in "other than recognized uniform" would be shot out of hand. The Irish police, who were searching for Goertz, were told by a domestic servant of strange guests at Konstanz. Late on the night of May 24 police cars pulled up to the house just as Held and Goertz returned from a late walk. Goertz hopped over a garden wall, hid in some shrubs, and watched the raid, which continued until 3:00 A.M. The raid was Goertz's first indication that the police were after him. Their screeching brakes reminded him of the SS.<sup>13</sup>

The police found some notes for running arms into Ireland by submarine, a tent, coded messages, a transmitter that worked poorly, World War I decorations, Goertz's parachute, Luftwaffe insignia, military cap, black tie, and some civilian clothes. There was also a list of headings under which information was to be collected, which could apply either to Ireland or to Great Britain. This list probably reflected Goertz's desire to understand the overall defense picture.<sup>14</sup>

Pressed to explain these items, Held invented one Heinrich Brandy, relative of a deceased Dublin resident who had formerly stayed with him as a paying guest.<sup>15</sup> He said Brandy had asked to board at his house but had disappeared shortly before the police arrived. Held denied knowing anything about the items he had left behind, and when asked for the keys to a wall safe, replied he did not have them. The police then broke it open and found \$20,000 inside, which Held claimed belonged to Brandy. They arrested Held and charged him with having messages in code and harboring an unknown person who had prepared them.<sup>16</sup>

Roundups of politically suspect individuals and house searches followed Held's arrest. By June 7 about four hundred IRA men had been

incarcerated. Some of them were put into internment camps after interrogation. Simultaneously, the government appealed to Irishmen to join the Army and defend their country from all attackers, and Military Intelligence people went to External Affairs and urgently advised taking steps to tell the British about the situation.<sup>17</sup>

The German Ambassador in Washington reported to Berlin that notices of the Held raid were appearing in American newspapers. The *Abwehr* then noted in its diary that Operation Mainau had been unsuccessful and that even if agent Gilka escaped, his lack of a transmitter doubtlessly would render his mission impossible. Should he be arrested, the fact that his equipment had been found with the IRA would place him in a compromising position. Consequently, further plans to drop agents into Ireland were to be discarded.<sup>18</sup> This notation shows that Berlin did not realize the wireless picked up at Held's was different from the one Goertz had brought from Germany. The confiscated set, which actually belonged to Held, worked so poorly that Goertz would not use it.<sup>19</sup>

In his report of the incident, Hempel reminded the Foreign Office that Held had once been mixed up in a parachute scheme with an English provocateur named Hamilton. Hempel suggested passing off the whole episode as British intrigue, fearing that it could generate anti-German sentiment otherwise. He speculated that the British had instigated the entire incident to get revenge on Held and himself. He believed that the British had sent Brandy as an agent to the credulous Held, whom they knew about through Hamilton. Brandy had disappeared after leaving incriminating evidence.<sup>20</sup> Hempel described Brandy as probably a German who spoke good English with a slight accent, forty years old, broad-shouldered, pale, with dark hair and two gold bridges. Hempel had not met him. He advised caution in discussing the matter and hoped the German radio would stop mentioning the case except to respond to English charges. He did not think the Irish government believed the episode represented a serious threat to neutrality, and doubted that they would use it against Germany. Still, the Irish guard had been strengthened around his Legation, and he assumed conferences were taking place between the British and the Irish.

Hempel talked with Walshe, recently returned from London and Paris, whom he regarded as very clever. Walshe praised his staunchness in the face of notorious difficulties, and without specifying the Held case, indicated that rumors concerning parachutists displeased him because of the great danger of British reaction.<sup>21</sup> When he wired an account of his talk with Walshe to Berlin, Hempel also mentioned

that Brandy had not been apprehended, thus providing the first news Berlin had that the agent was still free. The Foreign Minister thereupon decided to inform him of Brandy's mission and on June 1, Woermann sent the following message:

I. Inquiries made of the competent authorities have revealed that B[randy] was actually entrusted with special missions exclusively against England and was to make use of personal connections with the Irish. Any activity directed against the Irish government was expressly forbidden.

From a group of certain Irish personalities, subversive plans against the Irish government were frequently submitted and probably also to B., but they were always rejected.

II. Instructions for guidance in your statements to the government there are reserved.

III. Please destroy this telegram after you have read it.

WOERMANN<sup>22</sup>

Hempel continued to doubt Goertz's legitimacy for quite a while. He suspected both him and Held of cooperating with a suspected British-Jewish clique the British Secret Service sponsored and felt that by being involved with Held, Goertz had proved his own incompetence. He wanted Goertz to go back to Germany and warned against sending other agents, not only because of possible English intrigues, but also because he thought Held, though vocally pro-German, totally inept.<sup>23</sup>



## The Trial of Stephen Carroll Held and the Ordeal of Stephen Hayes

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After the raid on Held's house, Goertz spent almost a week making his way to County Wicklow, nearly starving along the way.<sup>1</sup> When he finally reached Mrs. Stuart's, it was only to learn she had been arrested on charges of aiding in the concealment of Brandy. The clothing found in Held's house contained Switzer's labels, and the clerk had identified her as the purchaser.

Hempel recognized that Mrs. Stuart's arrest made further claims of British intrigue impossible. On June 3, he informed Berlin that the radio and press were reporting that the Held-Stuart trials had been postponed, because at least two more weeks would be needed to study the enormous accumulation of documentary materials pertaining to the case. Mrs. Stuart's lawyers alleged that she had merely done an old friend a favor, but when she failed to supply the information required in high treason cases, the charges against her were enlarged. Charges against Held were broadened after police discovered the key to the safe containing the \$20,000 on his key ring.<sup>2</sup>

The Foreign Office authorized Hempel to inform the Irish confidentially that the struggle England had forced on the Reich was approaching the critical stage. Measures involving Irish interests might have to be taken and the Germans wished the Irish to understand that Hitler's battle was aimed exclusively at England. The outcome of this struggle would have great significance for England's historic enemy, Ireland, and despite her neutrality, Germany believed she could count on far-reaching understanding from that quarter. If these statements were well-received, Hempel was then to add that the charges against Held must be handled cautiously, especially in the press.<sup>3</sup>

Boland had confided to Hempel that what upset the government

most about the Held case was the evidence pointing to German and IRA military interests in the North. He was referring to several maps with locations of nationalists and unionists that had been found at Held's.<sup>4</sup>

After Held's arrest the homes of prominent Germans in Dublin were raided. Hempel discussed Held's arrest with Walshe without denying that Held might be a provocateur. He wired Berlin that he was worried that the case might generate anti-German sentiments. Then both he and Walshe talked with De Valera, who reiterated his concern over German respect for Irish neutrality.<sup>5</sup>

Held's preliminary hearing began on June 21. The defendant declared that the money found in the safe had been given him for safe-keeping and was to be used to build a home for aged IRA members. The German Minister hoped the hearings would quiet things a bit for Germany at the same time they increased suspicions that English intrigues were operating via Jewish-Freemason circles.<sup>6</sup> He continued to mistrust Held, even after he was acquitted of personally collecting the information found at his place and of participating in treasonable acts with the IRA. Held was found guilty of aiding persons unknown and possessing a transmitter, however, and sentenced to five years.<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Stuart was acquitted after a two-day closed hearing during which she denied knowing Held and claimed not to know for whom she purchased the clothes.

Hempel informed Berlin that after Held's conviction a panicky fear among the Irish seemed to subside, although persons suspected of being German subjects and others were still being arrested and dealt with secretly and without trial. He surmised that informers supplied much of the information that led to these arrests and guessed that Held might be one of them.<sup>8</sup>

The Irish government asked Hempel to make an official statement of German policy at this time, partly because of Goertz, partly because of British and American press insinuations, and partly because of the progress of the Nazi campaign on the Continent. Such a statement had been made shortly before the war and Hempel's superiors felt there could be only two reasons for not disavowing German designs on Ireland once again: (1) if such plans did in fact exist, or (2) if it was felt the Irish might pass the news of such a disavowal along to the English, who might then feel it unnecessary to prepare for a German attack. Inasmuch as no plans to move against Ireland existed in July, 1940, Woermann saw no reason for not giving her assurances. There-

upon Hempel was instructed to say that reports of German schemes involving Ireland were fantasy.<sup>9</sup>

After unsuccessfully seeking Mrs. Stuart, Goertz wandered around for some days and then, with the help of people he met along the way, made his way back to Dublin. He settled at the home of a Miss Coffey in Dun Laoghaire. Sometimes a Miss O'Mahoney came to get him there and they drove to a rented house in Dalkey.<sup>10</sup> Others who helped him were Mary and Bridie O'Farrell, Caitlin Brugha, widow of a De Valera supporter who had died in the civil war, and her son, Rory, later interned by the Irish government for his IRA activities. The IRA per se provided Goertz with neither lodgings nor money; in fact, they were constantly asking him for money.<sup>11</sup> His main IRA contact in those days was either with small groups also on the run or with Stephen Hayes. Every two or three weeks he would go to Hayes's place at night, remain throughout the following day, and then depart after dark.

Goertz had expected Hayes's organization to be efficient, like the Storm Troopers.<sup>12</sup> Instead, he found them disorganized, with a childish intelligence system, and unwilling to learn codes, radio, or military operations systematically. He told one member, "You know how to die for Ireland but have not the slightest idea how to fight for it." They refused to concentrate on important targets as they had promised to do in the message sent with Held, preferring skirmishes with the police instead.<sup>13</sup> From the German point of view, their wartime policy differed little from Fianna Fail's except that the latter begged America and England for arms, whereas Hayes wanted them smuggled in from Germany.<sup>14</sup>

At this time Hempel believed the IRA had stepped up its activities against both the Irish government and England. It was widely known, he reported, that Goertz was still at large, and the idea that the agent might be using the illegal army for raids into the North displeased him. The minister and the spy, who had not yet met, were wary of each other. Hempel felt that some of Goertz's friends had come very close to compromising him and thought it no accident that a Washington correspondent reported German diplomats met secretly with IRA members regarding invasion plans. He reacted to these rumors in a way that he hoped would express indignation without disenchanting the radicals.

Repeated failure had made the IRA extremely suspicious. Police regularly raided their meetings, and Hempel worried because sometimes they found materials that tied the illegal organization to Germany.<sup>15</sup> Soon, Goertz felt himself betrayed from within the IRA. He

believed that Hayes, demoralized by alcohol and fear, was not providing adequate leadership. Later, Goertz claimed to have mistrusted Hayes from the beginning.

Before the war, Hayes had agreed with other IRA leaders that it would be a good idea to send an emissary to Germany, but only to request military supplies, for he considered the Nazis to be in league with "enemies of the republican movement." He felt Goertz was the wrong man for the Germans to have sent to Ireland, because he did not understand the relationship between the Irish Army and the IRA, which considered itself revolutionary, and thought they were all playing "Cops and Robbers." To Hayes's mind, Goertz wanted to unite the whole island so all its inhabitants could be poor Germans.

Hayes's relations with others in the IRA and with Jim O'Donovan were deteriorating. On June 30, 1941, Adjutant-General Sean McCaughey and members of the Northern IRA accused Hayes of treason and "arrested" him at his office in Coolock, County Dublin. They bound him, took him to a deserted farmhouse in the mountains, and accused him of betraying his men and the locations of arms dumps to the police.<sup>16</sup> When Hayes denied their accusations, his captors tried to beat him into confessing. They took him first to a house near Dundalk for two days, then to Clontarf, and then to a house in Glencree, County Wicklow. They questioned him daily until July 12, when he was moved to the Dublin suburb of Terenure and finally to 20 Castlewood Park, Rathmines. He remained there for ten days, and then appeared for "trial" before a kangaroo court. His accusers charged him with conspiring with the Irish Free State government to "obstruct the policy and impede the progress" of the IRA and threatened him with death unless he signed the confession they repeatedly placed before him. Finally, feeling further resistance futile, Hayes agreed to write his own "confession." He managed to spend some weeks covering about 150 pages in an effort, as he later claimed, to stall off his own execution and to inform the rest of the IRA membership that he was being held prisoner. He believed his captors wanted to gain control of the IRA in order to place it at the disposal of German sympathizers and that, when they knew the truth, his supporters would recognize that the charges against him were nonsense.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the document referred to Sean Russell.<sup>18</sup> In other parts of it, Hayes claimed that Agriculture Minister Ryan wanted to put Goertz in touch with General Hugo MacNeill.<sup>19</sup>

In 1940 MacNeill had approached Thomsen, who negotiated from time to time with various groups antagonistic to the Irish state, ex-

plaining that he took the chance because he believed it to be in his country's interest. MacNeill impressed Thomsen favorably but Hempel described him in a report to Berlin as "typically Irish" in that he lacked balance, though he did not mention that MacNeill drank heavily. Evidently Hempel felt the man's connection with O'Duffy and his attempts to get into contact with the IRA might foreshadow his future opposition to the government. He may not have known that working through the IRA, the general had made some efforts on his own to contact Goertz. Mollie Hyland Lawlor, a woman with whom MacNeill had been in love before his marriage, had approached him about Goertz, and the nervous general went to Military Intelligence and asked for a protective cover during any future discussions with her. None ever developed.<sup>20</sup>

Hayes remained imprisoned throughout the summer of 1941, hoping that some kind of internal upheaval in the IRA would free him and restore his faction to power. Covered with bruises from beatings, Hayes was always guarded, sometimes in chains. One day in early September, his guard stepped out of the room, leaving his revolver in its holster on a coat hook. Hayes, legs shackled, grabbed it, threw himself out the window, and painfully made his way to the nearest police station.

A few days prior to Hayes's escape, his accuser, Sean McCaughey, had been arrested. Hayes testified at his trial, which some IRA members considered traitorous. Hayes believed that most of his critics would themselves head for the police if their houses were burglarized or crimes perpetrated against their persons. McCaughey received a sentence of twenty years penal servitude in Portlaoise Prison, where he died some years later while on a hunger strike. Hayes was taken to Mountjoy, tried the following June, sentenced to five years for "usurping the functions of the government." He remained virtually alone during his incarceration, because IRA people would not associate with him and he would not mix with the criminals. He was probably perturbed at being given a long sentence after turning state's evidence, whereas others were simply interned for the duration of the war.

In the meantime, his former captors circulated a carefully edited version of his confession, which increased the IRA's mania about spies and traitors in their midst.<sup>21</sup> The document, which concerned Hayes's cooperation with two Cabinet members and one senator, culminated in a statement that the Irish government had incited him to all kinds of provocative acts such as robbing the army arsenal and banks in order to gain plausible grounds for making mass arrests.

Government personnel denied these charges, but some people close

to the IRA took them seriously. Hempel foresaw a scandal if they should ever be proven true but thought it more likely that Hayes's actions had been designed to improve his position with the IRA and that his contacts with the Irish government were constructed to cover up his more important affiliations with the British Secret Service. Hayes could have supplied the British with materials linking the Legation to Goertz, Hempel continued in his report to Berlin. Should such a connection be made public, he said, the reaction would be enormous. Hempel asked Berlin to check the facts on Hayes and questioned whether it was true that Russell had been murdered, which he doubted, because Russell's murder would have made good propaganda in both Ireland and the United States. He also wanted to know anything that would implicate Minister Ryan, whom he did not think as deeply involved as Hayes had claimed. Ryan had denied Hayes's allegations under oath and claimed that he did not even know him. Ryan stated further that it was hard to believe there were people who believed Hayes had been used as a provocateur, sent out to murder men and then be arrested.<sup>22</sup>

Hempel believed that Hayes's brother-in-law, Larry DeLacy, had played a suspicious role in all of this. DeLacy, who worked for the *Irish Times*, had told Petersen that the government had proof that part of Hayes's confession had been printed in London. To Hempel, this implied that the British Secret Service had taken part in the episode with the aim of discrediting the government. He deemed the information about Goertz to be largely true, especially in view of Held's speedy arrest, but did not think Hayes's assertions too vital, although they threw an interesting light on the Irish attitude toward the Reich. The Irish, he noted, apparently preferred having friends on both sides in case of negotiated peace. They certainly would not, however, allow other factions to be represented in such discussions. If the government feared the IRA and wanted to undermine its influence in Germany, the situation might present an opportunity, provided it could be arranged without the British getting wind of it. To that end, Berlin might consider making a secret understanding, using Goertz as an intermediary. The IRA would probably remain at the center of Irish nationalism and though doing little for Germany, it must be treated carefully, if it were possible to do so without alienating the Irish government.<sup>23</sup>

Many years later Hayes wrote articles for a periodical, *The Bell*, in which he alleged that in 1941 one IRA faction was conspiring for a German invasion, while others were working for British intervention.

He claimed that he had kept faith with Russell but had not believed that throwing in with the Nazis would serve the cause of Irish nationalism.<sup>24</sup> Certainly, it can be seen that his confession worked against German interests because no matter how false the details, it connected Hermann Goertz and his mission to an organization the Irish government had outlawed.<sup>25</sup>

## The Capture of Hermann Goertz

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General O'Duffy sat in on some of MacNeill's talks with Thomsen. They discussed Irish military plans and the possibility of German aid to Ireland.<sup>1</sup> According to MacNeill, the Irish army expected the British to attack in spring, 1941, in one of three possible ways:

1. Occupation of Lough Swilly, defense against which was useless;
2. Occupation of Lough Swilly and of airports, especially Ryanna and Foynes, simultaneously with an attack from the sea on Shannon-Munding;

3. Both (1) and (2) above, plus Cork, Wexford, Dublin, and eventually Berehaven. MacNeill wanted to know if the Germans could drop confiscated English anti-tank cannon and Vickers heavy machine guns by parachute, and if so, when they could be ready. Only as a second choice did he suggest sea delivery, because no Irish ships would be available. Active German support was not seriously contemplated at the time this conversation took place. Even later it was not thought such assistance would involve more than 1,000 to 1,500 men. An important factor would be German utilization of the Irish airports, which had been made unfit for use.<sup>2</sup>

MacNeill, certain that if the British attacked, the Irish cabinet would ask Germany for assistance, wanted to know if such help would be forthcoming. Hempel, wanting to probe De Valera's thinking in the matter, wished Berlin to authorize Thomsen to tell MacNeill that Germany could provide confiscated British weapons. Then Thomsen could urge MacNeill to induce his government to accept them without revealing their source. Irish assistance would be needed to transport the arms, which meant Germany could not proceed with any plans to ship them until De Valera personally agreed to supply such assistance.

Two months later, Hempel asked Berlin why he had not been sent a reply for Thomsen to pass along. Hempel felt that MacNeill was



determined to begin preparations for resisting the British, but that if he did not hear soon he would think Germany had lost interest in his plans. He had already attempted to contact the IRA, assuming they had connections with the German High Command. Hempel foresaw problems resulting from this because of MacNeill's relationship with O'Duffy and possible British infiltration into the IRA. He also judged it conceivable that MacNeill planned to force the Irish government to act against England in Northern Ireland. Although Hempel did not believe MacNeill was a provocateur, he believed it unwise for the Legation to move first when dealing with him. He felt that direct answers to MacNeill's questions might be dangerous, but that a total silence might anger the General. Therefore, the Minister wanted freedom to respond to the situation flexibly in the light of his expected conversations with De Valera. He suggested following one of two courses:

1. Thomsen or he could initiate open discussion with MacNeill, in the course of which it could be casually stated that German aid was available should the British attack;

2. Through an intermediary, MacNeill could be put in touch with someone who could speak for the German High Command.

Hempel believed the second to be the more dangerous policy.

In response to Hempel's desire to give MacNeill some definite information as to the type of equipment Germany was prepared to provide on short notice, Berlin sent a list of equipment on March 13, 1941. As the war progressed, however, and partly because of Hempel's advice, Ribbentrop concluded it would be unwise to respond further to MacNeill's requests. He urged instead that Hempel himself stress to De Valera how willing Germany was to provide aid to Ireland in the event of an English attack.

The person with OKW connections with whom MacNeill wanted to get in touch was Hermann Goertz, who was still in Ireland. In mid-August, 1940, a lady had told Hempel "B" was still in the country and asked if she could deliver a message to him. Hempel declined her offer, but informed Berlin that Goertz was still at large. He relayed a request from Goertz that the OKW authorities listen Saturday and Sunday nights for a broadcast from him. Goertz had sent this message to Petersen via a go-between, which displeased Hempel, who felt Petersen was watched day and night. Furthermore, he did not wish to act as a go-between for the Abwehr and Goertz, whose authority he thought MacNeill and others overrated.

Three weeks later, Hempel relayed another request for transmis-

sions at a specified time. At the same time, he expressed his annoyance at how the "helper" worked for the Fatherland and said he was relieved that Goertz was anxious to return to Germany. Assuming Goertz was about to leave, Hempel urged the greatest caution because the police, supported by the newly created Security Forces, were actively patrolling the coasts. He wished to be informed as soon as Goertz had left the country.

Hempel sent more specific information on September 28. Brandy, alias Kruse, would leave Ireland on his own between 4:00 and 5:00 A.M., probably by motor boat, on either October 1 or 2, depending on the weather. He would leave Mizen Head, the southwest point of Ireland, travel west of the Scilly Islands, and head for Brest. Hempel requested that he be picked up, emphasizing the serious consequences should Goertz be captured.<sup>3</sup>

Abwehr II told the Foreign Office that although the Office of Naval Warfare and the Abwehr office in Brest had been asked to supply a cutter and general assistance, Hempel should try to prevent Goertz's trip. Through an intermediary, Hempel sent this information to Goertz.

Hempel's reluctance to deal with agents, together with the close police surveillance of the Legation, made Hempel uneasy about meeting Goertz personally.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, however, he arranged to give a reception at his Monkstown home for Germans living in Ireland and sent word to Goertz to come. The spy was told to ask, "Where is the w.c.?" as a signal for the maid to take him to the drawing room to wait.

The evening of the party Hempel shuttled back and forth between his guests and Goertz. During their sporadic conversations he told the agent that he resented interference in matters concerning the Legation and that he had heard Goertz was representing himself to the IRA as being from the OKW. Inasmuch as Berlin had not answered his questions about Goertz, whose activities appeared to be detrimental to the legitimate Irish government, the entire situation was very dangerous, Hempel said.

Goertz denied working against the Irish government but acknowledged that he had been acting as a liaison to the IRA.<sup>5</sup> Without money or direct communication with Berlin, he had been unable to do anything useful, he said, so he wanted to leave Ireland. He now hoped to depart between February 13 and 20. If weather precluded a solo trip to France, he was prepared to be picked up on the uninhabited island of Innisduff, off Donegal. He hoped to return to Ireland someday to continue influencing the IRA against acting rashly.

Hempel considered his meeting with Goertz a success if only be-

cause no one had found out about it. Personally impressed with Goertz, who was widely known, he believed the Irish government had done nothing about him in order to prevent a flare-up of the Held case. Should Goertz be arrested during this risky escape attempt, Hempel planned to go to the Irish government immediately, not mentioning prior activities, in order to avoid a court trial. If he was lucky, he might even enlist their cooperation in getting Goertz back to Germany.

Shortly after this meeting, Goertz sent Hempel word that "his friends' situation" had forced him to leave the country and that on February 17 he planned to sail a single-masted fishing boat in the direction of Brest-St. Nazaire. Hempel, fearing that the British knew Goertz's whereabouts, asked Berlin to have him picked up, adding that he would do everything possible to protect him.

Hempel assumed that Goertz had left Ireland as planned until an intermediary brought him a letter a few weeks later in which Goertz said that his escape had failed<sup>6</sup> and that the man accompanying him, James Crofton, had been arrested. Crofton was one of the IRA men who served in the police and at the same time acted as Hayes's agent. A good sailor, Crofton had agreed to take Goertz to France. While looking around Kerry for a boat, however, he had been arrested.<sup>7</sup>

In his letter Goertz again pictured himself as an officer sent by the High Command to Northern Ireland as an observer. He said he wished to discuss with a government representative what would happen should the British attack. He had already made overtures to this end, but the government had not responded and he was not even sure that his communications had been received. He felt De Valera might be more receptive if assured Goertz was not a provocateur. Both he and the IRA were desperately short of money, and he estimated he would need £200 in order to stay alive. Either he would have to get the money from the Legation, or a U-boat would have to bring it to a certain island off the west coast. A third party would then have to retrieve it, because after Crofton's capture, Goertz feared going to the West personally. If neither method appeared feasible, he would have to return to Germany.

Hempel did not want the Legation involved in the money question, even though he might be able to offer plausible explanations for acting as intermediary. Thomsen prepared to handle it with a V-man, however, and Berlin planned to mail money to Helge J. N. Moe, Spring Street Post Office, Waddington, London. They expected Hempel then would give Goertz £500 in American dollars. Hempel hoped whoever delivered the cash would be chosen carefully and warned that strict

British control would make it difficult to send someone with it from outside Ireland.

Hempel not only considered it impossible to provide money to Goertz, but also refused to use Legation facilities to send Goertz's confidential reports. For a long time he considered talking with the Irish government about Goertz, but fear of agitating the Irish kept him silent. Furthermore, he doubted that De Valera was interested in establishing contact with Goertz, whom he regarded as gullible, and questioned the extent to which helping the IRA served German interests. Goertz had done a good job of stopping the IRA from acting rashly and discontinuing German support of them might have serious consequences, but Hempel knew that spies regularly informed the Irish and British what the IRA was doing, and a connection seemed to exist between the search for Goertz and the arrests of IRA members.

In April, Hempel advised Berlin that Goertz had changed hiding places after his abortive attempt to leave Ireland, that he was down to his last £30, and that the police had been watching an individual who had hidden him. The time had come, he felt, to reassure the Irish government about Goertz, perhaps pointing out Goertz's moderating influence over the IRA. If Goertz continued operations, however, the truth about them might come out.<sup>8</sup>

Some months later, Goertz himself notified Berlin that on the 13th of August he planned to take a motorboat to France from Brittas Bay, County Wicklow. Strangers did not attract much attention in that part of Ireland, but to remain inconspicuous, Goertz traveled in the company of a woman and a child. After staying with them in a trailer for two months, he acquired a small rubber boat with an outboard motor and departed.<sup>9</sup> Things went well the first night out, but then bad weather forced Goertz to turn back.<sup>10</sup> On August 22 he shoved off again but was forced to return once more.

Noting that Goertz's departure resolved the question of money, the Abwehr requested the Foreign Office to determine whether Goertz's organization could still provide reports without embarrassing the Dublin Legation. Hempel replied that they could not, that the organization contained careless elements and included some members of the British Secret Service, and that the government seemed to have an inside line to them. Furthermore, he had not heard from his own intermediary for a while, although he had expected to.<sup>11</sup>

In his communication advising Berlin of Goertz's departure, Hempel also expressed concern over "H's" escape and surrender, and a fear that important information might be revealed. The Foreign Office then

wanted to know who "H" was, particularly since Hempel had referred to him as the "head of the organization."

Hempel replied that he thought Goertz was still in Eire but was pressed for a place to stay, which made clear to the Abwehr the growing difficulty of their man's position. Fearing that Goertz's friends would believe that Germany had lost interest in them, inasmuch as neither had received any support in recent months, Berlin again recommended that the Legation pay Goertz £500 for his personal use.<sup>12</sup>

Goertz made numerous other attempts to leave Ireland by motor boat, but each time he was plagued with engine failures. He purchased a boat at Killybegs in County Donegal through a man named O'Donnell, hoping to sail to nearby Rathlin O'Birne Island, where a submarine could pick him up. Later, he started requesting that a plane be sent to pick him up.

A last attempt to arrange for Goertz's departure from Ireland was made a few weeks before Pearl Harbor. A Japanese ship traveling around the world collecting Japanese nationals stopped in Dun Laoghaire. James O'Donovan, who had earlier helped Goertz equip the boat for Brest, went to the German Legation to enlist Hempel's aid in getting Goertz on board, but the Minister refused even to see him.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time he was plotting his departure from Ireland, Goertz was trying to organize the IRA for espionage against the North. Before it was broken up in 1941, his group was run from the bed bureau where Miss O'Mahoney worked. They solicited support from the Irish forces stationed along the border, but these officers and men had been instructed not to become involved with intelligence against the British. Some, however, took a different view of neutrality: what they did for the British, they were also prepared to do for the Germans. Years later some of them alleged that British charges of spying had been false, when actually intelligence information had been collected and fed to members of the Goertz organization.

The IRA played no role in this, nor did Goertz ever see fit to inform them of what he was doing. To him, they were useless as a fifth column. The kind of subversives who could help him were not to be found in outlawed organizations but within the government itself. He contacted MacNeill and O'Duffy<sup>14</sup> and in August, 1941, radioed the Abwehr that O'Duffy was prepared to send a Green Division to Russia. Thomsen learned that Goertz had told O'Duffy his purpose in coming to Ireland and had asked O'Duffy to put him in contact with MacNeill. He also requested O'Duffy's help in getting a seaplane to go to Germany and indicated that he wished to take someone there with him.



*Bridie and Mary Farrell and Dieter Gaertner. The Farrell sisters assisted Hermann Goeritz while he was evading capture by the Irish authorities. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*

Hempel informed Berlin of Goertz's plan, adding that O'Duffy had mentioned it to "Herbette," who had answered that the army and the police had been ordered to arrest Goertz. "Herbette" was a code-name concealing the identity of a man named either McCabe or O'Byrne, who was doubtful about meeting with Goertz but was prepared to do so if O'Duffy advised him to. O'Duffy contacted Thomsen but Thomsen discreetly declined to admit that the Legation knew that Goertz was still in Ireland.

To Hempel, Goertz's claims to high connections in the German hierarchy meant he was in competition with the Legation and therefore politically dangerous. The prospect of a spy claiming to act on confidential orders getting involved in domestic Irish issues was more than the Minister could tolerate. He wanted to verify whether indeed Goertz had instructions to seek out MacNeill. If so, his instructions should be changed, at least temporarily, if only because such a meeting would greatly increase the chances of his being arrested. Hempel did not trust O'Duffy as a confidante either, and thought him as careless as Goertz. With this in mind, he again planned to meet Goertz personally to forbid his continuing any untoward activities or attempting to get an Irish military plane.

Others also saw Goertz during the time he was free. Dr. J. P. Brennan, a former IRA man, ex-Dail Deputy, and one-time Dublin County Coroner, treated him medically several times. Goertz also met Christy Burton, a Fianna Fail politician related to the O'Farrell ladies.

Goertz's troubles stemmed mainly from his lack of contact with Germany. Theoretically he could communicate by emissary or by wireless. He had lost his wireless, however, and the only courier to reach Ireland from the Continent arrived in the late fall of 1940, when a Japanese ship evacuating Japanese nationals from Britain called at Lisbon.

The Abwehr sub-office in Spain (KO/Spain) induced an Irish woman working in Spain as a governess to go to Kerney, claiming that she had urgent legal business concerning a death and a will which she needed to attend to in Ireland. Kerney then arranged passage home on the ship for her. In a small traveling clock she carried messages for Goertz, possibly having to do with radio transmissions, and \$6,000 in cash.<sup>15</sup> The ship stopped in Galway for several days in mid-November, and the woman, whom the Abwehr had code-named Agent Margaret, delivered her messages. After a while, she went to the Irish government, said she had completed her legal business and wished to return to her job in Spain. They procured a seat for her on the plane to Lisbon, and by late December she was back in Spain.<sup>16</sup> She brought the

Abwehr a message from Goertz describing the loss of his transmitter and his efforts to avoid capture, and requesting further funds for the IRA. Independently, Goertz had also sent a message with a steward on the Japanese ship, but it never reached his superiors.

Goertz kept asking the IRA to get him a transmitter. A man in Donnybrook named Parkinson actually did provide him with some radio equipment, as did a man named Conway, who worked on the Irish Light vessels. Conway, who was regarded as a member of the establishment, lived next door to a policeman. He was able to steal certain parts or tubes otherwise unavailable in wartime and was therefore given the title of Director of Communications and made an IRA Major-General. When Military Intelligence eventually raided his house, the surprised neighbor said, "Oh, he's a very respectable man with the Irish Lights. He spends a certain number of days on the ship and a certain number on shore. There couldn't be anything wrong with him!"

Although the IRA could not provide Goertz with a transmitter, even with Conway's help, they did have receivers, which were much more readily obtainable. One way, in fact, that the Secret Service discovered that Goertz was still at large was through a priest's and an Italian's description of how they sat at night in the home of an Italian in Bray, anxiously awaiting messages from Berlin.

Goertz remained out of contact with Berlin for nine months.<sup>17</sup> In the spring of 1941, he was finally able to establish an unreliable and irregular connection when Michael Kinsella, a worker in a factory that produced sets for the Irish Army, purchased a transmitter for him. The IRA provided the operator, a post office telegraphist named Anthony Deery. A third person brought Deery pre-coded messages that he would transmit for five minutes each day. Deery met Goertz only once—at Miss Coffey's.

In these communications, Goertz continually requested money and transmitters for the IRA. Berlin did not comply with his requests because further Irish operations had been banned, and because direct control over such operations from Berlin had never been established. The last message they received from him, in October, 1941, requested a German pledge to reunite Ireland.<sup>18</sup>

About that time, Hempel reported that although Goertz had narrowly escaped arrest, the fact that he was being pursued meant his eventual capture must be considered, especially if he had been allowed to run loose only because Hayes had been keeping an eye on him. In reality, both military and civilian law-enforcers had been pursuing him for months, almost catching him several times. Once, while Sergeant



Michael Wymes, in charge of the special police detectives, and another man were knocking at an upstairs door, Goertz had exited through a downstairs one. He was enjoying extraordinarily good luck at a time when the IRA was experiencing the opposite. Some men close to the government encouraged him to believe it was because he was not being pursued.

On November 27, 1941, Goertz was finally apprehended by Special Branch men raiding a house in Blackheath Park. When a woman poked her head out of an adjacent house, looked around, then slammed the door, police decided to take a closer look. Inside, they found Goertz, relaxing by the fire.

At the time of his capture, Goertz was carrying a military paybook and other documents in the name of Lt. Heinrich Kruse. At the bottom, however, the paybook was signed "Hermann" Kruse. When the Irish authorities pointed out the discrepancy, Goertz turned red. The examining officers could not understand how an experienced agent could make such a slip or how the Abwehr could have sent him on a mission without thoroughly checking all his papers for such errors.<sup>19</sup>

Up to this time, the Abwehr had been working to get Goertz back to Germany, especially after a conference with Clissmann in which it was reported that Goertz had received no political instructions, indeed, had actually been told to avoid politics. They had decided that they could not send a seaplane to pick him up without some assistance from the Dublin Legation inasmuch as there had been no direct contact with Goertz since the previous October. Berlin, therefore, had wanted Hempel to find out how much the Irish government knew about Goertz and if their help in removing him from Ireland could be counted upon.

The German Foreign Office asked Hempel to verify press reports of Goertz's capture and ascertain whether he was a member of the Luftwaffe.<sup>20</sup> The Minister replied that shortly before Goertz's arrest, he was said to have contacted an Irish major in Army Intelligence (Neil MacNeill, cousin of Hugo and more of a theoretical Nazi than his cousin). Hempel planned to make it clear to External Affairs that newspaper accounts of Goertz's activities, published before a thorough investigation had been made, damaged German-Irish relations, and that similar reports about the activities of British agents were never publicized. Hempel knew that articles about Goertz, coupled with publication of Hayes's "Confession," could lead to charges of treason against the IRA. He was also aware that Goertz was more important than any known British agent and thought the Irish government should be told that Goertz had not been ordered to contact persons in the

Irish Army, especially after the son of a German who had become an Irish citizen told Thomsen that the police were watching those who sheltered Goertz.

Hempel then discussed Goertz's arrest with Walshe. The Secretary said that inasmuch as Goertz's presence in Ireland had been widely known, the fact that he had been apprehended would have to be publicized. Doing so might enable the government to avoid a court case, he added. Hempel deplored the need for publicity, although he well knew that since Held's capture the Opposition had continually brought up the fact that a parachutist was moving freely about Ireland. He assured Walshe that he realized that Irish fear of German involvement in domestic politics would last as long as the war did. The German government had commented at the time Goertz landed that it hoped the matter would be treated wisely. Walshe now seemed to be trying to prevent Goertz's prosecution, although such a decision ultimately belonged to the Cabinet. Hempel thought both Walshe and De Valera would like to forget the Goertz affair, but he warned Berlin that other ministers in the government took it very seriously. Emphasizing the gravity of the situation, he expressed the hope that agents would never again be sent to stir up Irish resistance groups.<sup>21</sup>

A few days after Goertz's arrest, in the course of trying to find out from Boland whether Goertz had mentioned a special confidante, Hempel learned that Goertz had denied engaging in activities against the state, had made a good impression, and was receiving excellent treatment. Boland asked Hempel if he planned to make an official statement of the German position on the matter to the Irish government. Hempel reiterated that he knew nothing about it, that Goertz had done nothing against the Irish state, and said that he had no further comment. In this conversation he also learned that Goertz, wanting to keep up with the Irish political picture, was asking questions that Boland refused to answer until the matter of whether he would be prosecuted was decided.<sup>22</sup>

Goertz's radio operator, Deery, was arrested in early 1942 on a tip from a soldier with underworld connections. Information such as his would normally have gone to the man's immediate superior, but he was ill, so the soldier told a higher officer, Major Vivion De Valera. He in turn went to his father during a cabinet meeting. Instead of being referred to Military Intelligence, the information was given to the Minister of Justice. Police raids commenced immediately, but in their haste the police failed to arrest many others, including Goertz's messenger.<sup>23</sup>

Deery was sentenced to ten years in prison. Ironically, Berlin had

regarded his reports as useless exaggerations, especially the estimates of the striking power of the Northern IRA. As long as his messages kept coming, Berlin knew their man had not been captured, but Goertz had been out of touch with Germany for so long that perhaps the veracity of these communications was doubted, too.

Goertz never understood the psychology of the Irish nationalists with whom he was sent to work. They chiefly desired assurances that when Hitler occupied Great Britain and Ireland, the government would be placed in their hands. It was toward this end that they had co-operated to some extent in the summer of 1940, but before long, inefficiency and internal divisions caused their efforts to collapse. Without help, then, Goertz was not able to make radio contact with Germany or to exploit the potential espionage resources of Ireland. Thus he lost whatever value he might have had as an agent, even though he did manage to evade capture for nineteen months. By the time he acquired a transmitter, it was too late to benefit the Germans.<sup>24</sup>

When, in total disregard of his orders, Goertz requested permission to contact the government through O'Duffy and to acquire an Irish military plane to get back to Germany, his superiors thought desperate circumstances had caused him to lose his judgment. In much the same way, his involvement with Stephen Hayes made them suspect that the Irish had known his plans from the moment he arrived but had not arrested him in case they needed an intermediary to make secret arrangements with Germany. Whether or not this was the case, Goertz's arrival, coinciding with the collapse of Holland and Belgium and followed shortly by the fall of France, served to awaken some members of the Irish government to the German problem.<sup>25</sup>

Military Intelligence interrogated Goertz thoroughly after his capture. He answered their questions with a mixture of fact and fiction. For instance, he said that James O'Donovan had first learned of his presence in Laragh from a broadcast originating in Northern Ireland. The operator of the set, he said, had heard he had arrived in County Tyrone and instructed him to inquire at three addresses, one of which was Mrs. Stuart's. Goertz stressed that Mrs. Stuart had not told O'Donovan about him. Two or three days after his arrival, the radio operator, whom Goertz described as a technical student from Belfast, an amateur in no way connected with the IRA (and chosen for that reason), had visited him. His set was not powerful enough to reach Germany without an intermediate station, and one did not exist in Southern Ireland. Had Goertz arrived in the Six Counties, the man would have been able to contact Germany for him.

Asked if the message to the Belfast man had been sent in code, Goertz replied, "Of course." He said he had received the code in Germany. He also said that though the two of them had met in Germany once, he himself would not have been able to read the other man's cipher.

Goertz then told his interrogators he had decided the Belfast man was running too great a risk. Goertz feared the transmitter would be discovered, which could ruin all his plans, for mobile detection vans were operating in the neighborhood. He therefore advised that transmissions be discontinued and urged the operator to join the British armed forces in order to divert any suspicions that might have arisen regarding his illegal activities. Goertz explained his concern, saying that although sacrificing a stranger might not be difficult, sacrificing someone you knew was.

Goertz told the Irish authorities that his country expected the wireless in Northern Ireland, which he called Gustl, to receive information sent from a German station called "Irene." It was to call him at stated times every week until he answered. When they asked how he planned to replace the set he had lost, Goertz replied that none was to be sent until his superiors had ascertained that he had arrived safely, an arrangement devised to prevent an impostor from getting equipment meant for him. All he had to do to convey the news of his safe arrival was to send two postcards with innocent inscriptions to addresses in Spain for forwarding to Germany. The placing of the stamps would indicate he was safe. All else failing, Goertz said, he planned to get in touch with the German Legation in Dublin through Mrs. Stuart. He was prepared to take a chance that the High Command in Germany would be able to calm the Foreign Office in the row that would ensue from his doing so.

Goertz denied that there had been transmissions to Germany from Ireland, but when asked about a wireless diagram found in the Hayes papers, he appeared confused. He had made the sketch, he said, when Hayes asked him for advice on behalf of the IRA regarding the set-up for communications between Eire and Northern Ireland. He claimed that he had not known that possessing a wireless set was illegal in Ireland and mentioned that many neutral countries permitted amateur radio operation. He said he had asked Hayes about the legality of owning a set, but apparently had misunderstood his answer. He said that the Dingle Peninsula had been selected as a base for landing German arms from a U-boat because Hayes said he had good men there. The U-boat would not be able to cruise close to the rocky coast of the

islands or mainland, however, so a motorboat would have been necessary to land the arms.

In the early weeks of what was to be a long confinement, the Irish asked Goertz to decipher a message that had been found at Held's. Anxious to show that he bore no malice toward the Republic, he obliged: "He [meaning O'Donovan] fears I shall be disappointed with Chief . . . knows nothing about Rathlin. . . ." The Irish had already decoded the message, however, and knew that it contained no mention of Rathlin. Goertz had changed the entire message to cover its real contents, which dealt with Irish coast and air defenses.

Goertz also provided information on other matters relevant to Ireland. He said the author, Luigi de Villar, was very intimate with Bewley, who was not well liked by the Italians and despised them in turn. Bewley was felt to represent the extremist element in Ireland. With his Irish passport he traveled to Berlin every couple of months, something that could be done freely only by one in a trusted position, and he reported to the Germans about the Italians. Goertz also said it was rumored in Italy that if Sean Russell had returned to Ireland he would have served as a Quisling if Germany had taken over Ireland, and that the German forestry expert, Reinhardt, had originally come to Ireland to make a survey of the island.<sup>26</sup>

Goertz was not tried in an open court, as Hempel had feared, but was interned in Arbor Hill Military Prison, Dublin. He immediately began a hunger and thirst strike. After giving that up, he kept busy plotting to escape. Occasionally he managed to get messages to the outside.<sup>27</sup> To convince the Irish he had not intended harming their government, he prepared a set of papers describing his mission and sent a copy to Hempel. It was while Goertz was at Arbor Hill that the Irish code expert broke his code.<sup>28</sup>

The code expert who interrogated Goertz noticed that he habitually carried a large bundle of papers in the hip pocket of the riding jodphurs he always wore. Wishing to examine them, he suggested to Goertz that his stomach ulcer be x-rayed. Pleased at the attention, Goertz agreed and an appointment at the hospital was set up for the next day. Goertz was told to be ready to leave Arbor Hill at 11 A.M., but his guards were instructed to take him without warning at 10 o'clock, to prevent his concealing the papers.

Early the following morning, the interrogator drove to the hospital. He had the pockets cut out of the dressing gown Goertz would be given to wear when being x-rayed. Goertz was then brought to the hospital. After he had changed and left for the x-ray room, it was dis-

covered that he had worn a suit for the occasion and had not brought the papers with him. The Irishman immediately jumped into his car and drove back to Arbor Hill, where he found the papers still in Goertz's riding breeches. Noting their arrangement and the order of the pages, he whisked them to a photographer, who made a negative and a positive of each of the eighteen or twenty sheets. In the meantime, Goertz, who had been x-rayed twice in every position known to science, was turning blue with the cold. Finally, his doctor called Arbor Hill, asking what should be done with him. He was told to keep him ten more minutes and then send him back. By that time the papers had been neatly returned.

The photographs revealed an almost foolproof escape plan. Cutting a hole in the ceiling of his cell, Goertz planned to go up through the attic and remove some slates from the inside of the roof. Then, protected by a parapet about four feet high, he would inch around to the rear of the building and escape into an adjoining field. Goertz had not only written down each detail of this plan, but also listed all other ideas he had considered and rejected. He had carefully noted such details as the fact that there were guards in certain places at certain times and that particular doors could not be used because their bolts were difficult to draw.

Shortly after the day the x-rays were taken, the prison authorities notified Goertz that because his quarters were to be redecorated, he would be lodged elsewhere temporarily. Sheets of galvanized iron were fastened to the attic side of the ceiling rafters. When Goertz was brought back, he was very happy at the improvement in his surroundings.

One morning about a week and a half later, attendants entering with Goertz's breakfast found him sitting in a chair beside a small heap of plaster, which came from a hole he had made in the ceiling. Without a word, one soldier fetched a dustpan and brush and cleaned up the mess while Goertz silently ate his breakfast.<sup>29</sup> Later, Goertz made another attempt to leave Arbor Hill. He heated a poker and burned the wood around the lock of his cell door, but fainted when the smoke overcame him.<sup>30</sup>

In February, 1942, OKW requested Dublin to report from time to time on Goertz's well-being and living conditions. They wanted him to know that his family was fine and that he could send his wife or mother a message through the Red Cross. That fall they sent him a message from his wife asking that he make some personal sign to show

he was all right. Goertz's mother had already stated that she would not believe her son was alive until she received a letter from him. Hempel thought she could be calmed down by telling her that although he was a prisoner, her son had kept his rank and had his own little house, entertainment, and company. Hempel feared that correspondence with Goertz would increase the chances of information passing into the hands of the British, whose interest he thought stemmed from Goertz's activities in England. Hempel feared the British might use Goertz's handwriting to prove he had been in contact with others, and was relieved when the spy refused the Red Cross's request for letters.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of reports that his family was well and had lost nothing in the bombings,<sup>32</sup> Goertz worried about them, blamed himself for the failure of his mission, and chronically suffered from depression. In August, 1942, Hempel therefore requested that Berlin send a few words acknowledging his accomplishments, saying that Goertz had always exhibited courage and a sense of responsibility. Berlin responded by awarding the Order of the Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class to Goertz and two others, Tributh and Gaertner (see Chapter 16), in recognition of their conduct under very difficult circumstances. The Legation was requested to inform each of them of this honor and to extend to them the congratulations of their colleagues and former superiors. Hempel complied by sending word through the Irish authorities to Goertz but not to the others, because when Tributh and Gaertner were captured, Hempel had denied that they had come to Ireland on official orders. Public knowledge of the awards would point up the contradictions in his story.<sup>33</sup>

The Irish thought that decorating Goertz showed impertinence and implied that he had earned the commendation because of his work in Ireland. They waited two years before informing him of the award; when they did tell him about it, it was to build up his confidence so he would cooperate in another matter.<sup>34</sup>

Even from behind bars, Goertz managed to play a role in domestic Irish politics. Senator Desmond Fitzgerald made the following comments as a Senate election loomed:

I hope we did something about the parachutist who came here with an invasion plan. As far as I can tell, this was a case where a foreign government sent a man to establish contact with criminal elements to work at overthrowing the present government. Does neutrality mean we don't do anything about things like this? The fact that a man of a foreign country, sent here by a plane of theirs, was left with an invasion plan has been used

as a reason for jailing people who belong to an organization which is responsible for many murders. I want to know more, though. Which steps did we undertake against that foreign government? We have protested against American troops in Northern Ireland but not against the bombing of Belfast.

Hempel protested this speech, as well as the fact that Boland was again discussing the Goertz case with De Valera.

Goertz occasionally heard rumors that the Irish planned to hand him over to the British. Frightened, he would consider trying to escape, but his friends, believing his fears unfounded, did not wish to help him. Goertz claimed to have brought up the question of his escape with a "higher official" but neither Hempel nor their intermediary knew what this meant. Hempel felt that activists who wanted to work with Goertz or the British Secret Service, desirous of catching him at sea, were involved. He received a letter from Goertz asking that two radical Opposition members of the Irish legislature be shown the papers the police had confiscated at Held's and denying "on his honor as a German officer and on his life" that he had been sent to interfere with Ireland's neutrality. Hempel thought this statement would be welcomed as proof that not even the IRA had considered inviting a German invasion. He passed it on to Berlin but the Abwehr, after reviewing Goertz's situation, decided that although it would be desirable to have Goertz back in Germany, he should be discouraged from trying to escape unless there seemed a reasonable chance of success. Hempel was subsequently relieved when Goertz shelved his plans.

In 1943, OKW learned that Goertz and the other internees had been taken to a special facility on an army post at Athlone. Before leaving Dublin, Goertz had sent a secret message to friends protesting the move on grounds of "internationally guaranteed rights for the officers of countries at war," and had gone on a hunger strike. When Berlin queried Hempel about this, the Minister replied that in his opinion if Goertz was going to choose this method of dying for his country, it did not matter where he expired. He did feel that the agent must be very depressed to act so drastically, and thought personal visits from either himself or from Thomsen might cheer him. He doubted that the Irish would give permission for them to see him, however, and planned to offer the excuse that Goertz's wife and mother were requesting such a visit and to ask that a high Irish officer be present.<sup>35</sup> For the remainder of the war, Hempel had no contact with either Goertz or the others interned at Athlone, and he was undoubtedly grateful when the publicity that had swirled around Goertz quieted down.



## Joe Andrews, Willy Preetz, and Walter Simon

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Some time after Goertz's arrest, Joe Andrews, a former member of Goertz's sabotage group, attempted to establish communication with Berlin using Goertz's code.<sup>1</sup> His efforts came to the attention of the Legation on April 10, 1942, when a messenger requested Petersen to forward a telegram in letter code to Berlin. Hempel thought the message might be from someone acting on orders from the High Command, but regarded the intermediary as an unreliable nationalist. Thinking it would take too much time to contact the author directly, he asked Berlin's permission to transmit it in the "special way" and as it was coded. When Woermann suggested he put it into diplomatic code before sending it, he complied.

Ten days later, Andrews' wife brought Petersen another cipher consisting of a series of four-letter groups. She claimed that until her husband's arrest she had sent coded messages to Germany for Goertz but that there had been no recent contact because the wireless had been confiscated. She asked Petersen for help but though she impressed Petersen favorably, he claimed to have nothing to do with such matters. She then made discreet references to his letter-box and departed, leaving a coded message of more than 200 four-letter groups, which opened with the heading (in English) "From Eire—to the Supreme Command, Berlin," inside the box. Hempel assumed that both messages had originated with the same person and that it was he who had informed the Irish police about Goertz's whereabouts. He objected to Petersen acting as Andrews' intermediary, but forwarded the messages to Berlin.

At first, the Germans thought the messages had come from Schutz,

a spy who had escaped from Mountjoy Prison and had not yet been recaptured (see Chapter 16). Berlin was unable to decode the message with Schutz's cipher, and fearing provocation, requested Hempel to check with Schutz if possible and to provide any other information that might clear up the matter without endangering the Legation.<sup>2</sup>

The messages Andrews sent were ciphered more carefully than Goertz's had been.<sup>3</sup> After a week and a half, the Abwehr unraveled the following, using Goertz's code:

(1) Andrews of Fitzpatrick and Co., Grafton Street, Dublin, reporting to reestablish contact broken because of four months internment because of connection with Dr. Goertz. I am a member of his personal organization, which is independent of IRA.

(3) It is possible through O'Duffy to organize circles among army officers, many of whom are sympathetic and not content with the situation in occupied Ireland (Northern Ireland).

(4) Have contacts with IRA in occupied Northern Ireland where they are absolutely reliable and capable of much useful work.

(5) At present, owing to police surveillance, it is practically impossible for a non-citizen to remain free for any period here. Such action would be a waste of men and money. The only solution is to get an Irish leader who is independent of the forces he leads.

(7) Our radio operator has been arrested with his equipment and has been sentenced to seven years. It will be difficult to get new equipment.

(11) From Lambay Island go in the direction of mainland, south of island and go on to the headland coast about 400 meters south of the asylum buildings between water tower and round tower. [Note: Lambay Island is in the Irish Sea, about 25 km northeast of Dublin.]

(13) Send uniform same size as Dr. Will keep rendezvous on dates mentioned.

(14) Since writing above (or meanwhile) I have established contact with a supervisor in the firm of Shortt and Harland—Belfast Aviation Works. O'Duffy is a personal friend. Major-General MacNeill sympathetic.

(15) Land on beach one hundred meters from tower on the northern tip. Avoid one rock obstruction.

The Foreign Office requested Dublin to re-transmit the untranscribable parts and to send further information in regard to the way the message had come to Petersen. In particular, Berlin wanted to know the name and a precise character-sketch of the Irishman responsible for it, why there was such a negative judgment of him, and which Irish circles considered him unreliable.

Hempel replied that the man's name was indeed Andrews. It was rumored that nationalists sympathetic to the IRA did not trust him because in the past he had revealed their secrets. One of his messages had come to the Legation by messenger; Mrs. Andrews had put the

other into Petersen's box. Supposedly, Goertz had resided either with Andrews or with someone Andrews had known for a long time, and a few days before his arrest had been advised to move because Andrews had informed the police. Goertz, however, trusted Andrews. Hempel probably did not know that before the war Andrews had been in London, and, unknowingly, had talked to a man from M.I. 5, thereby providing that organization with some background information on himself.

Hempel, distrusting almost everyone, suspected the presence of numerous spies, persons who could be bribed, and weak characters among the Irish. The fact that Andrews had been picked up just before Goertz was apprehended and released shortly thereafter made his suspicions seem rather well founded. Nevertheless, he sent Andrews' messages again and Berlin deciphered and forwarded them to the interested departments and to Dr. Veessenmayer. They were as follows:

(2) Arrested one week before Dr. Have complete knowledge of plans for projected active organization under General O'Duffy. O'Duffy willing to cooperate in active work, especially in occupied Ireland.

(5) It is possible to reorganize the IRA (lacking 2 or 3 words) England and obtain reports.

(9) Can you pick me up by plane? Am able to return. Results will compensate for risk. Have made necessary arrangements for family during absence. Suggest the following place and alternative dates and times.

(10) Perfect landing ground at Malahide, Co. Dublin, no anti-aircraft.

(12) Suggest 5:40 a.m. Sunday, May 3. Time is suitable because of tide. Or 5:20 a.m. Sunday, May 10. Sunday best time because of least activity. If day unsuitable suggest May 15th at 12:00 midnite, full moon.

(18) Have him land in the night of June 29 in the northern part of Co. Dublin near Martello Tower on second head. Land on mainland north of Lambay Island. Stay in old tower. Will call there 30th.<sup>4</sup>

Hempel retransmitted the phrases still missing and work on them was completed by October. They were decoded as:

(5) Cannot be decoded more than before.

(8) Again cannot be decoded.

(16) Messages 1-15 sent six weeks ago. Kept rendezvous on 3rd and 10th. Regret mistake regarding moon on 15th.

(17) If you prefer to send a man, [I] will arrange for residence. Radio, field glasses, money necessary. Will look for him following date and place.

(19) Alternatively, send plane to previous rendezvous on July 1st at 4:00 A.M. Please cooperate on one of the suggestions. Men impatient to get to work.

(20) (can only be partially decoded) Previous rendezvous . . . North, County Dublin . . . South of Lambay Island . . . Asylum Buildings Round Tower . . . water tower. (contents similar to #10, 11, 15, and 18).

(21) Can't be decoded.

(24) Probably is #22 again. Can't be decoded.

(25) From Andrews of Fitzpatrick and Co., Grafton St., Dublin. Check.

The Foreign Office did not believe these messages pointed to provocation, even though the manner of their receipt and the fact that the writer belonged to the O'Duffy organization left that possibility open. The policy in dealing with anything that might benefit England either politically or materially, however, was to treat it with care. In this case, the Abwehr chose not to answer. The Foreign Office cautioned Hempel to be careful.<sup>5</sup>

Four months later, the Abwehr received the following messages from a cook aboard the Irish freighter *Edenvale*:

(30) From Andrews of Fitzpatrick and Co. Dublin. Check Dr. Goertz messages. Delegated to carry on . . .

(31) Sent 29 messages to you by various routes, no reply, did you receive?

(32) Sending this message to Lisbon by Mr. Eastwood, cook on *SS Edenvale*. Will be in Lisbon three days. Try to reply.

(33) At present living at Rush, Co. Dublin. Can you make contact. Have no radio here.

(34) District of Rush suitable for dropping man on coast, no vigilant watch, can find billet.

(35) Organization here lacks money. Possible to establish regular contact with French coast by boat.

(36) Have man with boat ready, provided we can pay.

(37) Can contact other reliable messengers to Lisbon if you had contact there.

(38) Civilians have been evacuated from Weymouth district South England, concentration of military and naval forces there.

(39) Man here independent of IRA ready and willing to work.

(40) Can you send a man here, will give him every cooperation, tell in reply.

(41) Have you any alternative suggestions? Could you collect me to go for discussion?

Because they thought the messages had originated with the O'Duffy organization, the Abwehr did not reply to them, either. To Lahousen, Dr. Veessenmayer suggested advising Andrews that his information had been received and requesting a report on the entire situation, including a list of groups in opposition to the government. Veessenmayer felt that unless some acknowledgment were made, sympathetic elements in Ireland would stop their attempts to support Germany. Reports from Ireland were scarce, he said, and it was necessary to make use of every source. Answers should be so brief that they would do no damage if they fell into enemy hands but, it was hoped, they would enable Ger-

man Military Intelligence to learn who the sender was and who was behind him.

Another message came in March:

(42) Acknowledgement of 29-41 received.

(43) Establish direct contact with our courier-messenger at your end, charged for delivery.

(44) Have consulted General O'Duffy. Would like to organize green division from Eire for fight against bolshevism, if you approve.

(45) If you can arrange transport for self and representative from O'Duffy, would travel for discussions. Sailor from Rush named Owen Corr interned in Germany.

(46) Corr knows me and district here intimately. Could furnish you with details, landing places, etc.

(47) Rely on you to make any arrangement you wish.

(48) Our courier reliable. Could you send money, can have radio built. Give us wave-length about 20 meters and call signs.'

(49) With money, have men ready for sabotage, etc. in occupied Ireland.

(50) Have been approached with scheme to effect escape of Dr. Goertz.

(51) Full name Joseph Gerard Andrews. Reply unnecessary.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently these messages were taken at face value, or at least the fact that the senders were working with O'Duffy was. They generated enough interest in the Irish political situation for Veesenmayer to recommend that the Abwehr send the following: "Received 43-51. Is there a chance for 44 to be realized? Await the complete answer to the question."

The Abwehr also considered how to utilize O'Duffy's Green Division. Militarily, utilizing a division from Ireland would be impossible because of the problems of command. For propaganda purposes it might well have value but any mention of it would have to be made without seeming to oppose De Valera. Any response to O'Duffy must therefore request some proof that he could follow through with his plans and, in this way, arouse him to action, it was hoped, without directly giving him orders from Germany.<sup>7</sup>

What the Germans did not know was that Andrews had no connection at all with General O'Duffy. An adventurer who expected to get rich spying, he had come into possession of Goertz's code, and may have been prepared to sell Goertz to the Americans. He induced Eastwood, an illiterate cook who spoke no Portuguese, to deliver messages to the German Legation in Lisbon. Instead of taking the messages to the Germans himself, Eastwood gave them to a Portuguese docker, who took them to the British before delivering them to the Germans.<sup>8</sup>

In December, 1943, Hempel reported that police had arrested An-

drews and found large sums of money on him. He also said that earlier Andrews had been imprisoned for a year because Schutz had carried an envelope with Andrews' name and address behind the stamp. Hempel did not know that his arrest this time had come when the authorities noticed that the messages he was sending with Eastwood were typed. The typewriter was identified as one belonging to the police in Rush, from whom Andrews had borrowed it. The raid on Andrews' house was timed for 7:00 A.M. on a day after the machine had been borrowed. When the police arrived, they found Andrews and his sister in the house, but not his wife. They searched the place thoroughly but were unable to unearth any incriminating evidence. Later, under questioning, Andrews gave himself away when he thought a man who had sifted ashes in the bottom of the stove had discovered something. He said, "It's all up with me now, after what you found up the flue." Back to Rush went the police, straight to the chimney and a shoe polish can containing a typed message ready to be sent to Lisbon.

About the same time the Irish police arrested Andrews, they also picked up Eastwood. Hempel dramatically though erroneously reported that Eastwood had met a contact man before leaving Lisbon but that a British agent had followed him. A German had supposedly shot the Briton, and when Eastwood's ship arrived in Ireland, he was arrested, questioned, and searched. Because Eastwood was able to destroy the evidence, Hempel said, he was set free although forbidden to leave Ireland.

Hempel warned against further associations with Andrews and Eastwood. Berlin apparently regarded their roundup with equanimity. Inasmuch as Germany had not instigated the contact, there seemed no reason for Hempel to become involved, even though Andrews had been sent a token payment of £100. Before his capture the would-be agent had taken the note from pub to pub but no one would believe it was real."

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Willy Preetz was a tough, sea-faring German who had seen the world while working on transatlantic liners and had lived in many places, including the United States. There he met a girl named Sally from Tuam, County Galway, whom he married and took to live in Bremen, Germany. Because most of Mrs. Preetz's family lived in Galway, her

husband would visit them whenever his ship called at Irish ports. During one such stopover he acquired, possibly because of laxity on the part of the local police, a genuine Irish passport issued in the name of Paddy Mitchell. This document was one reason why the Abwehr later thought he could be valuable.

In late August, 1939, Preetz left England to go to Ireland.<sup>10</sup> When war broke out the following month, he stayed in the West with a family named Reynolds. At this time he often frequented Keane's public house where a friend of his, Joseph Donohue, was employed.<sup>11</sup> Preetz regularly made trips to Galway, Cobh, and Dublin to try to arrange a way to get back to Germany. He also approached the German Legation in Dublin, but without success.<sup>12</sup> On October 23, the police in Tuam picked him up and charged him with failing to register as an alien. They soon released him on bail, and by November 8 he had disappeared. Disguised as a blind passenger, he had stowed away in the hold of a cement freighter bound for Belgium. When the ship reached its destination, surprised Belgian officials briefly questioned and interned him, then deported him to Germany.

From December 7 until December 10, Preetz was in Berlin. He went to his father's home in the country for a few days, and then to Bremen on the 13th or 14th. Shortly afterward, Mrs. Preetz began corresponding with Donohue, advising him on January 17 that her husband was longing to hear from him. Donohue responded that the police had been asking whether Preetz had gone home. He said he had not mentioned that he knew Preetz was in Germany but wondered how they had known of their friendship. In February and March Donohue wrote again, using fictitious names. The answer he received from Mrs. Preetz implied that her husband had seldom been in Bremen since his return but was in Hamburg, where she joined him sometime after February 4.

Preetz's authentic passport, family ties in Ireland, and first-hand knowledge of the country had aroused the interest of Abwehr III. They sent him to Hamburg-Wohldorf Training Camp for instructions in operating wireless transmitters. Then they advised him he was to be taken to Ireland, where he would be expected to radio back information on the weather and movements of Allied convoys.

In early June, 1940, Preetz, carrying a transmitter, boarded a U-boat whose tour of duty included a stop in Dingle Bay on the west coast of Ireland. In the dark of night he disembarked, waded through shallow water to the shore, tramped across the beach in the direction of the road, then curled up beside a stone wall and slept until daybreak. He

struck out along the road to town and soon met and began conversing freely about Ireland and his Irish family with a man headed in the same direction.

After Preetz reached town, he set out for Dublin.<sup>13</sup> Upon arrival he promptly rented a small flat in Westland Row and began transmitting weather data to Germany. He expected the weather information to aid in planning the invasion of Ireland, which he thought scheduled to take place very soon. Inasmuch as the Abwehr had provided him with a substantial sum of money, he invited Donohue to come and live with him.<sup>14</sup> They commenced spending freely on wine and women, including Preetz's sister-in-law.

For almost two weeks, Irish Military Intelligence tuned into Preetz's nightly transmissions, using direction-finding equipment supplied by the British.<sup>15</sup> A civilian who performed special tasks for Military Intelligence studied them. One night Preetz's message included a word containing "que," an unusual combination of letters found in only a few German words, and the code expert was able to unravel Preetz's message: "Donohue is with me. Please alter the frequency as the British are jamming me." Since Donohue was well-known to the police, locating the transmitter became a simple matter of following him home and arresting both him and Preetz.<sup>16</sup>

During the interrogation that followed his arrest on August 16, Donohue stated that Preetz had supposedly booked a room at 32 Parkgate Street on the 29th or 30th of June, but never occupied it. Donohue claimed to have left a blue suitcase there for "Mitchell" on July 1. The police found such a suitcase at their place at 23 Westland Row, and in the bedroom located two plugs for the transmitter, one with a lead taken off the main aerial and the other with one from a transmitting aerial erected outside. The plugs for their ordinary Vidor receiving set were in the sitting room and used an independent aerial. The case with the transmitter was discovered locked in the bedroom and the key for it was later found in Preetz's possession.<sup>17</sup>

Preetz, still insisting he was an Irishman named Paddy Mitchell, admitted sending messages to Germany but denied being a German agent. One day while he was being questioned, he made the mistake of literally translating the German idiom "mit zusammen" as "with together."

Preetz was interned in Arbor Hill Prison. On September 10, Walshe informed Hempel of the details of Preetz's arrest. Although primarily meteorological information had been sent, Hempel thought the Irish also believed Preetz had transmitted reports concerning the effect of



Luftwaffe raids in England. Preetz had committed a crime by landing in an unauthorized boat and by operating a transmitter, Hempel continued, but Walshe had once remarked in a matter-of-fact way that such episodes had to be expected in wartime. While Hempel did not expect the matter could be kept out of court completely, he did not expect the Irish to prosecute too vigorously, although they would not wish to appear non-neutral. As he saw them, the circumstances required him to deny having any knowledge about Preetz or any other agent, even though, in fact, he did plan to help them.<sup>18</sup>

Preetz impressed some of those he met on this, his last visit to Ireland, as the worst of the agents, a "criminal" type,<sup>19</sup> who apparently had undertaken his espionage assignment only from a spirit of adventure and perhaps for the money. As for Donohue, the Department of Justice believed him important only because of his association with Preetz, and they released him. Having nothing further to do in Ireland, Donohue then applied for and obtained a travel permit from the police in the West. Because the civilian law enforcement was separate from the military, Dublin was not informed of Donohue's application. Donohue took off for England to find work, but was soon picked up and interned by the watchful British after he began talking indiscreetly. "Oh, you were the one who was in Ireland with that man Preetz," they said.<sup>20</sup>

Another ex-sailor who went to Ireland as a German spy was Walter Simon, alias Karl Anderson. In the 1890's, Simon had run away from his middle-class family to sea. He sailed all over the world and became fluent in many languages. He learned Spanish in South America, and French after his ship was wrecked in the West Indies. He had plenty of time during World War I to improve his English, for he was interned for most of that period in Australia. Afterward, he returned to the sea.

In 1937, Simon, who, tall and thin, greatly resembled the stereotype of an Englishman<sup>21</sup> except that he was rough-spoken and liked to brag about his conquests of women,<sup>22</sup> came to the attention of Abwehr officials in Hamburg. Overlooking his hoarse voice, easily identifiable because of a throat operation, Abwehr II decided to train and send him to England. The following spring the 56-year-old Simon traveled around the Hook of Holland to England, where he began mapping newly constructed RAF airfields and jotting down details about the locations of armaments factories. Upon his return to Hamburg, he showed these notes to his superiors who, very happy with his work, ordered him back to England to get more of the same.

By the time Simon returned from his second visit, the Abwehr was

beginning to regard him as somewhat of an expert on British military installations, and in 1939 they selected him for yet another trip. This time, in addition to mapping airfields, he was instructed to recruit discontented nationals he might find in Britain to the German cause, give promising individuals £20, and tell them to contact a certain address in Rotterdam for further arrangements.

When Simon arrived, English immigration authorities questioned him at great length to determine the purpose of his visit. The German parried these queries by revealing a book-length manuscript, saying that he had come to England as the agent of the author, a friend of his, to find a publisher for it. Evidently convinced by this story, they allowed him to enter the country. Simon then proceeded to travel around the country making coded entries in his notebook and seeking out discontented elements, most of whom were Welsh.<sup>23</sup> His activities brought him to the attention of British Intelligence. Soon he was arrested at his hotel in Tonbridge on grounds of failing to fill out his alien registration card adequately. The usual punishment for such failure was a fine of a few pounds, but on February 16, 1939, to Simon's surprise, the presiding judge sentenced him to Wandsworth Prison for six months. From then on, M.I. 5 interrogated him regularly about the suspicious maps and notebooks they had found in his baggage, but Simon, no longer a novice, admitted nothing.

In mid-August, when Simon's sentence had been completed, the British handed back his possessions, including the notebooks, declared him an undesirable alien, and deported him to Germany. Simon then reported to the Abwehr on his mission, expecting to retire from espionage. In February, 1940, however, "Ast" Hamburg recalled him and told him to get ready for a new assignment.

Simon was no longer considered a likely candidate for work in England, so the Abwehr decided to send him to Ireland. He was to set up a secret transmitting station and send daily weather reports plus whatever news on British convoy movements he could collect, using his own ingenuity, not IRA help, to find a place from which to operate. The Abwehr provided him with a passport in the name of Karl Anderson, supposedly a Swedish-born naturalized Australian, and gave him a course on how to operate a radio at the Hamburg-Wohldorf Camp. His code was to be based on the first verse of Schiller's "Glocke." After setting up his station, Simon was to call Hamburg each morning and find out which line of the verse would form the key word of the code for that day. Karl Oscar Pfaus briefed him, and with invisible ink pads

sewn into his suit lining, Simon picked up his radio equipment and set out by submarine from Wilhelmshaven at the end of May, 1940.

In the middle of the night of June 12, the U-boat entered Dingle Bay. Simon disembarked and paddled the short distance to the Kerry Coast in a dinghy, which he afterwards sank. He buried his radio set and some personal belongings in the sand before setting out. He took with him a small brown paper package containing £215 in counterfeit English money, \$1,910 in counterfeit American money, and as Hempel later reported, a list of 2,400 Irishmen whom the Abwehr thought might be suitable contacts.<sup>24</sup> Most of these men were in Dublin, and that was where Simon headed when the sun came up on the morning of June 13, 1940. He walked first to nearby Dingle, expecting to catch an eastbound train, and waited patiently at the rail depot. After a long wait, he asked some workmen there about the railroad's schedule. They studied him closely before answering wryly, "The last train passed through here fourteen years ago!"

Learning from them that the nearest place to catch a train to Dublin was at Tralee, the German spy boarded a bus heading in that direction. On arriving, he found there would be quite a wait before the train had to leave. To pass time, he had a few drinks and began talking with two friendly men, who were also waiting. They casually inquired where he had come from, where he was going, and if he was waiting for someone from the IRA. In reply, Simon jokingly asked if they were IRA members.<sup>25</sup> Simon's retort did not disconcert his companions, Detective-officer James Colley and Detective-officer Bill Walshe, who had been alerted by the workmen at the old Dingle depot.<sup>26</sup>

When the train finally pulled into Tralee, all three men got on. Simon proceeded to buck up his courage for the task ahead by drinking steadily. His ebullient manner, in addition to his "foreignness," attracted much attention from the other passengers. At Dublin's Kingsbridge Station, the last stop on the run, a special party from Military Intelligence greeted him and his fellow travelers. They asked him for identification, whereupon he produced the passport describing him as Karl Anderson. Questioned further, he stated that he lived with his sister at Annascaul, near Dingle. The previous night, he said, they had quarreled, and to cool off he had taken a walk at 2 A.M. He had then decided to go to Dublin to see his wife and two children. Simon's interrogators did not believe his tale, particularly in view of the sea sand still on his boots. They summarily arrested him and took him to the Bridewell.<sup>27</sup>

On June 27, Hempel informed Berlin that K.A., who by then was claiming to have been put ashore at Dingle from an English ship, he refused to name, had been arrested on June 13 and would be tried for entering the country illegally.<sup>28</sup> There were two hearings—one on June 27 and a second on July 8. During both of them, Simon claimed to be a Swedish-born British national who had emigrated to Australia with his family when he was about 14 years old. He alleged that beginning in 1930 he had been engaged in whaling off the South American coast and had banked his profits in Rotterdam. In 1939, he went to Rotterdam and withdrew his funds—more than \$3,000—just before the German invasion. He left Holland on a British ship, arranging to be put ashore in Dingle Bay.<sup>29</sup> In his dedicated search for peace, he said, all he wanted was to buy a small cottage and fishing boat so he could live in western Ireland until the end of the war. He stuck to this story even though the prosecutor accused him of imposing on the court's credulity and in spite of the fact that his radio had been dug up and brought into the courtroom. Irish Intelligence regarded him as merely another of the poor, slightly abnormal types who manage to get enmeshed in minor espionage work and interned him for the duration of the war.<sup>30</sup>

Hempel, relieved that nothing about K.A.'s espionage activities had been made public, and suspecting provocateuring, asked Berlin why the man had been sent to Ireland. He told his superiors that he did not wish to meddle in the situation, partly because of the neutrality issues involved, but also because A. had first pretended to be Swedish, then British. Acknowledging he was German would make things awkward, especially since the Irish government had used A's list of contacts to round up potential troublemakers.<sup>31</sup>

## Two Lobsters, a Whale, and the Spy Who Brought His Lunch

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Simon's arrest and trial coincided with the fall of France. Henceforth, the Abwehr considered sending spies to Ireland to be less important than sending them directly to England.<sup>1</sup> They did plan, however, to send some agents to England via Ireland. The agents would use surface craft and depart from Norway or France without prearranged contacts. Once in Ireland, they were expected to make their own way to England.

A world-famous yachtsman named Christian Nissen was selected to deliver the spies. He had known Ireland in World War I, when he had served aboard the *Melpomene*, a German vessel. The British sank his ship 100 miles west of Cork and interned its crew, first at Templemore, in Tipperary, and finally in Oldcastle, in Meath.

At the end of the war, Nissen returned to Germany. He spent the ensuing years racing yachts so skillfully that other international yachtsmen nicknamed him "Hein Mueck," after a legendary German seaman.<sup>2</sup> The Abwehr enlisted his aid in June of 1940, calling him to its Sabotage School at Brandenburg, and telling him to find a boat suitable to transport three agents to Southern Ireland.

Nissen traveled to Brest Bay, inspected the vessels in the harbor and selected the *Soizic*, a luxurious 36-foot yacht, which was fitted out like a French fishing boat and belonged to the wife of the French military attaché in Berne. She lived on board and was not happy when Nissen requisitioned her boat. Closer inspection revealed that the *Soizic's* propeller had been removed, but Nissen was prepared to set out using only the wind as power.<sup>3</sup> His mission, referred to as Operation Lobster I, was to deposit two South African Germans and an Indian on the shores of Ireland.

The South Africans, Dieter Gaertner and Herbert Tributh, were stu-

dents, novices at espionage,<sup>4</sup> and neither spoke good English. The third man, Henry Obed, was to be their guide and interpreter. He passionately hated England<sup>5</sup> and had worked for the Abwehr before the Germans took over Belgium. Prior to the German invasion, when British ships often docked in Antwerp Harbor, Kurt Haller of Abwehr II instructed Obed to activate and secrete six bombs on board certain British vessels. When Obed did not carry out his mission, Haller thought it was because he was watched by the Belgian Secret Service, which worked closely with the British.

None of the three passengers had sailing experience, so Nissen informed the Abwehr office in Brest that in order to make the crossing safely he would need a skilled assistant. On the night scheduled for departure, two men from the Abwehr brought him a sailor—a drunken old man who promptly lay down on deck and began to snore. Once the fellow sobered up, however, he proved extremely able, a Breton fisherman well suited to his task.

Nissen piloted the *Soizic* out of Brest Harbor at midnight on July 3, bound for Fastnet Rock in Baltimore Bay, a spot he knew from his racing days. On their third day out, 45 miles west of Fastnet Rock, the Breton seaman called out that two British cruisers of the *Southampton* class were approaching. The three agents were stretched out in their bunks, seasick, and Nissen joined them below deck while the old Breton steered toward the British cruisers. After a few moments, the enemy ships turned away. Later that day a British flying boat flew over in low circles. Still later, a Portuguese steamer passed by, but none tried to halt Nissen. The *Soizic*, flying her French tricolor, evidently did not arouse their suspicions.

After sunset, Nissen steered the *Soizic* into Baltimore Bay. The agents said goodbye, climbed into a dinghy, rowed ashore, and hiked across the rain-soaked beach to the road. As they strolled along on that wet July day, suitcases in hand, they were obviously foreigners, especially the dark-skinned Obed, who had dressed for the occasion in a bright silk Indian suit and a straw hat. Soon the local police pulled up and asked who they were and what was in their hand baggage. The spies claimed to be sight-seeing students but when they were unable to verify their statements, the officers took them into custody.<sup>6</sup> The police then telephoned Dublin to advise that "Two whites and a nigger have appeared from nowhere." Since "nowhere" meant either from the sea or the sky, Special Branch men were dispatched.<sup>7</sup>

In his report to Berlin on these developments, Hempel referred to the agents as the "supposed Germans," saying they were probably pro-

vocateurs of either Dutch or German descent, sent by the British to disturb German-Irish relations in retaliation for German violations of Irish territorial waters.<sup>8</sup> After the three were sentenced to seven years hard labor, Hempel reported that they were being treated with consideration and that Gaertner and Tributh had made good impressions on their captors.<sup>9</sup> The protests of the Irish government, together with the arrest of the three agents, probably strengthened the Abwehr's earlier decision to conduct sabotage against England directly instead of through Ireland.

Nissen, after discharging his passengers, had to wait almost twenty-four hours for the wind to blow the *Soizic* away from the Irish coast. The next day he had a near-encounter with a British patrol boat, but, while his assistant held the wheel, the cool-headed yachtsman sat on deck and peeled potatoes until it turned away.

Reaching France, Nissen informed the Abwehr office in Brest that he had successfully completed his mission.<sup>10</sup> He then went to north-western Brittany, where he stayed until the Abwehr recalled him to deliver more men to Ireland in September.<sup>11</sup> One of the passengers was to be a radio operator; the other would be Helmut Clissmann. Clissmann had studied in Ireland from 1933 to 1936, returned to Germany, and gone back to Ireland that same year as a representative of the Academic Exchange Board. He had taught German classes and done graduate work at Trinity College.

For a short while before the war, the Irish authorities had watched Clissmann, noting that he attended meetings frequented by extremists. His name, it was rumored, had not originally appeared on the list of Germans to be sent home from Ireland after September 1, 1939, but the British had requested that it be added, whereupon he was asked to leave Ireland. Depositing most of his belongings, including a thesis he had been preparing, at the German Legation, Clissmann took a boat from Dun Laoghaire through England to Ostend. In Berlin, he was told that after the *Anschluss*, many Austrian officials had been added to the Foreign Office. One, acting in response to an order to recall all Exchange people in British possessions, had inadvertently ordered those in Ireland called back, too. The Foreign Office advised Clissmann that he would be returning to Ireland because an error had been made, not particularly surprising to Clissmann in view of one of Hempel's parting comments: "Well, you'll be here again in a short while." Nor did it displease him, since he had left his wife and baby son behind. When he reached Ostend, however, he was told he could go no further without a British visa. An official at the British Embassy in Brussels, where he

applied, asked him to return in a few days, so Clissmann went to the German Embassy, where he found everyone listening to Hitler's announcement of the fall of Poland. Back he went to Berlin, and ten or fifteen days later Mrs. Clissmann, traveling through Britain as a non-combatant, arrived in Germany.

In Berlin, Clissmann found himself attached to the Central Office with nothing to do. When a vacancy occurred in the German Academic Exchange Board representation in Denmark, he went to Copenhagen, where he stayed from November, 1939, until the army called him up the following July. Clissmann was immediately assigned to Army Intelligence because Ireland was still expected to play a prominent role in the projected German assault on England.

In August, 1940, the Abwehr told Clissmann that he and a young English-speaking radioman were to be sent to Ireland. They were to land in Sligo Bay and then use Clissmann's IRA connections to get to England. There they were to find guides who would aid the Brandenburg Regiment when Germany invaded England. If reaching England proved impossible, Clissmann was to try to contact Hermann Goertz.

In late August the two agents left Berlin for Brest, where they learned they would have to wait until Nissen located and fitted out a suitable vessel.<sup>12</sup> Because of the time of year, they needed a sturdier craft for this journey than Operation Lobster I had required, and to Nissen, a French tunny trawler seemed the best. He set out to find one in the Brest area and settled on the *Anni Braz-Bihen*, which was larger than the *Soizic* and had recently been overhauled. Nissen advised the Abwehr Office in Brest that he needed a six-man crew. They sent a German-speaking Danish engineer named Krogh and five French seamen, who had volunteered for the job without knowing their ultimate destination.

The *Anni Braz-Bihen*'s owner was most unhappy when told to leave his ship. Nissen allowed him and his crew two hours to remove their gear. He arranged in the meantime for half of the catch of a trawler that had just sailed into the harbor to be iced and transferred to the *Anni* to help authenticate her appearance. Then Clissmann and the others got aboard, and the operation the Abwehr termed Lobster II got underway.

When the French coast could no longer be seen, Nissen decided to set the sails. The seamen promptly informed him that they did not know how to set sails. This left Nissen the choice of turning back or teaching his crew what to do. Deciding that the favorable weather forecast and Krogh's nautical experience made continuing the voyage



feasible, Nissen began to instruct both his sailors and his passengers in the art of hoisting the sails.

For three days the *Anni Braz-Bihen* sailed toward Ireland. Then a storm blew up. As the weather worsened, Nissen lowered his sails and prepared to start the motor. He told Krogh to clear the bilge because a fuel tank had overflowed and the below-deck area reeked of crude oil. Krogh went below. When the motor did not start, Clissmann went after him and found him collapsed and seasick. Clissmann brought him on deck, then tried to start the motor himself, only to discover that both compressed air cylinders used to start the engine were empty. As the storm intensified, about eighteen inches of water accumulated in the engine-room and one crewman after another succumbed to seasickness. When the three Germans tried to pump out the oily water, they discovered the hand pump would not work, so while their boat tossed on waves sixty-five miles west of Galway, they manned a bucket brigade. By early morning, Clissmann could go below. There he learned that the bilge pump had not functioned because the boat's owners had stuffed old socks and underwear into the pump. After these obstructions were removed, the remaining oil and water was cleared from the vessel with no further problem.

For three more days, the nine men waited for the storm to subside. When the water finally quieted, however, Nissen suddenly decided not to approach the Irish coast. Without a motor or a skilled crew, he thought any attempt to land in rocky Sligo Bay would be foolhardy, so he turned back to France and entered Brest Harbor a few days later.<sup>13</sup>

In November, 1940, the Abwehr again considered having Nissen transport Clissmann and a radioman. This time their purported destination was to be South Wales and their mission to augment German contacts with Welsh and Scottish nationalists there. Accompanied by two experienced sailors from Hamburg and Bremen, Nissen prepared to depart from Brest. Poor weather forced a postponement, however, and the Abwehr instructed the radioman to take advantage of the delay to get some intensive training.

It is doubtful that the two agents would have gone to Wales even if the cutter operation had gotten underway. Although his orders had specified Wales because further Irish activity was forbidden at that time, Nissen would doubtless have steered for Ireland. On November 25, a meeting had taken place between Lt. Gartenfeld, the pilot who had dropped Hermann Goertz into Ireland, and Sonderführer Haller of Abwehr II regarding what the Abwehr called Operation Whale. Dr. Veesenmayer had advised that it was again possible to consider placing

agents directly in Ireland. Gartenfeld was consulted in an effort to determine whether or not it was practical to fly them in in seaplanes and deposit them in rubber rafts on inland lakes. When Gartenfeld advised that it was, they agreed to meet in Berlin on December 2 and decide on a suitable lake. No meeting took place, however, evidently because Irish projects were being restricted. It was May, 1941, before the Abwehr again considered sending agents, money, and a complete radio installation to Ireland in this way, but even if such materials had been brought, they would not have greatly aided the IRA. The fact that they were not, illustrates the change in Abwehr policy, which for some months had forbidden cooperation with the illegal organization.<sup>14</sup>

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The last spy sent to Ireland on a mission of any importance was Gunther Schutz. A Silesian, Schutz had studied economics in London in the early 1930's before returning to Germany to train as a reserve army officer. In 1938 he went to London again, ostensibly to do graduate studies and to represent a Hamburg chemical firm. With another German he often made weekend trips to the country and photographed factories that manufactured aircraft parts. The Abwehr paid his expenses and provided him with a car; to reciprocate, Schutz sent them clippings from the British newspapers. Later, he claimed that when he returned to Germany from his trip, about a week before war broke out, he took an anti-aircraft gun position predictor with him in the car, but this type of equipment would have been far too bulky to transport in his car.

Back in Germany, Schutz was assigned to the Abwehr's Hamburg office, where his duties included organizing spies in other countries, building up files of persons who could be trusted to send messages, and acquiring information on Ireland and Irish politics as preparation for a forthcoming mission. His research led him to believe that the IRA and the Army were one, and that all Ireland stood uniformly ready to oppose England.<sup>15</sup> He expected to be required to report on weather conditions, observe British convoys, and gather information about shipyard and factory production in the North. The Abwehr trained him to operate a wireless, gave him a short course in Morse code, and taught him how to erect aerials and to use a parachute. Schutz never practiced this last skill. Although his superiors always stressed that

landing by parachute was easy, a pilot later told him that crash-landing was preferable to bailing out of a plane at night.

At first, the Abwehr attempted to secure papers to enable Schutz to enter Ireland legally. Posing as a Polish Jew, he asked Warnock for a visa. His request was not granted<sup>16</sup> because a visa could not be issued unless the route the applicant proposed to take was known. The only airlines flying to Ireland from the Continent were either British or American, and during the war neither would have transported a German citizen. Occasionally, cargo vessels trading between Portugal and Ireland might take a passenger as a "supernumerary" member of the crew, but travel by that means could not be arranged in Germany. The Irish Legation was not empowered to act on its own in passport and visa matters anyway, because all applications for consular services were referred to Dublin.<sup>17</sup>

The Abwehr finally gave Schutz a passport forged in the name of a Southwest African, Hans Marschner, sent him to Paris, and instructed him to cross into Spain and arrange contacts in Dublin who would be prepared to forward information for him. The most important contact, Werner B. Unland, had moved to Dublin about the time that Schutz had left England for the second time. Schutz was told that Unland was a V-man from Hamburg who would be expecting to hear from him. He wrote to him, not knowing that, like many other Germans in Ireland, Unland was watched all the time.

At this time Unland and his English wife were somehow subsisting on an allowance of about £15 per month, which came first through Belgium or Holland and later through Ankara. Unland habitually sent messages to the Continent, which Military Intelligence picked up from the post drops, read, and remailed. Once, when Unland wrote that he was going to Belfast to collect information, Dulanty called Dublin to be reassured that Unland was under surveillance. Supervision was not completely satisfactory, however, and a man was called in who had kept an eye on Sean Lemass and Frank Aiken in the days when they were considered subversive. The agent turned in so many reports and went to so many peculiar places that it seemed certain that something of importance had been uncovered, but it turned out that Unland was merely paying attention to someone's maid behind his wife's back.

After Schutz returned to Germany from Spain, the Abwehr instructed him to prepare to leave for Ireland. They provided him with £1000, invisible ink powder, a code based on an English novel, *Just a Girl*, microdots containing instructions and information, and a microscope to use in connection with them.<sup>18</sup> The microdots were made by



*Gunther Schutz, alias Hans Marschner, parachuted into Ireland for the Abwehr in 1941. Although promptly captured, he effected an escape, with IRA help, from Mountjoy Prison disguised as a woman. Recaptured several weeks later, Schutz spent the rest of the war interned in the facility established in the camp at Athlone to house the German spies. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*



*Helmut Clissmann. A graduate student in Ireland at the time war broke out, Clissmann was ordered back to Germany. He later made two surreptitious attempts to reach Ireland by boat as an Abwehr agent. Although unsuccessful, he continued to play an active role in the formulation of German policies toward Ireland. (Photo courtesy of Helmut Clissmann)*

*Christian Nissen, an internationally known yachtsman who twice sailed to Ireland attempting to deliver Abwehr agents. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*



*Herbert Tributh, Hermann Goertz, and Dieter Gaertner, left to right. Tributh and Gaertner were South African Germans whom Nissen transported to Ireland to conduct espionage. Captured immediately by Irish Military Intelligence, they were interned for the duration of the war. This picture was taken in 1946. (Photo courtesy of Macdonald and Co., Ltd., London, England)*

first photographing a message and reducing it to the size of a postage stamp, then taking another picture of it through a reversed microscope and diminishing it to the size of a dot .05 inch in diameter. The micro-dot usually was inserted in place of the dots over the "i's" in some ordinary printed matter. In Schutz's case, however, they were placed inside the "o's." After the process had been in operation awhile, a cabinet was developed which a spy could use to remove the dots and make them readable. The system worked well, and even the FBI did not crack it until August, 1941.<sup>19</sup>

Schutz also carried a list of contacts that included IRA members, General O'Duffy, Liam D. Walsh, and Walter Simon (who had already been arrested). Packing these items, plus a sausage and a bottle of cognac, Schutz boarded a Heinkel III piloted by Lt. Gartenfeld in Amsterdam.<sup>20</sup> Their first attempt to take off was aborted because of bad weather, but on March 12, 1941, they got underway. Over Britain, searchlights followed them and anti-aircraft guns opened fire. Upon reaching Ireland, the pilot switched to instrument flying.<sup>21</sup> Schutz thought arriving by plane much more exciting than coming in a gloomy submarine. When Gartenfeld indicated it was time to jump, he bailed out over what he hoped was County Kildare.

He landed near a cottage and could hear the sounds of a nearby stream. He noticed a man apparently watching him, but when the man lit a cigarette and re-entered his house, Schutz lay down and slept until it grew light. Upon awakening, he was surprised when certain hills and mountains he had expected to see were not visible. Road signs in Ireland, as in England, had been removed, and without detailed maps Schutz realized he was lost. He wandered down a road until he met a young boy on his way to school. He asked the lad where the road went, and when he replied, "Wexford," Schutz knew he had missed his mark.

At school, the boy told his friends and others how he had met a man who did not know where the road went. Someone notified the police and two local policemen bicycled along the road until they saw Schutz in the distance. Schutz spotted them and dived into a clump of bushes. At that distance he could not tell whether they were policemen, but concluded that since he had seen them, they had probably seen him, too. To avoid suspicion, he emerged from his hiding place as the men approached.

"Good morning, sir," one officer said. "It's a beautiful morning."

Schutz replied, "Good morning, sir. Yes, it certainly is."

"Would you be a stranger in this area, sir?" asked one of the law-

men, knowing full well he was, if only because it was not customary in Ireland to address police officers as "sir."

"Yes, sir, I am," rejoined the German.

Wishing to examine the bag Schutz carried, the policeman next queried, "Would you be traveling in haberdashery?"

Schutz did not know what haberdashery was, but not wanting to appear ignorant, replied, "Yes, I would."

One policeman then raised his jacket to reveal suspenders that were missing a button, and asked "Would you have a safety pin I could borrow, then?"

"No," said Schutz, but the officer gently insisted that he check his suitcase to make sure. The German then pretended to look, placing himself between it and the other man, but the second officer moved around until he could see the transmitter and other items tucked into the case. The policemen then arrested Schutz, took him to a spirit grocery in the nearest village, and called Dublin headquarters to come and get him. For two hours the three men ate sandwiches and drank stout, waiting for someone to come for Schutz. He was taken to the Bridewell Interrogation Center in Dublin, where he was relieved of all his belongings and clothes except the invisible ink which he had managed to flush down the toilet.

From 11:00 P.M. until 3:00 A.M., Colonel Liam Archer questioned Schutz about his intentions and his true identity. The German insisted that he was Hans Marschner. When asked about the contents of his suitcase, such as the rather costly microscope, he alleged that he was a stamp collector and used it in his philately. Schutz also carried Unland's passport photo and a unique piece of stationery plastered with lipstick. The former, he explained, was the likeness of a friend. The paper, he said, had been kissed by his fiancée in Germany, and he had brought it with him for sentimental reasons.

The stationery, which was identical to what Unland had been using in his correspondence with the Continent, probably would have served to convince him that Schutz was an emissary from the Reich. The lipstick merely provided an excuse for having it, but to make sure it did not contain any hidden messages or serve other purposes, it was sent through the police lab. The newspaper clippings were, too, which was how the microdots containing Schutz's instructions were discovered. Those who read them were impressed that Schutz had been sent to get answers to the most elementary questions about industrial conditions in Belfast. The Irish authorities generally assumed the true purpose in

sending Schutz to Ireland was to restore the long-dormant lines of communication between Eire and Germany and in some way utilize Unland, who was being "kept on ice."

Schutz was taken to Arbor Hill Prison, where Commandant Lennon, the governor, came to visit him. Colonel Eamonn de Buítléar and a "Captain Grey" also questioned him. They discovered that he was G. Schutz, not Marschner, when a man known to Schutz as Reilly brought him a copy of Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* to read and asked if he would jot down a few lines giving his opinion of the book. The handwriting matched perfectly with the letters signed "G. Schutz" that Unland had received from the Continent.<sup>22</sup> Only later was Schutz's first name learned. Colonel Archer of Irish Military Intelligence came in to talk to him one day carrying a large stack of files to impress Schutz that a great deal was known about him. Just before going to see Schutz, he had been interrogating a man named Gunther, and he inadvertently said, "Now, let's see, Gunther, what shall we talk about today?" Schutz, startled, blurted out, "How did you find that out?"<sup>23</sup>

At the end of April, Schutz, who continued to be called Marschner throughout his internment, was transferred to Sligo Prison. There he claimed to suffer from claustrophobia, and after eight weeks was returned to Dublin. Schutz thought he was moved back because Goertz had told an IRA informer that he had good connections in Sligo who would help him escape.<sup>24</sup>

In Mountjoy Prison, he met IRA men, including some who were awaiting execution. The hangman came from England for the executions, and once he brought news that a man named Richter had been caught and executed within twenty-four hours of landing on the English coast. When Schutz, who had known Richter in Hamburg, heard of his death, he grew frightened and decided to try to escape from Mountjoy. From IRA people he met in the infirmary, the only place Germans and Irish could mix freely, he acquired a list of people on the outside who would help him. He also befriended an English embezzler, who gave him two hacksaw blades. Later, the Englishman was released and went to London. He told the British what was going on in the Irish prison. They, in turn, informed the Irish of their displeasure at the laxness of their security.<sup>25</sup>

Schutz asked a guard to purchase a fur coat, dress, wig, shoes, silk stockings, head scarf, and cosmetics. When Sean Kavanagh, governor of Mountjoy, questioned him about these purchases, Schutz claimed they were for his fiancée in Germany. Each day he locked himself in the lavatory for as long as he could without attracting attention, work-



ing the hacksaw blades against the bars of the window. Escaping in this way meant dropping twenty-three feet from the wall surrounding the prison to the ground, and Schutz enlisted the aid of Jan Van Loon, who was also in Mountjoy. On February 15, 1942, they broke the bar in the bathroom and after dropping the twenty-three feet, ran to the wall. Van Loon hoisted Schutz to the top and tossed him the parcels they were taking with them. Next, Schutz held a rope of twisted curtain material, also supposedly purchased for his fiancée, but when Van Loon tried to climb it, he fell and injured his ribs. Schutz then opted to continue alone, jumped, and headed for the home of one of the interned IRA men, James O'Hanlon, on Innisfallen Parade.<sup>26</sup>

On February 18, Berlin learned from Hempel of Schutz's escape. The Minister advised that Schutz had requested aid, particularly money, from the Legation, and said that he planned to leave Ireland by motorboat. Hempel had sent him £80, which he would charge to the authorities in Germany, and noted that Schutz had complained about his treatment in the internment camp. Hempel had checked this out with the Irish authorities, who stated that the men had a recreation room, radio, walks in the yard, visitor privileges, and access to money. He also checked with Mrs. Unland, who had never complained about the treatment her husband was receiving.

Berlin assumed that Schutz had a car waiting in the neighborhood of the prison to drive him away, and Hempel verified that the escape had been arranged with outside help. The Irish police suspected that Preetz's in-laws had helped, too, he said, and had posted a £500 reward for his recapture. Hempel believed that even the British police were looking for Schutz.

Officially, Hempel denied knowing anything about Schutz. In fact, he did not know whether the spy had succeeded in leaving Ireland by boat. He asked to be instructed what to tell Schutz should an opportunity arise, and on his own planned to tell him not to contact any Irishmen or go to England or Northern Ireland. In Hempel's opinion, the best thing Schutz could do would be to leave Ireland after destroying any incriminating material he might have, although it was unlikely he had retained anything after his arrest. He also wanted Schutz's fiancée told not to write nor to reveal that she had received any messages about Schutz.

Berlin instructed Hempel to determine whether contact with Schutz was possible and whether or not he still had his radio transmitter. He was to tell Schutz to go on with his job in Ireland, give him plenty of money for at least six months, and help him procure identification

papers. Hempel replied that he planned to send a confidential agent to establish contact with the person in question to urge him to be more careful, and that the V-man he had selected believed it possible to get the requested items to Schutz in an unobtrusive way. It would be very hard for him to leave the country without being noticed, however.<sup>27</sup>

The intermediary who carried these messages between Schutz and the Legation was someone affiliated with the Brugha family. Schutz later claimed it was the same man Hempel had referred to as M.B.,<sup>28</sup> the same person Weber-Drohl said he had contacted, a man whose position with respect to Germany was not completely clear. Through him, Hempel learned Schutz was safe and that friends were preparing for his departure.

On April 1 Schutz wrote the Legation asking for at least £300 immediately and requesting that his superiors in Hamburg send a plane or U-boat from Brest to pick him up. He had accomplished important objectives during the five weeks that he had been free, he said, and he felt that he could not stay in Ireland while the war raged on the Continent.

Hempel believed that these letters from Schutz were evidence of his carelessness. While admitting the difficulty of judging him accurately from a distance, he doubted the value of Schutz's work and felt that he really wanted to return to Germany for personal reasons. Schutz's inexperience and the difficulties involved in getting him away from Ireland prompted Hempel to remind Berlin that British planes patrolled the southwest coast and that Schutz's capture would reflect badly on the Legation, even though Hempel would be glad to see him go. He hoped that Berlin could involve a third party to help him in this endeavor, someone who could make it clear to Schutz that the Legation could not help him and that he should not try to involve it in his predicament.<sup>29</sup>

The Foreign Office in Berlin then advised the Abwehr that giving Schutz any further help with his escape, new exit papers, or additional funds was out of the question because burdening the Legation was both dangerous and politically risky. On April 13 the case was discussed further with Hauptman Schauenburg from the Abwehr's Hamburg office. Schauenburg felt that Schutz should stay in Ireland as long as possible and try to do more work there, because diplomatic relations might be broken in the future. Should this occur, the Abwehr thought it would be valuable to have someone in Ireland who could send messages. When it was pointed out that Schutz no longer had anything to send messages with, Schauenburg said he could still write letters. If

the secret inks brought from Germany had been taken, he could make more and send his information to cover addresses in neutral countries.<sup>30</sup>

Because there appeared to be no way to get new instructions to Schutz via the Legation, Berlin asked Hempel to urge Schutz to be more careful and to tell him that his request to leave Ireland was under investigation. Shortly afterwards, the Abwehr requested that the Foreign Office pay Schutz £600 in small bills through the Dublin Legation and instruct him to try to continue his work. To facilitate his work, the Abwehr was prepared to drop him a new transmitter if necessary, as soon as arrangements for doing so could be made.<sup>31</sup>

Schutz remained free for two months, during which time he changed hiding places three times. He moved from O'Hanlon's to the Cowman home in Blackrock and, after a few days there, to the Rathmines home of Caitlin Brugha, widow of a former Minister of Defense. She was one of a group of IRA sympathizers who disliked the faction then in control and hoped that Schutz would explain their position if he got back to Germany. Schutz doubted the trustworthiness of many in the IRA and thought a few of them were fanatics. He later claimed that these Irish nationalists put him in touch with a man who was willing to take him to France.<sup>32</sup> This man was supposedly Charles McGuinness, who between 1918 and 1925 had run arms into Ireland from Germany with Robert Briscoe, a Jewish IRA man. McGuinness, who claimed to know Graf Luckner and could speak German, was really an international adventurer. He had shipped out with the Byrd expedition to the South Pole, written a successful juvenile adventure story called *The Nomads*, and served in the Irish Marine Service. When the Service was started, McGuinness expected a commission. Instead, he was made a petty officer and he sat, frustrated, disappointed, and contemptuous of his superiors, at Cobh Harbor. Eventually he offered his services to the Germans.<sup>33</sup> In June, 1942, Hempel reported that McGuinness, whom he considered unreliable and bribable, had been arrested in Cork while attempting to get important military reports to Germany via Petersen and the Legation. His phone calls to the Legation had attracted attention, as had his communications with two German nationals. In the trial that followed, McGuinness's correspondence with Petersen led to his conviction, even though Petersen denied knowing or corresponding with him.

Hempel did not believe McGuinness was a provocateur, that Petersen had been involved with him, or that the coded messages, which were later proven to be from Joe Andrews, had come from him. Probably, had McGuinness directly approached anyone on Hempel's staff, they

would have turned him away, suspecting a British plot. As it was, Secret Service surveillance provided the real lead and McGuinness and his cohort were picked up before the offer could be presented.

McGuinness knew nothing about Abwehr files, and his important military information turned out to be an organization chart of the Irish navy, which he and his intermediary were taking to the Legation at the time of their arrest. He was held in Mountjoy until the war was over. He later drowned off the Wicklow coast.<sup>34</sup>

Schutz was picked up at the Brugha home on April 30, 1942. Dressed like a woman, he was wearing dark glasses, and reading a novel.<sup>35</sup> He had been expecting two men to come to take him to Bray, where transportation back to Germany had supposedly been arranged. Much surprised at his arrest, he felt that IRA informers had betrayed him in order to collect the reward.<sup>36</sup> He told his interrogators that he had broken out of Mountjoy because he felt an urgent desire to return to Germany. He had soon realized, however, that returning would not be possible, and he chose to rejoin his interned friends rather than try to hide out indefinitely. Fellow prisoners described his malaise as "prison-phobia." The Foreign Office, fearing Schutz's IRA connections, was relieved at his recapture. They promptly instructed Hempel not to give him the £600 or to provide him with a new cover address.

Schutz was taken to the Bridewell, then sent to join Tributh, Gaertner, Obed, Preetz, Simon, and Unland at Mountjoy, where part of the women's jail had been cleared for them. Each man had his own bedroom, but they shared a special common room and a garden. Unland informed Hempel that although they were watched too closely, placed too close to the insane (the prison was also a hospital), and their mail scrutinized, in the main they were satisfied.

Gerald Boland told the press that Schutz had been picked up.<sup>37</sup> He omitted telling them, however, that Schutz, out of prison only a few weeks, was carrying a note, coded and ready to send: "I have organized all of Ireland with the help of the IRA. Please send a submarine to pick me up."<sup>38</sup>

## The Internment Camp at Athlone

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After Schutz escaped, those who felt it unwise to house the interned Germans in the heart of Dublin began working to get them relocated. Bolstering their arguments with references to Goertz's success in getting messages out of Arbor Hill, they emphasized the need for better security. Partly as a result of this urging, new facilities were constructed in the spring of 1942 at the Curragh Camp, where interned fliers and sailors were taken, and at Athlone, where part of the military barracks were renovated to accommodate the spies.

The group at the Curragh was treated as "guests," according to De Valera's directive, and allowed many privileges, including permission to go to Dublin to study. Their quarters were adjacent to those of the interned British airmen, and the two groups taunted each other at times. By the time there were sizable numbers of Germans in the Curragh, however, only about twenty British remained, and reasons were soon found for returning them to England.

Shortly after the facilities at the Curragh were expanded, the spies were taken to Athlone in County Westmeath. Mrs. Unland advised Hempel that the situation was acceptable in every respect. He regularly checked the facilities, too, and was satisfied that in Ireland even the prisons had a "do-good" attitude. He did not write to the men, fearing British censorship, nor did he visit them, lest he displease the Irish authorities. Every now and then he sent books and other items, however.<sup>1</sup> He arranged for the men to receive Red Cross packages with tobacco and soap, when the Irish government intercepted what the prisoners' families sent.

Mrs. Unland requested the Legation to pay her £25-30 per month to cover her expenses and those of her husband. Preetz also requested £30, so Hempel planned to pool all the internees' money so they would

receive equal treatment, and at the same time encourage them to buy only essentials.<sup>2</sup> He advised Berlin that:

Unland had asked that £20 be given each internee working for the authorities in Germany every two months. They get food and clothing from the Irish, so this would be for laundry expenses, extra food, tobacco, soap, etc. Eight are interned at the moment: Unland, Tributh, Gaertner, Andersen, Preetz, Marschner, the man from India, Obed, and recently also Weber-Drohl, who has received Legation support, too. Mrs. Unland has received £30 per month and I have sent Unland £25. Please tell me if I should continue this or tell them to combine the reserves brought from home and given by the government—£614 total—for their expenses. As of July 31, Tributh has £21, Gaertner 18, Andersen 186, Marschner 67, and Obed 322. The prison authorities keep this money but is at the disposal of the internees, who have designated it as private property for buying personal items. Preetz is hardest up since he has no money at all. Goertz, interned separately elsewhere, seems to have enough so far. Please send instructions.

HEMPEL/KOCHNER

Hempel spent considerable time on these financial problems. In December, 1942, he increased Mrs. Unland's monthly allowance to £35 because of the rising cost of living and because, in addition to her personal expenses, she had to buy things for her husband and make trips to Athlone. By the following August she had received a total of £560.

The internees would not share their funds. Simon and Obed refused on grounds that they were not German citizens and their funds were private. The remaining money was insufficient for the other men. The Foreign Office, agreeing with Hempel that forcing the men to combine their resources would be difficult, liked the idea of putting them on a monthly allowance but was unable to determine which departments of the Abwehr were responsible for Simon and Preetz. Eventually it was decided that Obed's money was private but not Simon's. The rest were put on a bi-monthly allowance of £20-25. Later, when they asked for more to enable them to buy tobacco, their request was denied on grounds that what they had been receiving was intended to cover this expense.<sup>3</sup> Only Van Loon received no stipend, so each month the others would subscribe 5s to help him. What the internees had went for purchases such as expensive watches.

From time to time the concerned departments in Germany checked up on their men in Athlone. In October, 1942, a Captain Astor of the Abwehr asked that Obed be given money and made as comfortable as possible.<sup>4</sup> The following March the Legation was asked to investigate "V-man Marschner" and to determine if there might be a way to set up a fund to provide £600 for him. When it was learned that Marschner

was interned and supported like the others, Hempel was instructed to notify him that he had been promoted to lieutenant on February 1, 1943. Before Schutz left Germany, it had been arranged that in case official statements of this nature were not permitted, the cover word "congratulate" would be used.<sup>5</sup>

When the barracks at Athlone had been made ready, the spies were trucked in. Schutz brought two big cats with him, and before long some of the others also acquired pets.<sup>6</sup> A building in the Athlone Costume Barracks had been enlarged to accommodate them. Each prisoner had a 6-foot by 12-foot cell furnished with carpets, bookshelves, and a decent bed. They were rotated from cell to cell to minimize the chance of working out escape routes. At night the men were locked into their rooms. During the day they used a common room with a radio, around which they would gather each morning at 11 o'clock to listen to the news. After Hitler invaded Russia, this practice was largely given up. Outside, there was an exercise area where they could play baseball and space for a garden. The internees took their flowers and vegetables very seriously. When someone painted the green tomatoes red, the enraged gardeners fought among themselves.

Having nothing of importance to fill their days, the men wrangled endlessly, complaining about everything, including the noise of the sentry's footsteps as he walked his rounds.<sup>7</sup> Each day the Duty Officer made an entry in the "Governor's Book," the daily record of camp routine. The entry for October 9, 1943, was typical:

Carried out general inspection of camp between 11:00-12:00 hours and found every place clean and tidy. Mr. Unland and all prisoners and internees (with the exception of Mr. Goertz, Mr. Marschner, and Mr. Obed) complained that their lives were being made miserable by the turning on of the lights in their cells at 0600 hours in the morning. He asked me to take note of the fact that he, Mr. Unland, would not take responsibility for the internees. . . .

DUTY OFFICER O'NEILL<sup>8</sup>

Unland, Preetz, and Goertz played bridge with the camp commandant, James Power, a man who regarded the card table as a good place to size up a man's character. Power observed how tensely Goertz handled the cards; he himself was not altogether relaxed about the game. With the other internees clustered around to watch, the unarmed commandant was the only military person in the room.

Unland acted as the internees' leader, acknowledged by all but Goertz, who remained aloof as an officer. Unland, a heavily built man,



*Commandant James Power, Irish Army. In charge of the camp at Athlone where German agents were interned after the summer of 1942, Power prided himself on his ability to size them up at the bridge table. Behind him is the barracks where the spies were housed. (Photo by author)*



had been a shipping exporter in Threadneedle Street, London, before moving to Dublin. He had fought in Russia during World War I and occasionally discussed Hitler's progress on that front with Power. Describing the fighting ability of the Russian soldier, Unland said that if seven Russian soldiers had one gun among them, all seven would need to be killed before that gun could be taken. As he saw it, the greatest danger to Hitler's plans came from the East, not from the West.<sup>9</sup>

Others who saw Unland during his stay in Athlone regarded him as the smartest of the group. People in Military Intelligence expressed a desire to give him "a swift kick in the pants." After Schutz's recapture, they decided to quiz Unland again about the source of the small amounts of money he had received prior to Schutz's arrival. They brought him to Arbor Hill, but owing to bad timing, the manner in which the interrogation was conducted, or perhaps because Germany was at the height of her expansion, the questioning was unsuccessful, eliciting chiefly shouts of "Heil Hitler!" and insolence.

Unland's wife could be equally difficult, though many thought her nice, up to a point.<sup>10</sup> One moment she would throw her arms around the commandant, who thought her an "actress"; at another would fly into a rage. At one time, she considered moving to Athlone in order to be nearer her husband. Fearing that she would be a trouble-maker, Power took steps to discourage her. One evening he and his wife took Mrs. Unland to the movies, and when an opportunity presented itself, Mrs. Power quietly went into detail about Athlone being a terrible town for gossip. Apparently convinced that all kinds of information would reach her husband's ears if she moved there, Mrs. Unland chose to remain in Dublin.

About eighteen months after the Germans arrived in Athlone, Unland began painting an eagle and swastika on the wall of the recreation room. His activity was designed to cover up the fact that some of the others were surreptitiously digging a tunnel out of Van Loon's cell. Unland's art work was situated so that he could look out the window and watch the movements of the guards. Outside, Preetz stood ready to bounce a ball against the wall should anyone approach. A dramatic raid halted the digging. The spies erroneously believed that Obed, whom none of them trusted, had revealed their plans, and one of them, in retaliation, threw a cup of scalding tea in his face.<sup>11</sup>

Preetz, whom Schutz described as a "proletarian,"<sup>12</sup> was regarded by others who watched him during those years as a not-too-bright gangster type. For instance, he asked one of the men stationed at the base where he was from. When the man answered, "County Offaly,"

Preetz proceeded to ask if he knew certain individuals from a village near Birr, and a cobbler in Mullingar, all of them known IRA people.

When it came to the authorities' attention that Preetz had been involved with his wife's sister, it was thought that the woman's husband might be encouraged to talk. The man drove a taxi in Tuam, so the commandant took some of his men there and had them hire Preetz's brother-in-law to drive them around to the pubs. Soon the soldiers and their chauffeur were drinking together. Very early the next morning, the commandant roused the man and asked him to drive him to town to meet his car. As they passed a pub, the commandant said, "Would you like a drink?" They went in. The brother-in-law ordered a pint of stout and the commandant ordered a soft drink. Just as the fellow raised his pint, the commandant took his arm saying, "Oh, you must come see this beautiful car," and in other ways indicated that the man was going to meet certain obstacles before getting to his pint. Realizing this, he asked, "What is it you want?" The commandant answered that he wanted him to come to his office. The next morning he did, and conversed about Preetz at length with Lt. Col. Joe Guilfoyle of Military Intelligence.

Shortly thereafter, the authorities at the camp suspected Preetz of planning a disturbance. The governor of the camp induced Preetz to give assurances that he would not cause trouble while he was gone for the weekend. As soon as Preetz saw the train with the governor steam out of the depot, however, he announced that he was going on a hunger strike. Commandant Power knew that Preetz had spent some time in America and he believed that Preetz would find a Chesterfield cigarette very pleasant. Entering Preetz's cell, he placed a pack he had acquired from Americans in the North on the table and began to smoke without offering one to the prisoner. At this time a nationalistic furor was raging in Ireland, and a man had recently died on hunger strike. Puffing tobacco smoke into Preetz's face while taking notes in a business-like fashion, the Irishman said, "We let our own die, so we don't mind if you die or not. The only problem is, I believe you were baptized a Catholic. Do you want the rites of the Church? Tell me where you'd like to be buried, and I'll see that it's done."

Preetz's strike, which was fake from the start, lasted about half an hour. Obed, who was also on strike, was able to stick it out for a few days, but in the end the same technique was used: "Henry, don't you belong to some caste in India where when you die they don't bury you at all, just stack you on top of the pyre and burn you? In the event of your dying, I want to give you a proper funeral."

Obed, not amused, looked closely at Power's eyes to see if he was sincere. The Indian, who did not get along well with his fellow prisoners, occasionally aided his captors. Once he contrasted the cultural attitudes of his people with those of the European. He drew a large circle surrounded by smaller ones on a piece of paper. In India, he explained, there were many social classes but only one God. In Europe there was no God; people worshipped money.

One night not long after he arrived, Obed entered the kitchen and approached the cook, Corporal John Dillon. He carried a pair of beautiful kid gloves and said, "Corporal, would you like to have these?" Obed said they would be Dillon's if he would take a letter out of the camp for him. Dillon agreed, but took the gloves and the letter to the governor instead. This man, whom Power later succeeded, was inclined to keep things quiet rather than advise Dublin that the internees were attempting to communicate with the outside.

One reason why Obed may have approached the camp cook rather than a guard or someone else was that although there was someone to cook for them, the internees enjoyed kitchen privileges, and perhaps he was more at ease with Corporal Dillon than with others. Obed often made himself curries, using whatever ingredients happened to be available. Once, a policeman brought him a dead swan fished out of the Shannon River. The Indian stuffed it with potatoes and roasted it until it was black. No one but Obed would eat it. At Christmas, the men liked to have as sumptuous a feast as wartime circumstances would permit. They set up a big table in their dayroom and decorated it with a swastika at one end and the Irish flag at the other and sat down to their meal at midnight on Christmas Eve.

Obed also played a role in Weber-Drohl's attempted hunger strike. Though well over sixty, Weber-Drohl appeared to avoid eating for six weeks and still put on some weight. One evening as the commandant was chatting with him, Obed entered carrying a big bowl of curry stew. The moment he saw that Weber-Drohl had company, he put the bowl behind his back and, without breaking stride, reversed out the door. Although at that time Power did not let on that he had seen him, a few days later, he could not resist saying, "I never knew you were a trained waiter, Henry!"

All the men liked to be transferred to the hospital at the Curragh. It gave them a break from the routine and they probably enjoyed having women wait on them. When the nurses complained about Obed exposing himself to them, those at Athlone who had authorized his "sick leave" were highly displeased.

Weber-Drohl's skill at chiropractic enabled him to simulate muscle disorders in order to be sent to the hospital in the Curragh for treatment. He also managed to feign deafness for about a year and a half. Suspecting that he heard what he wanted to hear, Power went to him one day carrying a sheet of paper. Treading softly on rubber-soled shoes, he came up behind him and whispered, "I've got good news for you."

"What is it?" asked the German.

"You are a bluffer!" retorted Power.<sup>13</sup>

After Weber-Drohl had been in Athlone almost a year, Hempel reported that he was suffering from rheumatism and urgently desired to leave the camp. Characteristically clever and vague, he had written to his son, Emil, in London that he might commit suicide unless he came for a visit, adding that he had secret information to give him. The Irish, who considered Weber-Drohl's activities very serious, did not forward the letter, Hempel said. Boland had told Hempel about it and asked his opinion about what should be done.

Hempel did not favor releasing Weber-Drohl. He thought him senile and feared he might reveal incriminating information about his mission if he were loose. As Hempel saw it, there was less danger of such revelations when he was interned because he was constantly watched, with almost no chance that his words would become generally known. Hempel wired Berlin that he planned to ask that Weber-Drohl's situation be eased but not that he be released or sent home. The only way Weber-Drohl could travel to Germany was by an Irish ship that stopped at Lisbon, and he could easily be picked up by the British. He also thought that a visit from the son, whom he assumed was a British citizen, would call attention to the case.<sup>14</sup>

Goertz also wanted to get out of Athlone or at least to establish a line of communication with the Fatherland. To this end, he made efforts to entice a guard into helping him. Military Intelligence knew that Goertz had sent messages out from Arbor Hill, where a routine search of his cell had turned up some fragments of burned messages in the chimney. These had been photographed and pieced together like a jigsaw. Dublin warned Commandant Power that Goertz would not rest as long as he was at Athlone. Because he could be an agreeable man, sooner or later someone would feel there would be no harm in running errands for him; therefore it appeared better to provide him with a line rather than risk his getting one on his own. They selected Sergeant John Power, who had come to Athlone some days before the internees. Goertz spent a month or two sizing up Sergeant Power.

Thinking that Power drank because he had a red face, Goertz offered him £500 to withdraw the sentry on a particular post. The Irishman, whose duties included posting the sentry and policing the camp, told Goertz he could not oblige without looking suspicious. He added that he was agreeable to helping, but refused to take £500. Power then went to his commanding officer, reported what had taken place, and was instructed to accept any messages Goertz or any of the other prisoners wanted to send. In this way a controlled line was established within a short time of Goertz's arrival at Athlone.

Goertz's codes hinged on several key words: United States Navy, the names of his wife and children, Kathleen Ni Houlihan (a literary reference to Ireland as a woman), and the most difficult one to decipher, Woermann Donnybrook. Goertz directed Sergeant Power, who got leave every month to spend a few days in Dublin visiting his family, to take messages to a cafe on Jervis Street. First, however, Power took it to the commandant's office, where it was copied. On occasions when Goertz instructed the sergeant to mail letters, Commandant Power would frank them in the Athlone post office before taking them to the Military Intelligence authorities in Dublin. Each time the letters were franked, permission of the Athlone postal authorities had to be obtained.

Goertz's first message went to Dublin City Coroner, J. P. Brennan, the man who had sometimes looked after Goertz before his capture. Supposedly he forwarded it to the Misses Farrell. Others went to a Miss O'Brien, a lady once involved romantically with Goertz who had brothers in the mental hospital service. Still others went to 37 Pembroke Road, a house occupied by an elderly lady named Mrs. Cantrell. Subsequent messages to the Misses Farrell contained requests to deliver documents in code to Hempel.

An NCO, Corporal Byrne, who could forge Hempel's writing perfectly, was called upon when an exact replica of the Minister's handwriting was needed. Irish Intelligence deciphered the coded message and sent back an answer in the same code. The big problems were to keep Goertz from realizing it was phony, to avoid making mistakes in German before encoding, and to invent reasonable replies which could account for Hempel's failure to provide him with materials to escape from prison. Most replies were short. A frequently used one was "Must consult Berlin," followed the next month by "No answer yet from Berlin." To quiet any doubts Goertz might have had about the authenticity of these messages, the Irish informed him of his promotion—about two years after Hempel had requested one—by this means.<sup>15</sup>

According to Van Loon, present when Goertz received the news, he sank on his bed and cried with joy.<sup>16</sup>

One of Goertz's coded messages to Hempel asked for help to escape from Athlone. It included a request for a bicycle to be hidden in a designated place near Athlone and for a hacksaw blade to be sent into the prison concealed in a large cake. With great difficulty the military authorities were persuaded that sending in the cake with the blade baked inside it would convince Goertz that his monthly communications with Hempel were genuine. A general search of the prisoners was conducted a week before the cake went in, so that a later search to recover the hacksaw would not arouse suspicions. In the second search the blade was not found, however, and the military were very worried and annoyed with Intelligence.

Around Christmastime, Sergeant Power took a message to a cafe in Dublin. Sitting down, he took out a newspaper and a cigarette, ordered a cup of coffee, and when finished, walked up to the manager.

"Are you the manager?" he asked.

"I am. Are you Mr. Power? I have something for you."

He handed him a parcel meant for Goertz which Power took to Headquarters. Half afraid, they opened it. Inside was £8 for Power and a drilling set consisting of a hand drill, wire cutters, and pliers. Commandant Power came to Dublin to get it. Then it was sent to Goertz a piece at a time. The next problem was to retrieve it. Because John Francis O'Reilly had landed in Ireland about this time, the authorities searched the prison barracks on the excuse that O'Reilly was suspected of bringing messages to Goertz. This search, in addition to the tools, turned up a ladder that the prisoners were constructing from chair rungs reinforced with wire, and, hidden behind the boiler, socks with rocks stuffed into the toes.

One time a message Goertz sent out from Athlone had a statement in English at the bottom: "The ad moved my cello once." The mystery was, who was "cello"? After scrutinizing dance band advertisements in newspapers, Military Intelligence sent agents to various dances to check on who was playing the cello. The scouting eventually revealed that "cello" was a bandsman named Billy Carter.

Other internees also tried to set up lines of communication. Walter Simon had met a soldier from Connemara who later served time for bicycle theft. Simon sent him a series of letters, which were censored, requesting help in breaking out and getting the use of a fishing boat. The Irish authorities encouraged the soldier to cooperate but the man declined.

Military Intelligence continued to correspond with Goertz in his own code throughout the war. Once, they requested a thorough accounting of everything Goertz had done prior to his capture. Believing that he was communicating with his superiors in Berlin, Goertz proceeded to turn out an eighty-page document. Not until after the war, when he talked with some of those who had supposedly received his messages, did Goertz realize how he had been duped.<sup>17</sup>

Goertz went on a hunger strike in late summer of 1943. In September, Unland sent word that he was "fine again" and that all the others were in good health, too. Hempel suspected, however, that prison officials had pressured Unland to omit negative news because Hempel had asked permission to visit Goertz.

In June of 1944, Hempel learned that despite friends' advice, Goertz was planning to escape from Athlone and go to Northern Ireland. He hoped Goertz would drop his scheme, which could jeopardize Irish neutrality. Berlin, hesitating, asked Hempel to give him the following message: "The house on Neimansee 20 still stands. Ute and wife fine. Success. Our love, Ellen."

In late August, 1944, Hempel wired Berlin that Goertz believed the High Command thought he should try to escape and wanted £400 to facilitate an attempt. The Minister said he did not approve and, unless directed otherwise, he did not plan to cooperate. No one, not even the SS, would take a stand on the matter, so again the decision was left to Hempel.

Both Goertz and Schutz craved family news. Schutz was especially distressed when his fiancée in Bremen, Lilo Henze, did not write, and would hug a photograph of her to his breast. The commandant, observing this behavior, invested £3/5 of his own money in a frame that he nailed to the wall, assuming that Schutz would not be apt to leave the camp without the picture. Power was also amused at the way Schutz kept track of the casualties Hitler claimed to be inflicting on the Russians. Diligently writing down figures he heard on the radio, Schutz was quite convinced, as they mounted into the millions, that the Russians were collapsing.<sup>18</sup>

In spite of the picture that was carefully nailed to the wall, Schutz did plan one escape attempt. He fashioned a skirt, made a wig from the horsehair filling of his mattress, and prepared to exit through one of the windows of the lavatory. This plan went awry, however, when another internee dumped the skirt and wig into the toilet because, Schutz thought, he was jealous and believed Schutz stood a good chance of escaping from the camp. Schutz suspected that Goertz had

a hand in the matter, because the two men did not always get along. Once Schutz asked a visiting doctor to send some silk stockings and chocolates to his fiancée. That night Goertz called a meeting and accused him of being a traitor and passing information to the Irish. Angered, Schutz explained his transaction, but a fight ensued, with Tributh and Gaertner lining up with Schutz against the rest.<sup>19</sup>

Unquestionably, this kind of grievance stemmed from the unremitting close contact the Athlone internees had with one another. Taking them out of Dublin, however, at least had removed them to a large degree from the public eye, although both Goertz and Schutz remained topics of discussion in Irish parliamentary circles.<sup>20</sup>



## The End of the War

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The Germans surrendered to the Allies in May, 1945. Military personnel interned in the Curragh were sent back to the Continent in July and August, because it was felt they could become nuisances if they were allowed to linger in Ireland. An understanding existed with the British, however, that the spies would not be released so quickly. External Affairs had recognized the need to placate the British in this matter and made a verbal agreement with them through Peter Berry, a member of the Department of Justice. Under the terms of this agreement, the spies were allowed to move quite freely around the town of Athlone during the day, attend social functions, and receive visitors, but were required to sleep in the barracks at night.<sup>1</sup>

One day during this period, two of Goertz's former lady friends were strolling around Athlone. They noticed Commandant Power and the former chaplain of the International Brigade in Spain, Father Mulrane, and mentioned it to Goertz. He was very interested, because he had managed to get his daughter out of Germany and into Spain, where she worked as a maid. He strolled past the Commandant's house on the off chance that he might request a chat with the priest. Power agreed on the condition that he be present. At the meeting, which took place at Power's home, Father Mulrane agreed to help locate Goertz's daughter. He also described the desperate conditions in Germany with people arising before dawn to get wood for fuel and unable to change clothes for as long as three months. Goertz made no audible response, but grew visibly depressed as the priest continued his story.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after this conversation, the Irish again questioned Goertz about his mission to Ireland and what had transpired in the months he had been free. Not realizing that he had already told them the true story in the eighty-page coded report, and possibly thinking to enhance his image as a master spy, the German related how he had set up com-

munications with the Fatherland by using the Rathlin station and regularly sending coded messages with sailors via Spain, Portugal, and the United States. He also claimed to have written letters in invisible ink, received replies around the end of 1940, and built a wireless to replace the one he had lost. He asserted that his messages to Germany advised, among other things, that Frank Ryan and Sean Russell be sent to Ireland and that the IRA had often helped him to approach sailors who would deliver these messages for him.<sup>3</sup>

Then suddenly, without consulting External Affairs, the Department of Justice abruptly ordered Goertz and the spies released, announcing on September 10, 1946, that Ireland would grant them asylum. Several moved immediately to Dublin. Tributh, Gaertner, and Van Loon went into a joinery business. Schutz married an Irish nurse he had met at a dance in Athlone and went into the surplus business. Preetz went to Galway, and Simon returned to Germany on a British ship.<sup>4</sup> Weber-Drohl went to Bavaria. Over the years he attempted to keep in touch with some of those he had met during his internment, including some of the Irish military personnel.<sup>5</sup> Stephen Carroll Held went back to manufacturing steel, but in 1960 sold his factory in Francis Street and took a job as an accountant at £10 per week. He claimed that bad publicity created by the government had ruined him, and six or seven years later he, his wife, and his grown son left Ireland for the United States.<sup>6</sup>

Hermann Goertz remained in Ireland, taking a job as secretary of the Save the German Children Fund at a very small salary. Often he went into the National Library to read. There he exchanged nods with the Director, who had questioned him twenty or thirty times in Arbor Hill and two or three times in Athlone and had, in fact, been the one to correspond with him in his own code. The German's shabby appearance stirred this man's sympathy. One day he asked him to have a cup of coffee, which Goertz accepted. Their conversation followed a general pattern, but at one point Goertz said, "I must congratulate you," referring to the interception of his messages. The fact that he had been outwitted had also been brought home to him when two officers who had known him took him to dinner and told him about the line from Athlone.<sup>7</sup>

By April, 1947, the Allies had begun trying war criminals, and the spies who were still in Ireland were returned to custody preparatory to deportation. Goertz, Unland, and Schutz fought deportation on grounds they had resided in Ireland longer than five years,<sup>8</sup> but only Unland was successful. Schutz and Goertz were given extensions in order to clear up their personal and business affairs. Goertz panicked because he had fought against the communists, by whom he expected to be tor-

tured into revealing the names of his friends. He contacted Hempel, who wrote both De Valera and Frederick Boland, and went with Hempel to Boland's house, where he received assurances that nothing would happen if he went back to Germany.<sup>9</sup> Boland doubted that Goertz would be sent to the Russian zone and thought it more likely he would be permitted to stay in Germany or allowed to take up residence in Argentina. Goertz, however, continued to worry that he might be handed over to the Russians, especially after he learned that Lahousen was cooperating with the Allies. Again he went to Hempel's home, telling him that he was going to western Ireland to see friends and that he had been ordered to report to the Aliens' Branch of the police.<sup>10</sup> At 10 A.M. on May 23, 1947, prior to an appointment he had with his lawyer, Goertz reported to that office to see what could be done about extending his parole. He and Sergeant Patrick O'Connor exchanged pleasantries about the weather, and then O'Connor left the room. Upon returning, he told Goertz that he must re-enter Mountjoy, but that he had a few hours to adjust his affairs and to see friends. Goertz thanked him and continued smoking his pipe. O'Connor again left. Goertz sat a short while, with only Detective-Sergeant Maguire and Detective John Gordon in the room. Suddenly Maguire looked up and said, "That man is taking something!" He jumped from his desk, grabbed Goertz by the throat and removed a small glass phial from his mouth. Asked what he had taken, the German growled, "None of your business!"

Goertz was taken to Mercers Hospital, but died of potassium cyanide poisoning. When, many years later, his wife came to see his grave at Dean's Grange Cemetery, Dublin,<sup>11</sup> she made no attempt to have the remains taken to Germany or moved to Glencree, where the interned military personnel who had died in Ireland during the war were buried.<sup>12</sup>

Disheartened over his aborted mission and lack of personal achievement,<sup>13</sup> clever, but convinced that others were stupid,<sup>14</sup> Goertz never returned to Germany. Instead, he chose to die in a manner that has never been fully understood. Even Hempel was surprised that a man ostensibly so devoted to his family would resort to suicide.<sup>15</sup> The Allies had not demanded Goertz's extradition as a war criminal. If they had, the Irish government probably would not have sent him back, because doing so would have weakened the position of a nation that had chosen to uphold its neutrality. In fact, one of the last arguments De Valera had with the British and the Americans was over his refusal to agree to the conditions regarding the disposition of war criminals that other neutrals had agreed to.

Irishmen who knew Goertz during the war years have expressed

varying opinions regarding his suicide. Some thought him depressed about conditions in Germany and believed he wanted to remember the Fatherland as it had been during the period of its ascendancy. Others believed that Goertz, having achieved a certain prominence in Ireland as a master spy and encouraged to believe himself on the same level as those scheduled to be tried at Nuremburg, was unable to accept the fact that he was wanted by the Allies only for very routine questioning. Those who had encouraged Goertz to believe himself important had only witnessed the war as it involved Ireland, in terms of world affairs, a very minor scene indeed. It might be that if it had been pointed out to Goertz that it was his duty to go back and stand by his country and family, and that nothing beyond interrogation was involved, he would have clicked his heels and agreed to go. As it was, the people who dealt with him did not understand him, and his problems became fused with interdepartmental and jurisdictional questions. At the time of his re-arrest, External Affairs told Intelligence they feared he might injure himself, or worse, and Frederick Boland urged that someone in that department be sent to see him. The Justice Department, however, disagreed and, therefore, no action was taken.<sup>16</sup>

Hempel learned of Goertz's death as he and Mrs. Hempel were waiting for Goertz to arrive at their home for dinner. Earlier, Mrs. Unland had visited Hempel and excitedly told how Goertz and her husband had agreed to kill themselves rather than submit to deportation. She had probably said this in an attempt to enlist Hempel's help on her husband's behalf, because the British wanted him on grounds that he had collected information from other agents and forwarded it to Germany. When Goertz killed himself, Gerald Boland had Unland informed he was not scheduled to be deported to Germany, just in case the man had been thinking along similarly desperate lines.<sup>17</sup>

At the time Goertz had been in the Aliens' Office receiving the news that induced him to take his life, Gunther Schutz and his wife were waiting in an adjoining room. When Goertz collapsed, they heard a tremendous commotion. Men ran into the room and searched Schutz so strenuously they almost knocked him down. Finally, Schutz, newly married and anxious to live, assured them that he had no poison, and they informed him that he was to be sent back to Mountjoy.

Schutz had been very anxious to be repatriated to Germany. His pleading correspondence with Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar expressed his fear that when sent to the Continent, he would be handed over to the British rather than to the Americans, whom he expected to treat him with greater kindness. After a brief period in Mountjoy, Schutz

was flown to Frankfurt in an American bomber. There he spent two weeks in a nearby POW camp before being taken with other officers to a house for interrogation. There he was asked if Ireland had violated her neutrality, how German prisoners had been treated, about the time he had spent in England before the war, and the details of his Abwehr affiliations. After his release, his wife joined him in Hamburg, where they settled, and Schutz went into the import-export business. They spent the summer of 1964 in Ireland and moved there the following year.<sup>18</sup> After a while, Schutz made a sentimental journey to Athlone to look around the facility he had lived in for so long.<sup>19</sup>

Some of the aviators who had been in Ireland's internment camp during the war eventually returned to the island as residents also. Others, like Becker, the folklore specialist, came back to study Irish fairy tales in Celtic.<sup>20</sup>

Goertz had been dead two years before Helmut Clissmann managed to join his family, who had returned to Ireland from Denmark via England in January, 1946. For three years immediately after the close of hostilities, he was interned, first as a run-of-the-mill prisoner of the British. Then, as a captive of M.I.5, he was taken to Memdorf, a small German village near Hanover, where a screening prison had been set up. In later years, he remembered the twelve months he spent there as the most unpleasant of his life, a time when he conscientiously made it a practice to forget things in order not to give the Allies information about persons who had English addresses. In October, 1946, he was handed over to the Danes, because he had spent time in their country for the German Academic Exchange Board. They kept him until April, 1948. After another six weeks in a British clearing camp in Germany, he was released.

That was toward the end of July, 1948. In the meantime, Mrs. Clissmann in Dublin had applied for a visa for him, and as a former civil servant in good standing and an Irish national, she was able to arrange it. She sent it to her husband, and the Danes allowed him to keep it while imprisoned. When the British finally released him, his application to go to Ireland was refused because Clissmann, as a former Intelligence man, would not be permitted to go abroad for possibly two or more years. Perhaps an exception could be made, they said, if he would spy on German officers in the Brandenburg Regiment who had found themselves on the eastern side after the postwar division of Germany.

Thoroughly German, Clissmann laughed and expressed his disgust at the suggestion that he spy on his former comrades.

"Well, then," said his interrogator, "you stay here."

Clissmann retorted, "We'll see. Maybe I'll be in Ireland sooner than you think." Six weeks later he was. Although required to report to the British every month and forbidden to leave their zone, he linked up with two young Germans who wanted to go to South America—Dr. Braun and his wife, a chemist—in Neuren. The three of them simply walked across the Alps into Italy. They managed to reach Rome, where a German-Irish family put them up.

The Brauns had to wait nine months for papers and money that would permit them to continue their journey. Clissmann was luckier, for a neighbor, hearing he was unable to leave, said, "I must talk to the head of the police, who is a friend of mine, about you." He learned that because Clissmann had entered Italy illegally, he could not leave it legally. He explained that he already had a visa and had booked a flight to Shannon on TWA, but that the airline would not let him board without a passport. At this point, the Chief of Police suggested that Clissmann visit him in person.

As he entered the Chief's office, Clissmann was filled with apprehension. He had seen suspects in Rome rounded up and marched through the streets in chains. He also knew that the Americans, British, and French in Rome kept a close eye on the Italian government.

When his friend emerged from the Chief's office, he said, "I don't think we will get anywhere. He won't see you because if he does he must arrest you."

A few days later they tried again. This time his benefactor said, "I think I've got somewhere with him. He can't give you anything in writing but is prepared to let you go if you ring him from the airport. Then he will give orders over the phone to the officer to allow you to leave. If he put them in writing he could get into trouble with the Allies."

At the appropriate time, Clissmann headed for the airport. When the TWA people refused to let him board the plane, he explained that they were to call a particular official at police headquarters. As he stood aside. Other passengers went through customs. A very grim ten minutes passed. Then the man returned and said, "Go ahead."

The plane made a stop in France, but passengers continuing on to Shannon stayed in a cage as transit passengers. At Shannon, Clissmann produced his visa and birth certificate and was allowed to enter the country. In this manner, he was successful in his third attempt to return to Ireland since 1939.<sup>21</sup>

## Conclusion

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From September, 1939, until March, 1940, and as long as Germany retained military superiority on the Continent, Ireland offered Hitler a great potential for espionage.<sup>1</sup> The Führer had envisioned some kind of military role for Ireland, as the maps and plans of transportation facilities, power installations, roads and bridges discovered in Belgium indicate.<sup>2</sup> Part of the German effort evolved from a desire to counteract Allied propaganda and reinforce what they interpreted as the will of the Irish government to stand firm in the face of mounting British and American pressures to hand over the ports and join the Allied effort.<sup>3</sup>

In February, 1940, the SD reported that the Irish in America, who had financially and politically supported Ireland between 1916 and 1922, considered the Irish question solved and had no further interest in their erstwhile homeland. Although a British invasion of Ireland would change that attitude, the SD felt Irish political groups in America had lost much of their influence because:

1. Many early members, using these organizations to win financial and political benefits for themselves, made deals with party bosses before every election;

2. They had existed in the first place because they supported the fight against England, and after De Valera said England was to be looked upon as a friend and fellow democracy, they believed Ireland no longer needed their help;

3. The extremist Clann na Gael, which had split when De Valera quit being a republican and entered the Irish parliament, was the only organization in America which would have been in a position to play any kind of important role.<sup>4</sup>

After 1941, British radar virtually neutralized German air power, which, in turn, reduced the threat of the submarine, and after 1943,

enabled Britain to support Irish neutrality by selling her weapons and ammunition.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps it was because outside help had been sought throughout the many years of Ireland's struggle for freedom from England that some Germans felt De Valera would resume his former stance as an IRA leader as soon as something like a violation of neutrality made doing so feasible. Yet despite repeated protests about the Irish stand from both Churchill and Roosevelt, the Allies had no intention of violating Ireland's neutrality in any way that would encourage sympathy for the Third Reich. In fact, close cooperation existed between the British and Irish Intelligence services throughout the war.<sup>6</sup>

The Irish tradition of this sort of work dated from the time of Michael Collins. Ironically, some of those who had been associated with Collins in the earlier struggle against England found themselves working hand-in-hand with their former enemies during World War II. Together, they were able not only to thwart all attempts to turn Ireland into an Axis satellite, but also to sponsor deceptions and feed rumors and stories into the German Legation in Dublin.

Sensing this situation, the Germans planned to upset Irish neutrality only in the event they invaded Britain. Acting otherwise, they felt, might drive De Valera into the arms of the British. The decision to evacuate the ports, which had allowed both neutrality and the national defense to become such an integral part of Irish policy, was tolerable to the British because the Northern ports made up in part for those they had lost. And although throughout the war De Valera complained about partition, it is questionable whether the 32 counties united could have agreed to take the neutral stand he wanted. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the British, once the war was underway, wanted De Valera's power disturbed. He was a known quantity, the only man on the Irish political scene capable of exercising such strong leadership.<sup>7</sup>

Besides working together in matters involving intelligence, Ireland and England cooperated in some military matters, first in the form of a free-wheeling mission from the North. Later, there was close cooperation on such things as the details of the plans to invade Europe. In the early days of the war, an English officer was sent South, and the Irish, not knowing his function, arrested him in Cobh. In due course, he was sent back to the North.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards, a man named Ford, a member of the English military on a similar mission, became involved in the black market. When he defaulted on a £100 bill owed to a merchant in the West, the Irish debated whether to make a case out of it. Deciding that to do so would ruin his career and possibly complicate



relations with the British, they did not report Ford's activities. Instead, a bill for £100 was sent to the British Legation in Dublin—for entertaining the Lord Mayor of Galway.<sup>9</sup>

Strict rationing prevailed in the North and, not surprisingly, soldiers stationed there came south for such readily available items as sugar. On the other hand, since tea was available in the North and rationed in the South, Irish citizens freely crossed the border to obtain it, another example of how proximity to the war zone made the Irish position unique.

After the war, Clement Atlee said he thought that the Irish could have used cooperation with the Allies as a foundation for ending partition. He believed De Valera had missed an opportunity in not doing so. Perhaps the English leader overlooked or failed to understand that old memories would have been in the way, which was perhaps the reason why neither the North nor the South ever set out to woo the other with unification in mind. That did not mean that Irishmen, including army and Intelligence personnel, avoided taking sides. Sympathies were, however, largely related to social class. If a horizontal line had been drawn through Irish society between 1916 and 1940, one would have seen the upper class was pro-English, while the lower classes backed De Valera and Sinn Féin, but during World War II, the extent to which De Valera helped the Allies showed he had come to recognize how much Ireland's survival was tied to that of Britain.

Given these circumstances then, Ireland's chief military value to Germany was as a source of weather information. On-the-spot reports could assist in planning bombing attacks on England and would be of greater worth than those coming from planes flying west over the Atlantic.<sup>10</sup> Before sending spies to do this work, however, a weather-reporting apparatus was dropped off the west coast. It was rectangular, forty feet by two feet, designed to float, and had an aerial and a clock. Every four hours it was supposed to transmit the temperature, humidity, and wind velocity. Local inhabitants dismantled the first one that was discovered before the authorities could get a look at it, so a reward was offered for one returned intact. Within six weeks one was brought to the beach near Galway and taken apart in the water. Those who examined it discovered that it had been made in Scandinavia and never would have worked as intended because the clock mechanism had been sabotaged.<sup>11</sup>

Mechanical failure meant the Germans needed to rely on people. In turn, every person they sent to Ireland had to rely on his codes and ciphers. The Irish code experts cracked the codes used by the most im-

portant German agents sent to their island, although this was not generally known. Constant misrepresentations in the Allied press were not corrected for security reasons.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, incorrect statements such as that Allen Dulles had discovered a conspiracy to direct attacks on convoys from the German Legation in Dublin were not corrected, either.<sup>13</sup> The Irish policy of letting false statements stand uncorrected was undoubtedly one of the reasons why, at the same time Irish relations with the English were improving, they worsened with the United States.<sup>14</sup>

To take advantage of Ireland without upsetting neutrality, Germany needed to cultivate a fifth column or at least to gain active support from dissident Irish groups. Yet even though there were some German sympathizers in Ireland, German plans to work with the IRA or to invade the island would be resisted. Goertz quickly realized that any progress in developing an Irish fifth column would have to be supported by the Army. Therefore he loosened his ties with the IRA and sought new friends, but did not understand them any more than he had the IRA. In some coded messages he sent out of Athlone, he erroneously referred to Hugo MacNeill as the Commander of the Motorized Division, for instance. MacNeill probably knew that chances of the Germans bringing arms into Ireland were very slim and tended to exaggerate his own importance. It is also possible that Goertz's confidence that such an operation could be successful was really the result of MacNeill's having misled him.<sup>15</sup>

Goertz was not the proper man to send to work with the IRA. He understood neither their peasant psychology nor their single-minded determination and opportunism. Basically, the Abwehr did not understand either, and therefore was inclined to place undue emphasis on the value of cooperating with them. An example is a January 4, 1941 entry in the Abwehr Diary noting that the IRA had blown up a 36-car munitions train on the branch line from Newark to Melton-Mowbray in Leicester. Had the IRA been responsible for this sabotage, they would have boasted of it loudly.<sup>16</sup> After the war, Lahousen summed up the dealings with the IRA: "Every undertaking proved abortive. In the first place, there was the difficulty in making contact, of finding the right people. Even when you found them they went off and did things on their own without a word to anyone. And they never stopped demanding guns to fight the English. That was all they were interested in."<sup>17</sup>

The Germans had hoped the IRA was made up of proficient revolutionaries who would be able to provide good radio communications. If they had had any military or sabotage successes, the Germans might

have been encouraged to move in. For this reason, the Irish government, knowing from which quarter the real threat to neutrality originated, came down hard on the IRA when they collaborated. Raids on Northern Ireland originating in the South continued into the summer of 1942, but they accomplished little because by then the IRA campaign had petered out for all practical purposes.<sup>18</sup>

The Abwehr was continually plagued with internal problems, too. Establishing communications with agents was the major concern, but novice spies, false information, and particularly after 1941, Irishmen looking for a ticket home gravitated toward them. Furthermore, failures in Ireland and elsewhere gave Ribbentrop an opportunity to extend his own power, a situation not displeasing to Canaris.<sup>19</sup>

Hempel's dispatches continually emphasized De Valera's solid control. From them it can be deduced that the Taoiseach's stated policies remained inherently the same throughout the conflict, although at times his remarks concealed his true intentions. He usually permitted the representatives of all the belligerents to interpret what he said in any way they chose. The net result of his managing to keep Ireland neutral was the strengthening of the country's international position.

During the Chicago Conference of February, 1945, Ireland was a party to discussions on future air routes. The British were unhappy because they had not been previously consulted, so Ambassador Gray was instructed to inform them of the steps that were being taken before signing an agreement with Ireland. President Roosevelt learned that consulting the British at that point would delay the signing, however, and he knew that if the British delayed too long, there could be accusations from the Irish of bad faith. A furor in the United States over British intervention in problems concerning Ireland and America could result, too. Furthermore, the State Department felt the United States had already made its sentiments toward Irish wartime policies abundantly clear and did not believe that a commercial agreement indicated approval of them any more than making similar arrangements with the Spanish had. The British, therefore, were not given an opportunity to interfere with the arrangements.

As late as April, 1945, Churchill refused to include the Irish in the Yalta conference because they had permitted the Axis to maintain diplomatic missions in Dublin.<sup>20</sup> Yet De Valera emerged from the war stronger than ever and with his people firmly behind him. In November, 1949, he cut the last official ties binding the Irish Republic to England. Thereafter, relations between England and Ireland became less bitter and ambiguous, although the ditch between Ulster and Eire

was deeper than ever. George Bernard Shaw paid tribute to the Taoiseach's wartime stand in a statement in the Scottish weekly, *Forward*: Eire, "that powerless little cabbage garden," had come out on top against the great powers. Neutrality had seemed a "crack-brained idea, yet De Valera got away with it!"<sup>21</sup>

## APPENDIX

### Weber-Drohl's Statement

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"The Pfalsgraf-Department,"

requestes their irisch-friends and members of the . . . Organisation very urgently, to be kind enough, and make a much better effort to carry out the S-plan, which they have received some time last summer, much more effective towards *military objects*, instead of civilian ojects.

"The Organisation" of the . . . , should send an agent to G . . . , who possesses full and proper authorities to make full and all arrangements, about shipping or sending arms to Ireland.

Said agent must be well acquainted with all the business and political affaires of the Organisation, and he should be able to furnish some of his own planes as to what kind of arms, and material is needed, about the date of landing in Ireland, about where and how to land in Ireland, about the financiation of the matter, and all other things.

Said Agent should remain in Germany so long, until the Transport of Arms leaves Germany, and he himself, should come back to Ireland, with the Transport.

Jim should use no longer the old "deck-addresses" but use the new ones given to him by Dr. Drohl, on his arrival in Ireland.

A Dr. Schmelzer should come as an American in about a month or so, to Ireland, in order to put up a sender. Jim should see, that that man gets a proper room to work in and a good place to put up the sender. Jim should also look for a good place to bring this Dr. Schmelzer under, so as he will get in no trouble, if possible. Jim should select a few young men to take up, and study the morse-code from Dr. Schmelzer.

*Broadcasting:* should only take place at 9 AM daily.

Giving over 15100—American Dollars.

*Passwords:* for Ireland—Mackrel, England—Bulldog, Portugal—Bullfrog.

Jim should find a reliable man in some town in England, with a good, permanent address, through whom money can be send to him. This man, should not know where the money comes from, or for what purpose the money is given to Jim. In fact, he should be kept in the dark of everything and should not know anything at all about our affaires. That man should also be able to receive an agent from us, who brings the money to him, and give him the Password given for England.

We are about putting up a sender in Portugal and have a German-citizen established there, who can receive a Carrier or Messenger anytime from Ireland. *Password; Bullfrog.*

Jim, ought to try and arrange communication with Ireland and Portugal *direkt* and with Ireland-Portugal *over* England.

Instead of giving Jim 15100.—Dollars, I am only giving him 14450.—Dollars, because I have lost all my own money which I had made up in a Packet in a little handbag. I just had about £13 in english money in my Pocketbook which I could safe, and as I have to have some money to go home with, and live here with, I therefore kept back 650 dollars from Jim's money.

DR. DROHL.

(Courtesy of James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland. Mistakes appear in the original document.)

# Notes

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## 1. ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND THE IRA

1. Ireland had been joined to England by the Act of Union in 1800, and Irish representatives served in Parliament. No Catholics were permitted to serve until 1829, however.

2. Arthur Griffith, quoted in James Carty, *Ireland from the Great Famine to the Treaty: A Documentary Record* (Dublin: C. J. Fallon, Ltd., 1951), pp. 95 and 100. Cited hereafter as Carty.

3. Sir Matthew Nathan, *Royal Commission Report on the Rebellion*, cited in Carty, pp. 110-17. Also the account of the Rising that appeared in the *Irish Times*, cited by Carty, pp. 158-70.

4. Liam O. O'Brien, *Reminiscences of the Historic Rising of Easter Week, 1916*, cited in Carty, pp. 147-58.

5. The Irish would not tolerate conscription, but Lloyd George was in a position where he could do little but insist on it. The English were going to fight in France while paying inflated prices for Irish produce. However, faced with the refusal of many Irish to volunteer, angry Ulstermen who did support the cause, and military developments on the Continent, he decided that the cost of conscripting Irishmen was too high.

6. Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), pp. 86-105.

7. *Report of the Labor Commission to Ireland, December 1920*, cited by Carty, pp. 196-202. Also, eyewitness accounts of Colonel Charles Dalton, Major Florence O'Donoghue, and others, cited by Carty, pp. 207-24.

For an account of the Black and Tan War, see R. Bennett, *The Black and Tans* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959). A broader history of this period can be found in Dorothy MacArdle, *The Irish Republic* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1951).

8. Lord Francis Pakenham, *Peace by Ordeal*, cited by Carty, pp. 231-34.

9. See reproduction of the Treaty in Carty, pp. 235-40.

10. MacDonagh, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-105.

11. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 2737, frame E426773, Document of Aug. 3, 1937.

The IRA observed Armistice Day, 1937, by blowing up a naval recruiting cen-

ter in Belfast. The blast wounded several citizens. At the same time, the IRA blew up an English shield and two big stone lions on a castle. Other explosions, perhaps in retaliation, went off in Belfast's Catholic district and in Dublin (Germany, A.A. Reel 2956, frame E471515, Document of June 24, 1936, and frame E471539, Document of Nov. 13, 1937).

12. Germany, A.A. Reel 2956, frames E471515, E471552, E471526, E471551, Documents of June 24, 1936, Dec. 6, 1937, Dec. 12, 1936, Dec. 20, 1937.

After the German press falsely reported that British soldiers had been used in quelling these disturbances, the British press accused Germany of trying to capitalize on them. Hempel thereupon reminded Berlin that British armies could not involve themselves in domestic Irish affairs and that playing up such events might lead the Irish government to believe Germany wished firmer action by the Irish with respect to England (Germany, A.A. Reel 1847, frame E037376, Document of June 13, 1939).

13. Formed after the American Civil War, Clann na Gael grew and its militancy increased until an ideological split occurred in the 1880's. Some members then began journeying from the United States to England with bombs, but English Secret Service men who had infiltrated Clann na Gael were able to render their efforts largely unsuccessful. During the war against England, the Clann supported the Republicans, but when De Valera entered the government it splintered further between those who supported him and those who did not. By the late 1930's many of the older group had retired from politics and the younger generation had little interest in the earlier goals of the organization (*The Trial of Peter Barnes and Others: The IRA Coventry Explosion of 1939*, ed. by Letitia Fairfield [London: W. Hodge, 1953], pp. 4-9. Cited hereafter as *Peter Barnes*. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280058, Document of Feb. 5, 1940; Reel 915, frame 387582, Document of Feb. 6, 1939; Reel 1847, frame E037376, Document of June 13, 1939).

14. O'Donovan refused to take part in the regime or sign the required loyalty oath because De Valera, after leading a civil war against Collins and Griffith over the treaty, showed himself as willing to settle with England as they had been (interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, August, 1969).

15. Interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969.

16. Copies were sent to the Prime Minister, government of Northern Ireland, Hitler, Mussolini, and others. There was no response (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100077, Document of Oct. 7, 1939).

17. Confidential government source.

18. *Peter Barnes*, pp. 12-20, 261-62. The British press reported the S-Plan to be a typical piece of work by the German General Staff (Michael Sayers and Barnett Bildersee, "How Hitler Got a Foothold in Ireland," *P.M.* [London], March 17, 1944).

19. Sean O'Callaghan, *Jackboot in Ireland* (New York: Roy Publishing Co., 1958), p. 18; and interview with James O'Donovan. The British caught and tried some Irish activists under the terms of this act. Altogether, 2 men received the death penalty; 23 men and women were sentenced to 10 years penal servitude, 24 received 10-to-20-year sentences; 23 received 5 to 10 years; and 14 served terms up to 5 years (*Peter Barnes*, pp. 16, 146).

20. IRA people believed De Valera hoped the S-Plan would be considered an expression of fervent nationalism rather than the result of foreign influence



(Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *Bell*, XVII, No. 5 [August, 1951], pp. 42-51).

21. Germany, A.A. Reel 915, frame 387582, Document of Feb. 6, 1939.

22. Confidential government source; interview with Stephen Hayes; Germany, A.A. Reel 915, frame 387582, Document of Feb. 6, 1939.

23. Barnes and Richards were not given a grace period before execution, which some observers regarded as a serious mistake and a sign that hawks like Churchill were gaining control of the British government (*Peter Barnes*, p. 1; Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100157, Document of Feb. 13, 1940).

24. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100132, Document of Dec. 27, 1939.

25. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, "Irish Defense Policy, 1938-1951," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-1951*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1969), p. 46.

26. Dr. James Walsh; interview with Lt. Col. Joseph Guilfoyle, retired. Cork, Ireland, Feb. 1, 1973.

Simultaneously, other IRA men were trying to capture the Clancey Ordinance Barracks at Islandbridge but without success. One of those who had planned these assaults was an IRA general named Doyle, a minor civil servant in the Department of Defense. He was cocky about his ability to pull off the raid because he associated daily with soldiers and knew their routines (Sean Kavanagh, "Burning the Barricades in Gaol Riot," *This Week* [May 22, 1970]; confidential government source; Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100132, Document of Dec. 27, 1939).

27. Confidential government source.

28. Lt. Colonel Joseph Guilfoyle, *loc. cit.* In 1945, Guilfoyle arrested an IRA man involved in the raid, interviewed him over a 2-3 week period, and learned the entire story of the Magazine Fort raid.

29. Confidential government source.

30. Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 142.

31. Sean Kavanagh, "Burning Barricades in Gaol Riot," *This Week* (May 22, 1970).

32. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100350, Document of Aug. 26, 1940.

33. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100190, Document of May 10, 1940; *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1947; confidential government source.

34. In May, 1940, the IRA guessed the number of forces in Northern Ireland to be about 27,000 English troops, backed up with 38,000 Union policemen, the B-Specials. They estimated that in a showdown there could be 6,000 to 10,000 armed Irishmen against them. Well into the war, they insisted that Churchill planned to forcibly end Irish neutrality, too (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100190 and 100411, Documents of May 10, 1940, and Oct. 5, 1940).

35. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, "Irish Defense Policy, 1938-1951," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, Ltd., 1969), p. 50; confidential government source.

## 2. THE GERMAN LEGATION IN DUBLIN

1. Professor Adolph Mahr had served in the National Museum for seven years before becoming its Director in 1934. The chief Nazi in Ireland, he complained about Schroetter to the man in charge of the Nazi party organization abroad, Gauleiter Bohle. Subsequently, he stated in an official party publication

that he, his wife, and the entire German colony were sorry to see Schroetter and his Greek wife go and that they hoped he and the Berlin official would soon reconcile their differences. For this action Mahr was promptly chastised on the grounds that his remarks had put both the reporting official and the personnel chief of the Foreign Office in an awkward position (interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, August, 1969; Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 2956, frame E471481, Document of July 6, 1937).

2. Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), Nov. 24, 1963-Jan. 12, 1964.

3. Interview with Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1969; confidential government source.

4. The Foreign Office also wanted the Irish government to permit German nationals to remain in Ireland if they so desired, although no action was planned if the Irish refused to let them stay. Precedent for the temporary return of German diplomats had been established when German delegates to South American nations, caught in Europe not long before Hitler marched into Poland, had returned to their posts. Warnock pointed out that returning to Germany during wartime would be more complicated and that Hempel's decision to take along his wife and five children would not make things easier (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100287, 100064, 100075, Documents of Aug. 29, 1939, Sept. 25, 1939, and Oct. 10, 1939).

5. Germany, A.A. Reel 2956, frame E471157, Document of May 5, 1938; Reel 89, frames 100287, 100064, 100075, 100721, Documents of Aug. 29, 1939, Sept. 25, 1939, Oct. 10, 1939, and Aug. 15, 1941.

6. Confidential government source.

7. Interview with Frederick Boland, Dublin, August, 1971.

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 402, frame 307530, Document of Dec. 18, 1940; Reel 89, frame 100481, Document of Dec. 19, 1940.

9. Confidential government source.

10. When he delivered this message, Warnock asked Woermann why the Germans needed additional staff members in Dublin. Woermann told him the personnel department wanted Hempel provided with assistance. Warnock then suggested that if he could be told more about why they were needed, he might be able to promote the idea with Dublin. He also asked how the men expected to reach Ireland. Woermann replied that he did not know exactly but he thought flying them there in an ordinary civil airplane would be a simple matter (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100482, Document of Dec. 20, 1940).

11. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100486, Document of Dec. 20, 1940, and frame 100499, Document of Dec. 27, 1940.

12. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. XI, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 975. Document of Dec. 29, 1970.

Ribbentrop could not understand the fuss over sending a few officials to replace someone who had died. He wired Hempel that the Irish government had no right to tell Germany how many people its legation could have and that the Reich found such strong reaction to routine matters incomprehensible. He did

agree not to send them by German aircraft, however (Germany, A.A. Reel 402, frames 307503, 307514, 307488, Documents of Dec. 29, 1940 and Jan. 4, 1941).

13. The German Minister to the United States, Hans Thomsen, considered the entire undertaking risky and reminded the Foreign Office that items he had sent to Dublin had not always arrived, probably because they were being held back in New York or Halifax (Germany, A.A. Reel 402, frames 307465, 307463, 307468-307461, and 307467, Documents of Feb. 3 and 4, 1941).

14. *Ibid.*, frames 307464, 304477, 307467, Documents of Feb. 4, 1941 and Jan. 24, 1941.

15. T. Desmond Williams, "Ireland and the War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), p. 10.

16. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100072, 100069, 100080, 100077, 100082, 100083, Documents of Sept. 28, 1939, Sept. 30, 1939, Oct. 9, 1939, Oct. 7, 1939, Oct. 11, 1939, and Oct. 14, 1939.

17. *Ibid.*, Reel 402, frame 307455, Document of March 20, 1941; Reel 89, frames 100139, 100189, 100493, 100491, Documents of Jan. 11, 1940, May 8, 1940, Dec. 23, 1940, and Dec. 21, 1940.

18. A golf club admitted the Japanese Consul only when the Department of External Affairs brought strong pressure to bear. After Pearl Harbor, even these efforts probably would not have been successful. Beppu San, an indifferent but enthusiastic golfer, could not get club members to play with him, but he doggedly entered all available tournaments and employed local golf pros to mark his score card (R. M. Smylie, "Unneutral Neutral Eire," *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* [January, 1946], pp. 317-26; Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100102, Document of Nov. 11, 1939).

19. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100129, Document of Dec. 23, 1939.

20. The British in Dublin had three transmitters and receivers, plus a direct telephone line to London (Randolph Churchill, "De Valera Locked Up Nazi Radio But Let British Keep Sets in Eire," *New York World-Telegram*, Nov. 13, 1945).

21. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100066, 100300, 100091, Documents of Sept. 25, 1939, July 19, 1939, Oct. 25, 1939.

22. After Mussolini's defeat, Berardis joined the Allies in demanding expulsion of the German and Japanese representatives from Ireland (T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6-17, 1953).

23. Randolph Churchill, *op. cit.*

Hempel frequently experienced difficulties with his radio equipment. His set sometimes produced a heavy hum and did not always receive well. He asked Berlin how to correct these problems and suggested that they alter the frequency (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100066, 100069, 100073, 100175, 100184, 100240, 100272, 100513, Documents of Sept. 25, 1939, Sept. 28, 1939, Sept. 30, 1939, Oct. 4, 1939, March 27, 1940, April 26, 1940, and Jan. 2, 1941).

24. *Ibid.*, frames 100168 and 100206, Documents of March 6, 1940 and May 22, 1940.

25. Confidential government source.

26. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100673, 100686, 100695, and 100703, Documents of March 25, 1941, April 11, 1941, April 23, 1941, and May 9, 1941.

27. *Ibid.*, Reel 402, frame 307450, Document of Aug. 12, 1941; Reel 384, frames 301163 and 301175; Documents of March 27, 1942 and April 18, 1942; and confidential government source.

28. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frame 100929, Document of Feb. 27, 1942.

29. Confidential government source.

30. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 302161, Document of Jan. 7, 1944.

31. Confidential government source.

32. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald and Co., Ltd., 1963), pp. 253-54.

33. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100091 and 100337, Documents of Oct. 25, 1939, and Aug. 17, 1940.

34. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100091, Document of Oct. 25, 1939, and confidential government source.

35. Confidential government source.

36. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100591, 100897, and 100953, Documents of Jan. 11, 1941, Jan. 28, 1942, and March 28, 1942.

37. Confidential government source.

38. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100375, 100383, 100396, 100336, Documents of Sept. 9, 1940, Sept. 18, 1940, Sept. 27, 1940, and Aug. 17, 1940; Reel 915, frame 387556, Document of Dec. 12, 1938; Reel 1496, frame 626263; Document of Nov. 1, 1940.

39. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302045 and 302046, Documents of Feb. 10, 1942; and frame 100995, Document of June 15, 1942.

40. Peter Fleming, *Operation Sea Lion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 181.

41. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frames 301217, 301233, 301234, 301236, and 301240, Documents of July 3, 1942, July 9, 1942, July 15, 1942, July 23, 1942, and Aug. 1, 1942; and Reel 89, frames 100159, 100161, and 101098, Documents of Feb. 21, 1940, Feb. 24, 1940, and Feb. 10, 1943; and confidential government source.

42. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frames 101088 and 101093, Documents of Jan. 4, 1943 and Jan. 9, 1943.

43. Letter from M. J. Willis, Head, Printed Books, British Imperial War Museum, London, to author.

44. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101094, Document of Jan. 14, 1943.

45. *Ibid.*, frame 101149, Document of March 12, 1943.

46. Letter from M. J. Willis, *op. cit.*

47. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280081, Document of Aug. 21, 1943.

48. Confidential government source. For an account of British deceptions, see J. C. Masterman, *The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972).

### 3. VOLUNTEER SPIES AND IRISH DIPLOMATS

1. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frames 100131, 100141, 100203, 100257, Documents of Dec. 29, 1939, Jan. 13, 1940, May 16, 1940, and June 24, 1940.

2. *Ibid.*, Reel 397, frames 301992 and 302033, Documents of Aug. 22, 1941, and Dec. 6, 1941.

3. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100654, Document of Feb. 22, 1941; and confidential government source.
4. Confidential government source.
5. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101078, Document of Nov. 26, 1942; Reel 397, frames 302100, 302105, and 302113, Documents of Dec. 15, 1942, Dec. 16, 1942, and Jan. 9, 1943.
6. *Ibid.*, Reel 397, frames 302111, 302112, 302113, Documents of Dec. 30, 1942, Jan. 15, 1943, and Feb. 5, 1943.
7. Confidential government source.
8. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100132, 100406, 100415, 101072, 101089, and 101127, Documents of Dec. 27, 1939, Oct. 3, 1940, Nov. 25, 1940, Nov. 16, 1942, Jan. 5, 1943, and March 27, 1943.
9. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302058, 302115, 302140, Documents of April 20, 1942, Jan. 25, 1943, July 20, 1943; and confidential government source.
10. *Ibid.*, Reel 224, frame 280052, Document of Oct. 11, 1940.
11. Confidential government source.
12. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280052, Document of Oct. 11, 1940. O'Kelly used to leave France without his department's knowledge, for example, to play golf in Belgium. He could be described as a good "cooky-pusher" (confidential government source).
13. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280052, Document of Oct. 11, 1940; and confidential government source.
14. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100468, Document of Dec. 10, 1940.
15. *Ibid.*, Reel 224, frame 280050, Document of Oct. 11, 1940.
16. Confidential government source.
17. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280050, Document of Oct. 11, 1940.
18. Confidential government source.
19. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280050, Document of Oct. 11, 1940; and confidential government source.
20. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280050, Document of Oct. 11, 1940.
21. Letter to author from Douglas Gageby, publisher, *Irish Times*.
22. Germany, A. A. Reel 89, frame 100054, Document of Aug. 8, 1939; Reel 224, frame 280050, Document of Oct. 11, 1940; and confidential government source.
23. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frames 100093, 100094, 100106, 100167, Documents of Nov. 1, 1939, Nov. 9, 1939, Nov. 16, 1939, and March 5, 1940.
24. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frame 100608, Document of Jan. 25, 1941.
25. Confidential government source.
26. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100301 and 100608, Documents of July 19, 1940 and Jan. 25, 1941; and confidential government source.
27. Interviews with Francis Stuart and Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, August, 1969 and August, 1971; and confidential government source.
28. R. M. Smylie, "Unneutral Neutral Eire," *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* (January, 1946), pp. 317-26.
29. Confidential government source.
30. *The Trial of the Major War Criminals, Nuremburg, 1946-1952*, Vol. VII (London: Her Majesty's Printing Office, 1953), p. 142.
31. Peter Fleming, *Operation Sea Lion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 296.

32. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. XI, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 727. Documents of Dec. 3, 1940.
33. Anthony K. Martienssen, *Hitler and His Admirals* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949), p. 25.
34. Basil Liddell Hart, *Other Side of the Hill; Germany's Generals, Their Rise and Fall, With Their Own Account of Military Events, 1939-1945* (London: Cassell, 1948), pp. 229-30.
35. German Foreign Ministry Office. *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, and Basil Liddell Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
36. Diary of Abwehr II, entry of May 3, 1940. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.
37. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100458, Document of Dec. 6, 1940; Reel 402, frame 307445, Document of March 13, 1941; and Constance Howard, "Eire," *The War and the Neutrals*, Vol. IX of *The Survey of International Affairs, 1938-1946*, ed. by Arnold and Veronica Toynbee (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 244.
38. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*
39. T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6-17, 1953, and T. Desmond Williams, "Ireland and the War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), pp. 16-20.
40. Confidential government source.
41. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100205, Document of May 21, 1940; and interview with Frederick Boland, Dublin, August, 1971.
42. T. Desmond Williams, "Ireland and the War," *op. cit.*
43. Interview with Frederick Boland, *op. cit.*
44. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100238, Document of June 11, 1940.
45. Interviews with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1969, and August, 1971.
46. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100197, 100275, 100277, and 100440, Documents of May 15, 1940, July 7, 1940, July 6, 1940, and Nov. 23, 1940.
47. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100406 and 100445, Documents of Oct. 3, 1940, and Nov. 27, 1940.
48. C. Howard, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44; and T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!", *op. cit.*
49. T. Desmond Williams, "Ireland and the War," *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.
50. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100277, Document of July 6, 1940.
51. Cyril Falls, *Northern Ireland as an Outpost of Defense* (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), p. 82.
52. Confidential government source.

#### 4. IRISH NEUTRALITY AND BRITAIN

1. Sir Anthony Eden, *Memoirs: The Reckoning* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), pp. 79-80.
2. T. Desmond Williams, *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), pp. 21-25.
3. Eden, *op. cit.*

4. Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. I: *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 277–78, 428–29. The Italians said the operational radius of the Luftwaffe meant that the ports could be reached as easily as London or Liverpool anyway, which canceled out any benefit England could have derived from them (*Irish Times*, November 9, 1940).

5. Churchill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 605–6, 254, 564; Robert Brennan, "Secret War Documents," *Irish Press* (Dublin), August 23–30, 1958, citing memo from Gray to Hull, November 10, 1940; and James F. Meenan, "Irish Economy During the War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939–51*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

6. Confidential government source.

7. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frame 387550, Document of Oct. 17, 1939.

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100053, 387550, and 100067, Documents of Aug. 7, 1939, Oct. 17, 1938, and Sept. 29, 1939.

9. James Robert Rhodes, *Churchill: A Study in Failure* (New York: World, 1970), p. 364.

10. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100056 and 100059, Documents of Aug. 28, 1939, and Aug. 29, 1939.

At the outbreak of war, the British had withdrawn four regular troop battalions stationed in the North and replaced them with two brigades. They treated the island as a unit when, for example, they ordered anyone who had become a resident after January 1, 1940, to carry a special police permit with a photograph. This move was aimed at draft dodgers, fifth-columnists, spies, and undesirables who were to be deported (John W. Blake, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War* [Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956], p. 80; *Gaelic American*, October 31, 1942).

11. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, "Irish Defense Policy, 1939–51," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939–51*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43.

12. David Kennedy, "Ulster During the War and After," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939–51*, *op. cit.*, pp. 54–58.

13. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100119, 100183, and 100193, Documents of Dec. 11, 1939, April 20, 1940, and May 13, 1940.

As a small nation, Ireland was pro-Finland and her representative to the League expressed this sentiment. When Hempel voiced Germany's opinion of the League to Walshe, he was reminded that weak as it was, the international body served as a forum in which the minor powers could be heard.

In the fall of 1940, Walshe told Hempel the Irish planned to cease payment of the annual League dues but dared not make this intention public before withdrawing from the organization. In 1942 the government was still voting £855 for it, however. De Valera evidently reasoned that although past League activities had focused primarily on the social, the humanitarian, and the economic, a large central organization was needed. Working within the established framework of the League, imperfect as it might be, would be easier than creating an entirely new organization (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100119, 100413, Documents of Dec. 11, 1939, Oct. 7, 1940; Reel 2957, frame E472195, Document of Aug. 10, 1942).

14. Randolph Churchill, "Autonomous Eire Keeps Crown Tie," *New York*

*World-Telegram*, Nov. 14, 1945.

15. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100202, 100205, 100201, 100213, and 100241, Documents of May 14, 1940, May 21, 1940, May 23, 1940, and June 14, 1940; Blake, *op. cit.*, f3, p. 155.

16. R. M. Smylie, "Unneutral Neutral Eire," *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* (January, 1946), pp. 317-26.

17. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100260, 100273, and 100035, Documents of June 26, 1940, July 4, 1940, and Aug. 16, 1940.

18. In a *Christian Science Monitor* interview, De Valera said that Ireland would offer more than token resistance to British occupation. He expressed displeasure at anti-neutrality propaganda in the United States and denied that the German Legation in Dublin had been increased from 60 to 100 members. He admitted that Ireland had good armaments, but said they were insufficient because the British had not filled long-standing orders. Ireland had approached the United States for help in this matter, but he doubted whether she would send the American fleet to protect Ireland (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100335. Documents of Aug. 12, 1940; Reel 224, frame 280064, Document of Feb. 5, 1941).

19. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100177, 100226, and 100386, Documents of March 28, 1940, June 1, 1940, and Sept. 16, 1940.

20. *Irish Times*, April 19, 1941; Meenan, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

In August, 1940, the American radio announced that according to the German Foreign Office, Warnock had proposed a conference on the problems of Irish supply. Warnock complained to Woermann that no such proposal had been made, but he was told he would soon be instructed to make one (Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280081, Document of Aug. 21, 1943; Reel 89, frame 100354, Document of Aug. 28, 1940).

21. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100100, 100107, 100114, 100125, 100130, 100258, and 100340, Documents of Nov. 10, 1939, Nov. 17, 1939, Dec. 4, 1939, Dec. 18, 1939, Dec. 23, 1939, June 25, 1940, and Aug. 24, 1940.

22. Randolph Churchill, *op. cit.*, Nov. 13, 1945.

23. Confidential government source.

24. Hayes-McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

25. Smylie, *op. cit.*

26. Confidential government source; and Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-82.

27. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100309, Document of July 30, 1940; and interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, 1969.

28. Cyril Falls, *Northern Ireland as an Outpost of Defense* (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), p. 82; Randolph Churchill, "How Ireland Survived the War," *New York World-Telegram*, November 12, 1945; and *New York Times*, May 25, 1940, 4:1.

29. Randolph Churchill, "Autonomous Eire Keeps Crown Tie," *New York World-Telegram*, Nov. 14, 1945.

30. Clement R. Atlee, *As It Happened* (New York: Viking Press, 1954), p. 268.

## 5. IRISH NEUTRALITY AND THE UNITED STATES, 1939-1945

1. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel



89, frame 100193, Document of May 14, 1940.

2. James F. Meenan, "Irish Economy During the War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), p. 31.

3. Robert Brennan, "Secret War Documents," *Irish Press*, August 23-30, 1958; and Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100258, Document of June 25, 1940.

4. Hempel wondered whether Berlin could capitalize on the difficulties that seemed to be developing between the United States and Ireland. He advised Berlin to be more careful of Irish neutrality and to spare the traffic across the Irish Sea (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100100, 100107, and 100116, Documents of Nov. 10, 1939, Nov. 17, 1939, and Dec. 5, 1939).

5. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100326, Document of Aug. 8, 1940.

6. Prior to his assignment in Dublin, MacVeagh had been at the American Embassy in Mexico City with Josephus Daniels. He had been sent to Ireland as "punishment" for inducing Daniels not to resign his post. Sumner Welles had been slated to replace Daniels, and MacVeagh had regarded him as too heavy-handed for the ambassadorship to Mexico.

Upon returning to the United States, MacVeagh took a vacation before going into service with the O.S.S. in England. He established combat intelligence in Cambridge, England and spent the remainder of the war briefing and debriefing pilots (interview with John Hammond MacVeagh, Santa Barbara, California, April, 1973).

7. *Ibid.*

8. Robert Brennan, *op. cit.*, citing Gray's memoranda to Hull of May 18, 1940, and November 18, 1940.

9. Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 1351-55.

10. Robert Brennan, *op. cit.*, citing Cordell Hull's memoranda to David Gray of May 22, 1940, and Aug. 28, 1940; Gray's memoranda to Hull of June 4, 1940; Hull's memoranda to Joseph P. Kennedy of June 12, 1940; and memoranda of Edgar P. Allen of July 15, 1940, and August 16, 1940.

In a speech in Rome, MacWhite said that De Valera's request for shipments of American food and guns only emphasized the transportation crisis because they would have to be made in American ships. An SD report filed in Berlin said these words were looked on in the United States as an invitation to send weapons to Ireland for trans-shipment to Ulster, Scotland, and finally, England, a trade Germany would not be able to prevent (Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280064, Document of Feb. 5, 1941).

11. In November of 1940, Gray advised Hull that he had heard that Dillon had warned the Taoiseach that his policies appeared to be aligning Ireland with Germany against Britain and the United States. If it came to a question of declaring war on Britain, Dillon planned to make an appeal to the country, although doing so might bring on a civil war, Gray said. Gray was convinced that if the United States continued to apply pressure, she would be repeating Churchill's basic mistake, and he reminded the State Department that De Valera had a genius for capitalizing on other people's tactical errors (Robert Brennan, *op. cit.*, citing Gray's memoranda to Hull of Nov. 10, 1940 and Nov. 24, 1940).

12. *Ibid.*, citing Gray's memoranda to Hull of Sept. 12, 1940, and Nov. 10, 1940; Hull's memoranda to Gray of Sept. 25, 1940, and Sept. 30, 1940; and a

memorandum by Sumner Welles of Nov. 9, 1940.

13. *Ibid.*, citing memoranda by Sumner Welles of Nov. 9, 1940, and Dec. 9, 1940; and *Congressional Record*, Appendix, Dec. 19, 1940, pp. 6940-41.

14. Berlin speculated that Aiken made the trip to arrange for American use of the ports in exchange for a loan. Hempel told De Valera that he expected Aiken to try to convince Americans of Ireland's determination to remain neutral. Afterward he reported to Berlin that the Taoiseach had listened carefully but had remained non-committal when they discussed the strict observation of neutrality. De Valera said he saw no signs that the British planned to attack Ireland and hoped things stayed that way. He knew the situation would change if the United States entered the war, but maintained that Ireland would always rely on her own strength and military abilities first. Arms supplies concerned him, but when Hempel broached the matter of possible German assistance, he declared himself powerless in that thorny business. Half-jokingly, he ventured that if necessary the German General Staff would probably, with German efficiency and without Irish involvement, take the proper measures. Replying that things were not that simple, Hempel asked if the Irish would resolutely resist a British attack. "You can take that for granted," the Taoiseach said (Germany, A.A. Reel 402, frame 307447, Document of March 22, 1941; Reel 89, frames 100666 and 100676, Documents of March 11, 1941, and April 2, 1941).

15. Hull, *op. cit.*

16. *New York Times*, March 12, 1944.

17. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100292 and 100675, Documents of July 13, 1940, and April 27, 1941.

18. *Congressional Record*, Appendix, July 25, 1940, p. 4540.

19. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100290 and 100327, Documents of July 12, 1940, and Aug. 10, 1940.

20. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100663, Document of Feb. 27, 1941.

21. Harold Nicolson, *The War Years, 1939-1945: Vol. II of Diaries and Letters* (New York: Atheneum), pp. 142-43.

22. Hull, *op. cit.*

23. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100599, Document of Jan. 17, 1941; and confidential government source.

24. Hull, *op. cit.*

25. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100979, Document of June 6, 1942.

26. Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. 1354-55.

27. John W. Blake, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War* (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956), pp. 257-263.

28. David Kennedy, "Ulster During the War and After," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51, op. cit.*, p. 53.

29. Confidential government source.

30. Interview with John Hammond MacVeagh, *op. cit.*

31. Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 262; and confidential government source.

32. Devers' party consisted of six officers and three crew members, one of whom was an inexperienced navigator (Letters to author from General Jacob Devers, U.S. Army, Retired, January, 1971).

33. *Ibid.*

34. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100084 and 101098, Documents of Oct.

16, 1939, Feb. 10, 1943; Reel 364, frame 276123, Document of Oct. 19, 1939; confidential government source.

35. *New York Sun*, Jan. 29, 1942, and March 11, 1944; and *New York Times*, March 12, 1944.

36. *New York Times*, March 12, 1944; *Gaelic American*, Dec. 19, 1942; *New York Sun*, Jan. 29, 1942.

37. Hull, *op. cit.*, pp. 1356–58, and *Gaelic American*, Dec. 19, 1942.

38. Sir Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V: *Closing the Ring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950), pp. 700–701.

39. *Gaelic American*, March 25, 1944, and *New York Times*, March 18, 1944.

40. Confidential government source.

41. Letter to author from Judge Hubert Will, June, 1971.

42. Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), Nov. 24, 1963–Jan. 12, 1964.

## 6. VIOLATIONS OF IRISH NEUTRALITY

1. Confidential government source.

2. Randolph Churchill, "De Valera Locked Up Nazi Radio But Let British Keep Sets In Eire," *New York World-Telegram*, Nov. 13, 1945.

3. Confidential government source.

4. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frames 100496, 100498, 100591, 100640, 100945, 101024, Documents of Dec. 24, 1940, Dec. 28, 1940, Jan. 11, 1941, Feb. 14, 1941, Mar. 24, 1942, and Sept. 11, 1942.

5. *Ibid.*, frames 100492, 100520, 101139, and 101143, Documents of Dec. 23, 1940, Jan. 4, 1941, May 3, 1943, and May 5, 1943; Reel 384, frame 301239, Document of July 28, 1942.

6. T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6–17, 1953.

There were times when the British almost bombed Irish territory, too. Once, a pilotless British plane loaded with bombs headed for Athlone. Either its pilot and crew had set the automatic pilot and jumped, or it had been on its radio-controlled way to Berlin and somehow strayed. When they learned it was coming, the Irish sent planes up with orders to shoot it down if it should lose any altitude. It went out to sea, however, and a crisis was averted.

Incidents like these normally were not reported in the Irish newspapers. The Allies controlled the news services and the government maintained such rigid censorship that even the pro-British *Irish Times* had to submit every sentence for approval. Accounts were so colorless that readers sometimes grew apprehensive about what was left out. For instance, it was never mentioned that Generals Montgomery or Alexander were Irish, and few knew that Montgomery's mother ran to the edge of a cliff to wave the Union Jack every time a British ship steamed past her home on the coast.

The loss of Irishmen in the British armed forces was not reported in the press, either. When a Dublin newspaperman serving in the British Navy was rescued after his ship, the *Prince of Wales*, went down, it was reported in the Social and Personal column that he had completely recovered from his recent boating accident (interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1971; R. M. Smylie, "Unneutral Neutral Eire," *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* [January,

1946]; and confidential government source).

7. Constance Howard, "Eire," *The War and the Neutrals*, Vol. IX of *The Survey of International Affairs, 1938-1946*, ed. by Arnold and Veronica Toynbee (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 245.

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100068 and 100421, Documents of Sept. 19, 1939 and Oct. 30, 1940.

9. U.S. Air Force, *Electronic Countermeasures Manual*, available from private source.

10. David Kennedy, "Ulster During the War and After," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, ed. by Kevin B. Nowlan and T. Desmond Williams (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), p. 53; *Irish Times*, April 19, 1941, and April 25, 1941; Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press*, Nov. 24, 1963-Jan. 12, 1964.

11. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100402, 100406, and 100979, Documents of Oct. 1, 1940, Oct. 3, 1940, June 6, 1942; Eduard Hempel, *op. cit.*

12. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100071, Document of Oct. 3, 1939.

The survivors from the *Athenia* were brought to Galway, and the American naval attaché in London came to help American Legation personnel assist them (interview with John Hammond MacVeagh, Santa Barbara, California, April, 1973).

13. Jürgen Rohwer, *Die U-Boot-Erfolge der Achsenmächte, 1939-1945* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1968), p. 12; and Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100069, 100308, and 100430, Documents of Sept. 30, 1939, July 27, 1940, and Oct. 29, 1940.

14. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100095-96, 100430, Documents of Nov. 3, 1939, and Oct. 29, 1940.

15. *Ibid.*, frame 100153, Document of Feb. 9, 1940.

16. *Ibid.*, frames 100319-21, Document of Aug. 5, 1940.

17. *Ibid.*, frames 100358-9, Document of Aug. 29, 1940.

18. *Ibid.*, frames 100153, 100316, 100417, Documents of Feb. 9, 1940, Aug. 3, 1940, and Oct. 21, 1940.

19. *Ibid.*, frame 100418, Document of Oct. 26, 1940.

20. *Ibid.*, frames 100351, 100356, 100362, 100368, 100379, 100389, 100419, Documents of Aug. 26, 1940, Aug. 29, 1940, Aug. 30, 1940, Sept. 2, 1940, Sept. 14, 1940, Sept. 23, 1940, and Oct. 26, 1940.

21. *Ibid.*, frames 100385, 100390, 100391, 100393, and 100397, Documents of Sept. 18, 1940, Sept. 23, 1940, Sept. 25, 1940, and Sept. 27, 1940.

22. *Ibid.*, frame 100414, Document of Oct. 9, 1940.

23. *Ibid.*, frames 100280, 100307, and 100319, Documents of July 8, 1940, July 26, 1940, and Aug. 5, 1940; Reel 3962, frame E696286, Document of Nov. 1, 1940.

The amount of Axis activity in Ireland tended to be exaggerated in the United States. As early as spring, 1941, however, there were a few who knew that the Germans admitted the mistakes and reimbursed victims of accidental bombings (Letters to the Editors, *New York Times*, May 25, 1941).

## 7. GERMAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BECOMES INTERESTED IN IRELAND

1. Sean O'Callaghan, *The Jackboot in Ireland* (New York: Roy Publishing

Co., 1958), p. 29.

2. Karl Heinz Abshagen, *Canaris*, trans. by Alan Houghton Brodrick (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1956), p. 74.

3. Paul Leverkuehn, *German Military Intelligence* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954), p. 1.

4. Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, *The Canaris Conspiracy* (New York: David McKay, 1969), pp. 6–8.

5. Leverkuehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–96, and Manvell and Fraenkel, *op. cit.*

6. *Trial of the Major German War Criminals*, Part I: 20th November 1945–1st December 1945 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1946), pp. 272–84.

7. Laslo Havas, *Hitler's Plot to Kill the Big Three*, trans. by Kathleen Szasy (New York: Cowles Book Co., 1967), p. 40.

8. Manvell and Fraenkel, *op. cit.*

9. Leverkuehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–33, 66.

10. *Trial of the Major German War Criminals*, *op. cit.*; Leverkuehn, pp. 27–33, 46, 93, 102.

11. Diary of Abwehr II, entries of Nov. 26, 1939 and Dec. 22, 1939. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.

12. Confidential government source.

13. Letter to author from Jupp Hoven, Aachen, Germany, June, 1971.

14. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, Danville, California, May–September, 1970; and confidential government source.

15. O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

16. Abwehr II Diary, *op. cit.*; and Leverkuehn, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Irish police raiding IRA homes sometimes discovered American-made arms. Some assumed that they had been supplied by troops in the North, but Hempel believed they had been sent from the United States before the war.

Occasionally, Northern IRA members heckled British troops. In September, 1940, six armed men stopped a territorial of the 8th HAA Belfast Regiment, stripped off his uniform and burned it. Usually, however, the police of both sections of the island worked together to repress such activities and the Royal Ulster Constabulary interned offenders (Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frame 101076, Document of Nov. 26, 1942; and John W. Blake, *Northern Ireland in the Second World War* (Belfast: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956), p. 82.

17. Confidential government source.

18. *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1944; Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA* (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 71–77; and confidential government source.

19. Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), pp. 104–5; and confidential government source.

20. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100411, Document of Oct. 5, 1940; and confidential government source.

21. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100090, Document of Oct. 24, 1939; interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Aug., 1969; confidential government source.

22. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. IX, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.:

U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 601. Document of June 17, 1940.

In Irish government circles it was rumored that Hempel had been told to prepare a list of those who would be returning. Originally, Clissmann's name was not on the list, but it was added at the behest of the British (Confidential government source).

23. T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 11, 1953.

24. Leverkuehn, *op. cit.*, p. 95; and O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

25. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*

26. John Masterman, *The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 9-15.

27. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frame 301175, Document of April 18, 1941.

28. Leverkuehn, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

29. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280079, Document of Aug. 24, 1942.

30. Confidential government source.

## 8. IRISH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND THE FIRST IRA CONTACTS WITH GERMANY

1. Confidential government source; and James MacDonald, "Order Curbs Spies," *New York Times*, March 13, 1944.

2. Michael Sayers and Barnett Bildersee, "How Coughlin Tried to Promote Fascism in Ireland," *P.M.* (London), March 19, 1944, p. 6.

3. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald and Co., Ltd., 1963), pp. 25-32.

4. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. VIII, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 545. Document of Dec. 16, 1939; and interview with Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1971.

5. Walsh was really an unprincipled adventurer who worked in the Italian Legation. When the Irish government interned him later in the war, Mrs. Walsh wanted Hempel to continue paying her the money he had been receiving from the Legation. The Italian ambassador was so embarrassed to learn of his clerk's Fichtebund connections that he did not inform Rome he had been employing a German spy. Hempel related it to his Foreign Office, however, and warned against becoming involved with Walsh. Berlin had evidently regarded Walsh as a potential contact man for spies and one agent, Walter Simon, came to Ireland carrying a list that had Walsh's as well as many other names on it. Before he was picked up, Walsh founded an organization called the "Irish Friends of Germany." In September, 1940, he told Thomsen that he had tried to merge this group with the IRA (confidential government source; Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frames 100272, 100369, 100387, 100388, Documents of July 4, 1940, Sept. 2, 1940, Sept. 18, 1940, and Sept. 23, 1940).

6. Pfaus later claimed to have taken along a .45 caliber Smith and Wesson automatic to use should it appear the IRA was not going to let him go. It is doubtful, however, that the Abwehr would have allowed him to carry such a weapon through England. He was a relatively well-known person, and if he were searched, carrying a gun without authority could have created a most unfavor-

able situation (Confidential government source; Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–32).

7. Interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

8. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–32, 36–40, 45–47.

After a few days in Dublin, Pfaus returned to Hamburg and resumed his work for the Fichtebund, which included sending leaflets to radical nationalists in Ireland. Hempel, who disapproved, felt the British censor let them pass in order to get the names of recipients and prove that Irish neutrality had been breached (German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. VIII, p. 545, Document of Dec. 16, 1939).

9. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969.

10. Interview with James O'Donovan, *op. cit.*

11. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–40, 45–47.

12. Diary of Abwehr II, entry of Oct. 29, 1939. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.

13. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100098, Document of Nov. 15, 1939.

14. *Ibid.*, frame 100179, Document of April 19, 1940.

Once, when Frederick Boland was visiting O'Donovan to discuss problems the IRA was creating, Boland said "And you know, I wouldn't be surprised if you opened that door and there was a transmitter." Fortunately for O'Donovan, he did not check out his theory. Behind the door stood the Scott set (interview with James O'Donovan, *op. cit.*).

15. A day or two before a scheduled raid, an officer informed the head of Military Intelligence that a businessman had told him the transmitter must be operating almost in his back yard because it was blotting out all his radio reception (Confidential government source).

16. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

17. Abwehr Diary, entry of Feb. 4, 1940.

18. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100162, Document of Feb. 24, 1940.

19. Confidential government source.

20. Harry T. Moore, Postscript to *Black List/Section H* by Francis Stuart (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), pp. 430–31.

During the war, Mrs. Stuart's half-brother, Sean MacBride, served in the Department of External Affairs. Irish Intelligence regarded him with suspicion but did not investigate him because of his ministerial position. MacBride reputedly had romantic origins, too. Some said his father was the poet, W. B. Yeats, not Major MacBride, who had been involved in the 1916 uprising. The British executed him, which perhaps explained the MacBride family's strong nationalism and Anglophobia. The Stuarts, by contrast, exhibited a more pro-British sentiment after the civil war, although Francis did remain in the IRA (Confidential government source).

21. Letter to author from Jerry Natterstad, biographer of Francis Stuart, Southern Illinois University, June, 1971.

22. Confidential government source.

23. Interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*; Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100090, Document of Oct. 21, 1939; and German Foreign Ministry Office, *Docu-*

ments on *German Foreign Policy*, Series D., Vol. VIII, p. 546, Footnote to Document of Dec. 20, 1939.

24. Abwehr Diary, entry of Feb. 4, 1940.

25. Interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*

In mid-September, Mrs. Stuart found herself in financial trouble. Her husband had received only part of what was due him, and she had been forced to live on £15 per month. She went to Hempel, who asked Berlin to pay Stuart and to see that Warnock got approval from the Irish government to accept the money. Then Hempel could give money to Mrs. Stuart. In this wire, Hempel emphasized that Stuart should be told not to tell Warnock that his wife was in need because he could not transfer funds, or that he had learned of her situation through the Foreign Office. At the time, much publicity was centering around Mrs. Stuart and Hempel did not want the Legation involved, although he was prepared to provide her with money directly if the other plan was not feasible (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100400, Document of Sept. 30, 1940).

26. There were two radio services in Germany during the war, one under the Foreign Office and one that collected material to be used in broadcasts. Dr. Hans Hartmann, whom Stuart knew personally, ran the Department of Propaganda. He had a consummate academic knowledge of Ireland acquired when he had been affiliated with the National Museum in Dublin before the war (interviews with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*, and Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August 1971).

27. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100120, Document of Dec. 13, 1939.

28. Confidential government source.

29. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101160, Document of June 1, 1943; confidential government source; and interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*

30. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100381, Document of Sept. 15, 1940; interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*; Stuart to Jerry Natterstad, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, July, 1970; and confidential government source.

## 9. OPERATIONS DOVE AND SEA EAGLE

1. Interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969; Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 1847, frame E037376, Document of June 13, 1939; Reel 915, frame 387582, Document of Feb. 6, 1939.

2. Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *The Bell*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (July, 1951); interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

3. Interview with James O'Donovan, *op. cit.*

4. "U.S. and Germany Financed the IRA," *Booktab*, Vol. I, No. 2 (June-July, 1942), p. 14.

5. Germany, A.A. Reel 1847, frame E037376, Document of June 13, 1939.

6. Interview with Stephen Hayes, *op. cit.*; Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald and Co., Ltd., 1963), p. 42; and confidential government source.

7. Louis De Jong, *The German Fifth Column in the Second World War*, trans. C. M. Geyl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 210-11.

8. Diary of Abwehr II, entries of Jan. 30, 1940, Feb. 12, 1940, Feb. 22, 1940,



March 19, 1940, March 20, 1940, and April 26, 1940. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.

9. De Jong, *op. cit.*

10. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Abwehr Diary, entries of May 4, 1940, and May 20, 1940; and interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

11. Sean O'Callaghan, *Jackboot in Ireland* (New York: Roy Publishing Co., 1958), pp. 97-105; interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*

12. Karl Heinz Abshagen, *Canaris* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1956), p. 185; confidential government source; and Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-60.

13. Sean O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Abwehr Diary, entry of July 17, 1940; and Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-60.

14. Abwehr Diary, entries of July 12, 1940, Aug. 3, 1940 and Aug. 4, 1940; and interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*

15. Charles Wighton and Gunter Peis, *They Spied On England: Based on German Secret Service War Diary of General von Lahousen* (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1958); Chapter dealing with Ireland reprinted in the *Irish Times*, June 3, 1958, p. 4.

16. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100334, Document of Aug. 15, 1940.

17. Abwehr Diary, entry of Aug. 6, 1940; and Karl Abshagen, *op. cit.*

18. Wighton and Peis, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

19. Peter Fleming, *Operation Sea Lion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 183.

20. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-65; and confidential government source.

21. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*

22. Abshagen, *op. cit.*, p. 186; and confidential government source.

23. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and Wighton and Peis, *op. cit.*

24. T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6-17, 1953.

Stephen Hayes later claimed that in July of 1940 a government official named Ryan told him that Russell had tried to get to Germany on an Italian ship but that the British Secret Service had removed him and taken him to Gibraltar at the request of the Irish government. Russell had supposedly died there in an accident and had been buried at sea. Minister Ryan, upset because the Clann na Gael was investigating the matter, had supposedly told Hayes to keep silent because, if the public found out about his anti-Russell feelings, both he and the much-needed Irish-American support for neutrality would be endangered.

Hayes next claimed to have received a letter from Russell in New York the following month. The letter, which was dated in June, stated that Russell hoped to go to Europe. In September, Hayes continued, a man named Moss, acting on the instructions of MacBride, informed him that Russell had died in August. Hayes wrote to contacts in the United States in an effort to determine how Russell had died. After several requests, he received a letter in April, 1941, stating that Russell had left the previous April on an Italian ship but that nothing further had been heard of him.

Hempel asked Woermann to investigate this story. He suspected that if it were true, the Italians would have utilized it as anti-British propaganda (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100820 and 100999, Documents of Nov. 2, 1941, and June 25, 1942).

25. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-25.
26. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*; and Abwehr Diary, entry of Dec. 20, 1940.
27. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101041, Document of Oct. 5, 1942.
28. Confidential government source; Helmut Clissmann quoted in Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
29. Abwehr Diary, entries of Nov. 29, 1940, May 21, 1941, and June 22, 1941.
30. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100717, Document of May 31, 1941.
31. Abwehr Diary, entries of July 7, 1941, and Aug. 21, 1941.
32. German Foreign Ministry Office, Document NG-5760 of Aug. 24, 1941. Available from Dr. Charles B. Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.
33. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*
34. Confidential government source.
35. Interviews with Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1969, and Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*
36. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 286; and interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*
37. Confidential government source.

## 10. THE FRIESACK CAMP

1. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.
2. Terence Prittie, "Der Tag' in Dingle Bay," *Guardian Weekly* (January 10, 1970).
3. Interviews with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*, and Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1971.
4. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, Danville, California, May-September, 1970.
5. Letter to author from Jupp Hoven, August, 1970.
6. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*
7. Letter to author from Terence Prittie, April, 1970.
8. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*
9. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
10. Obituary cited in *San Jose Mercury-News*, March 1, 1971.
11. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*
12. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 397, frame 302086, Document of Aug. 19, 1942.
13. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frames 302088, 302091, 302092, and 302103, Documents of Aug. 21, 1942, Sept. 3, 1942, Dec. 10, 1942, and Dec. 16, 1942.
14. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
15. Interviews with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy and Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*; Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 238-40.
16. Diary of Abwehr II, entries of Oct. 6, 1941 and June 22, 1942. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.
17. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-40; interview with Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

18. Postcard to Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy from Sam McIntyre, November, 1943.

19. Confidential government source.

20. Letter to author from Jupp Hoven, August, 1970.

Father O'Shaughnessy, in County Down, received a postcard from Sam L. McIntyre, an RAF man from Northern Ireland, thanking him for visiting his family. McIntyre wrote that some of the men had been moved to other camps but that others were still together. He surmised that they would all be reunited very soon (interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*; letter to Father Thomas O'Shaughnessy from Sam MacIntyre, November, 1943).

# 11. LENIHAN, O'REILLY, KENNY, AND WEBER-DROHL

1. Confidential government source.

2. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 397, frame 302157, Document of Jan. 14, 1944; Reel 384, frame 301307, Document of Feb. 25, 1943; letter to author from William Warnock, Ambassador of Ireland to the United States, April, 1971; and confidential government source.

3. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 279-80.

4. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 302157, Document of Jan. 14, 1944.

5. Letter to author from William Warnock, April, 1971.

6. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, *op. cit.*

Goertz thought he had also been doing some broadcasting from Budapest. At least, someone with an Irish accent who sounded like Mulally had been broadcasting from Budapest. An opportunist, Mulally had made large sums of money in the black market. He had known Frank Ryan in Ireland and accidentally met him and Stuart one day in the swimming pool of the Reich Sportfeld. Ryan and Stuart told Mulally that Ryan was in Germany because of his strong Irish nationalism. The Germans felt Mulally had been convinced but Stuart knew he had not been (interviews with Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar, Bray, Ireland, August, 1971; and Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1971).

7. After the war Mulally, who remained in Germany, was employed in the tourist industry and acted as interpreter for various business concerns. He spent his winters in Ireland and his summers in the south of France (letter from William Warnock, *op. cit.*; interview with Francis Stuart, *op. cit.*; Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 302157, Document of Jan. 14, 1944).

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302119, 302123, 302121, and 302150, Documents of Jan. 13, 1943, Jan. 28, 1943, Jan. 29, 1943, and Jan. 25, 1944.

9. Lt. Col. Joseph Guilfoyle to Dr. James Walsh, Cork, Ireland, February, 1973; *Irish Press*, May 14, 1971; and confidential government source.

The British, who had advised the Irish that the two planes that brought O'Reilly and Kenny were coming, told them to be on the lookout for a third, but it never came.

10. Interview with Corporal John Murphy, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

11. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*

12. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 302157, Document of Jan. 14, 1944.

13. *Irish Press*, May 14, 1971; and confidential government source.

14. Ribbentrop then asked Ritter to make sure that in the future all departments involved agree on assignments of this type, adding that while he did not

wish to be consulted on every little matter, he did want to know when out-of-the-ordinary actions were planned (Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 302164, Document of Jan. 19, 1944).

15. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302161, 302164, 302152, 302167, and 302172, Documents of Jan. 7, 1944, Jan. 19, 1944, Jan. 24, 1944, Feb. 8, 1944, and Feb. 21, 1944.

16. *Ibid.*, Reel 384, frames 301302 and 301303, Documents of Feb. 25, 1944, and March 2, 1944.

17. Charles Wighton and Gunter Peis, *They Spied On England: Based on German Secret Service War Diary of General von Lahousen* (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1958); Chapter dealing with Ireland reprinted in the *Irish Times*, June 3, 1958, p. 4; and confidential government source.

18. Confidential government source.

19. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-82; and *Dublin Evening Press*, April 25, 1960, p. 7.

20. Jürgen Rohwer, *Die U-Boote-Erfolge der Achsenmächte, 1939-1945* (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1968), p. 12.

21. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*

22. Interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969.

23. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*

24. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100166, 100168, and 100173, Documents of March 5, 1940, March 6, 1940, and March 21, 1940; and confidential government source.

25. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

Before he was arrested the second time, Weber-Drohl lived with the daughter of an Irish soldier. The girl had a baby by him, which her mother registered as her own in order to collect a little additional welfare money. After a while, the financial department discovered the truth of the child's parentage and stopped payments. Weber-Drohl, interned by that time, spent much time writing letters to various politicians about it (confidential government source).

26. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100254, Document of June 22, 1940.

27. T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6-17, 1953.

## 12. HERMANN GOERTZ AND OPERATION MAINAU

1. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. X, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958). Document of July 3, 1940; confidential government source; interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969; and Sean O'Callaghan, *Jackboot in Ireland* (New York: Roy Publishing Co., 1958), p. 87.

2. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 88-91; and *The Times* (London) March 5, 1936.

3. Theodore Felstead, *Germany and Her Spies* (London: Hutchinson, 1940), pp. 90-98; Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and *The Times* (London) March 5, 1936.

In his sketches, buildings were lettered and details such as their capacity for planes, the extent of the barracks, and the defense the base could muster against hostile aircraft were noted.

4. *The Times* (London) March 5, 1936.

5. Confidential government source; Sean O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Enno

Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95; and Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frame 100878, Document of Dec. 27, 1941.

6. Interview with Francis Stuart, Dunshaughlin, Ireland, August, 1969.

7. Diary of Abwehr II, entry of May 5, 1940. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California.

8. Notes of Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar, dated October, 1945.

9. Enno Stephan, pp. 115-20; and confidential government source.

Ironically, some years later one of Goertz's IRA contacts, Sean Dowling, opened an exhibition of paintings by the wife of an American OSS man who had been sent to keep abreast of Irish Intelligence operations, the result in part of Goertz's activities.

10. Hermann Goertz, "Mission to Ireland," *Irish Times*, Aug. 25-Sept. 10, 1947.

11. Peter Fleming, *Operation Sea Lion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), pp. 181-82.

12. Hermann Goertz, *op. cit.*; Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-20; and interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

13. Ronald Wheatley, *Operation Sea Lion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 64; and confidential government source.

14. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 431, Document of May 24, 1940; and confidential government source.

15. *New York Times*, May 25, 1940, 4:1.

16. Confidential government source.

17. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100232, Document of June 7, 1940; and confidential government source.

18. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100216, Document of May 25, 1940; Abwehr Diary, entry of May 25, 1940.

19. Confidential government source.

20. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 431 and 601, Documents of May 24, 1940, and June 17, 1940.

21. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100221, and 100225, Documents of May 27, 1940, and May 30, 1940.

22. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 432 and 490-91, Documents of May 25, 1940, and June 1, 1940.

23. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100221, 100258, and 100343, Documents of May 27, 1940, June 25, 1940, and Aug. 24, 1940.

### 13. THE TRIAL OF STEPHEN CARROLL HELD AND THE ORDEAL OF STEPHEN HAYES

1. Confidential government source.

2. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. IX, Department of State Publication No. 6572 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 432. Document of May 25, 1940; Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frames 100222 and 100229, Documents of May 28, 1940 and June 3, 1940.

3. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100285, Document of June 15, 1940.

4. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents of German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 36, Document of June 26, 1940; and Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100255, Document of June 24, 1940.

5. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 601-2 and 637-38, Documents of June 17, 1940 and June 19, 1940.

6. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100253, 100255, and 100258, Documents of June 22, 1940, June 24, 1940, and June 25, 1940.

7. German Foreign Ministry Office, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 36, Document of June 26, 1940.

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100271 and 100291, Documents of July 3, 1940, and July 12, 1940.

9. *Ibid.*, frame 100282, Document of July 10, 1940.

10. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 131, 177-78.

Miss O'Mahoney worked in the bed bureau, a department that informed doctors wishing to hospitalize patients of available accommodations, and also served as Goertz's secretary. He paid her out of private monies or funds he had secreted and not turned over to Held (confidential government source; interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969).

11. Interview with Stephen Hayes, *op. cit.*

12. Confidential government source.

13. Hermann Goertz, "Mission to Ireland," *Irish Times*, Aug. 25-Sept. 10, 1947.

14. Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *The Bell*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (July, 1951).

15. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100345 and 100411, Documents of Aug. 24, 1940, and Oct. 5, 1940; and confidential government source.

16. Paul Leverkuehn, *German Military Intelligence* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), p. 105; Goertz, *op. cit.*; interview with Stephen Hayes, *op. cit.*; and Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *op. cit.*; Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

17. Interview with Stephen Hayes, *op. cit.*

18. Hayes claimed to have told Agriculture Minister Ryan in spring, 1940, that Russell had the opportunity to go from the United States to either Germany or Ireland. He thought Russell should go to Germany, but Ryan believed Russell should stay in the United States because in Germany he could make trouble for the Irish government and if he came to Ireland he could easily be arrested. Ryan then indicated, according to Hayes' confession, that he would take care that either the United States held Russell or the English arrested him at sea.

Hayes further claimed that in July Ryan had told him the British Secret Service had removed Russell from an Italian ship and was holding him in Gibraltar at the request of the Irish government. Two months later, Ryan said Russell had died in an accident and been buried at sea. The last account was part of a story supposedly involving a British Reserve officer then stationed in Gibraltar, who had taken Russell off the ship.

The following April, Hayes told Ryan that the American IRA had put Russell on a ship for Genoa. After the ship's stop at Lisbon, nothing more was heard from Russell. Upset by investigations of the matter originating in the United States, Ryan told Hayes to be absolutely silent because he feared that public knowledge of his steps against Russell could endanger both himself and the gov-

ernment, and could also seriously affect Irish-American support of the government (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100820, Document of Nov. 2, 1941; confidential government source).

19. Actually, General O'Duffy had already put Goertz in touch with MacNeill. MacNeill was the nephew of Eoin MacNeill, a freedom-fighter of moderate views and the Free State's representative on the commission set up to resolve the boundary dispute in the 1920's. Hugo MacNeill was co-founder of the Military College and had served as Director of Defense Plans. In 1934 he had been promoted to Major-General and had been sent to the United States for special training.

One of the few Army officers who supported Collins and Griffith, MacNeill joined Fianna Fail before De Valera's accession to power. He was one of three or four generals who worried Irish Intelligence because they were unpredictable, emotional, and strongly anti-British. Very bright in some ways, MacNeill lacked judgment and common sense, and Intelligence cautioned him to be more discreet. He held the second highest position in the Army and might have received the top command if Ireland had entered the war. As it was, from 1941 to 1946 he commanded the 2nd (Spearhead) Division, whose chief duty was to watch the British in the North and to resist them if they invaded the South. Until such an event occurred, he was ordered not to spy upon them or to interfere with them in any way.

In December, 1940, MacNeill mentioned to Thomsen that he regretted that Germany had no military attaché in Dublin, which would permit him to contact the Legation in a more circumspect fashion, although he realized that appointing one during wartime would raise problems. His remarks led Hempel to note that the British, French, and Americans each had at least one such attaché accredited to Dublin (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100464, 100647, Documents of Dec. 26, 1940, Feb. 19, 1941; Oliver MacDonagh, *Ireland* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), pp. 71, 111; *Irish Times*, April 3, 1953; confidential government source).

20. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100629, 100647, and 100826, Documents of Feb. 4, 1941, Feb. 19, 1941, and Nov. 3, 1941; and confidential government source.

21. Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *op. cit.*; Sean Kavanagh, "Burning Barricades in Gaol Riot," *This Week* (Dublin) May 22, 1970; and confidential government source.

22. The rest of the "confession" concerning Goertz and his activities was not published, but Hempel managed to acquire a copy of it. In it, Hayes said Ryan had told him Goertz's escape from Konstanz had been permitted to publicly discredit the IRA's fifth-column activities, and to learn from observing him what the German attitude was toward both the IRA and the Irish government, and to ascertain how much influence Goertz could exercise over his own government. Hayes also claimed to have told Ryan everything about Held's negotiations in Germany and that the Abwehr had asked Held about the plans he had brought for an attack on Northern Ireland without indicating whether they thought it practical. Hayes said the Abwehr did not mention any German designs for Northern Ireland but said merely moving against Eire would be a diplomatic error. They appeared willing to supply the IRA with limited financial aid, weapons, and munitions if they could do so without risking a break with the

Irish government, and stressed that after the war, Germany would not forget her friends and would urge that the IRA be represented in peace negotiations.

According to Hayes, Ryan answered that the government did not plan to get involved if Germany attacked the North, albeit circumstances could change this policy. Otherwise, he surmised that Held's arrest and the confiscation of Goertz's parachute must have left a bad impression of the IRA in Berlin.

In June Ryan said that if Allied pressures on Ireland to enter the war continued, he would meet with Goertz in about two weeks, but this meeting did not take place because of Hayes's capture. On the last encounter between Hayes and Ryan, Ryan supposedly said that unless Goertz worked out an understanding he would be arrested, as he would be considered anti-government and nothing more could be expected of him. The German government would not like this, but they could claim that his activities had endangered the Legation (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100815, Document of Oct. 29, 1941).

23. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100793, 100811, 100815, 100817, 100820, and 100826, Documents of Oct. 20, 1941, Oct. 29, 1941, Nov. 2, 1941, and Nov. 11, 1941.

24. Stephen Hayes, "My Strange Story," *op. cit.*

25. There were other repercussions, too. When the Irish government sentenced an activist named Williams to death in September, 1942, Sean MacBride headed a committee calling for public demonstrations to get him and six others pardoned. The IRA did not take part in these protests, partly because it had been disorganized ever since the Hayes affair (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101022, Document of Sept. 8, 1942).

#### 14. THE CAPTURE OF HERMANN GOERTZ

1. Germany, Auswärtiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 402, frame 307547, Document of Dec. 7, 1940.

2. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frame 100458, Document of Dec. 6, 1940.

3. *Ibid.*, frames 100302, 100334, 100341, 100398, 100458, 100467, 100647, 100826, Documents of June 20, 1940, Aug. 15, 1940, Aug. 23, 1940, Sept. 15, 1940, Sept. 28, 1940, Dec. 6, 1940, Dec. 9, 1940, Feb. 19, 1941, and Nov. 3, 1941.

4. Diary of Abwehr II, entry of Sept. 29, 1940. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California; and confidential government source.

5. Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press*, Nov. 24, 1963-Jan. 12, 1964.

6. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100619, 100643, 100674, Documents of Feb. 3, 1941, Feb. 17, 1941, and March 27, 1941.

7. Interview with Stephen Hayes, Enniscorthy, Ireland, August, 1969.

Up to that time Crofton had bluffed police and detectives, but Florry O'Donoghue, a former IRA man himself, called Military Intelligence, saying, "Don't mind Crofton—arrest him." Crofton received a five-year sentence, partly as a result of testimony of a man in the Marine Service named Hess who was related to him by marriage (confidential government source).

8. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100674, 100699, and 100758, Documents of March 27, 1941, April 26, 1941, and July 24, 1941; Reel 397, frames 301781, 301983, Documents of Aug. 1, 1941, and Aug. 11, 1941.



9. Abwehr Diary, entry of Aug. 15, 1941; and confidential government source.
10. Hermann Goertz, "Mission to Ireland," *Irish Times*, Aug. 25-Sept. 10, 1947.
11. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 301995, and 301996, Documents of Aug. 28, 1941, and Sept. 1, 1941; Reel 89, frame 100780, Document of Sept. 10, 1941.
12. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 301995, 302055, 302008, 302009, Documents of Aug. 28, 1941, Sept. 17, 1941, and Sept. 29, 1941; and interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1969.
13. Interviews with Commandant James Power and James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969; Abwehr Diary, entry of Sept. 17, 1941; and confidential government source.
14. Interview with Stephen Hayes, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
15. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frame 301977, Document of Aug. 5, 1941; and Reel 89, frames 100811 and 100836, Documents of Oct. 29, 1941, and Nov. 21, 1941; confidential government source; and Eduard Hempel, *op. cit.*
16. After her brief visit, this woman failed to stay in touch with her family in Dublin and periodically they would ask External Affairs to write to the Minister in Madrid. Eventually an answer would come: "We've inquired. She is quite well and is at her business" (confidential government source).
17. Abwehr Diary, entries of Nov. 15, 1940, and Dec. 29, 1940; and confidential government source.
18. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100878, Document of Dec. 27, 1941; Anthony Deery, quoted in Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), p. 198; and Abwehr Diary, entry of Jan. 14, 1941.
19. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100793 and 100841, Documents of Oct. 20, 1941, and Dec. 4, 1941; Hempel, *op. cit.*; interview with Col. Eamonn de Builéar, Bray, Ireland, August, 1971; and confidential government source.
20. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302030 and 302035, Documents of Dec. 1, 1941, and Dec. 15, 1941.
21. *Ibid.*, Reel 89, frames 100845, 100841, 100843, 100846, 100853, 100859, and 100883, Documents of Dec. 3, 1941, Dec. 4, 1941, Dec. 5, 1941, Dec. 8, 1941, Dec. 16, 1941, and Jan. 6, 1942.
22. *Ibid.*, frames 100846, 100854, Documents of Dec. 8, 1941, and Dec. 12, 1941.
23. Confidential government source.
24. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99; T. Desmond Williams, "Neutrality!" *Irish Times*, July 6-17, 1953; and confidential government source.
25. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100878, Document of Dec. 27, 1941; and confidential government source.
26. Colonel Eamonn de Builéar: notes of interrogations of Hermann Goertz, February 1942-October 1945.
27. Confidential government source.
28. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101194, Document of Aug. 7, 1943.
29. Confidential government source.
30. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
31. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302053 and 302051, Documents of May 15, 1942, and Feb. 25, 1942; Reel 384, frame 301282, Document of Nov. 5, 1942; Reel 89, frame 101185, Document of July 13, 1943.
32. Abwehr Diary, entry of May 17, 1942.

33. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302076 and 302084, Documents of July 17, 1942, and Aug. 11, 1942; Reel 384, frames 301272, 301285, and 301298, Documents of Oct. 7, 1942, Dec. 22, 1942, and Dec. 31, 1942.

34. Confidential government source.

35. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 101187, 101189, and 101194, Documents of July 15, 1943, July 19, 1943, and Aug. 7, 1943; Reel 384, frame 301365, Document of Sept. 8, 1943.

# 15. JOE ANDREWS, WILLY PREETZ, AND WALTER SIMON

1. Confidential government source.

2. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 384, frames 301177, 301178, 301182-7, 301197, 301198, Documents of April 10, 1942, April 18, 1942, April 20, 1942, May 21, 1942, and May 19, 1942.

They sent the messages to Abwehr II, advising them of the decoding problem, the source of the communication, and their assumption that they had either come from or were intended for Goertz. Abwehr II requested that all messages be deciphered immediately (*ibid.*, Reel 384, frame 301202, Document of May 28, 1942).

3. Confidential government source.

4. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frames 301202, 301220, 301228, 301229, 301230, 301244, Documents of May 28, 1942, June 9, 1942, July 4, 1942, July 20, 1942, Aug. 11, 1942; and confidential government source.

5. *Ibid.*, frames 301251, 301277, 301280, 301281, Documents of Aug. 29, 1942, Oct. 15, 1942, Oct. 17, 1942, and Nov. 5, 1942.

6. *Ibid.*, Reel 397, frames 302125, 302128, 302129, and 302141, Documents of Feb. 8, 1943, Feb. 11, 1943, and March 25, 1943.

7. *Ibid.*, frames 302134, 302136, Documents of April 5, 1943.

8. Confidential government source.

9. Germany, A.A. Reel 397, frames 302144, 302148, and 302169, Documents of Jan. 13, 1944, Feb. 5, 1944, and Jan. 29, 1944; and confidential government source.

10. Confidential government source.

11. Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar: Notes of interrogation of Willy Preetz (undated).

12. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100376, Document of Sept. 11, 1940.

13. Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar, Bray, Ireland, August, 1971; and Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 137-50.

14. Donohue, who had been dismissed from Keane's in December, 1939, for neglecting his work, had previously lived first with his father, and then with Keane. After he and Keane severed connections, he lived with the Reynolds family. In February, 1940, he went to Castlebar to work for a man named Garvey (to whom he loaned £40). Toward the end of June, 1940, he received a letter from Preetz asking him to meet him in Dublin on July 8. After the meeting, Donohue returned to Castlebar and gave notice to Garvey. He moved to Dublin July 11 (Col. Eamonn de Buitléar, *op. cit.*).

15. Randolph Churchill, "De Valera Locked Up Nazi Radio . . ." *New York World-Telegram*, Nov. 13, 1945; interview with Sergeant John Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1969.

16. Confidential government source.
17. Colonel Eamonn de Buitléar, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
18. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100376 and 100415, Documents of Sept. 11, 1940, and Oct. 11, 1940.
19. Interview with Sergeant John Power, *op. cit.*
20. Confidential government source.
21. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*
22. Interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1969.
23. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and Charles Wighton and Gunter Peis, *They Spied on England: Based on German Secret Service War Diary of General von Lahousen* (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1958); Chapter dealing with Ireland reprinted in the *Irish Times*, June 3, 1958, p. 4.
24. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100388, Document of Sept. 23, 1940; Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
25. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*
26. Obituary in Athlone newspaper, courtesy of Commandant James Power.
27. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
28. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100355, Document of June 24, 1940.
29. *Dublin Evening Mail*, June 22, 1940, quoted in Stephan, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
30. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-50; and confidential source.
31. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100329, 100388, and 100415, Documents of Aug. 13, 1940, Sept. 23, 1940, and Oct. 11, 1940.

## 16. TWO LOBSTERS, A WHALE, AND THE SPY WHO BROUGHT HIS LUNCH

1. Charles Wighton and Gunter Peis, *They Spied on England: Based on the German Secret Service War Diary of General von Lahousen* (London: Odhams Press, Ltd., 1958); Chapter dealing with Ireland reprinted in the *Irish Times*, June 3, 1958, p. 4.
  2. Confidential government source; and Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 147-55.
  3. Christian Nissen quoted in Paul Leverkuehn, *German Military Intelligence* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954), pp. 121-23.
  4. Confidential government source; and Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*
  5. Interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1971.
  6. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*; Christian Nissen, *op. cit.*; and Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*
  7. Confidential government source.
  8. The Abwehr thought the Irish discovered the men were not students when they examined the contents of their suitcases (Diary of Abwehr II, entry of July 18, 1940. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California).
  9. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frames 100324 and 100339, Documents of Aug. 5, 1940, and Aug. 20, 1940.
- Hempel did not mention Obed after this. After a time the Abwehr inquired about him, commenting that he had not been heard from in ten months. Hempel then sent a list of telegrams that told of the capture of Tributh, Gaertner, and an unknown Indian, adding that they were all still in jail (Germany, A.A. Reel

397, frames 302017, 302024, Documents of Oct. 15, 1941, Oct. 25, 1941).

10. Abwehr Diary, entries of July 11, 1940, and July 18, 1940; and Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*

11. Christian Nissen, *op. cit.*

12. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969; confidential government source.

13. Christian Nissen, *op. cit.*

14. Interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*; and Abwehr Diary, entry of Nov. 11, 1940, Nov. 29, 1940, May 21, 1941, and May 22, 1941.

In fall, 1940, Intelligence loaned Clissmann to the Foreign Office. After working for over a year with Dr. Veessenmayer, he became convinced that developments on the eastern front had negated Ireland's role in the war. In January, 1943, he therefore asked for a transfer back to the Army, where he served until the end of the war (interview with Helmut Clissmann, *op. cit.*).

15. Gunther Schutz, "My Secret Mission to Ireland," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), May 24-June 24, 1970; and interview with Gunther Schutz, Arklow, County Wicklow, Ireland, August, 1971. In January, 1940, the friend who had accompanied Schutz on his weekend excursions received a letter from Schutz in Antwerp, suggesting he continue his work in England. The man went to the police and British Intelligence induced him to operate as a double agent (John C. Masterman, *The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972], pp. 46-7).

17. Letter to author from William Warnock, June, 1971.

18. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*, and confidential government source.

19. David Kahn, *The Code-Breakers; the Story of Secret Writing* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 525; Colonel Eamonn de Buítléar, Bray, Ireland, August, 1971.

Schutz did not seem aware that all mail was censored and that therefore the value of his invisible ink would probably be minimal.

20. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*

21. Enno Stephan, *op. cit.*

22. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

23. Colonel Eamonn de Buítléar, *op. cit.*

24. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

25. Confidential government source.

26. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source. To distract his pursuers, Schutz had left a list of contacts in his cell. He purposely omitted O'Hanlon's name from it.

27. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100922 and 100943, Documents of Feb. 18, 1942, and March 24, 1942; Reel 384, frames 301153, 301156, 301159, 301168, Documents of March 3, 1942, March 26, 1942, March 25, 1942, and March 30, 1942.

28. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*

29. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100168 and 100948, Documents of March 6, 1940, and April 1, 1942.

30. Although nothing definite came from this meeting, it can be seen that Hempel was not alone in disliking Legation involvement in situations potentially threatening to Irish neutrality. Subsequently, he was advised that desirable though non-involvement was, he could not always be kept out of espionage mat-

ters and that sometimes spies might need to contact him. In each case, he would have to decide the extent of his cooperation and report to Berlin immediately if previously given instructions could not be carried out (Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frame 301179, Document of April 2, 1942).

31. In this communication, mention was also made of the fact that Ives had married, De Boer was okay, and Lilo was well and sent Schutz her love. His new cover address was to be: Señora Honor Herrero y Elosua, Bilboa, Espartero 36, Spain (*Ibid.*, Reel 384, frames 301165, 301170, and 301179, Documents of April 4, 1942, April 17, 1942, and April 2, 1942).

32. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*

33. Wilhelm Masgeik, an engineer with whom McGuinness had been working on an island in Cobh Harbor, wanted to return to Germany, leaving his family for the Legation to support in his Irish mansion. He was unable to take a German or Irish plane, and strict British control prevented his catching a freighter. He wanted to buy a motorboat and get McGuinness to sail it directly to the French coast. Apparently he did not think it important that McGuinness planned to take along an outline for a proposed German invasion. Hempel told Masgeik to forget the trip and reminded him that traveling with someone who carried such plans could endanger both himself and the German Legation. He noted, however, that Masgeik could be valuable to the Fatherland and was prepared to encourage him to take a motorboat on his own and head south from Cobh. Masgeik had often sailed out of this harbor, and he probably would not attract attention. Once outside the territorial waters, a plane or submarine could pick him up. The Foreign Office did not consider Masgeik trustworthy because he had left Germany to work for a Jewish firm in England (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100778, Document of Sept. 10, 1941; Reel 397, frame 302012, Document of Oct. 6, 1941).

34. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frames 100976 and 100978, Documents of June 3, 1942, and June 4, 1942; Reel 384, frame 301189, Document of May 1, 1942; Reel 397, frame 302080, Document of July 15, 1942; and confidential government source.

35. Interview with Corporal John Dillon, Moate, Ireland, July, 1971.

36. Gunther Schutz, *op. cit.*

37. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frames 301195 and 301209, Documents of May 15, 1942, and June 20, 1942; Reel 397, frame 302060, Document of May 5, 1942.

38. Confidential government source.

## 17. THE INTERNMENT CAMP AT ATHLONE

1. Germany, Auswärtiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frame 101001, Document of June 29, 1942; Reel 397, frame 302060, Document of May 5, 1942; and confidential government source.

2. The Foreign Office informed the Abwehr of this request, and the Abwehr okayed it, but no one bothered to inform Hempel. In August he again asked what to do and on the 28th was told to state how he proposed to work out the financial arrangements (*Ibid.*, Reel 384, frames 301211, 301255, 301243, 301258, Documents of July 9, 1942, July 23, 1942, Aug. 8, 1942, Aug. 28, 1942).

3. *Ibid.*, Reel 384, frames 301311, 301206, 301210, 301211, 301255, 301243, 301358, 301267, 301269, 301287, 301192, 301309, 301327, 301338, 301358, and

301391, Documents of Feb. 18, 1942, May 22, 1942, June 26, 1942, July 9, 1942, July 23, 1942, Aug. 8, 1942, Aug. 28, 1942, Oct. 12, 1942, Nov. 7, 1942, Dec. 15, 1942, Dec. 22, 1942, Feb. 26, 1943, June 17, 1943, Aug. 17, 1943, and Aug. 9, 1944.

4. *Ibid.*, Reel 397, frame 302093, Document of Oct. 26, 1942; and interview with Sergeant John Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1969.

5. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frames 301315, 301321, and 301329, Documents of March 16, 1943, March 24, 1943, and April 21, 1943.

6. Interview with Corporal John Dillon, Moate, Ireland, August, 1971.

7. Interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1971.

8. *Governor's Book*, entry of Oct. 9, 1943.

9. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*

10. Interviews with Sergeant John Power and Corporal John Dillon, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

11. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*

12. Interview with Gunther Schutz, Arklow, County Wicklow, Ireland, August, 1971.

13. Interviews with Corporal John Dillon and Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*

14. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frame 301331, Document of May 15, 1943.

15. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

16. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), p. 374.

17. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.

18. Germany, A.A. Reel 384, frames 301371, 301372, 301394, 301395, 301401, and 301404, Documents of Sept. 23, 1943, June 27, 1944, July 18, 1944, July 22, 1944, Aug. 31, 1944, and Sept. 22, 1944.

19. Confidential government source.

20. Gunther Schutz, "My Secret Mission to Ireland," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), May 24-June 24, 1970.

In July, 1943, when the government refused the request of the Labour Party to release IRA activists, the press claimed it was because the IRA had been trying to involve the country in war. As evidence, the press noted that in 1940, a parachutist had been dropped with plans for what appeared to be an invasion of Ireland. During the eighteen months it took to catch him, he was housed by people in the IRA. Another parachutist who was arrested escaped immediately and managed to avoid recapture for a couple of months. It was believed that IRA involvement with the spies indicated the IRA's wish to get Ireland into the war (Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 101183, Document of July 10, 1943).

## 18. THE END OF THE WAR

1. Confidential government source.

2. Interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1971.

3. Colonel Eamonn de Buítléar: Notes of interrogation of Hermann Goertz, December, 1945.

4. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*

5. Letter to Corporal John Dillon from Dr. Ernest Weber-Drohl, April, 1948.

6. Interview with Patrick Hassett, Dublin, Ireland, July, 1971.

7. Confidential government source.
8. *New York Times*, April 24, 1947, 5:5.
9. Gerald Boland, Minister of Justice, had at first refused to sign the deportation papers, because he did not wish to take responsibility for what Goertz might do. Staunchly refusing would have made his resignation mandatory, however, and after a conference with De Valera, the Minister of Justice changed his mind and signed the deportation papers (interview with Frederick Boland, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1971).
10. Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), Nov. 24, 1963-Jan. 12, 1964.
11. Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald, 1963), pp. 296-99.
12. Interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.
13. Confidential government source.
14. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*
15. Eduard Hempel, *op. cit.*
16. Confidential government source.
17. Eduard Hempel, *op. cit.*; and confidential government source.
18. Interview with Gunther Schutz, Arklow, County Wicklow, Ireland, August, 1971; letters to Colonel Eamonn de Buítléar from Gunther Schutz, May and August, 1946.
19. Interview with Comandant James Power, *op. cit.*
20. Letter to Charles Burdick from Hans Becker, January, 1971.
21. Clissmann later became an Irish citizen and acquired an Irish passport, but when he first arrived, the Department of External Affairs called him to Dublin for a lengthy talk about his war experiences. Clissmann, an old friend of the man who had become Foreign Minister, Sean MacBride, convinced those he talked to that he was too well known to have engaged in suspicious activities. Military Intelligence subsequently felt he had returned with MacBride's blessings and that he was most anxious that there be no suggestion that he had originally come to Ireland to undertake espionage or to cooperate with the IRA (interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969; confidential government source).

## 19. CONCLUSION

1. Germany, Auswartiges Amt. Records of the German Foreign Office received by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. (microfilm): T-120, Reel 89, frame 100408, Document of Oct. 3, 1940.
2. Clement R. Atlee, *As It Happened* (New York: Viking Press, 1954), pp. 268-69. To determine how far the Irish were willing to go in the matter of co-operation, the Germans sent Helmut Clissmann to Madrid to talk with Kerney. After the war, Kerney's conduct was criticized, and in 1953 a series of newspaper articles accused him of behaving incorrectly. Kerney sued the paper and collected £500, which he donated to the Irish Red Cross (Interview with Helmut Clissmann, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969).
3. Eduard Hempel, "Ireland on the Brink," as told to John Murdoch, *Sunday Press* (Dublin), Nov. 24, 1963-Jan. 12, 1964.
4. Germany, A.A. Reel 224, frame 280058, Document of Feb. 8, 1940.
5. Robert Brennan, "Secret War Documents," *Irish Press*, August 23-30, 1958; and confidential government source.

6. Germany, A.A. Reel 89, frame 100408, Document of Oct. 3, 1940.

7. Kevin B. Nowlan, "On the Eve of War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1969), pp. 4-5; G. A. Hayes-McCoy, "Irish Defense Policy, 1938-51," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-50; and confidential government source.

8. Interview with Commandant James Power, Athlone, Ireland, August, 1971.

9. Clement R. Atlee, *op. cit.*; Randolph Churchill, "De Valera Locked up Nazi Radio But Let British Keep Sets in Eire," *New York World-Telegram*, November 13, 1945; and confidential government source.

10. Interview with Commandant James Power, *op. cit.*

11. Review of Enno Stephan's *Spies in Ireland* by "H.G.," *Irish Times*, November 4, 1961.

The Germans also complained that workers in bomb-making factories put chewing gum between the explosives and the fuse, thus sabotaging these weapons.

12. Confidential government source.

13. James F. Meenan, "Irish Economy During the War," *Ireland in the War Years and After, 1939-51*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

14. Eduard Hempel, *op. cit.* Not everyone in the United States believed Dublin was a hotbed of spies. In 1944, the *New York Sun* printed a letter to the editors stating that both the English and Irish Secret Services closely watched the German Minister and his staff of four and that travel between Eire and Britain was regulated so carefully that even a member of Parliament could not enter the Free State without a permit (*New York Sun*, March 8, 1944, letter to editors from Arthur P. Quinlan).

15. Confidential government source.

16. Diary of Abwehr II, entry of Jan. 4, 1941. Microfilm property of Dr. Charles Burdick, San Jose State University, San Jose, California; interview with James O'Donovan, Dublin, Ireland, August, 1969.

17. Erwin von Lahousen quoted in Charles Wighton and Gunther Peis, *They Spied on England: Based on German Secret Service War Diary of General von Lahousen* (London: Odhams Press, Ltd., 1958); Chapter dealing with Ireland reprinted in the *Irish Times*, June 3, 1958, p. 4.

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19. Karl Heinz Abshagen, *Canaris* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1956), p. 185.

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