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"First as Tragedy, Second as Farce": Executing German Spies at the Tower of London During World War One

Samuel Weber

"History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce." [1] Karl Marx here unknowingly summed up the history of the Tower of London during World War One. During its existence, the Tower has been the site of hundreds of executions of state prisoners, though none after 1780. However, the British public still continues to associate the Tower with executions even today. When faced with the decision of where to execute German spies during the First World War, there was almost no hesitation; the Tower was the place. The attraction of the symbolism was apparently just too strong. But while an attractive idea at first, it turned out in actuality to be a mistake and something of a public relations disaster. In fact, it is now hard to see how matters could have turned out differently as the Tower by 1914 was no longer a prison, but already London's number one tourist attraction! All scholarly works on the Tower as the site for the execution of German spies miss the comic opera quality of this decision. A contemporary account of German espionage during the First World War was written by Sidney Theodore Felstead, entitled *German Spies at Bay: Being an Actual Record of the German Espionage in Great Britain During the Years 1914-1918, Compiled from Official Sources*. In his work, Felstead gives a unique description of German espionage throughout the war, including coverage of those executed in the Tower. However, he does not go into much detail surrounding why they were killed there and the deep political ramifications that the decision carried. Leonard Sellers' *Shot in the Tower: the Story of the Spies Executed in the Tower of London During the First World War*, is the only publication that focuses on the men who were executed in the Tower. However, even this publication is little more than a narrative of their trials and executions. [2] This paper will go a step further. It will show that while the British Government tried to utilize the Tower for symbolic purposes, the executions of German spies failed to achieve the public relations outcomes that were anticipated. This failure caused the executions to be moved to less visible places or out of sight altogether.

Today the Tower of London is one of England's most popular tourist attractions. While hundreds of thousands of guests now visit the Tower every year, it was not until the 19th century that the Tower became what it is today, a sort of historical Disneyland. Up to this point, the Tower of London was a Royal palace, a fort and a prison. The transition from fort and state prison to tourist attraction began during the reign of Queen Victoria in 1837. Even at this early date the Tower already averaged 15,000 visitors per year, most of whom were there to see the Royal Menagerie and the Crown Jewels. Though opposed by the Duke of Wellington, who was then Constable of the Tower, and "who [wanted] to prevent some thousands ...from going there if they please[d] and when there, from doing what they please," [3] many of the buildings were renovated by Anthony Salvin, a famous architect who was already well known for the restoration of other historic buildings. The efforts to transform the Tower paid off. By the end of the century the Tower saw 402,000 people pass through its gates every year. [4] The Yeomen Warders, the officers who lived in and guarded the Tower, soon found new roles as tour guides and entertainers.

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This was how things stood when, at the beginning of World War One, the British government passed the first version of the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) on 8 August 1914. This legislation expanded the government's wartime powers, allowing such things as the requisition of buildings or the taking of land for the war effort. It also included new regulations regarding criminal offenses such as espionage and treason,^[5] which were made to "prevent persons communicating with the enemy ...secure the safety of His Majesty's forces and ships ...prevent the spread of false reports or reports likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty ... [and] prevent assistance being given to the enemy."^[6] For now, these offenses were only punishable by a lifetime of penal servitude, not execution. Nor did the legislation require that those accused of offenses against DORA had to be tried in a court-martial.^[7] DORA would undergo revisions during the war in order to assist the government in its pursuit of German spies and accommodate the desired punishment, but not before the first espionage threat came from Germany.

At the beginning of World War One, Germany had an especially keen interest when it came to gathering knowledge about British naval intelligence. The British army in German eyes was small, insignificant and weak. Therefore, having the upper hand on naval intelligence would balance out the battle for sea power.^[8] Ultimately, however, Britain did not engage the Germans in naval battles for much of the War, instead preferring to enact blockades off the German shores. This was something the *Admiralstab*^[9] did not anticipate during the planning stages of their naval strategy. In fact, when Admiral Friedrich von Ingenohl was asked what the plan would be if in fact the British Navy did not initiate fighting, the Admiral had no answer.^[10] Britain was known for its command of the seas; therefore, Germany wanted to be as prepared as possible for a British naval assault.

Naval Lieutenant Carl Hans Lody was one of the first high profile German spies to be captured in Great Britain. Because of Germany's obsession with obtaining British naval intelligence, Lody was the perfect fit given his expertise in naval matters and his exceptional command of English. He traveled abroad frequently to America, and actually married an American, Louise Storz, though it only lasted for a year.^[11] While spying for the Germans, Lody used the alias of Charles A. Inglis, which he obtained by stealing the passport application of the real Inglis and substituting his own photo. At this time, Americans were scrambling to get out of Germany and many passport applications were submitted, allowing Lody to steal Inglis's identity with impunity.^[12] A new identity, coupled with Lody's American-English accent, allowed him to create a strong cover.^[13]

The British authorities began to notice Lody after he sent a number of letters from England to Stockholm, which then got transferred to Berlin, or so Lody thought. In reality, Lody's letters were being intercepted by the British, which contained information related to the presence of battleships and other similar naval intelligence. One report written in German by Lody stated that "[i]n the North Sea as far as I can ascertain 22 small vessels have been sunk. Also that a small cruiser is lying at Leith. And 4 armed cruisers and about 10 torpedo boats and 2 destroyers are lying at Gragemouth."^[14] Lody began to feel that he was being watched, however, and eventually left his lodgings in a hotel and subsequently stayed on the move, hoping to avoid the authorities. Despite his precautions, Lody was arrested on 2 October 1914 in Ireland, two months after the beginning of the war, and was soon thereafter transferred to Scotland Yard in London for questioning.^[15]

The question of how to try Lody was a difficult one for the British authorities. Initially, British Intelligence believed Lody to be an American citizen working for the Germans because of his American passport and his command of American-English. According to the Attorney-General, John Simon, the Manual of Military Law stated that "it would [be] necessary to charge Inglis with being an enemy civilian" if he was

to be tried by court-martial, but the evidence at their disposal "could not support this."^[16] If Lody would have stood by his alias of Charles Inglis and if he could have proven that this was his identity, his trial and sentencing would have had very different outcomes. A letter written to The Honorable Sir Cecil Edward Bingham, a Major-General in the British Expeditionary Force, argued that if Lody was able to prove he was an American, he could not be considered an enemy civilian, and only enemy civilians who allegedly committed espionage could be tried by court-martial under DORA.^[17] Simon also remarked that "[a] trial before the [Lord Chief Justice] would mean hanging instead of shooting, of course."^[18] However, this is what British officials mistakenly believed. Legally speaking, espionage was not an offense against DORA that was to be tried by court-martial, nor even able to bring a death sentence. Unable to uncover if Lody was a German, the original decision by the War Office and the British government was to try Lody "before the High Court on a charge of Treason."^[19] A decision was reached on 21 October 1914 that required that Lody be handed over to the civil authorities for a civilian trial. However, just two days later Lody admitted to being a German citizen, giving the British the opportunity they were looking for.

Reasons for Lody's confession can be traced to his desire not to be remembered as a spy, but as a brave German soldier. Now seen as an enemy civilian, a court-martial was brought against Lody for espionage with the possibility of a death sentence by firing squad.^[20] Unfortunately, both of these outcomes were technically illegal, but nobody seemed to notice the mistake that had been made.

Lody's court-martial took place from 30 October to 2 November 1914 at Middlesex Guildhall, just across from Westminster Abbey. The leader of those presiding over the court-martial was Major General Herbert Eaton, 3rd Baron Cheylesmore, who was also a member of the British National Rifle Association and was commandant of a military training school at Bisley Camp.^[21] Lody's lodging during the court-martial was not a traditional prison cell, but a room at the Wellington Barracks, 300 yards from Buckingham Palace. He was under the custody of the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, who were housed in the Barracks at that time.^[22] The prosecutor for the case, Archibald H. Bodkin, requested that neither Lody's name nor the fact that he was on trial for espionage be kept from the public.^[23] Throughout the proceedings, Lody's stoicism captivated the press. The *Daily Telegraph* on 31 October described him as "pale, clean-shaven, with black hair cut close, compressed lips, and an intelligent face ...when making a note he put on spectacles."^[24] When questioned once, Lody began to sob, but then regained his composure, asking the court's forgiveness.^[25] It became clear that Lody wanted to portray himself not as a spy, but as a German patriot. To do so, Lody did not defend himself against the accusations facing him, despite initially pleading not-guilty. Even though he knew his lack of remorse would probably lead to a harsher sentence, Lody refused to advance any defense other than his love for his home and his Kaiser.^[26] On 3 November, the court-martial found Lody guilty and sentenced him to execution by firing squad at the Tower of London. The sentence was confirmed by King George V and Lody's execution date was set for the morning of 6 November 1914.^[27]

The British wanted to include Lody's court-martial and subsequent execution as part of their large wartime propaganda campaign and attempted to do so in a number of ways. Their first idea was to hold the court-martial publicly. Unfortunately, this proved to be more difficult than anticipated. For example, in Lody's court-martial, there was evidence from Liverpool which was broken into two parts, the first of which was laid before the court in public, and the second part *in camera*. The British government would have been willing to allow the whole of the evidence to be given publicly, but despite propaganda desires, national security was still an issue, for they realized that exposure to the press would allow the Germans to ascertain how much the British knew about German espionage efforts.^[28] Allowing for the press to have complete coverage of the execution, however, made much more sense to the British

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authorities. The prospect of a death sentence for a German spy was something the British had not experienced before Lody. Much anticipation preceded the final sentencing by the court-martial. The *Daily Express* wrote on 31 October that "if the finding of the court martial is against the accused man ...he may be sentenced to be shot within 24 hours. There is thus a grim fascination about the life-and-death struggle which none of the spy trials during the past few years had possessed."^[29] A certain thrill was certainly evoked in the British public when the phrase "German Spy" was used by the press.^[30]

The night prior to his execution, Lody was transferred from the Wellington Barracks to 29 The Casemates, which is on Mint Street within the walls of the Tower, a distance of three miles through central London.^[31] Today the Yeomen Warders live here. His accommodations again were not traditionally for prisoners. It can only be assumed that Lody's last meal was prepared by one of the wives of the Yeomen Warders, as there were no adequate dining facilities available for prisoners at that time. A Yeoman Warder, John Fraser, fully dressed in his traditionally colorful uniform, described the execution. "The following morning, 6 November 1914, broke cold, foggy, and bleak, and at a very early hour Lody was brought from his cell, and the grim procession formed upon the verandah of the Tower Main Guard."^[32] Lody was led into the Tower's rifle range located between the Martin and Constable Towers and was tied down to a chair. He refused a bandage to cover his eyes, as he wished to die with them open. The eight men of the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guard firing squad, the same battalion which housed Lody in the Wellington Barracks, were roused early in the morning for the execution, took aim and fired, and thus ended the life of a "brave man."^[33] The *New York Times* reported that the visitors to the Tower that day were aware of what had happened and only spoke in whispers.^[34] Oddly, visitors were still permitted within the Tower's walls the day of Lody's execution, adding a certain surreal quality to the event and emphasizing the lack of planning involved! Unfortunately for the British, Germany was able to use Lody's execution for their own benefit. The Kaiser awarded Lody the Iron Cross, second class.^[35] Years later, the Nazis even erected a monument to him in his hometown of Lubeck, Germany.^[36] Lody instantly became a martyr to the German cause for nationalism and became a symbol of resistance against the British, the very opposite of what the authorities had desired.

There were other legal difficulties regarding the trial of Lody that the British were not anticipating. Under the first version of DORA from 8 August, the maximum penalty for the offenses of espionage and treason was a lifetime of penal servitude, not execution. There was also no regulation stating the availability of trying spies *in camera* for their courts-martial. In essence, Lody was both tried and executed illegally. Realizing the gravity of their mistake and hoping to cover it up, the British passed a revision of DORA on 28 November 1914 which allowed DORA offenses to be tried either "by courts-martial, or in the case of minor offences by courts of summary jurisdiction."^[37] The act also stipulated that those facing judgment for these offenses, if proven guilty with "the intention of assisting the enemy ...shall be liable to suffer death."^[38] Despite this quick revision to the law, Lody was nevertheless tried and executed by the British illegally, marking the first occurrence of things going terribly wrong with the executions of German spies at the Tower.

Four months had passed since the execution of Lody when a powerful new spy threat came from Germany. Because of the powers granted to the government under DORA, the Postal Censorship intercepted and examined all mail correspondences that were thought to be a threat during the war. ^[39] In the middle of February 1915, specific mail correspondences sent from Britain to a specific address in Holland suspected of having ties with a German espionage school were intercepted. After treating the letters for invisible ink, the authorities had a clue they needed to discover the identity of the author. "C. has gone to Newcastle, so I am writing this from 201 instead." ^[40] The only street with a 201

in Deptford, the district of London where the letters were sent from, was High Street. Scotland Yard arrested its occupant, Peter Hahn, on suspicion of being a German spy. The police asked Hahn who "C." was in his letter, but he refused to answer. A local woman told the police she remembered a tall, Russian looking man who regularly visited Hahn. His name was Muller and he lived in Russell Square in London. Muller was found to reside in a boarding house there, but had left for Newcastle. The landlady gave Scotland Yard his forwarding address and Muller was arrested in Newcastle.^[41]

Muller was brought back down to London and questioned by Scotland Yard. He started by claiming that he was a Russian subject, hated all Germans, could not even speak German, and had never previously met Hahn. When evidence was produced against him, Muller immediately fell silent.^[42] The authorities came to realize that Hahn was nothing more than Muller's tool. He was not a very wealthy man, and this may have played into his decision to spy on Britain, though he was German only by descent. He was in fact a British subject and had the right to be tried in civil court. Since the case against Muller was intertwined with Hahn's case, the two men were brought together before civil court at the Old Bailey in May of 1915.^[43]

The trial was much different than that of Lody's. For one, it was legal. Second, it was held in civil court and not as a military tribunal. The main difference, however, was the lack of publicity for the second trial. The case was, for the most part, tried *in camera*, and there was very little press coverage. The government had learned an important lesson and did not want Muller to become a martyr and popular public figure as Lody had. The evidence was ample: letters written in invisible ink giving intelligence on military preparations, demands for money and letters from Rotterdam which had been discovered by the Postal Censorship. Hahn protested throughout the whole trial that he was simply acting under orders, but was convicted and sentenced to seven years penal servitude anyway. Muller, the brains behind the operation, received a sentence of death by firing squad.^[44] Following the sentencing, the War Office requested Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood to turn over Muller to be executed in the Tower of London: "It is practically the only place in London convenient for the purpose, besides which it will have more effect on the country at large and possibly in Germany than an ordinary prison would have."^[45] After a failed appeal, Muller was transferred to the Tower from Brixton Prison, which had adequate execution facilities that British officials erroneously decided to ignore. He was transported there by a common taxi-cab which broke down in Central London during the lunch hour, attracting a large crowd. This created quite a stir, the general public seeing a foreign prisoner in a taxi flanked by two armed military policemen. People were heard screaming "German spy!" something that British authorities had tried to avoid this time around.^[46] Another cab was quickly hailed and Muller arrived at the Tower, but not without disastrous publicity.

Muller broke down badly during his last night at the Tower. He sobbed for his wife and children, wishing to see them one last time. He was able to regain his composure at 6 AM the following morning and was escorted from his lodgings, again in the Casemates with his last meal probably prepared by the wife of a Warder, to the Tower's rifle range. After shaking hands with the members of the firing squad, he was tied down to the execution chair, blindfolded, and executed. A coroner was on site during the execution and immediately made a full report on the manner of the execution, which stated that Muller died instantaneously and that the execution was carried out "from a humanitarian point of view."^[47] In order to avoid any additional unnecessary publicity, the coroner was not informed to report to the Tower of London until the evening before Muller's execution so as to prevent a leakage of information. In addition, "no other communication on the subject [was] to be made to the public or the press" until deemed appropriate.^[48] This lack of transparency had interesting consequences, even leading the *New York Times* to report that Muller was actually named F. R. Muller, an American businessman from

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Boston, and that the Tower's rifle range was located in the Tower's drained moat instead of its proper location, inside the Tower walls on the eastern side of the complex.^[49] The coverage and publicity of subsequent spy trials and courts-martial declined, leading to the general public losing interest in the fates of the men. But this did not keep elements of the comic opera from developing with the remaining men to be executed.

The late spring of 1915 was a busy one for British intelligence. In a fortnight, seven German spies were detected by the authorities and arrested. The first two of these spies arrested was Haicke Petrus Marinus Janssen and Willem Johannes Roos, whose letters sent to Holland attracted the suspicion of the Postal Censorship because of their requests for large quantities of cigars. The messages were sent to Dierks & Co, Loosduinschedak Den Haag, an address believed to be used by German espionage agents. In one of the letters, written on 26 May 1915, Janssen wrote, "Send immediately 4,000 Sumatra mark A.G.K. 4,000 Sumatra Havana B.Z. and samples Brasiel U."^[50] Subsequent letters were also written on 27 and 28 May 1915, "requesting" more cigars. Because these seemed like an absurd amount of cigars and the address was known to have connections with Germany, instructions were sent to arrest Janssen at the address given on his telegrams, which was in Southampton. When the police went to arrest Janssen, he asked for the liberty to bring his hat with him to Scotland Yard.^[51] The inspectors went through Janssen's belongings and did in fact find bags and boxes of cigars, along with a Dutch passport showing that Janssen was a Dutch subject.

While the authorities were escorting Janssen back to London, they were also tracking down Roos, who was also communicating to the same address in Holland and using the same secret code asking for an absurd amount of cigars to be sent to various British ports. The Germans never realized that seamen and sailors hardly ever smoked cigars, favoring pipes and cigarettes instead.^[52] An inspector from Scotland Yard, Albert Fitch, arrested Roos at the Three Nuns Hotel in Aldgate, London. When Fitch informed Roos that he was suspected of being a spy, Roos replied that he was in fact a cigar salesman from Holland, but had smoked all of his samples, hence the lack of cigars in his possession.^[53]

On 3 June 1915 both Janssen and Roos were questioned by Scotland Yard. Janssen was questioned first. He claimed to be 30 years old, a sailor, to have no knowledge of German, and to be Dutch. Janssen also stated that he was the only representative of Dierks in the country selling cigars. He turned pale when told that the address of Dierks in Holland was connected with the German Secret Service. The last question he was asked was whether he knew Roos, which he denied.^[54] Janssen was removed from the interrogation room and came face to face with Roos in the hallway outside where Roos was awaiting questioning. There is no documentation detailing any discussions the spies may have had, but something must have taken place because Roos entered the interrogation room cheerfully and answered the first few questions with smile on his face. The first question asked was if he knew Janssen, which he answered, "Oh yes. That is Janssen. I know him very well. We met over at the Hague. We were both engaged as travelers for Dierks and Co."^[55] Janssen was brought back into the room with Roos and stated that he still did not know who Roos was and that he was the "only person authorized to act for Dierks and Co."^[56] Roos' laughter and cooperation with Scotland Yard kept throwing off Janssen, perhaps because he did not understand the severity of the situation. Regardless, the two men were moved to Cannon Row police station for the night.^[57]

Roos' mannerisms were probably a cover for what he was truly feeling. That night at Cannon Row, Roos asked the station sergeant if he could leave his cell to exercise. On the way back to his cell, Roos ran at a glass door, breaking it and severely cutting his hands and wrists, yelling unintelligible words throughout. There was no doctor or surgeon on the premises, so Roos was transported to Westminster Hospital for

treatment. Given British history with transporting German spies through London, it can only be assumed Roos was transported there by a taxi, although no record of its breaking down can be found. After treatment, Roos was transported back to Cannon Row, only to be removed to Brixton Prison the next day along with Janssen.^[58]

Confusion ensued about where to house the prisoners from that point forward. On 5 June 1915, orders were sent from the Army Council to the Major of the Tower, Major-General H. Pipon, requesting that they would "kindly inform [him] ...if arrangements [could] be made for the accommodation of the prisoners."^[59] It was also desired that the men would "not be permitted to converse with any unauthorized person and in particular with any other prisoner charged with the same offence."^[60] Later that day, Janssen and Roos were transported from Brixton to the Tower. It was also requested that Roos be placed on suicide watch because of his actions at Cannon Row. They were "lodged in the cell of the main guard and married quarters," which was another name for the Casemates.^[61] Just 4 days later, however, the pair was removed "from the Tower of London to the Military Detention Barracks at Wandsworth."^[62] Here they remained for the duration of their court-martial.

While in custody, Roos wrote a letter to his sister Clasina Roos, who lived in Holland. In the letter Roos claimed that "Jansen can save my life if he speaks the truth."^[63] This sheds much light on the demeanor of Roos during initial questioning at Scotland Yard. He truly believed that being forthcoming from the beginning would have been in their best interest, and that Janssen was the one responsible for them now facing court-martial and a death sentence. On 16 June 1915 it was determined that Janssen and Roos should in fact be court-martialed, and subsequently the summary of evidence against them should be taken as soon as possible for use in their trial. In addition, the letter from the War Office to the Horse Guards said "it is essential for military reasons that all proceedings both before and during the trial in these cases should be kept secret."^[64] This is much different from previous spy trials, especially Lody's, in that the government wanted this to be kept secret from the public.

The men were accused of "contravention of the Defence of the Realm regulations of 1914."^[65] So heavy was the evidence against them that their respective courts-martial lasted only one day each. After handing down a verdict of guilty, "the Court sentenced the accused ...to suffer death by being shot."^[66] A letter from Cubitt detailed what was supposed to happen following the sentencing: "The prisoners will be removed under suitable escort from Wandsworth Detention Barracks [in southwest London] to the Tower of London early in the morning of the 29th July. This removal should be effected in such a manner as to avoid publicity."^[67] The British wanted to avoid another mid-day disaster similar to Muller's. Cubitt continues: "The sentence should be carried out early in the morning of the 30th July, and as soon as it has been carried out a notification should be sent to this Department [the War Office] when arrangements will be made for a communique to be sent to the Press. No other communication on the subject is to be made to the public or the press."^[68]

On the morning of 30 July 1915, the two men were brought from where they were being held in the Casemates to the execution site. There is some confusion as to where the site was. Felstead claims in his book that the two men were executed in the rifle range, just like Lody and Muller.^[69] Correspondences between government officials, however, show that the men were shot in the drained moat of the Tower. Regardless, both men held their composure all the way up to their deaths. Roos was granted the right to finish his last cigarette before being shot. Janssen and Roos were executed at 6 AM and 6:10 AM respectively.^[70] There was virtually no publicity regarding the executions of the men.

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Ernst Waldemar Melin was another German spy who was part of the large grouping of German spies captured during the fortnight in June of 1915. Melin was of Swedish birth and without much money to his name, leading to his desire to take a job wherever he could find one. He had a friend in Hamburg, Germany who set him up with some Germans in the espionage division of the German war effort. They asked Melin to obtain British naval intelligence in exchange for good pay. He had no other source of income, so Melin reluctantly agreed. He was then sent to Rotterdam to undergo spy education before finally entering Britain.^[71] Like all of the German spies, Melin was caught by the Postal Censorship by sending letters to addresses in Holland with links to German intelligence. The letters "contained the now familiar invisible ink writing between the lines," so the authorities were easily able to discover that the letters contained "various naval and military matters."^[72] When it appeared that enough evidence was collected against Melin, police was dispatched to arrest Melin at his apartment. When Melin arrived, the inspector asked Melin to empty his pockets, to which he responded by throwing his arms about in defiance. Melin was transferred to Hampstead to undergo further questioning. One of the items found in his apartment was lemon juice for writing in invisible ink. When the inspector asked Melin what the juice was for, he responded that it was for his face.^[73] Eventually after making a statement at Scotland Yard, it was decided to bring a court-martial against Melin.^[74]

Melin faced five charges, all in violation of DORA. They included coming "from Rotterdam to Newcastle and London for the purpose of collecting in the United Kingdom without lawful authority information which might be useful to the enemy," sending "newspapers having thereon certain written information from England ...with intent to assist the enemy," possessing "a bottle containing lemon juice intended to be used for the purpose of communicating without lawful authority by means of invisible writing information intended to be communicated to the enemy," possessing "a code adapted for secretly communicating naval and military information," and "attempting to collect and record information as to the description and numbers of certain of the military forces and ships of His Majesty."^[75] It still appeared to the British, however, that there would be some difficulties in finding enough evidence to bring against Melin. It was requested that because "the prosecution in this case may present certain legal difficulties ...an officer with legal experience ...be detailed to take the summary [of evidence]."^[76] The Swedish Minister requested that Melin be defended by Mr. Wilkinson of Kearsley, Hawes & Wilkinson and that Wilkinson have access to interview Melin at Wandsworth Detention Barracks so as to formulate a defense, which was granted by the British.^[77]

Melin's court-martial, again presided over by Lord Cheylesmore, was held on 20 and 21 August 1915 at Westminster Guildhall.^[78] Despite having access to Melin for formulating a defense, very little could be made on Melin's behalf. Adding to his misfortunes, the prosecution was able to formulate a watertight case.^[79] A guilty verdict was passed against Melin and the sentence, as was usual for spies by this time, was death. The request was made that Melin be "removed under suitable escort from Wandsworth Detention Barracks to the Tower of London early on the morning of the 9th of September. This removal [was] effected in such a manner as to avoid publicity."^[80] Publicity was further kept to a minimum by requiring "persons only whose duty it may be to be in attendance on the prisoner" to be present for the promulgation of the sentence to Melin.^[81] The execution was to "be carried out early in the morning of the 10th September 1915, and as soon as it [was] carried out a notification [was to] be sent to [the War Office] when arrangements [were] made for a communique to be sent to the Press," with no other communication with the press to be made.^[82]

Melin made no trouble for his guards during the wait for his execution. When the time came for his escorting from the Casemates to the Tower's rifle range, he did not show any signs of fear or cowardly behavior. He arrived at the Tower's range and shook hands with both his executioners, bidding them to

do their jobs well, and his guards for their fine treatment during his incarceration. He sat down in the chair and was subsequently shot by a detachment of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards at 6 AM.^[83] The only newspaper to report on the execution of Melin was the British tabloid the *Daily Mail*, which reported that simply another unnamed spy was executed: "A prisoner who was charged with espionage and tried by general court-martial at the Westminster Guildhall on August 20 and 21 was found guilty and sentence to death. The sentence was duly confirmed and was carried out this morning."^[84] By delivering their press communiqué to the *Daily Mail*, the government may have been trying to downplay the importance of these executions and keep public knowledge of the German spies focused more around tabloid rumors instead of actual facts.

German espionage tried its best to avoid detection by the British by hiring non-Europeans to do their work. One of the first of these non-European spies was Augusto Alfredo Roggen, a native of Uruguay whose father had emigrated from Germany.^[85] Roggen had been in contact with The Hague in Rotterdam, where he eventually decided to attend German espionage school and subsequently received his passport on 1 May 1915.^[86] He arrived in Britain on 30 May and proceeded to London. He subsequently moved on to Lincoln, trying to pose as a businessman in the agricultural industry, but actually collecting information on the number of troops stationed at the base near that city. After a short stay in Lincoln, Roggen continued on to Edinburgh, where he registered with the local Scottish immigration due to his foreign nationality. Immigration questioned Roggen on the nature of his business in Scotland. He replied "that he was interested in automobiles in connection with agriculture."^[87] He also stated that he was visiting Edinburgh "for his health and pleasure, and added that he intended to visit the Scottish Lakes."^[88] From that moment on Roggen was followed closely by the authorities and they tracked all of his movements. After settling down in Edinburgh, he sent two letters to the same address in Holland that Janssen and Roos had used, "H. Flores, Binnenweg 127, Rotterdam."^[89] He then moved to a hotel in Loch Lomond on 8 June 1915. The location was dangerously near the location of experiments which were carried out at the Admiralty Torpedo Range, prompting his arrest. He was transferred to Scotland Yard in London for questioning.

In his statement, Roggen asserted that he came to England "to buy engines ...the money for which was to come to him from Flores, and that he could draw money from Flores if he wished to."^[90] Like all of the other captured spies, he denied that Flores was linked to German intelligence, but this did little to help his cause. Found in his possession were items which many other spies owned: pens and fluids possibly used for invisible ink, maps of England and Scotland, addresses in Holland and letters to and from the German spy Breeckow.^[91] Roggen admitted to virtually everything that was charged against him except being a German spy.^[92] Although the evidence was actually quite thin, it was decided to court-martial him. The trial was held at Westminster Guildhall on 20 August 1915.^[93]

Roggen was charged with four violations against section 48 of DORA, all related to "doing an act preparatory to the commission of an act prohibited by these regulations."^[94] The court-martial, again headed by Lord Cheylesmore, decided quickly that Roggen was guilty and condemned him to death by firing squad.^[95] Following the sentencing, he was taken back to Wandsworth detention barracks where he composed a letter, stating that his counsel had only told him after the sentencing that there was no evidence against him and that he did not have to testify and open himself up to cross-examination.^[96] In an ordinary case an acquittal was likely as there was "no evidence that the defendant ... communicated or attempted to communicate any ... information to the Enemy," that "the defendant ... when in London registered his name and address correctly," that there was "no evidence that Roggen did in fact collect any information which could be of assistance to the enemy," and the fact that the solution of ink found in his possession was not known to be used in the writing in invisible

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ink.[97] Roggen's lawyers clearly made an error in how to defend their client, resulting in disastrous consequences. Roggen's lawyers wrote letters to the government asking for an appeal. The letter, however, did nothing to help Roggen's cause and he was transferred to the Tower of London "on the morning of the 9th September 1915." [98] The transportation from Wandsworth to the Tower was to be early in the morning "so as to avoid all publicity." [99] Apparently executing Roggen at Wandsworth, a military prison, would have been just too public for the British, but transporting him across London to the Tower was not.

Roggen and his lawyers were not the only ones to appeal to the government against Roggen's death sentence. The Uruguayan Minister in London also wrote a letter of appeal to the Home Secretary on 9 September. In his letter, Minister Vidiella wished "in the interest of humanity" that "the matter [be] recalled and the sentence modified on a less irreparable one as is death." [100] His reason for not acting sooner on Roggen's behalf was the short amount of time between court-martial and sentencing, perhaps done on purpose by the British in hopes of getting away with executing a man who should have been acquitted. So as to avoid a diplomatic situation, the British went ahead and gave some attention to the matter. Arthur Nicolson, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, wrote to the Uruguayan Minister on 10 September that "military authorities have postponed the execution of the sentence." [101] Nicolson gave the Minister the opportunity to petition the sentence until noon of the next day. He concluded the letter by informing the minister "that Roggen had a fair trial" and that "unless [the Minister was] in a position to bring forward new facts throwing an entirely different light on the case there [would] be no chance of obtaining a modification of the sentence." [102] The Minister could not bring any new facts to the table, only pleading that Roggen not be killed. The War Office took five days to give an answer to the Minister, most likely to make it appear as if they gave it any consideration. There is no evidence that the British ever took the requests of the Minister seriously, and B.B. Cubitt wrote a letter back to the Uruguayan Minister on 15 September 1915, stating that the situation was "carefully re-considered in deference to [his] request, but it [was] regretted that the Secretary of State [was] unable under all the circumstances of the case to recommend to His Majesty any modification of the sentence passed by the Court Martial which heard the case." [103] Cubitt even writes in his letter that "if [Roggen] had been able to furnish such an explanation as to the facts demanded it [was] certain that [Roggen] would have done so." [104] The problem here is that Roggen was not even aware that he could raise a proper defense for himself due to the folly of his legal team for not informing him of his rights to not be cross-examined by the prosecution! With an explanation given to the Uruguayan Minister, the British went ahead and rescheduled Roggen's execution for 17 September 1915. [105]

The manner of Roggen's execution was similar to other spies. He was lodged in the Casemates and escorted at daybreak from his accommodations to the rifle range. Roggen shook hands with his firing squad, refused a bandage for his eyes, was tied to the chair, and then shot by a detachment of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards at 6 AM. [106] The press communique put out by the government stated that "a prisoner who was charged with espionage and tried by court-martial at the Westminster Guildhall on the 20th August was found guilty and sentenced to death. The sentence was duly confirmed and was carried out this morning." [107] The coroner on site during the execution deemed that Roggen "died of gunshot wounds," declaring the execution a "justifiable homicide." [108] Some peculiar things happened after Roggen's execution, however. Not long after his death, Roggen's wife contacted the British asking that her husband's body be sent to her in Holland. This was quickly granted. [109] A year later a boarding officer at a British port detained a Dr. Emilio Roggen, Augusto Roggen's brother, who was on route from Holland to South America. Dr. Roggen had no idea that his brother had been a German spy and was equally ignorant that his brother had been executed. After ensuring that Dr. Roggen was not a German

spy as well, the British sent him on his way to Uruguay, apologizing for the delay and for the death of his brother.^[110]

Fernando Buschman, an accomplished musician, was the sixth German spy to be executed in the Tower. A German with Uruguayan origins, Buschman arrived in London on 14 April 1915 and resided at the Piccadilly Hotel until leaving for a cheaper one. Like previous German spies, he was caught by the Postal Censorship for sending letters to Rotterdam, the same address associated with Dierks.^[111] These letters contained instructions on how to send him money, as he was always very short of cash: "Please wire funds through Embassy, must pay rent monthly in advance. Fernando Buschman, Savoy Hotel."^[112] He increasingly became more desperate, however, and even sent a telegram that was intercepted to "Madame de Klimm, 24 Plats, The Hague," the actual address of the German military attaché there, Colonel Osterdat.^[113] Scotland Yard decided to arrest Buschman on 4 June 1915. Inspector George Riley arrived at Buschman's lodgings at 12:10 AM, but Buschman was not home. The police had to wait until 1:45 AM for Buschman to return to arrest him. Buschman hoped that being cooperative would be helpful, saying he would "show [them] everything [they] wish to see."^[114]

Like many of the previous German spies to be caught and questioned by Scotland Yard, Buschman tried to pass as from a country other than Germany. Given his Latin American antecedents, he began by claiming, "I am a Brazilian. I have been to Holland on business for my firm."^[115] He also stated that because he knew Dierks to have connections with Germany, he could not supply him with any goods. In fact, he even tried to come off as a supporter of the Allies, remarking that he was supplying the French government with guns from his company in Brazil, a company which also supposedly sold cheese, bananas, potatoes, safety razors, picric acid and cloth, a very odd combination.^[116] While Buschman did his best to refute the charges facing him, some important obstacles stood in his way. The largest of these was his so-called Brazilian passport -- it was written in the well-known handwriting of the head of a German espionage training school in Rotterdam, Heinrich Flores. Flores would give German spies their final instructions before they travelled to England.^[117] Buschman also had in his possession a journal with what British authorities believed to contain undecipherable characters related to British naval information during his visits to Portsmouth and Southampton; there is no account of these characters ever being deciphered. With the evidence growing, a court-martial was ordered for Buschman beginning on 20 September 1915.^[118]

Buschman was charged with four violations of DORA, including activities "preparatory to the commission of [acts] prohibited by these regulations."^[119] These violations included coming on April 1915 "from Boulogne to England for the purpose of collecting in the United Kingdom without lawful authority information which might be useful to the enemy," obtaining and possessing "the address of one H. Flores," coming in May 1915 "from Rotterdam to England for the purpose of collecting ...information which might be useful to the enemy," and visiting "Southampton and Portsmouth for the purpose of there collecting information which might be useful to the enemy and with intent to assist the enemy." Buschman pleaded not guilty to these charges.^[120] Like all high profile German spy cases with the exception of Lody, the court-martial was headed by Lord Cheylesmore and held *in camera*.

The prosecution was led by Mr. A.H. Bodkin, the same man who prosecuted Lody in his court-martial. Bodkin had his doubts about the likelihood of convicting Buschman. He admitted that the case was "difficult and not very complete," and even discussed the evidence "as to which the difficulty arises."^[121] Bodkin remarked that the letter from Buschman to Dierks which drew British attention to Buschman does not appear to have been ultimately delivered to Dierks in Rotterdam. If this was the case, this letter could not be brought as evidence against Buschman. It would have needed to have been

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delivered to Dierks for it to be admissible.^[122] The Postal Censorship should have realized this and sent the letters on to Dierks after they were intercepted and examined so as to avoid this problem. Regardless, they lucked out in that Buschman himself mentioned the names of Dierks and Flores when questioned and received telegrams from them as well, making the Postal Censorship's blunder less important.^[123] Bodkin also did not know how to fully prove that the handwriting on Buschman's passport was that of Flores: "How is it proveable to be in Flores' writing?"^[124] Despite these doubts, Buschman was convicted on 15 October 1915 and sentenced to death by firing squad. Lieutenant General Francis Lloyd, responsible for the defense of London during the War, ordered that Buschman "be shot in the precincts of the Tower of London on 19th October 1915 at 7 AM, under the directions of [his] Assistant Provost-marshal."^[125]

The morning before his execution, Buschman was transferred from the Wandsworth Detention Barracks, where he was held during his court-martial, to the Tower. B.B. Cubitt ordered that Buschman be escorted "from Wandsworth Detention Barracks to the Tower of London early on the morning of the 17th October. This removal [was] affected in such a manner as to avoid publicity."^[126] Cubitt also wanted to make sure that the execution was carried out early in the morning and that "a notification [would] be sent to [his] department when arrangements [would] be made for a communique to be sent to the Press. No other communication on the subject [was] to be made to the public or the Press."^[127]

Buschman had one last request; he wanted his violin. Throughout the night before his execution, he played through pieces from *La Boheme*, *Tosca*, Bach and Faure.^[128] So moving was his music that his guards were deeply saddened with their job of leading Buschman to his death in the morning. Before leaving his room for the Tower's rifle range, Buschman picked up his violin and kissed it, saying "Goodbye, I shall not want you anymore."^[129] When he arrived at the range, he refused a bandage to cover his eyes. At 7 AM on 19 October 1915 a detachment of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards, whose primary occupation by this point was the executions of German spies, took aim and fired.^[130]

Very little press coverage followed the execution of Buschman. Aside from the legal failures of the Postal Censorship and the weakness of evidence, perhaps the British were finally getting the hang of executing spies in secret. The *Times* reported on 20 October 1915 on the execution but stopped short of mentioning Bushman's name:

The Secretary of the War Office made the following announcement last night:--

Two prisoners who were charged with espionage and tried by General Court-martial in London on September 28, 29, and 30, were both found Guilty. In the one case sentence of death was passed, and in the other sentence of penal servitude for five years. The findings and sentence have been duly confirmed and the prisoner who was sentenced to death was executed this morning.^[131]

The man mentioned who received five years penal servitude was Emil Samuel Franco, Buschman's partner. It was determined that Franco had no intention of harming Britain, but was still considered a friend and accomplice of Buschman and as such should have reported Buschman's activities to the authorities.^[132]

Arrests of German spies during the late spring of 1915 continued with the incarceration of Georg T. Breeckow. Breeckow, who had a couple of aliases, including Reginald Rowland and George T. Parker, was a German who had many business ventures in the United States, including a piano export business.

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He moved to the United States in 1908 and eventually became a citizen by the end of 1913. His father soon after passed away and Breeckow moved back to Germany in 1914 to be with his mother and sisters.^[133]

In the beginning of 1915, after moving back to Germany, Breeckow befriended the American consul in Stettin, his hometown, and expressed a strong desire to move back to America as living in Germany at that time was difficult. Having obtained an emergency passport from Berlin and a job with a bank, he was referred to a gentleman who was connected with the Bureau of Foreign Affairs, hoping to become a courier to neutral states, especially the United States. Breeckow submitted his application for the post and was told he would hear from them shortly. One month later he received two letters: one from the Bureau of Foreign Affairs stating his rejection, and one from Naval Intelligence in Antwerp, asking him to drop his job at the bank and report to them as soon as possible.^[134]

After meeting with officers from Naval Intelligence, Breeckow was so desperate for travel back to America that he offered his services for free, hoping this would help sway their opinion. Unfortunately for Breeckow, the officers never said anything about passage to America, only stating that Breeckow must go to England. Since his current passport had a Berlin stamp on it, he needed a new one for passage into England, and thus he was given the alias of Reginald Rowland, an American businessman. He traveled to The Hague and contacted Dierks, the same Dierks many of the previous spies contacted.^[135]

To enter England, Breeckow needed to have some sort of business venture in order to establish a reputable cover. After speaking with Dierks, the two men settled upon using the piano business Breeckow had in America as his cover. This would allow him to be more comfortable in presenting himself to British authorities when they asked what he did for a living. Upon entering London, Breeckow made himself comfortable at his lodgings and reached out to his contact, Mrs. Wertheim.^[136]

Louise Wertheim was born in Germany and acquired British nationality by marrying a naturalized German. She spent some time living in America, honing her American accent, which allowed her to pass as a tourist to the unsuspecting authorities. When the war broke out, Wertheim was living in London and desired to visit her mother in Berlin. She quickly acquired a passport but found it impossible to get any farther than Antwerp, Amsterdam, since it was impossible to enter Germany with an English passport. The German authorities who stopped her from entering the country passed along her story to German intelligence and she was thus recruited for her well-traveled, German, English-speaking background, the perfect background for a German spy in England. There was also a prevalent feeling through the German ranks that having a woman behind enemy lines collecting valuable information would be less suspicious and attract less attention than a man.^[137]

The two spies spent the beginning of their partnership talking about mutual acquaintances, visiting many of London's parks, and even riding horses through the city, in order to try and establish a cover that would put off British counter-espionage officials.^[138] But the couple knew they had business to attend to, and it was arranged that Mrs. Wertheim would do the spying (because she was a woman) and Breeckow would pass along the information to Holland. On 26 May 1915, Breeckow wrote on a copy of *Star and Echo* newspaper in invisible ink that "large transports of Artillery on their way from Aldershot to S. The largest troop camp at present at Wareham near Swanage but the numbers of men had decreased." The letter was addressed to H. Flores at 127a Binnenweg, Rotterdam, along with copies of the *Times* and the *Evening News*. Such a package alarmed the censorship office, and it became quite clear that there was another spy loose in Britain.^[139] Soon thereafter, Wertheim was ordered to

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proceed to Scotland and ascertain intelligence from the North, where her extravagant expenses and forward questioning of British Naval Officers gained enough suspicion for her arrest. Soon after, she gave the address of Breeckow and the pair were brought into Scotland Yard for questioning.^[140]

During intense interrogations, the true demeanors of the two spies were fully revealed. Breeckow broke down into tears and tried hopelessly to speak his way out of the dilemma he faced. He continually stated he could not speak German, but in tense circumstances like these, his accent came through all too clearly. At the end of the interrogation, he begged the authorities to have mercy on him, if only for the sake of his elderly mother. Wertheim, however, was sterner and much more composed during her interview. She never admitted anything and clearly proclaimed her right to travel where she pleased as a British citizen. Any hope for Breeckow disappeared when his American passport came to be examined, which was not the same size as a real American passport, made of the same materials, nor was the American Eagle on the official seal drawn correctly (it had an inverted claw and not enough feathers on its tail). In addition, an inquiry was sent to Washington where it was discovered no such passport existed for a Reginald Rowland. When Breeckow was locked up behind bars, in a prison cell all by himself, he became terrified of what Wertheim might tell. He sent for the Governor of the prison and requested pen and paper for him to write his confession, all but sealing the spy's fate to face trial.^[141]

Similar to the trial of Carl Muller, Breeckow's and Wertheim's cases were so interlinked with one another that they had to be tried together. Since Wertheim claimed that as a British citizen she was entitled to a trial by civil court, the case was heard at the Old Bailey in the middle of September 1915, before three judges of the high court. Wertheim confessed little, but Breeckow confessed much in an attempt to protect the woman, a true indication of the kind of character he possessed. His protection also stemmed from his ineptitude of the situation he got himself into in the first place when he agreed to send back British intelligence to Germany.^[142] When the evidence was put to the jury, they came back in a short eleven minutes with guilty verdicts. After sentencing, Breeckow was to be shot and Wertheim was to serve 10 years penal servitude since it was believed she acted under Breeckow's influence. Breeckow had to be helped out of the courtroom after having nearly collapsed upon hearing the sentence.^[143] His application for appeal was denied and his execution was set for 26 October 1915 at the Tower.^[144]

The image of Breeckow in the days leading to his execution would have left a mark on anyone who witnessed it. He constantly broke down sobbing, disgusting the hardened military officials charged with watching him. On the morning of his execution, guards had to practically carry him to the firing range since he could barely stand because of sheer fright. When placed in the chair, he had a lady's handkerchief wrapped around his eyes, a relic of a past love affair. Even tied down, Breeckow was difficult to keep in the chair, so the commanding officer ordered the men in his charge to hurry. Breeckow's shirt was opened, barring his chest to the cold morning air. The firing party was given the order to shoot, and with one loud crack of the rifles, the shaking man finally stopped moving.^[145] Although Breeckow's death certificate states the cause of death as gunshot wounds to the chest, a coroner's report examining the body gave the actual cause of death as heart-failure. So instead of executing a German spy, the firing squad simply shot an already dead man.^[146]

The execution of Irving Guy Ries was one of the most straightforward, non-attention grabbing executions that the British carried out during World War One. Perhaps they had begun to learn a valuable lesson that executions at the Tower would be harder than expected. Ries, which was an alias, was of German heritage but an American by birth. He was born in Chicago. He was placed on the watch list because of mail coming from Holland and addressed to him at his hotel in London. The letters were

sent from N.M. Cleton of 72a Prevenir Stracht, another address connected with German spies.^[147] The letter contained a payment for £40, a typical amount for German spies. For the moment, no action was taken against Ries, but the British began to look for more evidence. They did not find any more until Ries produced it himself. On 9 August 1915 Ries visited the American consulate in London seeking a visa for Denmark, most likely to deliver intelligence to the Germans.^[148] The consulate officials examined his passport carefully and discovered that the eagle was drawn very poorly and the watermark on the back did not look to be part of the actual paper. The consulate confiscated the passport and allowed Ries to leave, handing the passport over to Scotland Yard. On 10 August Scotland Yard sent an inspector to arrest Ries at his hotel. He appeared drunk when he was arrested.^[149] Ries told the arresting officer, "You are too late. I expected you last night. I quite expected this as I knew there was some misunderstanding about my passport at the American consulate."^[150] After examining his room, which contained a notebook with the names and addresses of firms in Edinburgh and a letter from Rotterdam instructing Ries to travel to Copenhagen to report the result of his espionage, Ries was taken by Scotland Yard to Cannon Row police station for questioning.^[151]

Ries quickly decided to make a statement, feeling it would be in his best interest. In this statement he admitted that Ries was not his real name, but would not reveal it as he had "many good connections in America."^[152] He also wrote that he believed he had done nothing wrong, for he had received the money without "send[ing] any telegrams or letters."^[153] Despite continually denying any wrongdoing, Ries was told he was to be charged with espionage by a general court-martial. For his detention during the trial, it was "desirable that he should be removed without delay to Wandsworth, Detention Barracks," where many of the previous spies had been held.^[154] He faced four charges, all against DORA, including "doing an act preparatory to the commission of an act ...in that he ...came to England from America and proceeded to London, Liverpool, Newcastle, Glasgow and Edinburgh," being "in communication with a spy," namely N.M. Cleton of Rotterdam, "being found in possession of a false passport," and "falsely represented himself to be a person to whom a passport had been duly issued."^[155] The court-martial took place on 4 and 5 October 1915. It took only eight minutes after Lord Cheylesmore and the rest of those presiding over the court-martial retired to hand down a guilty verdict followed by a sentence of death by firing squad.^[156]

The process of moving convicted German spies from prison to the Tower had become by this time somewhat routine. Cubitt wrote a letter on 25 October 1915 to the Commandant of the Detention Barracks at Wandsworth "to arrange for the removal of the prisoner Guy Ries to the Tower of London on the morning of the 25th October 1915. This removal [was to] take place at an early hour as to avoid all publicity."^[157] Cubitt also composed a letter to the Horse Guards stipulating the specifics of Ries' transportation to the Tower and his subsequent confinement there. Ries' execution was to "be carried out early in the morning of the 27th October, 1915, and as soon as it [had] been carried out a notification [was to be] sent to [Cubitt] when arrangements [would] be made for a communique to be sent to the Press."^[158] Cubitt also stated that "no other communication on the subject [was] to be made to the public or the press."^[159] Ries was transported to the Tower without incident, much to the delight of the British after Muller's transportation. Upon arrival, he asked for writing materials and made a full confession, even including his real name. In exchange for his name, however, he made Sir Basil Thompson, Assistant Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police, promise that he would keep it secret so as to not harm his family. On the morning of his execution, he was roused early from his bed in the Casemates and was escorted to the rifle range. He shook hands with the firing party, again "a detachment of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards,"^[160] saying to them, "You are only doing your duty, as I have done mine."^[161] He was then executed at approximately 7 AM on 27 October 1915.^[162] The coroner on site reported that Ries died of gunshot wounds and deemed the execution to again be a

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"justifiable homicide."^[163] The communique to the press stated "that a prisoner charged with espionage was tried by general court-martial at the Guildhall Westminster and was found guilty and sentenced to death. The sentence was duly confirmed and was carried out this morning."^[164] Again, the government chose to omit Ries' name, but as this was an alias it probably would not have made much difference. It is interesting to note, however, that it appears Thompson kept his promise to Ries, as there are no records of Ries' real name ever being given to the press or the public, allowing his family to continue on without any knowledge about their relative's dealings in Europe during the war.^[165]

Albert Meyer was one of the youngest and, by many accounts, despicable spies to be captured and executed in Britain during the war.^[166] Born in Constantinople, Meyer moved to Denmark when he was nine, becoming a Danish citizen. His upbringing in the Ottoman Empire, however, allowed him to pass as a Turk instead as a Dane, which probably did not help his cause in Britain.^[167] Meyer's presence in Britain was discovered by the interception of a letter by the Postal Censorship to an address in The Hague with connections to German intelligence. This was becoming somewhat routine for British counter-espionage by this point. Testing the letter for invisible ink showed that the author had written that "the mouth of the Thames [was] guarded by steel" and that "so far [he had] not been able to find out anything important."^[168] Unfortunately, the return name and address was false, so for the time being there was nothing the authorities could do.^[169]

On 20 July 1915 another letter was intercepted in the same handwriting as the previous letter. The secret part stated that the writer "was taken for a Turk" and that various transports with weapons on them were leaving Britain, presumably for the war.^[170] It was not until 27 August however that the authorities were able to piece everything together. On that day a letter posted in west London was intercepted with the same handwriting, but no invisible parts. Instead, it consisted of a request for cigars similar to those of Roos and Janssen.^[171] The police believed that the return address on the envelope was the correct one, 1 Margaret Street, Oxford Circus, London. The police were dispatched to the lodging house located at this address and arrested Meyer and his wife Catherine Rebecca Godleman, whom he referred to as "Kitty."^[172] Meyer protested that he knew nothing about any letters written to The Hague, but an examination of his room showed Meyer to have in his possession invisible ink and a pen which had been dipped in lemon juice. A small typewriter was also discovered, which had been used in the most recent letter.^[173] According to the landlady, Meyer was the recipient of many packages with a variety of different names, all proving to be aliases. Meyer and his wife were then sent to Cannon Row police station for questioning by Scotland Yard.^[174] Meyer's wife was quickly released from custody as no evidence was found to implicate her in her husband's actions.^[175] However, the evidence found in Meyer's possession, along with his dismissive and rebellious attitude, led the authorities to believe Meyer was possibly a German spy. He was consequently moved from Cannon Row to Wandsworth Detention Barracks on 1 September 1915.^[176]

Meyer was the least cooperative of all the spies arrested by British police. When asked to produce a sample of his handwriting, he refused indignantly, playing the victim and even asking his interrogator if he believed he was lying.^[177] His lack of cooperation even extended to those he was accused of helping, the Germans. He cheated them out of money and sent numerous fictitious reports on British military intelligence to appear as if he was doing his job.^[178] He also tried to claim that the typewriter found in his apartment was left there by another lodger and the pen and paper used for writing in invisible ink was the property of a man named Bridges, who also used the typewriter! The authorities were not fooled by these claims. A court-martial was scheduled for 5 November 1915.^[179]

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Meyer was charged with six counts in violation of DORA. This was more than other German spies faced, most likely because British officials were so irritated with him and his lack of cooperation. His offenses included "attempting to communicate information calculated to be useful to the enemy," "attempting to send from the United Kingdom a document containing matters written in a medium which was not visible," "attempting to communicate information with respect to the disposition and condition of certain ...ships," "attempting to send ...[another] letter containing matters written in a medium which was not visible," "attempting to communicate with a spy," and "having been in communication with a spy."^[180] Enough evidence was said to exist for a guilty verdict to be found against Meyer.^[181] There is very little documentation surrounding Meyer's court-martial since the authorities were trying to keep access to the court-martial at a minimum and prevent an unnecessary leakage of information. What is known is that on 6 November 1915 Meyer was convicted on all six charges and was sentenced to be shot by firing squad.^[182]

"The finding and the sentence of the court [was] confirmed by His Majesty" and Meyer was transported from Wandsworth to the Tower of London on 25 November 1915 with his execution scheduled for the 27th of November.^[183] The transportation and treatment of Meyer was to be the same as most of the other convicted spies during the war. Meyer was to be "removed under suitable escort from Wandsworth Detention Barrack to the Tower of London early in the morning of the 25th November. This removal [was] affected in such a manner as to avoid publicity."^[184] In a further attempt to keep publicity to a minimum, "the promulgation of the sentence ...[took] place after arrival at the Tower [and only] in the presence of those persons whose duty it [was] to be in attendance on the prisoner."^[185] The sentence was to "be carried out early in the morning of the 27th ...and as soon as it [was] carried out a notification [was] sent to [the War Office], when arrangements [were] made for a communique to be sent to the press."^[186] No other communication was to be made to the press or the public on the matter.^[187] Despite the fact that shooting spies in the prisons where they were held would have been much more convenient, the transport of spies to the Tower had by this point become so routine that nobody seemed to think that other arrangements should be made.

On the day before the execution, a petition was filed by Meyer's solicitor, Percy Robinson.^[188] In order to review this petition, which was filed extremely late, the execution was postponed until further notice. In addition, the United States Ambassador strangely was given permission to visit and interview Meyer if desired.^[189] In the petition, Robinson claimed that all of the evidence that the prosecution put forth was purely circumstantial and "rested very largely upon the opinion of the handwriting experts called by the Prosecution."^[190] Meyer also claimed to be a Danish citizen, this despite his Turkish birth. If it could be proven that Meyer was a Dane and not a Turk (England had by this time declared war on the Ottoman Empire), then he could not be considered as an enemy alien and thus could not be subjected to a court-martial or the imposition of a sentence of death.^[191] This is similar to the problem that faced authorities with Lody, who claimed at first to be an American.

Inquiries were made to the Danish embassy regarding Meyer's citizenship, but they did not "recognize him as a Danish subject."^[192] The rest of the petition, after being "duly considered [by the] Secretary of State," was rejected.^[193] No documentation could be found to prove that, beyond the inquiries made into Meyer's nationality, any serious reexamination of the evidence given in his court-martial was made. The execution date was rescheduled for the morning of 2 December 1915.^[194]

Meyer's fiery temper was visible for all to see in the moments leading up to his execution. When the guards came to escort him from the Casemates to the rifle range, he suddenly began to sing "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." The guards were unable to silence him.^[195] When he entered the rifle range he

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burst into a fit of blasphemous cursing, promising vengeance by God upon all who have wronged him and put him in his current situation. He struggled with the guards strapping him into the chair and had to be strapped in tightly; he clearly would not go as easily as the previous spies had. Before the order was given to fire, he even managed to rip off the bandage covering his eyes. He was shot by a detachment of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards while still cursing at his captors.[196] Felstead remarked that Meyer was "the most arrant coward who ever lived." [197] As per usual, the coroner deemed that Meyer's execution was a "justifiable homicide." [198] The press communique following the execution stated: "A prisoner who was charged with espionage and recently tried by court-martial at the Westminster Guildhall was found guilty and sentenced to death. The sentence was duly confirmed and was carried out this morning." [199]

The last German spy to be executed at the Tower during World War One was Peruvian Ludovico Hurwitz-y-Zender. Zender was well educated in French and English and made a living as a merchant selling goods all throughout South America. In August 1914 Zender left Peru for Europe by way of the United States. During his journey in Europe he visited and conducted business in Bergen, Christiania (another name for Oslo) and Copenhagen. [200] Telegrams were intercepted by the Postal Censorship in June of 1915 that were addressed to August Brochner, 11 Toldbodgade, Christiania. These letters contained information which looked to be a coded message sending vital British naval intelligence. [201] The authorities by this time had become very adept at recognizing coded messages. What gave the authorities the idea that the letter was coded was the characteristics of the code. The telegrams included large requests for sardines, such as "Buy 600 cases 100/8 tins Norwegian sardines. Ludovico Hurwitz," [202] or "Offer immediately appetite anchovies best quality cases 200/2 tins. Hurwitz Zender." [203] The terms "buy immediately," "ship," "ship immediately," and "buy" was understood to mean "the arrival," "departure," "lying at anchor" and "coaling" of British ships, respectively. [204] Zender had not realized, however, that it was the wrong season for sardines, and asking for such large quantities of the best quality was simply not possible during this time of the year for no fish were available. [205] Further investigation, including contacting representatives in Oslo, revealed that Brochner was German and that he was in contact on a regular basis with the German consulate in Bergen. [206] Since Zender's name and sending address were on the telegrams, he was quickly arrested in Newcastle on 2 July 1915 and brought down to Scotland Yard for questioning. [207]

Zender was adamant that he was a salesman from Peru looking to send shipments of sardines back to his home country. He also claimed he had intentions to purchase large quantities of handkerchiefs in Glasgow and steel from Sheffield. These last claims were not too out of the ordinary, as a background check revealed that he really was a salesman in South America prior to the war. [208] But his claim to desire sardines provided his undoing. British authorities made inquiries to many fishermen, all of whom laughed at the idea that sardines could be purchased in the summer. [209] He was therefore transferred to Wandsworth Detention Barracks on 15 July to await his court-martial date, which was scheduled for 28 September 1915. [210] "Similar precautions" that were taken with previous spies were to be taken with Zender, with the unique consideration that Zender was "suffering from Venereal Disease." [211]

All of the previous German spies tried by court-martial had a relatively short time between their arrest and court-martial, usually lasting around two months. The Consul General for Peru in London "requested permission to visit the prisoner Zender and [was] informed that if he [wrote] ...he [would] be given facilities for doing so." [212] This request was granted. On 20 September, the Peruvian consulate requested that an inquiry be made to Peru for testimony which would prove his innocence, proving that Zender came to England for *bona fide* business purposes and had nothing to do with the Germans: "[Zender's] solicitors will not receive until November the documents required for the defence of the

prisoner and they advise me to try to obtain a postponement of the trial in order that they may be able to get a return of certain documentary evidence for which application has been made by mail to Lima through the Peruvian Consulate here."[\[213\]](#) British authorities granted this request so as to avoid "any grounds for any complaint that the prisoner was prejudiced in his defence by reason of the absence of these documents."[\[214\]](#) It was not until 22 December that MI5 was informed by the Consul General for Peru that the letter sent to Peru asking for evidence in support of Zender had been lost and another letter needed to be sent. Another request for delay of the court-martial was made by the Peruvians,[\[215\]](#) and since the prosecution had already granted one previously for the evidence which had not yet been collected, it seemed to them that they had no choice but to grant this postponement as well.[\[216\]](#) It was originally decided that the court-martial be delayed for up to six weeks and no further postponement would be granted: "It must be clearly understood that no further delay will be allowed and the trial must proceed as soon after 19 February as possible."[\[217\]](#)

The court-martial began on 20 March 1916. Zender was accused of four charges in violation of DORA. His charges included two counts of "doing an act preparatory to the commission of an act prohibited by [DORA] in that he ...came from Bergen to England for the purpose of collecting in the United Kingdom without lawful authority information which might be useful to the enemy," for he had travelled back and forth between the countries two times, and two counts of attempting "to communicate information calculated to be useful to the enemy with respect to the disposition and movement of certain ships of His Majesty."[\[218\]](#) On 22 March 1916 Zender was found guilty of all charges "and sentenced to be shot ...early on the 11th [of April]."[\[219\]](#) The Peruvian Minister was allowed to visit Zender again if he chose to do so, something that the British probably hoped would not happen for fear of further delays.[\[220\]](#) The transportation of Zender to the Tower on the 7th of April 1916 was the same as usual: he was "removed under suitable escort from Wandsworth Detention Barracks to the Tower of London early in the morning of the 7th ...in such a manner as to avoid publicity ...The promulgation of the sentence [took] place after arrival at the Tower in the presence of those persons only, whose duty it [was] to be in attendance on the prisoner."[\[221\]](#) Lack of publicity was something that the British wanted to make sure happened like usual. The execution was "carried out early in the morning of the 11th instant, and as soon as it [was] carried out a notification [was] sent to [the War Office] ...No other communication [was] to be made to the public or the Press."[\[222\]](#)

The Peruvian Minister made one more attempt to save Zender's life, outlining the facts of Zender's case as he saw them. The British quickly dismissed this request most probably because of their annoyance at the Minister for delaying Zender's court-martial for as long as he did: "The execution of Zender will accordingly take place tomorrow morning as previously arranged."[\[223\]](#) There was no drama at the scene of his execution like that of Breckow or Meyer. Instead, a calm Zender was led from the Casemates to the Tower's rifle range on the morning of 11 April 1916 and was shot by members of the 3rd Battalion Scots Guards.[\[224\]](#) The coroner recorded that Zender died "due to gunshot wounds in [the] heart" and that it was deemed as "justifiable homicide."[\[225\]](#)

Zender's name was remembered again in 1975 in an advertisement in *Exchange & Mart*. The advertisement was for a ".303 brass cartridge case, used in Execution First World War Spy, Tower of London, inscribed. 8 only issued." The engraving on the bullet casing read "H. Zender, The Tower of London, 22nd January 1916."[\[226\]](#) These may have been prepared for Zender's execution had the letter from Peru been received on time, resulting in an execution date sometime around January. If this is true, the bullets were prepared (as they were for every execution) before the sentence of death had been passed upon Zender, perhaps showing that all of the spies had absolutely no chance of an acquittal.

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They were all doomed men when arrested and were condemned to death before actual sentencing was passed.

Not only was Zender the last spy to be executed at the Tower of London during World War One, but the last spy to be shot in Britain during the war. For various reasons, death sentences for other convicted spies were commuted to a lifetime of penal servitude.^[227] But perhaps the reasons are neither that complicated nor various. The British probably realized that each time a spy was executed, he immediately became a martyr, not only in Germany but all of Europe as well. Using the executions at the Tower for political purposes was becoming less effective, mostly due to Britain's poor handling of the trials and executions. Of all the predictions Marx made, this is arguably his most accurate. Unknowingly, he summed up the history of the Tower of London during World War One as a "farce," and by that categorization, perfectly British.

^[1] Marx, Karl. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (New York: Die Revolution, 1852).

^[2] Other works covering the narrative of German espionage, including the spies executed at the Tower are Thomas Boghardt's *Spies of the Kaiser: German Covert Operations in Great Britain during the First World War Era* and James Morton's *Spies of the First World War: Under Cover for King and Kaiser*, which is a narrative of the efforts of both German espionage and British espionage in the First World War.

^[3] Hammond, Peter. "The Tower and the Victorians: Politics and Leisure." *Historian* (Summer 2001), 10.

^[4] Ibid. 13.

^[5] "Defence of the Realm Act," as found in the British National Archives.

^[6] Ibid.

^[7] A.W. Brian Simpson, "The invention of trials *in camera* in security cases," in *Domestic and International Trials, 1700-2000* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2003), 79.

^[8] Leonard Sellers, *Shot in the Tower: The Story of the Spies Executed in the Tower of London during the First World War* (London: Leo Cooper, 1997), 1.

^[9] German Imperial Admiralty Staff

^[10] Thomas Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser: German Covert Operations in Great Britain during the First World War Era* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 89.

^[11] Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 97-98.

^[12] "Lody, C H Offence: Defence of the Realm Regulations," from the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/29.

^[13] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 28.

^[14] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 22.

^[15] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 30.

^[16] "Hans Lody or Lodi, alias C Inglis -- espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/82.

^[17] "Lody, C H Offence: Defence of the Realm Regulations," from the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/29.

^[18] "Hans Lody or Lodi, alias C Inglis -- espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/82.

^[19] "Lody, C H Offence: Defence of the Realm Regulations," from the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/29.

^[20] Ibid.

^[21] National Rifle Association, Wimbledon and Bisley: Records, 1861 -- 1993.

^[22] "Hans Lody or Lodi," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141-82.

- [23] Simpson, "The invention of trials *in camera* in security cases," 79.
- [24] "Court-Martial of Alleged Spy; War Treason Charge; Young German's Tours; Reports to Berlin," *Daily Telegraph*, 31 October 1914.
- [25] "Court-Martial on a German; Lieut. Lody's Orders; Interview With an Officer in Berlin," *The Times*, 1 November 1914.
- [26] Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 101.
- [27] "Hans Lody or Lodi, alias C Inglis -- espionage," from British National Archives, reference WO 141/82.
- [28] "Lody Defence of the Realm," from the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/29.
- [29] *Daily Express*, 31 October 1914.
- [30] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 3.
- [31] "Hans Lody or Lodi," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141-82.
- [32] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 41.
- [33] Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 101.
- [34] *New York Times*, 22 November 1914.
- [35] Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 102.
- [36] "Legal and Judicial -- Enquiry from German Government as to the circumstances of the execution of Lody," from the British National Archives, reference WO 32/4164.
- [37] *Ibid.*
- [38] *Ibid.*
- [39] "Defence of the Realm Act," as found in the British National Archives.
- [40] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 49.
- [41] *Ibid.* 51.
- [42] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 48.
- [43] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 49.
- [44] "Criminal -- List of Criminal Cases -- Muller, Carl F" from British National Archives, reference HO 144/1415/277302B.
- [45] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower" from British National Archives, reference WO 94/103.
- [46] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 55.
- [47] "Muller, C F, arrest for espionage" from British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/2.
- [48] *Ibid.*
- [49] *New York Times*, 7 July 1915.
- [50] "Roos, WJ and Jansen, SS Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71-1312.
- [51] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 65.
- [52] *Ibid.* 67.
- [53] *Ibid.* 67.
- [54] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 104.
- [55] "Roos, WJ and Jansen, SS Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71/1312.
- [56] *Ibid.*
- [57] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 105.
- [58] *Ibid.* 106.
- [59] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower" from British National Archives, reference WO 94/103.
- [60] *Ibid.* Letter from BB Cubitt on 5 June 1915.
- [61] *Ibid.* Memorandum written on 7 June 1915.

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- [62] Ibid.
- [63] "Janssen, HMP and another Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/33.
- [64] Ibid. Letter from War Office to Horse Guards.
- [65] "Roos, WJ and Jansen, SS Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71-1312.
- [66] Ibid.
- [67] "Janssen, HMP and another Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/33.
- [68] Ibid.
- [69] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 108.
- [70] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower" from British National Archives, reference WO 94/103.
- [71] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 132.
- [72] "E W Melin," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/3
- [73] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 86.
- [74] Ibid. 92.
- [75] "Melin, EW Offence Espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71/1237. Charge sheet against Melin outlining the charges against him in violation of the Defence of the Realm Act of 1914.
- [76] "E W Melin," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/3. Letter from Cubitt to the General Officer Commanding, London District, dated 10 July 1915.
- [77] Ibid. Letter from Kearsley, Hawes & Wilkinson desiring to have access to Melin for interviewing. Dated 26 July 1915.
- [78] Ibid. Summary of charges and sentencing by Cubitt.
- [79] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 92.
- [80] "E W Melin," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/3. Letter from Cubitt to General Officer Commanding detailing transportation of Melin to the Tower and his treatment, dated 8 September 1915.
- [81] Ibid.
- [82] Ibid.
- [83] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 184.
- [84] *The Daily Mail*, 10 September 1915.
- [85] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 96.
- [86] "Roggen and another Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference DPP 1/40. Copy of the statement of the case against Roggen.
- [87] Ibid.
- [88] Ibid.
- [89] Ibid.
- [90] Ibid.
- [91] "Auguste Roggen, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141-61.
- [92] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 129.
- [93] "Auguste Roggen, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141-61.
- [94] Ibid. Letter from B.B. Cubitt outlining the charges against Roggen.
- [95] Ibid.
- [96] Ibid. Letter written by Roggen and his solicitors appealing the charges and sentence.
- [97] Ibid.
- [98] Ibid.
- [99] Ibid.
- [100] Ibid. Letter from Uruguayan Minister Vidiella asking for a lesser sentence on Roggen.

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- [101] Ibid. Letter from Nicolson to Uruguayan Minister on 10 September 1915.
- [102] Ibid.
- [103] Ibid. Letter from Cubitt to Uruguayan Minister on 15 September 1915.
- [104] Ibid.
- [105] Ibid.
- [106] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 94/103
- [107] "Auguste Roggen, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141-61. Press Communique
- [108] Ibid. Coroner report
- [109] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*. 130.
- [110] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 105.
- [111] Ibid. 108.
- [112] "Buschman, F. Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71/1313.
- [113] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 109.
- [114] "Buschman, F. Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71/1313.
- [115] Ibid.
- [116] Ibid.
- [117] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 122.
- [118] Ibid. 123.
- [119] "Buschman, F. Offence," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 71/1313. Charge sheet.
- [120] Ibid.
- [121] "F Buschman," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/1. Letter written by Bodkin detailing the complexity of the case and how he would proceed in proving Buschman's guilt.
- [122] Ibid.
- [123] Ibid.
- [124] Ibid.
- [125] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 94/103.
- [126] "F Buschman," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/1. Letter from B.B. Cubitt outlining how the government wished to proceed with the execution of Buschman.
- [127] Ibid.
- [128] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 117.
- [129] Ibid. 117.
- [130] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 94/103.
- [131] "F Buschman," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/1.
- [132] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 114.
- [133] Ibid. 118.
- [134] Ibid. 119.
- [135] Ibid. 119.
- [136] Ibid. 120.
- [137] Ibid. 113.
- [138] Ibid. 114.
- [139] Ibid. 123.
- [140] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 115.
- [141] Ibid. 116.

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- [142] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 133.
- [143] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 118.
- [144] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower," from the British National Archives, reference WO 94-103.
- [145] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 119.
- [146] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 139.
- [147] "I Guy Ries," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/3/2
- [148] Ibid.
- [149] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*. 141.
- [150] "I Guy Ries," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/3/2
- [151] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*. 142.
- [152] "I Guy Ries," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/3/2
- [153] Ibid.
- [154] Ibid. Letter from Byrne to The Commandant, Detention Barracks at Wandsworth on 24 August 1915.
- [155] Ibid. Charge sheet.
- [156] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*. 156.
- [157] "I Guy Ries," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/3/2. Letter from B.B. Cubitt to Wandsworth requesting Ries be moved to the Tower.
- [158] Ibid. Letter from B.B. Cubitt to Horse Guards.
- [159] Ibid.
- [160] "Documents concerning prisoners confined in the Tower," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 94/103. Letter from Officer Commanding Troops, Tower of London to the Resident Governor of the Tower of London on 27 October 1915.
- [161] "I Guy Ries," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/3/2.
- [162] Ibid.
- [163] Ibid. Coroner's report.
- [164] Ibid. Press communique.
- [165] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 157.
- [166] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 156.
- [167] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83.
- [168] Ibid.
- [169] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 159.
- [170] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83.
- [171] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 160.
- [172] Ibid. 160.
- [173] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83.
- [174] Ibid.
- [175] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 161.
- [176] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83.
- [177] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 157.
- [178] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 161.
- [179] Ibid, 162.
- [180] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83. Charge sheet.
- [181] Ibid. Charge sheet.
- [182] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 162.

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- [183] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83. Letter from Cubitt on 24 November 1915.
- [184] Ibid. Letter from Cubitt dated 24 November 1915.
- [185] Ibid.
- [186] Ibid.
- [187] Ibid.
- [188] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 162.
- [189] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83. Letter from Cubitt dated 26 November 1915.
- [190] Ibid. Petition written by Percy Robinson.
- [191] Ibid.
- [192] Ibid. Letter from Byrne to Mr. Campbell.
- [193] Ibid. Letter from Cubitt to Percy Robinson dated 30 November 1915.
- [194] Ibid.
- [195] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*. 158.
- [196] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83.
- [197] Ibid. 158.
- [198] "Albert Meyer, espionage," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/83. Coroner's report.
- [199] Ibid. Press communique.
- [200] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 164.
- [201] Ibid. 164.
- [202] "L H Zender," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/4.
- [203] Ibid.
- [204] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 166.
- [205] Ibid. 167.
- [206] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 139.
- [207] Ibid. 139.
- [208] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 168.
- [209] Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 141.
- [210] "L H Zender," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/4. Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Byrne to Major R.J. Drake dated 13 July 1915.
- [211] Ibid. Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Byrne to The Commandant, Detention Barracks, Wandsworth dated 6 July 1915.
- [212] Ibid. Letter from Byrne to the Commandant, Detention Barracks, Wandsworth dated 28 July 1915.
- [213] Ibid. Letter from E. de la Fuente of the Peruvian Legation in London to Sir Edward Grey dated 20 September 1915.
- [214] Ibid. Letter from Byrne to Campbell dated 23 September 1915.
- [215] Ibid. Letter from E. de la Fuente to Messrs Crosse & Sons, Zender's solicitors dated 4 January 1916.
- [216] Ibid. Letter from War Office to Messrs Crosse & Sons, Zender's solicitors
- [217] Ibid.
- [218] Ibid. Charge sheet.
- [219] Ibid. Letter from Cubitt to the Under Secretary of State dated 5 April 1916.
- [220] Ibid.
- [221] Ibid. Letter from Cubitt to The General Officer Commanding, London District, Horse Guards, S.W. dated 5 April 1916.
- [222] Ibid.

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[223] Ibid. Letter from Attorney General to Under Secretary of State, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W. dated 10 April 1916.

[224] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 172.

[225] "L H Zender," as found in the British National Archives, reference WO 141/2/4. Coroner's report.

[226] Sellers, *Shot in the Tower*, 172.

[227] Ibid. 142.