

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21

No. W.S. 732

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COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 732.....

Witness

Dr. Nancy Wyse-Power,
3 Wellington Place,
Dublin.

Identity.

Member of Executive and
Secretary of Central Branch of Cumann na mBan,
1915-1916.

Subject.

Her visit to Germany 1920-1921 and
publication there of an Irish bulletin.

Conditions, if any, Stipulated by Witness.

Nil

File No. S. 222.....

Form B.S.M. 2

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Statement by Miss Nancy Wyse-Power,

3, Wellington Place, Dublin.

Third Instalment.

I went to Germany for a few months in November, 1920, to complete an examination interrupted by the War. Before I went I saw Arthur Griffith and he asked me would I go through Brussels to see Gavan Duffy to put him in touch with what was going on here. Gavan Duffy at that time had been put out of Paris. I called into his hotel - rather unfortunately for myself. When he heard I was going to Germany he asked me to listen to a long report that had been given to him by a friend of his named Gerald Hamilton who was familiar with many people in Germany. The report dealt with a number of persons who for one reason or another might be interested in Ireland. Mr. Gavan Duffy saw me off to the train with the result that when I reached the platform at Cologne I was arrested by the British occupying forces. Three officers took me to their headquarters and searched myself and my belongings but found nothing. It was because of my contact with Gavan Duffy who was apparently under supervision that this happened. I noticed as the train left Brussels that a Belgian Officer got in at the last moment and sat opposite me. At Liege he alighted and his place was taken by another, so it is possible that the watch was on myself. Before my train arrived the British Military had gone to the house where I was to stay. I had known the landlady previously and they brought her to the station so that when she would speak to me they could identify me. Finding nothing incriminating I was released. After

Christmas I got a letter from Gavan Duffy who had meanwhile visited Berlin asking me to go to Dortmund to see a particular man whose name and address he gave me and who would give me a sum of money which I was to bring back to Ireland. I went to Dortmund, and to the address given me but the man was not there. His assistant told me he knew nothing about the matter, that this particular man was here today and there tomorrow; that he had a lot of interests. So far as I was concerned the matter ended there but the truth was that this man had met Gavan Duffy when the latter was in Germany and had undertaken to secure arms for transmission to Ireland. Money had passed but the arms were not forthcoming. The case dragged on until ultimately it was wound up by Mr. Briscoe who started legal proceedings. In the event a cargo of cement was handed over in reimbursement for the money. The cement was conveyed to Dublin eventually in the City of Dortmund, navigated by Alexander McGuinness who was drowned off Wexford during the war. In that short visit to Germany these were all the political contacts I had. I returned via Paris where I told the strange story to S.T. Ó Ceallaigh who informed me that Hamilton who had accompanied Gavan Duffy in his German tour was an undesirable person who had been imprisoned in England during the war but not for political offences. After I returned I resumed work with the Cumann na mBan.

In late March or early April Bob Brennan came to me and said he had taken over External Affairs Department. It appears a mass of material had accumulated there over a period of 12 months. He wanted it arranged on some basis. He asked me if I would undertake it. They could not provide an office and he wanted me, if I would do the work, to find a house where the documents could be

kept safely and where I could work. I saw a friend^{3.} who lived in Sandymount and who was agreeable to give accommodation but Bob Brennan came to me again and said that the arrangements were changed and that he wanted me to go to Berlin that night. The Dail Cabinet were now anxious to set up an office there to issue a bulletin and start publicity. The instructions he gave me were to go first to Paris and there I would meet Mr. Chartres who, it was desired, should act as Envoy in Berlin. Mr. Chartres was at the time on his way back from Egypt where he had been for reasons of health. If he was agreeable to go direct to Berlin I could turn back to Dublin but if he decided otherwise I was to go to Berlin and start the Bulletin. I went to Paris and saw Mr. Chartres. I had never met him before. I am presenting to the Bureau some articles about him, including two by me, that were published in the Irish Independent in October, 1935. He said first of all he would have to get more definite instructions and secondly he would have to resign formally from the British Civil Service. He wished so to arrange matters that he would be actually in Berlin when his resignation was received. I quite understood that he could not take up the appointment in mid-Channel so I went on to Berlin and he came to Dublin. That would be in the latter half of April.

Chartres was married to a well-known Italian novelist named Anna Vivanti. She was well known to Sean T. O'Ceallaigh and she had done some work for Ireland. She was a person of influence, a friend of d'Annunzio and Mussolini.

I got to Berlin with nothing but instructions to start a bulletin and a list of people who might be interested or useful. The list was taken from that long report prepared by Hamilton which Gavan Duffy had read to me

In Brussels some months previously.

Bob Brennan had mentioned to me that at one time they had thought of offering the editorship in Berlin to Chatterton-Hill who was an Irishman living there. He was intensely pro-German and had been in touch with Roger Casement. Mr. Brennan, however, explained that they were now rather doubtful of Chatterton-Hill but that they would be glad to offer him some other work such as translation of matter for publication and so forth. He had been led by Gavan Duffy to believe that he would have the editorship and it fell to me to explain that the arrangement had been changed. He was very disappointed and said that if he was not to be made editor of the bulletin he was not prepared to undertake any other work. I did not meet him again. An aura of suspicion hung around him, largely I think because he was known to be impecunious. In the summer of 1921 there appeared in the very anti-^{Irish} ~~British~~ Morning Post an account of a meeting held in Count Reventlow's house at which all elements hostile to England were represented, Indians, Egyptians, pan-Germans etc. The meeting was represented as a vast international conspiracy and the leakage was attributed to Chatterton-Hill.

Chatterton-Hill who had written a history of Ireland in German, died in Berlin after the second War. He had asked for repatriation to England as a British subject but there were considerable delays and it is alleged that he died of starvation. A question was asked in Westminster as to the delay in acceding to his request and the reply stated that he died, not of starvation but of pneumonia caused by malnutrition.

Irish prestige among the revolutionary elements was low generally, particularly after the murder of

Talaat Pasha. Talaat had with Enver Pasha been the most prominent of the Young Turk leaders. After the war he took refuge in Berlin living a hidden existence under an alias as he knew that a group of Armenians had sworn to take his life. He was induced to allow Gavan Duffy to visit him and the latter was accompanied by Hamilton. Immediately afterwards Talaat became uneasy and was heard to say that he had been told one should never trust an Irishman. Whether the visit was the cause of his whereabouts being betrayed, or not, within a very short time Talaat was shot outside his house. He was given a magnificent State funeral by the German Government, who inspite of the change that had taken place in its constitution were very loyal to those who had helped Germany during the war. There were a number of such refugees in Berlin, including an Indian named Chattupaddhyaya. He was a high-caste Indian, educated at Oxford, who was a complete revolutionary. During the war he had worked for Germany in the industrial districts of North Italy in an effort to prevent that country entering the war on the allied side. The British Government had endeavoured to have him kidnapped in Switzerland by bribing a boatman on the Lake of Geneva to land him on the French side of the lake but the attempt failed. Chatta, as he was called for short, accepted me cheerfully enough but asked me never to mention his name to Hamilton whom he distrusted deeply.

With him I met an American woman named Agnes Smedley who subsequently went to Moscow. I read recently a reference to her in an English paper which stated that she had been one of the prime movers in organising Communism in China and that she had died there.

Another American in Berlin was a Colonel Emerson who when the war broke out threw in his lot with Germany. When I arrived he had organised a League of Oppressed Peoples (Verein Vergewältigter Völker); yet another was Frau Grabisch, Secretary of the German-Irish Society, but perhaps the most important was John T. Ryan of Buffalo who had been engaged in sabotage in the United States during the war and who now resided in Berlin in very strict seclusion. Unlike Talaat he had refused to see Gavan Duffy unless the latter was alone.

Later on, St. John Gaffney appeared in Berlin. Unfortunately, he had met Harry Boland in the United States and had been told by him that the Dail would appoint him as Envoy to Germany, where he had formerly acted as American Consul-General, losing his post because of his association with Roger Casement. When he arrived in Berlin and found another Envoy already in possession he was naturally hurt and disappointed. He was married to a German wife who, I think, had property in Germany and they continued to live there.

John T. Ryan believed that the entire German police and the entire allied organisations were doing nothing but searching for him all over Europe. He saw me and strangely enough he did not resent me. He resented most people. He had his own liaison officer - an Irish student named Michael O'Brien, now Director of the Institute of Celtic Studies. O'Brien was studying in Germany at the time. Every evening Ryan sent Mr. O'Brien to my hotel (which was a small one) with a long letter which I had to read and return to the messenger on the spot. The letter was about events in general but of no real importance. At the time his advice was useful to me because at least he had no axe to grind. All the others were suspicious of one

another and were continually telling me stories each against the other. To add to every other trouble the place was full of British spies and German spies. You did not know who was a spy. The whole thing was like a detective story. My advice from Dublin was to get out a bi-weekly bulletin immediately. But Mr. Ryan advised me not to do anything for a week or two for the reason that there was a crisis in the political world at the moment. The German Ministers were about to start for London to explain that they could not pay the current reparations demand and he (Mr. Ryan) was of opinion that we could not make headlines in the papers at the moment.

I set about the routine of issuing a bulletin, finding an office, purchasing a typewriter and duplicator, and calling on the Berlin papers. Through Professor Pokorny I found a German office assistant who was a war widow. He got her through the Officers' Union which he stated would put her above suspicion. I was getting the Irish papers through Mr. O'Brien ^{to whom} ~~whom~~ they were sent and I started to get material together and arrange for a German translation. Professor Pokorny did this in the early stages; later a Mrs. Gifford took it over. She was a German married to an expatriate Irishman who while not active politically appeared to know all the more colourful personalities I have mentioned. I believe he was quite harmless.

I had gone to Berlin with very little money on the understanding it would be sent to me when I had an address but many weeks passed and I heard nothing whatever from Dublin. I wrote to Mr. O'Kelly to Paris and he sent me £50 to go on with. I found out subsequently that what had happened in Dublin was that Mr. Robert Brennan had been taken ill and that there was no Department of External

Affairs. He had a nervous breakdown. When I undertook to go to Berlin I had made it a condition that I would have to return on the 1st June and I had so informed Mr. Chartres when I met him in Paris. In fact, however, it was not possible to arrange for his arrival in Berlin before the date when I had to leave. And when I returned to Dublin I saw him in the house of Mr. Con Curran before he set out and put him generally in touch with the position. I did, however, launch the bulletin and arranged with Professor Pokorny to carry on for a week or two while I was away and before Mr. Chartres would arrive.

During my period in Berlin I visited the editors of every daily newspaper and was received in all cases. They all put the same question to me - "What about Ulster?" We succeeded in getting an official list of newspapers from a newspaper advertising agency, and sent the bulletin to every paper in Germany. Many published extracts from it. The bulk of the middle-class Berlin papers at that time was in the hands of Jews who would not lift a finger for us. The extreme left and extreme right published a fair amount for us as did the provincial papers. The Jews in Germany always supported Britain.

In addition to getting the Bulletin under way, I had the Dail Appeal to the Nations of the World translated into German and sent to every member of the Reichstag. I had hoped to have it read out in the Reichstag but failed in this. I gathered that one man was prepared to do it but he was a Communist and I felt that the effect would be misleading, so I dropped the idea although the word Communist was then regarded as quite respectable.

During the first short period in Berlin I got a message one day asking me to call to the house of a man whose name was on the bulletin circulation list. He was a Professor in Frankfurt but had also a Berlin address. When I reached his house I was introduced to Admiral Tirpitz. He was very interested in the Irish question from the point of view of the lessons in organised resistance to an occupying force to be derived from a study of Irish methods. There were all kinds of underground movements in Germany at the time. He was most anxious that we get someone to come over and just give talks in these bodies. I explained to him the difficulties such as that few of our active men knew German and that even one could not be spared. He said if anyone could just come along and say he knew the Lord-Mayor of Cork who had recently died, it would make an immense impression. I undertook to pass on his request to Dublin but nothing came of it.

In connection with Mrs. Grabisch, I was always getting warnings and I tried very hard to find out about her. She was an American and was married to a German who was a free-lance journalist. Her means of livelihood was a mystery. She had been working as an interpreter in the German F.O. during the war, being secretary to Erzberger who was later murdered. I tried very hard to find out what brought Frau Grabisch into contact with the Irish business. The best suggestion I got was from a man named Zerhusen who had been an interpreter to the Irish Brigade. He said that her husband was in the German Army and was stationed at Zossen not far from Berlin where the Irish Brigade camp also was. She used to visit him there and thus got to know the Irishmen. As she spoke English she became interested in them.

As regards the murder of Erzberger, J.T. Ryan told me that "he had it coming to him". The German Government were in desperate straits to meet reparations and were endeavouring to get the head of some neutral Government to intervene to get them time. While they were approaching the President of the Swiss Federation the matter leaked out through Erzberger.

During the month of May the office that we issued the bulletin from had a visit from a local policeman on a point of registration. I think it was a routine matter but when I told Mr. Ryan he took a very serious view of it. He said he had contacts which would enable him to stop anything that might be going on but that if any action were already taken it would be hard to reverse it. He was very anxious to keep me away from the police and told me to go to Paris that night but not to travel through the British occupation zone. It meant three nights in a train for me and for nothing at all but it could have been dangerous and one had to rely on someone. Mr. Ryan did have contacts and had the interests of Ireland sincerely at heart. While the German Government could and did protect an individual like John Ryan who was living privately, a person indulging in public activity was in a different category. It was on that occasion that Mr. Ryan said to me : "You have got to remember that the Allies have their feet on the Germans' necks."

I returned to Dublin on the 1st of June with no thought of going back to Berlin as I felt I had done there all that had been asked of me. During the summer it was indicated to me that Mr. Chartres was anxious to have assistance in Berlin. I was reluctant to return but finally under pressure agreed to go over for a short time again to get things moving. In order to ensure that

I would stay Mr. Griffith handed me a cheque for six months' salary before I left. I was a very short time in Berlin on the second occasion when Mr. Chartres was called to London for the Treaty negotiations.

Mr. Chartres had earlier got himself transferred from Dublin to London in the interests of Sinn Fein and trafficked in arms back and forward for Collins. This was while he was still in the British service. Both Collins and Griffith knew him quite well. He was a barrister *and* ~~during~~ the first war ~~and~~ went into one of these new-found ministries. He was an Irishman possibly of Huguenot origin.

When Chartres first went to Germany he was accompanied by his wife (Anna Vivanti) who knew a great many important people, as she was a niece of the well-known German poet Heyse. She had a German mother and an Italian father. When he went to ~~Berlin~~ ^{London} I found myself in charge again. Mr. Chartres felt that the bulletin had a better chance of being taken over by papers if it were printed instead of stencilled as previously. I argued that the news would be older; one lost a day at least but he believed that a printed sheet looked better and that since the Truce the need for "hot" news was not so great, so it was printed after the first few months. I am leaving a set of the Bulletins in German to the Bureau.

At this time Mr. Briscoe was in Berlin but I thought it better not to make any contact with him. He was there for the purpose of purchasing arms; and it appeared to me better that the open and underground movements should not come together.

While the Treaty conference was in progress in London I learned, with some surprise, that another Irish Emissary was arriving in Berlin in the person of Mr.

Charles Bewley who was being sent out by Mr. Ernest Blythe to look after trade matters. I was very annoyed at the time and wrote to Mr. Chartres in London. He told me that he had shown Mr. Griffith the letter and that the latter fully agreed with everything I had written including my comments on the new representative, but stating it had been done by another Department. Mr. Bewley introduced me to Mr. Briscoe with whom he subsequently quarrelled on some very trivial grounds. Mr. Chartres, appealed to by Mr. Briscoe, felt that Mr. Bewley was in the wrong and Mr. Bewley consequently withdrew from all contact with the official representatives. This created a very ugly situation. Mr. Bewley did not conceal the fact that he expected to be appointed as Irish representative when things were formalised. He had an office of his own and he was bitterly anti-semitic. I remember Mr. Binchy, who was a student at the time in Germany, saying it was an extraordinary thing in a country where Jews were so influential that the waiting-room of a foreign trade representative should be filled with anti-Jewish publications. Mr. Binchy himself became Irish representative for a short time six or seven years later. Mr. Bewley was in Rome later as Irish representative.

At Christmas 1921 I came home for a few days. The Treaty had then been signed and Mr. Chartres had returned to Berlin. When I saw him after the signing of the Treaty I gathered that he had fought hard for external association. During the later stages of the Treaty negotiations he had come back to Berlin but was recalled after a few days by a telegram from Griffith for the meeting which took place in the House of Lords. He did say to me at the time that while there was a real difference between the Treaty as signed and De Valera's proposals that difference was so fine that you could not

expect people to go to war and give their lives for it. He also felt that if there was to be a break in the negotiations it would be bad strategy to allow the break to occur because of Ulster. If a break was inevitable he felt that the delegation should so manoeuvre as to break on the question of the Crown. Mr. Chartres's devotion to Michael Collins was intense. He could easily have said "What is good enough for Michael Collins is good enough for me".

Back in Berlin in January I got a note that Mr. Chartres and I were to go to Paris for the famous Race Conference. It was a most disastrous affair and only aggravated the differences. Some of the people who had come from foreign countries were disappointed. That Conference had been arranged before the Treaty was signed and exiles came with high hopes. The whole situation having changed, nothing resulted but slander, backbiting and disagreement.

Incidentally, during the Treaty negotiations I was in Paris for a day and I saw Sean T. O'Kelly. He spoke of letters he was getting from Art O'Brien undermining the plenipotentiaries. I think myself Art was one of the principal trouble-makers. He was a very vain man and Chartres who knew and liked him told me he was very difficult. He thought he should have been a member of the delegation and his vanity was hurt.

After John Chartres died he had in his office where I also worked a heap of papers. His wife came over and took charge of his things but I decided to keep those as their only interest was for Ireland. I have them still and can let you have them. They look to me to be rough notes taken all through the Peace Conference.

After the Treaty was signed Sean T. O'Kelly decided to resign his post in Paris. He advised Mr. Chartres not to do anything rash at that time. Sean T. said Art O'Brien was remaining on, that they were there in a professional capacity. Sean's was the political end. Chartres went to Paris to take over from Sean T. there and I was left again in Berlin. Bewley was in the background. I pressed at this time for some assistance and Mr. Gavan Duffy suggested I should offer the post to Mr. Binchy who was a student in Munich. While I had nothing against Mr. Binchy whom I knew, I was anxious to have Mr. O'Brien, who had been helping gratuitously all along. Mr. Binchy declined the offer and Mr. O'Brien then helped me from that on. He was glad of the opportunity to remain in Germany and continue his studies after his studentship expired.

About this time we began to be greatly harrassed by **the Dublin Department** under Gavan Duffy who had apparently fallen for Mr. Bewley. For example I got a demand from him for vouchers of every penny spent since the previous May. In the conditions then prevalent in Berlin bribery had been one of the chief items of expenditure and one does not get vouchers for that. But he demanded that everything should be done as it would be in an ordinary business place. We had no typist and I had to do it all myself. This petty pinpricking lasted some months. And while the trouble in Dublin developed into war my efforts in preparing the bulletin were to try to keep things on an even keel by giving information such as the appointment of Ministers and matters of that kind and noting new developments that the Government proposed to bring in. Mr. Gavan Duffy felt that we should turn the bulletin into a positive Free State organ and denounce the opposition. I felt strongly that there was

no use dragging our differences into the open in foreign countries and that it was better to try to present such achievements as were being made in a purely factual way. The climax was reached after the burning of the Hammam hotel and the death of Cathal Brugha. The Bulletin contained a note on his previous career and I then received an order from Dublin to close the Bulletin and come home.

When I came to Dublin during the Christmas holidays 1921-22 I had lunch with Gavan Duffy and had been shocked at his bitter attitude towards everyone who did not consider the Treaty absolutely perfect.

The Berlin situation was complicated enormously by the existence of the friendship between Gavan Duffy and Gerald Hamilton to whom I have already referred. The latter was an international adventurer. He claimed to be Irish and related to the family of the Duke of Abercorn. I do not believe there was any substance in this. Other people accepted it at its face value. During the first summer of my Berlin period (1920) I went to the trouble of going to the National Library and searching reference books to trace his connection with the Abercorn family but there was obviously none. He had been in gaol in England during the first war, and met Art O'Brien there, but it was not for any political cause. He appeared to have acquaintances in high places in various countries but his character was notoriously bad. He was constantly being arrested and released, owing to the protection he enjoyed. I remember Mrs. Grabisch saying to me "Why doesn't he go to live in France". Mr. Chartres found out these things and warned the Irish Government here that he should not be associated with the Cause. Mr. Griffith accepted that view and gave positive instructions that none of the Irish legations

was to recognise him and Mr. Gavan Duffy was furious. He said he believed he was the victim of circumstances and I think that had a good deal to do with the hostility towards the Berlin set-up. John Ryan could not stand Gavan Duffy on account of his association with Hamilton.

Shortly before we left in that spring I arranged to have three members of the Irish Brigade repatriated. They were living on their wits and they were all married. They were Dowling, Keogh and Kavanagh. I got Mr. Briscoe to take them over on the "City of Dortmund". Mr. O'Brien travelled to Bremen, saw them safely on board and placed the available money in the wives' hands. Dowling was not "The man in the boat" but another of the same name who had been a piper in the Irish Guards.

On one occasion Mr. Briscoe brought into the office Mr. Alexander McGuinness. The occasion of the visit was that Mr. Briscoe wanted to complain of Mr. Bewley's behaviour to him in public. McGuinness was an interesting type. Collins had sent him to Germany to get him out of the way. He had been involved in a gaol break at Derry in the course of which a policeman was killed. He was a seaman. He went with Byrd on the Antarctic Expedition as second-in-command. He had a great scheme on this occasion - that he and someone else would go to what is now called Iran for the purpose of cutting the oil pipe. He maintained it would be quite a simple matter. The pipe was so long it could not be guarded except here and there. I told him I was not competent to send him.

Miss Dunne:

A very short time - 3 weeks or a month - after the Rising, my mother got a message - I forget how it was conveyed, asking her to call at a given time in the evening to a newspaper shop in the North Circular Road. As she could not go personally I went instead. The shop was just around the corner from Berkeley Road.

When I entered there was a woman standing outside the counter. I made some small purchase and the woman followed me out. She spoke to me outside and told me that her name was Dunne, and that she was a trained nurse in charge of the infirmary in Mountjoy jail. On this, the first occasion that I met her, she brought a message from the Countess Markievicz. From then on, right through the War of Independence Miss Dunne continued to convey letters and messages to the outside world whenever there were women political prisoners in Mountjoy.

When Eileen McGrane was a prisoner she was very anxious to escape, a project that was not regarded very favourably, owing to the risks involved to the prison staff. However, Miss Dunne did all she could to help by securing dental wax from her own dentist on two occasions to have a wax impression of a key made. Communications from Mountjoy were frequently left by Miss Dunne in Whelan's Hotel in Eccles Street. On one occasion a raid took place on the hotel and letters were found which had patently come out of Mountjoy. A resourceful maid claimed that she had picked them up in the street the day before during the funeral of Archbishop Walsh and had taken them with her through curiosity.

Miss Dunne became very attached to Mrs. Llewellyn Davies while the latter was in Mountjoy and carried communications from the prisoner to Michael Collins. Mrs. Llewellyn Davies was an Irishwoman, the daughter of James O'Connor who had been M.P. for Wicklow. She was married to a Welshman, a wealthy solicitor in London. It has been suggested that she had at one time been Secretary to Lloyd George but I am informed by a connection of hers that this is not correct. She had been an organiser for the Women's Branch of the Liberal Party and it was through this work that she met her husband, who was a friend of Lloyd George.

I first heard of her in connection with the Republican movement in the summer of 1919 when Mrs. Gavan Duffy mentioned her at a Cumann na mBan meeting. Mrs. Gavan Duffy, who had known her in London, said on the occasion in question that this lady was on a holiday in Ireland and that she would be prepared to remain if work in the movement were available for her to do. It was clear that the lady would not be interested in routine work, but wanted to be allotted some important task, and as we were all somewhat unsympathetic, the matter dropped.

Mrs. Llewellyn Davies did, however, transfer herself and her children to Ireland some time later. She took a house in Raheny and appears to have been very useful in a variety of ways, both to Collins and to Bob Brennan.

She was eventually arrested and lodged in Mountjoy, being released some time before the truce on condition that she left Ireland. This was no doubt arranged through her husband's influence. She then took up her position

at Holyhead but returned to Dublin after the Truce.

A certain amount of suspicion always hung around her, probably through her own fault. She was a highly-educated, very intelligent and ambitious woman. She had lived her life in England and her ways were not ours. I think her ambition was to play the part of the power behind the throne and while she had some influence on Collins, the extent of that influence was in my opinion overrated, no doubt by herself too. Collins's intimate male associates disliked her, as can be easily explained.

She had enormous self-assurance as is shown by the fact that when the Gresham Hotel became a kind of headquarters during the Truce and the Treaty negotiations, as the Chief Liaison Officer of the I.R.A. had his office there, Mrs. Llewellyn Davies moved in to the hotel too. To my mind the only reason for this move was her determination to be at the heart of things, but various sinister interpretations were put on her presence in the hotel. Ultimately it was suggested to her through Batt O'Connor that it would be well for her to move elsewhere.

After Collins's death Mrs. Llewellyn Davies appears to have taken no further part in public affairs although she continued to live in Ireland up to the time of her death, which occurred eight or nine years ago.

Signed: Neans de Paor

(Neans de Paor)

Date: 29/9/52

29/9/52

Witness: S. Ni Chiosain

(S. Ni Chiosain)

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21

BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21

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