

This document is copyrighted 1989 by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO), 6723 Whittier Ave Ste 200 McLean, VA 20101. All Rights Reserved. No

part of this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing from the copyright holder. Authorization to photocopy items for internal and personal use is granted by the copyright holder for libraries and other users registered with their local Reproduction Rights Organizations [Copyright Clearance Center] 222 Rosewood Dr, Danvers, MA 01923 www.copyright.com provided the appropriate fee is paid directly to the CCC. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying such as copying for general distribution, for advertising and promotional purposes, for creating new collective works or for resale. Special requests should be addressed to afio@afio.com

The Intelligence Profession Series

Number FIVE



THE ROLE ON WOMEN IN INTELLIGENCE

by

Elizabeth P. McIntosh

The fifth of a series of monographs published by
the Association of Former Intelligence Officers

6723 Whittier Avenue, Suite 303A
McLean, Virginia 22101
(703) 790-0320

\$1.50

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers (AFIO) was formed in 1975 by former intelligence personnel from the Federal military and civilian intelligence and security agencies. Its purpose is to promote public understanding of, and support for, a strong and responsible national intelligence establishment.

AFIO believes that effective intelligence is the nation's first line of defense against surprise from abroad and subversion at home and is indispensable for our national leaders in the conduct of foreign and defense policy. AFIO therefore holds that reliable intelligence is essential to the cause of peace.

In its first years, AFIO was active in providing expert testimony to committees of Congress which were investigating various aspects in national intelligence. With a lessening of the amount of effort required to provide Congress with objective, expert testimony, AFIO is embarking on an education project designed to provide material which will support the teaching of the subject in American universities and colleges. This series of monographs is one aspect of that project.

AFIO is independent and has no affiliation with the United States Government. Publications of the Association, however, which could divulge sensitive information regarding sources, methodology and techniques, are cleared with the proper element of the intelligence community. Clearance with a government element merely serves to satisfy security requirements and does not constitute substantive approval by that element; In fact, AFIO will not accept substantive direction. Opinions expressed in these monographs are those of the authors, not necessarily those of the Government or of AFIO.

Future editions of this series will address other subjects of current critical interest to the United States intelligence community and the citizenry. These will include secrecy, warning, estimates, the legal and ethical bases for national intelligence, the history of national intelligence in the United States, comparisons with foreign services, collection, policy and the establishment of requirements.

Other pamphlets in this series are:

The Clandestine Service of the Central Intelligence Agency,
by Hans Moses

National Security and The First Amendment, by John S. Warner

The KGB: An Instrument of Soviet Power, by Thomas Polgar

Warning Intelligence, by Cynthia M. Grabo

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTELLIGENCE

Elizabeth P. McIntosh

Intelligence Profession Series

Number Five

The Association of Former Intelligence Officers
McLean, Virginia
1989

About the Author

After graduation from the University of Washington, Elizabeth P. McIntosh became a newspaper writer and later a columnist and womens' page editor for newspapers in Hawaii and San Francisco. On December 7, 1941, she was hired by Scripps Howard Newspapers to cover the Pearl Harbor attack and was assigned as war correspondent, Pacific Ocean Area, under Admiral Chester Nimitz's command. She was later transferred to Washington, D.C. as White House correspondent and columnist for Scripps Howard's news features.

She joined the Office of Strategic Services in January of 1943, where she conducted morale operations (MO) against the Japanese in Burma; later she was reassigned to Kunming, China and supported MO teams behind enemy lines. She received the theater citation for her work. After VJ Day, she worked on the OSS China history for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. McIntosh was a radio information specialist with Voice of America and then went on special assignment with the Department of State to the United Nations to write speeches for delegates and cover ECOSOC and the Commission on Status of Women. In 1952, she transferred to the Office of Special Requirements to obtain by-line articles from prominent Americans for use in overseas information programs; did liaison work with congressional leaders, college heads and magazine and newspaper editors. She served with the Central Intelligence Agency from December 1958 until she retired in 1973.

After retirement she worked at the Smithsonian in the public relations office, writing pamphlets and covering Smithsonian Institute activities for the inhouse newspaper.

McIntosh is the author of *Undercover Girl*, the story of women in OSS. She wrote two children's books, *Inki*, the story of a Seeing Eye Puppy and *Palace Under The Sea*, about underwater exploration off Turkey.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTELLIGENCE

Contents

A Historical Survey	1
Women Spies In The American Revolution	3
Women Spies In The Civil War	5
Women In World War I	8
Women In World War II	12
Women In The French Resistance	14
Britain's Women Agents	19
Women of OSS	26
French Women With OSS	33
British Women With OSS	34
American Women Cited For OSS Operations	34
Women In The CIA	39
Bibliography	43

Acknowledgements

My appreciation to those who reviewed my manuscript for content and/or editorial consistency: Robert T. Crowley, Charles E. Cuningham, Geoffrey M. T. Jones, William M. Henhoeffler, Edward F. Sayle and John Taylor

Thanks are also due to William E. Colby for his very considerable assistance, to Gretchen Campbell for preparing the manuscript for publication, and to all those *sub-rosa* friends who also wish to remain so.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTELLIGENCE

A Historical Survey

The role of the spy, that clandestine agent who secretly observes and reports, is as old as recorded history. A government controlled civilian intelligence agency, keyed to national objectives, is relatively new. The participation of women as important operatives in organized espionage, is also new.

Over the centuries there have been colorful, clever, drab, untrained, dedicated women, all engaged in gathering secret information. The more famous ones are still remembered. The Bible speaks of Delilah, who betrayed Samson to the Philistines. Empress Wu Chao, A.D. 625-705, was the first ruler in China to set up a sovereign-controlled secret service. High priestesses at Delphi in Greece are credited with passing on intelligence while supposedly in drug induced trances. The Byzantine Empress Theodora danced nude before her court while her spies worked the streets.

The early run-of-the-mill Mata Haridans were not trained as they are today. They relied on sex, good sense and a woman's natural instinct to be devious when the situation called for covert action. Over the centuries theirs was a membership in a haphazard trade, more often than not a convenient merging of the first and second oldest professions.

It was not until the sixteenth century that ground work was established for the formation of a secret service mechanism, the vestiges of which still operate in England today. Queen Elizabeth the First brought the art of espionage to an international level with the help and guidance of her principal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham. When she came to power in 1558, England was torn with religious dissent; the country faced a huge debt brought on by wars with France; the people were impoverished. At her death 45 years later, England had passed through one of the greatest periods in her history. She was united as a nation; she was established as a first rate naval power in Europe; commerce and industry flourished; colonization of the New World had started.

Elizabeth's power base was a far reaching secret service network that Walsingham developed with her. Her ambassadors abroad were utilized as agents, and she established a supporting attache system to increase coverage. English college students were sent to European capitals to report on current events. Jesuit priests were subverted to spy on political activities within their church. Third countries, such as Italy, were used as bases to mount subversive action against Elizabeth's arch enemy, Spain. Disinformation campaigns were developed that kept the powerful Spanish armada from attacking England for at least a year. The Queen used her Welsh astrologer and cryptographer, Cambridge-educated John Dee, as an agent of influence in the courts of Europe where astrological predictions could be subtly interpreted for required results.

The use of psychics and their arcane predictions have continued long after Elizabeth. During World War II, British intelligence with the help of specially-slanted occult readings, induced Deputy Fuhrer Rudolf Hess to make his abortive flight from Germany to Scotland in 1941. The British secret service was also in touch with a woman known only in the records as Anne, who allegedly performed out-of-body trips across the channel for intelligence reconnaissance. The Office of Strategic Services (OSS), forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) considered smuggling a German prisoner, in a post-hypnotic state, into Berlin to murder Hitler. The marines going to Vietnam were instructed by a "water witch" or dowser to locate enemy mines. The CIA at one time was interested in the use of African witch doctors. And former first lady, Nancy Reagan, worked with a California seer.

WOMEN SPIES IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The American colonies, which Elizabeth's great adventurers such as Francis Drake and John Hawkins helped establish, inherited no regulated intelligence system when the revolution started. General George Washington's espionage network was loose and amateurish. It was an operation of expediency, based upon scraps of information tendered by farmers, itinerant artisans, country women passing through loosely-held lines in search of food. Their very anonymity permitted them to enter enemy-held territory unobtrusively and return with military information.

Major Benjamin Tallmadge of Long Island recorded in his diary that he questioned a "young country girl gathering eggs" about British activities in occupied Philadelphia. While this untutored informant was volunteering information, an enemy patrol opened fire. Tallmadge gallantly scooped the young lady up on his horse and galloped away, eggs and all. "She remained unmoved through considerable pistol fire and never once showed fear after she mounted my horse," he wrote.

A statue of Nathan Hale, the heroic Connecticut school teacher, stands outside the CIA complex in Langley, Virginia. He was the spy who was caught and hanged. There is no statue, not even a mention in George Washington's reports, of a housewife and spy named Lydia Darragh, a very active agent in Philadelphia who was not caught. References to women in the war are conspicuously absent in Washington's reports. He shared the prevalent attitude that women's activities should be limited to child bearing and domestic duties, with the possible exception of flag making.

Lydia Darragh was a Quaker who lived with her family at 177 South Second Street in Philadelphia, across the street from the Cadwalader mansion occupied by British General William Howe and staff. Howe had originally attempted to requisition the Darragh home, but after the family entreaties, he agreed to commandeer their large parlor, and only on special occasions when more space was required.

WOMEN SPIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Lydia Darragh was a plain woman, inconspicuous in her Quaker grey habit; but she was also an opportunist. She used her 14 year old son as a courier to send messages to her oldest son, Lt. Charles Darragh, serving with General Washington at winter headquarters at Whitemarsh, near Norristown, Pennsylvania.

It was her curiosity that paid off December 2, 1777, when General Howe ordered the family to vacate their parlor for an important evening staff meeting. Literally eavesdropping at the keyhole, Mrs. Darragh learned that the British were planning a surprise attack on Washington's headquarters. Early the next morning the Quaker lady threw an empty grain bag over her shoulder, an excellent cover to penetrate British lines, and supposedly started on a long, cold walk to the grain mills.

Luckily, she was able to locate one of Washington's Aides, Colonel Elias Boudinot at the Rising Sun Tavern in Whitemarsh. The colonel wrote later in his journal that "a poor, insignificant little woman walked up to me and put in my hands a dirty old needlework with various small pockets sewed inside." The intelligence she transmitted revealed that Howe was attacking December 4 with 5,999 men, 13 pieces of cannon, baggage wagons and 11 boats on wagon wheels. Alerted by this intelligence, plus other corroborating factors, Washington was ready for the British attack, which was repelled.

Other women in the American colonies cast their loyalty with the British. Such a one was the young wife of Major Benedict Arnold. As Peggy Shippen, the daughter of a prominent Tory family, she had been the toast of Philadelphia. When she married Arnold, she convinced him to betray the American cause and acted as his secretary in his plot to seize West Point. She eventually followed him into exile in England.

Patience Mehitabel Lovell Wright, an American sculptress, served as a valuable patriot intelligence agent in London at the outbreak of hostilities. A confidant of Benjamin Franklin, Mrs. Wright had achieved fame for her creation of life-like wax portrayals of prominent persons. Her studios were "a fashionable lodging-place for the nobility and distinguished men of England," and the King and Queen - with whom she dealt on a "democratic" first name basis - often visited her workrooms. With this access, she gathered "many facts and secrets" important to the American cause and communicated them to Franklin before she was forced to flee London early in 1776.

The Civil War created a different milieu for women on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. There were a few outstanding female spies who made important contributions to both the blue and the grey, but for the most part women in the Civil War responded with unsolicited outpourings of gossip, trivia and frenzied accounts of an enemy under every bedstead, in every barn. It was the era of the amateur spy.

In their enthusiasm, some women even masqueraded as men and joined the army. Unbelievable as it sounds, one attractive girl, Sarah Emma Edmonds, concealed her identity for three years from a Michigan regiment in which she was registered as a private, later as a spy, and finally, unmasked, as a nurse.

Belle Boyd is perhaps one of the most famous civil war women agents. She was born in Martinsburg, Virginia, before that area became West Virginia. In later years, after the war, she became her own best press agent. She described herself as a "beautiful cloaked courier racing on horseback up and down the Shenandoah Valley by night for the Confederate cause." History, however, has described her as a "raw boned country girl" who actually conveyed only one important intelligence communication to General Stonewall Jackson. She learned of Union army plans to attack a Front Royal position and got word in time to Jackson. One of her most treasured mementoes was a letter of appreciation from him.

Nancy Hart was another West Virginian fighting for the south. She provided Jackson's cavalry with useful information and led patrols through Union positions in the mountains. Once when she was captured she wrested her guard's musket from him, smashed him over the head with the stock, and shot him dead. She escaped to serve the Confederacy as a scout.

At the other end of the social ladder from these impetuous mountaineers was Rose O'Neal Greenhow, a secessionist and widow of a state department official who also served as a secret executive agent for the United States prior to his death. Rebel Rose, as she was

called, was a capitol confidant of statesmen, congressmen, army and navy officers stationed in Washington. Her greatest coup took place early in the war. She was able to penetrate Union Lines through her very effective courier service, sending intelligence to Richmond that General Irvin McDowell was marching on Manassas, Virginia. Her timely ciphered message set the stage for the Union debacle at Bull Run in 1861.

In this war of divided loyalties, the Union also had its women spies.

Union General P. H. Sheridan writes, in his memoirs, of a Quaker school teacher in Winchester, Virginia, Miss Rebecca Wright. He contacted her through the cooperation of an elderly black man who had a confederate pass to sell his vegetables to inhabitants of that town. The message was written on tissue paper, wrapped in tin foil and secreted in the man's mouth.

The General wrote: "I learn that you are a loyal lady and still love the old flag. Can you inform me of the position of Early's forces, the number of divisions, and his probable or reported intentions. Have any more troops arrived from Richmond?"

Miss Wright came back with the much needed information: "The rebels have been sent back to Richmond and no more are expected as they cannot be spared. I do not know how the troops are situated but the force is much smaller than reported. I will take pleasure hereafter in learning all I can of their strength and the bearer may call again."

General Sheridan asserts that it was Miss Wright's information which persuaded him to at last attack the confederate position. After the battle he was conducted to Miss Wright's house "where I met for the first time the woman who had contributed so much to our success." After the war he sent her a beautiful gold watch with an inscription commemorating her services in 1864.

Another Union sympathizer was Miss Elizabeth van Lew, a middle-aged spinster who led a double life in Richmond. To her southern friends she was a talkative busybody, buzzing around to parties in the southern capitol. She was also checking defenses, eavesdropping on conversations of military significance, sending coded messages back to Union posts and hiding northern prisoners in her James River mansion. After the war she was commended by the War Department and rewarded with the job of postmistress in Richmond.

A handsome Creole actress, Pauline Cushman of New Orleans, also worked for the Union. Cushman acted with itinerant Nashville stage companies and was recruited by Union officials who asked her to obtain information in rebel territory 50 miles southeast of Nashville. Cushman successfully penetrated the area, obtained the information of a planned attack by General Baxton Bragg, but was captured after transmitting the intelligence. She was later freed from prison and continued to work for the north. Her knowledge of the back roads of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi were of great value to the Yankee invaders.

It was a war widow, Sarah Thompson, who led to the capture of one of Dixie's most colorful renegades, Major John Hunt Morgan. The war was ending; Atlanta had fallen; Grant was attacking Petersburg. But Major Morgan, the scourge of Union troops throughout the war, was still at large. With his hard riding company known as Morgan's Raiders, he had taken cover near Greenville, Tennessee, and had slipped into town to visit a friend. Here he was spotted by 25 year old Thompson. That night she talked her way through southern lines, rode into a fierce thunderstorm to Bull's Gap where she reported to Union headquarters. A cavalry unit was dispatched with her to Greenville, where Morgan was apprehended and killed.

The first woman to serve in the Union forces, Dr. Mary Edwards Walker, was also the first woman to win the Medal of Honor. She was the only women prisoner of war exchanged for a man of equal rank. At Chattanooga, Tennessee, Walker also served as a scout, frequently going behind enemy lines to gather vital information for General Sherman. He recommended her for the Medal of Honor and it was awarded to her by President Andrew Jackson in 1865.

WOMEN IN WORLD WAR I

The spy fever that spread across the United States shortly before and during World War I was similar to the furor stirred up by the petticoat brigades in the Civil War.

"Spies are everywhere." These were headlines in the *New York Tribune*. "They occupy hundreds of observation posts. They are in factories producing war materiel. They are in drug and chemical laboratories."

Signs were posted on the Brooklyn docks: "Beware of female spies. Women are being employed by the enemy to secure information from anyone, on the assumption that they are less likely to be suspected than male spies."

The sinking of the *Lusitania* created more rumors and hysteria. Secret wireless outposts were reported on Long Island. *Femmes fatales* with German accents were eliciting secrets in New York's high society. Long black cars raced through Central Park in the dead of night, driven by monocled foreigners. Even bird watchers were suspect, with their binoculars at the ready, cameras, and an affinity for secluded spots along the coast.

However, behind the spy fever hoopla, an effective German espionage network was operating out of New York City run by a woman: Maria de Victorica, also known as Baroness Kretschmann, Marie de Vussiere or Miss Clark.

She was a plump, strongly Teutonic-looking operative, born in Buenos Aires in 1882, the daughter of a German army officer who was part of the rapidly expanding colony of German traders in South America. Her mother was the Countess Jennie von Gustedt. de Victorica was educated at Heidelberg and the Universities of Berlin and Zurich where she earned several degrees and learned four languages. She was married to a Chilean in 1914, a short lived arrangement that netted her a neutral citizenship and launched her on a career of espionage.

Through her family, de Victorica almost certainly knew Colonel Walter Nicolai, chief of Germany's intelligence department, and also regarded as the father of the German secret service. One of his agents was best man at her wedding. When war broke out, de Victorica's first assignment was to encourage the Irish Sinn Fein movement in acts of rebellion against England.

As war clouds gathered in the United States, de Victorica was assigned to New York City to organize spy rings, sabotage ships and munitions factories. She arrived on January 21, 1917, registered at New York's Knickerbocker Hotel as Marie de Vussiere and drew her first expense money, via a German export firm, in New York for \$35,000.

When the United States declared war in April, 1917, she changed roles from a classy, wealthy Chilean to plain Miss Clark. She moved to the Netherlands Hotel and continued to work *sub rosa* for the German *Nachrichtendienst*.

de Victorica was finally unmasked due to carelessness in fiscal matters and her underestimation of American security. As her activities unraveled, American officers found plans for re-supplying German U-Boats off Cape Hatteras, positioning of saboteurs aboard American and British ships, and operations against the Panama Canal. She was sentenced to 30 years in prison. She died in 1920 in a private sanitarium.

Across the Atlantic, the war was taking its toll of women reportedly engaged in espionage. In October, 1916, the Germans executed British Nurse Edith Cavell. She was charged with smuggling allied prisoners of war out of Brussels. The next October, 1917, Dutch born Margarete Zelle aka Mata Hari was shot by the French on what today are considered trumped up spy charges. At the time of her death, the dumpy 41 year old dancer reportedly had mesmerized powerful rulers with her charms, belly danced seductively for wealthy and influential lovers, and in the course of this romantic life, had developed into a master spy.

Reports of the court proceedings have been analyzed by experts and the consensus is that Mata Hari was framed. Not one scrap of evidence can be found that would bring her to trial today. It was a time of national stress in 1917 when the war was going badly for the Allies. The French command needed a scapegoat to cover up its own

failures. It channeled its anger and frustration against Mata Hari and the Germans, and her execution was their vindication. The prosecutor vehemently accused Mata Hari of causing the deaths of 50,000 loyal French soldiers and sailors through espionage. No proof has ever been provided to substantiate this contention. Sex and pillow talk can be a lady spy's most useful weapons, but modern historians agree that they must be used with a subtlety far beyond Margarete Zelle's capabilities.

World War I did mark the beginning of superficial training at government level of women operatives. The British established a civilian intelligence agency in 1909, "a government department funded by the government, its employees largely civilian, created to obtain intelligence from abroad." Germany followed this pattern in 1913; Russia in 1917; France in 1935 and the United States in 1947.

Admiral Sir Reginald "Blinker" Hall, director of Britain's Naval Intelligence in World War I, was anything but hide bound towards women working in his agency. His rule was simple: They must be daughters or sisters of naval officers, know at least two languages and be able to type. The ladies who worked for him became known as Blinker's Beauty Chorus. The exact scope of their intelligence duties was not spelled out.

However, the clandestine activities of a French woman from Lille, in the employ of British intelligence, have been recorded. Louise Marie Jeanne Henriette de Bettignies was the attractive and clever daughter of a Lille porcelain manufacturer, with a penchant for organization. The spy network which she established from Artois, north to Dunkirk and into Brussels eventually posed a very real threat to the German occupation forces in that area.

Mademoiselle de Bettignies was educated at Oxford, spoke French, Flemish, Italian, German and English. Before the war she was a governess to children of nobility in Italy and Austria. She joined the Red Cross and was in Lille when the Germans marched in. Escaping to England in 1915 with considerable information about the German occupation, she volunteered her services to British intelligence and was accepted.

There were no training schools for women spies in England at that time, but de Bettignies was briefed by experienced intelligence officers

who advised her in the rudiments of secret inks, codes, safe drops for messages and the establishment of an underground. They gave her the code name Alice Dubois and her network was called the Alice Service.

Alice Dubois returned to her family home in Lille, which became headquarters for her net of friends and helpers. She worked under many disguises: a lace seller, a peasant girl selling cheese, a school teacher. She arranged to send messages inside rosaries, in the headgear of the Sisters of Charity, inside candy bar wrappers, in glass eyes and wooden legs. The Alice Service smuggled allied prisoners across the borders, gathered information on German troop movements, identified German installations and order of battle.

She was arrested late in 1916 when German security police in a routine border check discovered her purse bulging with forged identification cards for her agents. Unfortunately, she had not included her own. She was imprisoned at St Giles prison in Brussels where she died. Without her organizational talent and ability, the net slowly disintegrated.

Posthumously the British Secret Service praised her "inestimable" contributions. "Through her we learned, with precise regularity and rapidity that was never surpassed by any other organization, all the movements of the enemy, the exact position of their batteries, and a variety of details that were of great assistance."

Today, in a Lille garden, there is a statue to de Bettignies erected after the first world war. It stood throughout World War II when Germany occupied Europe for the second time in less than a century. She represented the beginning of a new phase in espionage, when women were trained to fight and spy for their countries in Resistance Movements in Europe, and with troops on the continent, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

WOMEN IN WORLD WAR II

Resistance, as defined by the Oxford dictionary, is an organized underground movement in a country occupied by enemy forces, carried on with the assistance of armed fighters for the purpose of frustrating and damaging the occupying power.

At the height of World War II, three intelligence agencies supervised allied resistance activities in Europe. These were the British Special Operations Executive (SOE); the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and the French Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action (BCRA), established by General Charles de Gaulle in 1944.

Women worked for all three agencies, at home and in Europe, Africa, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Poland, Portugal and Scandinavia; later in the Middle East and Asia. The Resistance Movement was well organized in France. Women there established and operated escape lines through which Allied airmen and soldiers, also Jewish refugees, were spirited to freedom. Women were leaders or workers in the intelligence nets or *reseaux*, coding and decoding messages, gathering information for allied armies. They edited newspapers and publications which focused a steady spotlight of truthful, uncensored news from the outside world into occupied or enemy countries.

It has been estimated that more than 5,000 downed flyers were returned to their bases through the efforts of women, who secreted them in their homes, fed them, clothed them and supplied them with the necessary documents for travel through escape lines. Working these lines was especially dangerous due to the number of people who eventually became involved. When an estimated 100,000 resistance members were operating, it became difficult to maintain cover. Volunteers were often accepted on faith and the lines were therefore vulnerable to infiltration by French traitors, or English or French speaking Germans posing as allies. Countless men and women in these escape lines were arrested and deported, many were shot or died in concentration camps.

Another department of the Resistance movement, the intelligence networks, was smaller than the escape lines, although approximately

50,000 participated, twenty percent being women. Women held down executive positions, and managed the cryptography sections. Some also infiltrated enemy lines to obtain tactical intelligence. All members of this network were mercilessly tracked down by German counter-intelligence operatives.

In occupied Europe the task of publishing clandestine newspapers, pamphlets and posters was dangerous work, often orchestrated with sabotage or guerrilla operations. Women filled key positions as editors, writers, artists, while others distributed these underground publications by the thousands. Women also participated in "black" propaganda, as opposed to overt, and designed to subvert the enemy. Clandestine radio broadcasts were also used to undermine enemy morale. One example is the operation run out of England against German troops where popular songs were rewritten for propaganda purposes by composers such as Kurt Weill, and aired by singers such as Marlene Deitrich.

Women assigned to the more dangerous activities of sabotage, paramilitary and guerrilla units, served as couriers, liaison agents, instructors, doctors or nurses. Many ended up in charge of resistance pockets, teaching weaponry, sabotage techniques and codes.

WOMEN IN THE FRENCH RESISTANCE

In occupied France, citizens at all levels of society took part in the Resistance and gave the movement its power base and objectives. The women who participated were of all ages, religions, political beliefs. They were aristocrats, housewives, peasants, teachers, students, doctors, nurses, editors, writers, cafe owners. Many remembered the German occupation of their country in World War I. Many had family members in German prisons or labor camps. Many of their men had died defending their country.

Resistance began quietly in 1940 after the invasion. No one welcomed the Nazis with open arms, no one did their will with open hearts. Downed flyers, stumbling around the countryside were quietly picked up, sequestered, and passed from one home to another enroute to the nearest border: Spain or Switzerland. Eventually, papers were prepared as the situation stabilized, clothing of the country was furnished, identification papers forged. Women familiar with the territory acted as guides. Names such as Annie Kriegel, Yvonne Oddon and Elisabeth Dussauze became familiar to the growing *reseaux*.

The spirit of the Resistance was described by Genevieve Soulie, who ran a safe house for downed airmen: "In our net," she wrote, "there were Catholics, atheists, Protestants, Jews, people of different political parties. We were unified in defying the enemy."

The first organized French resistance groups were the Maquis, a name derived from scrub underbrush growing in Corsica, used as a hiding place for outlaws. The Maquisards began to take refuge in mountain areas in late 1943 to avoid forced labor in Germany. By 1944, General de Gaulle ordered the formation of Forces Francaises de l'Interieur (FFI) to include all freedom fighters in France.

Many French women received their training in England and were parachuted back to France. Marie Madeleine Fourcaud was one of France's most famous agents. She helped organize, then ran, *Alliance*, one of the largest and earliest nets which over the course of the war numbered 3,000 agents, 17 percent being women.

Another notable woman agent in Paris was Jeanne Berthomier, a civil servant with the French postal service (PTT) who used mail sacks in which to hide funds, I.D. papers and radio transmitters.

Once the Nazis occupied France, the free press of that country was silenced. Germans directly managed 45 percent of Parisian papers. Almost immediately, underground publications sprang up. By 1944, there were 100 national and 500 regional papers being published with a circulation of 2 million. Discovery of the editors meant forced labor or death.

Many women worked in this phase of Resistance. Madeleine Braun edited the Communist Party paper, *Le Patriot*. Louise Weiss presented the Gaullist point of view in *La Nouvelle Republique*. Jacqueline Bernard, member of a well known Jewish family, edited *Combat*. Helene Mordkovich ran a rotary press in the basement of the Sorbonne until VE Day. Adrienne Casajus, a Lille professor, organized her former students and their parents to distribute *Defense De La France*, a service headed by Genevieve de Gaulle, a niece of the general's and also a student at the Sorbonne.

In addition, the underground press provided accurate military and political information to counter propoganda generated by German controlled papers. The "free" French press was also used for propoganda purposes, questioning the legality of the Vichy government, denouncing the pillaging of France, recruiting for the Resistance.

Nurses and doctors also served the Resistance. They gave medical aid under fire, risking their lives if captured. Their medical skills were indispensable to men wounded in isolated outposts who could not ask aid from strangers. Dr. Marie Elise Seror, a 30 year old doctor, proved an excellent organizer as well as a physician. She set up medical stations in isolated farms and recruited farmers and their wives to serve as auxiliary corps men.

Few women serving with the Resistance were as valuable as radio operators, due to the long training period required to perfect their skills, and the efficiency of Nazi vans in tracking down agent transmitters. If an operator was caught with a radio set, the Germans needed no further proof of guilt.

Young Christine de Renty, who worked in Paris was a full time radio operator. She would spend her nights coding or decoding messages. At the same time her apartment was a drop where she received phone messages and intelligence reports. Later she would meet agents at metro stations, pick up information at cafes, distribute money.

Odette Lioret was a postal employee when she was recruited and trained as a radio operator for the OSS Mission Aquitaine in France. Surrounded by the enemy, Lioret transmitted 48 intelligence messages in three weeks, giving detailed positions of the Germans. For this she was given the U.S. Medal of Freedom.

The divisions among the various Resistance activities were not rigid and during the course of the war women were often active in more than one operation, although Allied intelligence preferred to keep activities as compartmented as possible. Suzanne Bertillon, a French journalist-lecturer working with the OSS, organized a trans-Pyrenees *reseau* and set up the first OSS intelligence net to operate in the south of France. She recruited and trained friends to report on order of battle, rail traffic and maritime activities in Toulon. She herself traveled by bicycle and train to deliver reports. Eventually she organized more than 100 members of this net from Vichy south along the Rhone, west to the Spanish border, and east to Cannes and Italy.

Another French woman, Suzanne Tony Robert, was a secretary general for an intelligence network, and she also established escape routes for allied airmen into Spain. Marie Therese Le Calvez was not only a guide in the escape lines, but served as a courier for the Maquis. Michelin Blum-Picard also worked as a courier for an escape line, and doubled on occasion as a nurse for Maquisards near Montlucon.

Lieutenant Jeannette Guyot, French army, attached to OSS, was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in military operations. She was parachuted in civilian clothes into enemy occupied France as a member of the Pathfinder Mission charged with finding parachute fields, organizing reception committees and locating safe houses. Responsible for the transport of radios and other compromising equipment, the 25 year old Lieutenant traveled by train, motor or bicycle with luggage, which had it been opened by the Gestapo, would have meant certain death.

Annie Thinesse, another French woman, worked behind enemy lines for the OSS. When American forces were attempting to drive the Germans back from Epinal and secure the area, they were hampered by lack of intelligence. Bad weather had prevented aerial reconnaissance. Thinesse twice walked through German lines and obtained not only complete information on the vital Moselle Bridge defenses, but the location of other enemy positions and the number and type of personnel defending the area. The citation she received when awarded the Bronze Star, read in part: "For meritorious service in connection with military operations against the enemy. On two occasions she voluntarily exposed herself to heavy artillery fire in order to perform services of vital importance. Her spirit of self sacrifice, her cold courage and highly developed sense of loyalty to the allied cause resulted in a successful completion of the missions for which she volunteered."

Helene Deschamps was one of many French women employed by the OSS in Algiers. The daughter of an officer in the French colonial army, she had no special training, but once on the job she learned the skills needed to collect information about enemy troop movements, coastal defenses and the location of anti-aircraft batteries. Deschamps eventually penetrated enemy lines and provided tactical information for the allies.

A knowledge of language was of vital importance during World War II. It was often necessary to translate messages rapidly from English to French or German. One well qualified French woman who worked for OSS was the Maquis Claire de Forbin, who helped establish headquarters in Grasse, later in Nice. As chief of the intelligence section under OSS Officer M. T. Geoffrey Jones, she was in charge of processing reports from more than 100 field agents which were translated, as required, into French, Italian, English or German. Five women assisted in this work.

Among well known French safe house keepers was Boston-born Countess Roberta de Maduit, who offered the Resistance her historic castle in the Cotes-du-Nord near the Channel. She was captured while six airmen were hiding in her chateau. They escaped after her capture, and at war's end, the countess was repatriated. She received the George Cross from England and the U.S. Medal of Honor for her work.

After the war, France finally recognized the role that women played in the Resistance, that employed 100,000 by VE Day. Their right to vote was included in the constitution of the 4th Republic in 1946. Enfranchised French women now stand as equals with women of other countries due largely to their heroic record during the war.

BRITAIN'S WOMEN AGENTS

Women were employed in British intelligence operations during World War II far more widely than at any other time in that country's history. At home they served in executive posts in intelligence agencies; overseas they were given key parts to play in actual operations behind enemy lines. As part of the once hush-hush Y Service, the WAAF's monitored enemy airplane radio transmissions to warn the allies of upcoming Nazi air strikes. Britain's proudest and oldest women's corps in the country, the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) distinguished themselves in their work with SOE in all theaters of operations.

British women were trained at special schools where they learned radio operations; they were also taught to handle explosives, read maps and encipher messages. At Arising, Scotland, women went to commando school where the curricula included silent killing and use of both British and enemy weapons. Women also went through parachute training despite the tightness of the bindings which often resulted in bruised bosoms.

Women who showed a special flare for radio work were sent to advanced schools where trainees became skilled in transmitting Morse; learned cryptography; were briefed in all security measures including how to conceal radio sets when they parachuted behind the lines. They were also given pills: cyanide pills to take in case of capture; pills to keep them awake; pills to put in drinks that would knock out an unsuspecting target; even pills that would produce intestinal symptoms if they needed to feign illness.

Many of Britain's women agents received their final briefings on their way to France from an efficient, motherly woman, Vera Atkins, who became a captain in the intelligence service at war's end. Atkins gave women last minute information on rationing, work and travel regulations. She checked their clothes to be certain they were cut in the European style, usually by a trusted and cleared Polish refugee tailor in London. Even the detritus in the pockets was carefully planted. Cigarette tobacco had to match that being used in France. Theater stubs must jibe with the area in which the agent was operating. Spare pocket change must ring true.

They were slipped clandestinely into France for sabotage, espionage, communication work and liaison between underground and Allied forces. They worked under auspices of SOE, their code designations registered in an unpretentious house at 64 Baker Street, London, together with those of hundreds of others of all ages, backgrounds and interests.

Violette Szabo was a slim, beautiful 22 year old mother whose husband had been killed fighting in North Africa. Her mother was French, her father an Englishman. Szabo grew up in London, a tomboy who could outrun and outplay most of the boys in her neighborhood. She was also a first rate shot, practicing at shooting galleries when she was a teenager.

Szabo joined the SOE after her husband's death and was sent into the Rouen-Channel coastal region prior to D-Day to reconnoiter and also to check out SOE agents whose radios had gone silent. Here she worked for two months, narrowly escaping arrest, thanks to her perfect French and ability to act the *gamine*. Luck finally ran out when the Gestapo surrounded a cottage where Szabo and a French agent were hiding. Szabo persuaded her companion to escape while she covered him with his Sten gun. She remained to pick off the Germans from window to window until her ammunition gave out and she was captured. Szabo was sent to prison in Germany where she was brutally tortured but refused to divulge any information about her activities. She was shot, together with two other women couriers, at the infamous Nazi prison at Ravensbruck. Szabo was the first British woman to be awarded the George Cross and France's Croix de Guerre. A simple plaque was recently placed in her memory at Hereford, England, "in deep appreciation of her outstanding courage in England's hour of need."

Another SOE heroine was Odette Marie Sansom, a spirited brunette of 30 years who was parachuted into southern France. Her team commander was Captain Peter Churchill, no relation to the prime minister, who put her to work as a courier. Born in France, Sansom's language was native and she was particularly adept at arranging aerial pickups of agents and materiel. She was captured in 1943, shortly after arranging a large drop to resistance leaders hiding out in the mountains above the Cote d'Azur. She was tortured cruelly but never broke under interrogation. Taken to Ravensbruck, she was

sentenced to die but somehow the order was never carried out. At war's end her luck held and the German commandant of Ravensbruck drove her personally to American lines hoping for clemency which he did not receive. Sansom was later awarded the George Cross.

The roll call of outstanding SOE women reflects their courage and capabilities. Christine Granville, the Countess Krystyn Gizycka Skarbek, worked first in Poland until it fell; then in France and eastern Europe and finally in North Africa where she was the first woman to parachute in the Middle East theater. She was arrested twice, but managed to obtain her freedom each time. Once she skied away from the enemy in a hail of machine gun fire; on another occasion when she was arrested, she bit her tongue until it bled profusely. Pleading that she was tubercular, she was taken to a hospital and subsequently released. Under SOE auspices she was parachuted into southern France where she maintained contact with the French Resistance and Italian Partisans. The official SOE history describes how two of their agents were captured, then rescued by Granville: "A new courier, Christine Granville, by a combination of steady nerves, sheer brass and feminine cunning, persuaded the captors that the arrival of American troops was imminent, and secured the agents' release three hours before they were sentenced to be shot."

An Indian princess, Noor Inayat Khan, worked for SOE. She was born in Russia, spent most of her life in France and England. Her proficiency as a radio operator led to her assignment with SOE in 1943. Khan is described as a beautiful but vague and dreamy woman, almost too emotional and sensitive for her dangerous assignment in Versailles. She worked only four months before she was captured and eventually shot.

Executed with her on the cobblestones of Dachau were Madeleine Damerment, a 27 year old SOE agent from Lille, betrayed on her re-entry near Chartres from London; Swiss born Yolande Beckman, a wireless operator who also blew up stretches of railroad between Paris, St. Quentin and Lille for nearly a year; and Elaine Plewman, part Spanish, part English, who was a courier in the Marseilles area and also an expert in blowing rail tunnels. One SOE woman who was taken to Ravensbruck, survived the war. She was captured when the Gestapo surrounded a farmhouse where Maquisards were quartered. Yvonne Baseden, SOE's youngest radio operator, was cruelly tortured at Ravensbruck, where upward of 100,00 women had perished, but she lived to be repatriated through the Swedish Red Cross.

A surprising number of women eluded capture. Pearl Witherington, who organized reception committees for materiel drops and also sabotaged rail traffic, escaped a Nazi ambush by hiding in a corn field, crouching on the ground as machine gun bullets sliced through the waving grain.

Lise de Baissac, 32, jumped into France using the cover of a poor widow, slightly *distracte*, who hunted rock specimens and bird eggs by day on the road from Bordeaux to Paris. At night she directed airborne materiel drops for the Maquis. Later she trained recruits in the use of Sten guns and the manly art of self defense, such as garroting sentries. On the day allied soldiers marched past her farmhouse headquarters in Normandy, de Baissac unpacked her Women's Transport Service uniform which she had hidden in the barn loft, put it on and saluted as the liberators marched past.

Another woman who watched the allies march into France was Ensign Nancy Wake, FANY, who also won the U.S. Silver Star for gallantry in action against the enemy. In one specific incident, cited in her award, it was noted that "Ensign Wake herself led a section of ten men after their leader had lost his head, resulting in the death of four of them. She led the section to within the face of the enemy, ordered the fire and withdrew them in good order, showing coolness and courage in the face of enemy fire. She also saved the lives of two American officers in this engagement."

Many British women stationed in England proved their abilities in other types of espionage-related work. Miss Dorothy White, a civilian working for OSS in London earned the U.S. Unit Certificate of Merit for her "careful and painstaking work in England during the pre-invasion months in selecting, training, briefing and dispatching agents into France." "Her work produced vital intelligence about German forces and was of inestimable value in expediting the liberation of France."

Constance Babington-Smith was a highly resourceful Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF) officer at the secret RAF headquarters at Medmenham, where she was in charge of aircraft and airfields. Her job was to examine reconnaissance photos taken over Germany. This branch of intelligence was important in selecting new targets and tracing enemy movements. In May, 1943, the young officer spotted something highly unusual in photos just taken over Peenemunde,

a German island in the Baltic. Under a stereoscope and measuring magnifier, she mapped out odd shaped shadows which she deduced were new launching ramps with strangely tiny aircraft bunched about the pads. Her painstaking work in sorting through hundreds of aerial photos of this target was to save thousands of British lives. Babington-Smith had located the site where Hitler was developing the deadly V-1 and V-2 flying bombs. Subsequent RAF bombing raids on this site resulted in the postponement of the buzz bomb attacks on England for at least six months.

Although men accounted for 80 percent of this secret staff, other women whose work was cited with that of Babington-Smith in scanning and analyzing thousands of photographs were Barbara Slade, Joan Driver, Pauline Grouse, Ann Tapp and Diana Jonzen, a Dane.

Until recently, very little has been published about the Y Service, a British organization for intercepting hostile radio communications, generally transmitted by the German or Italian air force. Monitoring was done through decoding enemy traffic and passing the information on to interested operational units. The Y Force also had access to traffic picked up from Enigma, the cipher machine used by Germans and their allies for enciphering high grade messages. (British intelligence had obtained a copy of the Enigma Machine in 1939 from Polish agents.) Such intelligence was transmitted to the operating units through Ultra, the code name for British interception of German machine cipher traffic. Much of this traffic was handled by members of WAAF on the Y Force. One of the outstanding members of Y Force and the first woman in British history to be commissioned an intelligence officer, was Aileen Clayton, who also earned the MBE Medal.

Clayton was selected to work for Y Force because of her extensive knowledge of the German language. Her radio experience was non-existent when she reported for duty at the secret Y Service Base at Fairlight, high on the cliffs on the south side of Sussex. She was soon indoctrinated into the art of twiddling knobs on radio receivers and searching up and down the bands for messages transmitted by the Luftwaffe. She, with five other WAAs, kept watch throughout the twenty-four hours, working six hour shifts, earphones clamped to their heads, straining their ears to the unfamiliar job of listening to often distorted messages passing between Luftwaffe pilots, and from German aircraft to their control stations.

As the war progressed, the Y Service became increasingly expert in decoding low grade messages, mostly tactical, and in making sense of plain language transmissions which were often colloquial. In this ceaseless task of monitoring and interpreting enemy radio talk, the Y Service provided information of great value to commanders in the field.

For Aileen Clayton and her colleagues, there was no publicity or glamour. They were engaged in a shadowy, secret war, sustained by the knowledge that what they were doing saved lives and helped win battles.

Clayton grew with the service. As the war progressed, the Y Service increasingly furnished warnings of impending enemy raids and of the force he was likely to use. Sometimes Y Service was able to determine what target had been selected and who was leading the enemy force. Such information enabled decisions to be made on type and strength of aircraft needed to counter the raids, and also allowed allied fighters to become airborne in good time.

Y Service personnel were sent to North Africa as D-Day drew near, and Clayton was sent to badly bombed Malta, the only woman posted there, to organize the service on that island. Later, after North Africa, she went on to Italy, Mediterranean posts and Sicily to help establish "watches". Her organizational ability was so outstanding that she was offered a position as wing commander. She declined: "No matter how well I might cope, I was still a woman and there was definite resistance in those days to taking orders from women," she wrote later in her book, *The Enemy Is Listening*. "Even with other ranks I had to be careful and diplomatic. With this in mind I wrote the Air Ministry thanking them for their confidence in me. But I had to recommend that a man should be sent over. I knew I was sacrificing my promotion to squadron officer, but the work genuinely meant more to me than my personal status."

Cryptographic intelligence was vital during the last great war. Two years before the British obtained Enigma, a British woman, Amy Thorpe Pack, pulled an intelligence coup in the United States that was of inestimable value to the allies. Pack, using her beauty and wiles on a French representative of the Vichy government, obtained texts *ne clair* of nearly all telegraphic communications to the Vichy embassy. Pack also got the key to French and Italian naval ciphers which enabled the British admiralty to read, for the remainder of the war, all relevant cables and fleet signals.

The examples which British women set during the war show their extraordinary resilience and adaptability. Of the 53 women agents sent to France by SOE, twelve were executed by the Nazis, 29 were arrested or died in captivity. By war's end, SOE staffs were serving not only in Europe but in India, Sri Lanka, Egypt and Turkey. The sometimes raffish SOE operatives were known for their vigor, originality and enthusiasm, although they were often short on staff work. There were 10,000 men and 3,000 women serving in this small army of secret spies at the end of the war.

WOMEN OF OSS

When the United States entered the war after Pearl Harbor in 1941, the country had no central intelligence organization. Before Pearl Harbor, General William J. Donovan, a World War I hero and New York attorney, was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to head the Office of Coordinator of Information (COI). This became the Office of Strategic Services in June, 1942.

General Donovan, in an article on *Intelligence: Key To Defense*, described the scope of his rapidly evolving organization: "In the OSS we quickly learned that you can't collect all the information needed in war by sitting in Washington. So OSS headquarters were established in every theater, in England, North Africa, Switzerland, and Sweden, from which we sent agents and guerrilla fighters into occupied France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Italy. On the other side of the globe we operated in Siam (Thailand), China, Burma, India, Ceylon and Indo-China. That was an effective wartime intelligence system of information gatherers and fighters behind enemy lines, scholars placed all the way from Washington to the front lines, people who could interpret the information and give it to the official or commander who needed it."

The OSS employed 21,642 persons during the war, 4,002 of whom were women. The majority of them were stationed in Washington headquarters where they filed secret reports, coded and decoded messages, mailed pay checks and kept records. General Donovan called them "invisible apron strings" of an organization that touched every theater of war except the Pacific. "These were the necessary tasks," he wrote, "without the faithful performance of which so large an organization, with both civilian and military personnel, could not be maintained. Upon the discretion of their performances, depended the security of the organization." He also noted that only a small percentage of women ever went overseas and a still smaller percentage was assigned to actual operational jobs behind enemy lines.

In addition to headquarters support staffs, there were also women who held important administrative positions, and others with regional and linguistic knowledge of great value in research, whose special skills were used in exact and critical work such as map making and cryptography.

Jeannie Rousseau is a fine example of how painstaking research and analysis can serve intelligence. Rousseau turned out a brilliant report on secret weapons Hitler was developing to change the course of the war. Rousseau was a graduate of *Ecoles des Sciences politiques* and was fluent in four languages, all of which helped in her final analyses. Her first report was on the flying bomb, the V-1; the second on the new stratospheric bomb launched vertically from concrete platforms that became known as the V-2. Rousseau's report, coupled with the early spottings of the Peenemunde launching pads by Britain's Babington-Smith, gave a much needed preparation period for the defenders of England, before the attacks were finally launched.

Rachel Griese, a WAC warrant officer, also with Research and Analysis and a former Columbia University teacher, sifted through thousands of intelligence reports in Algiers, to compile detailed information about German defenses in Southern France that were used by OSS units in Europe. She was later awarded the Legion of Merit.

During 1943-44, OSS established intelligence nets in France, with agents spreading out through Europe and North Africa. By D-Day OSS had 15 nets furnishing intelligence to allied forces. In the Far East, OSS had a team located in a palace in Bangkok, Thailand; forward bases in China and stations in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

One of OSS' most outstanding women operators in France was British-trained Virginia Hall, the only American civilian woman to receive the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism. She was also awarded the British MBE.

The late Virginia Hall was born in Baltimore in 1906, the daughter of a prominent family whose plans for their strong willed offspring did not include work as a secret agent behind enemy lines in France. Hall did not fit into the rigid academic life at Radcliff and Barnard and persuaded her family to let her go to Europe where she finished her studies in Paris and Vienna, returning home for graduate study at George Washington University in Washington.

Hall wanted to join the foreign service. She passed her exams with flying colors but was excluded from an appointment in what was a nearly all-male diplomatic corps at that time. Undaunted, she took a job as clerk in the American embassy in Warsaw, was later transferred to Estonia, Italy and Turkey. While in Turkey a tragedy occurred. Hall

and some friends were snipe hunting outside Izmir when she accidentally shot herself in the foot. The wound became septic and her leg was amputated below the knee. Hall patiently learned to walk with an artificial limb, with only a trace of a limp.

When war broke out, she went to Paris and enlisted as an ambulance driver. After the French surrender, she flew to London, was hired by SOE and sent back to France as an agent. SOE correctly evaluated her courage, her organizational ability, self confidence, cool judgment plus her multi-language capability. She spoke French, German and Italian.

Hall's cover was that of a foreign correspondent for the *New York Post* in Vichy. She soon moved to Lyon where she organized an agent network, briefed SOE officers, distributed radios, and aided downed airmen to reach escape routes to freedom. She continued to file stories for the *Post* for the sake of cover as well as reporting to the American readership first hand accounts of conditions in France under German occupation.

When Germany declared war on the United States, Hall escaped across the Pyrenees to Spain by foot. SOE assigned her to Madrid but she wanted to be part of the D-Day action and returned to London where she requested transfer to OSS. In a very short time she was crossing the English channel again, by motor torpedo boat, with a radio set which she had learned to operate, and the code name Diane. Unbeknownst to Hall, her identity had been blown to the Gestapo but in spite of this she was able to organize sabotage and guerrilla units and supply them with equipment and funds.

She was located for about four months in Central France in the rural departments of Cher, Nièvre and Creuse. During this time she managed to blend into the background posing as a milkmaid, taking cows to pasture, cooking meals for her farmer hosts, doing the wash in rocky streams. Alternately she carried out her real mission: sending and receiving radio traffic and organizing parachute drops of weapons and supplies.

Hall was transferred later to the Haute Loire in the Massif Central, an area of jagged terrain where pinpoint drops of supplies and men was difficult. Although Hall had no training in sabotage, for six months in the wake of the Allied advance her teams had blown four bridges, destroyed a key rail line in several places, cut telephone wires and derailed freight trains.

Hall was in Paris when it was liberated and was immediately assigned to a mission in Austria. The war ended while she was in Caserta, Italy and her assignment was scrubbed.

She had lived so much in the shadows that when Hall learned she had won the Distinguished Service Cross, she refused to accept it publicly. General Donovan presented it to her in his office when she returned to Washington. The citation noted that she performed continually at risk of capture. She directed warfare against enemy troops, installations and communications. Her courage and physical endurance were of the highest order. She never on any occasion allowed her physical disability to interfere with her work.

Hall continued to serve her country after the war. She was one of the first women officers employed by the postwar successor of OSS, the Central Intelligence Agency.

There were also women in OSS who circulated in social circles where intelligence might be picked up over a cocktail, a good meal, a bridge game. Aline Griffith, now Countess de Romanones, was an OSS operative in the center of heady intrigue in Spain during the war. And in England, Mrs. Paige Morris worked out of her half burned flat in Chelsea. She was famous for her excellent cooking in a London starved for good food and companionship. Mrs. Morris cultivated "interesting" people among governments in exile; German refugees with their own secret channels to the fatherland; London-based communists whose information-gathering channels had been established long before the war. Mrs. Morris never considered herself a real spy but her antennae were always out, always probing. One of her strong points was her ability to lure information from men by being agreeable, wearing attractive clothes in a uniformed war world, talking about irrelevant subjects to take their minds off the war.

Another socially prominent American, Isabel Townsend Pell, chose to remain in France when war broke out but assisted the underground. She rescued 16 American paratroopers after they had been dropped ten miles from their destination in an area surrounded by Germans. Pell was one of the few American women awarded the Medal of Resistance by the French.

An OSS woman who adjusted to wartime ambience in a busy capital city was the late Rosamond Frame (Mrs. Thibault de St. Phalle),

who grew up in China and spoke the language. Officially Frame was part of the Research and Analysis group in Chungking, the capital of free China, and the first OSS agent to fly the Hump across the Himalayas from India.

She was able to bridge the culture gap between Chinese and Americans at the elegant parties in Chungking. She was an alert and bright woman who used her talents and education to keep a sensitive finger on the pulse of Chinese intrigue and interpret her findings to OSS colleagues.

Frame was awarded the Commendation for Civilian Service by the War Department "in recognition and praise of faithful service rendered to the nation."

Not all OSS operatives gathered intelligence or blew up bridges. There was a branch of that organization known as Morale Operations (MO) which dealt in black or covert propaganda, as opposed to overt propaganda. The OSS training manual defined it as including all measures of subversion, other than physical, used to create confusion and division, and to undermine the morale and political unity of the enemy through any means from within, or purporting to emanate from within enemy countries; or from bases within other areas where action and counter action may be effective against the enemy. Today this type of subversion is known as disinformation.

An example of effective Morale operations action is one which Barbara Lauwers (Lee Podoski) conducted from Rome. Lauwers was a WAC stationed with OSS at a time when the allies were moving up towards the industrialized Po valley. The Germans had recruited unwilling Czechs to fight in this action. Lauwers decided to attack this potential target. She wrote five "speeches" from "fellow Czechs" who had allegedly defected and joined the Czech Army of National Liberation, fighting with the allies in Italy. The "speeches" were broadcast over the BBC to Czech garrisons in Northern Italy. At the same time Lauwers designed surrender passes which were infiltrated behind enemy lines by German prisoners of war working for OSS. Six hundred Czechs defected and the passes were honored by their liberation army. Louwers won the Bronze Star for her part in this action.

The importance of believable forgery in MO operations is illustrated in action mounted out of New Delhi, India, and carried to a successful conclusion in the jungles of Burma.

The author of this monograph, working with a Japanese prisoner of war; a Japanese scholar, the late William Magistretti; and a research analyst, Marjorie Severyns (Ravenholt) together forged a document designed to induce surrender of Japanese soldiers in Burma under certain conditions.

In the past, the Japanese soldier had been indoctrinated to fight to the death, otherwise his surrender would bring disgrace to his family and country, and his soul would never return to the national shrine of Yasukuni. Based upon a change of top government leaders in Japan, the document was produced at a significant psychological period in the war. It spelled out when a Japanese soldier should surrender: if he were overpowered by the enemy or if he were isolated or wounded.

The document was laboriously cyclostyled by the Japanese prisoner and was taken to Burma where a Burmese scout, working for OSS, planted it on the body of a Japanese courier he killed on a jungle trail. The OSS scout then reported to the nearest Japanese headquarters that one of their soldiers had been ambushed and killed, and offered to lead them to the spot, where they discovered the document in the courier's pouch.

It is believed that the forgery had a direct effect on the Japanese will to resist, particularly at the end of the Burma campaign when Bhamo fell without a struggle. At the time, many unusual incidents were reported of Japanese soldiers feigning unconsciousness. Prisoner of war stockades, always empty, suddenly became crowded with Japanese who voluntarily gave up when "surrounded by superior forces". Reports of fanatical last ditch fighting and crazed *banzai* charges became rare as the war closed down in Burma.

Another area of action which became important as the war came to a close were programmed activities towards the rebuilding of a conquered country. Emmy Rado was an OSS agent who participated in plans for a post-war Germany. Educated in Switzerland where she majored in social legislation, Rado came to the United States in 1931 and settled in New York City. She spoke German, French, Italian, Danish and English and went to work for OSS as a research analyst.

Rado believed that the existing churches in Hitler's Reich could be used as a base upon which a better Germany could be built. She interested Allan Dulles, then OSS chief in Switzerland, in the project. Eventually a member of the Geneva staff of the World Council of Churches was appointed to work through OSS underground sources to contact pastors inside Germany. Rado went to Switzerland on the top secret "Crown Jewels" operation to coordinate church groups in Germany with representatives of the Catholic and Protestant groups outside, and to establish a postwar program for the spiritual rehabilitation of the German people. She was one of the first American woman to obtain a SHAEF pass to enter Germany after VE-Day and to meet personally with many of her "Crown Jewels" who were even then devoting their efforts towards a new Germany.

Long before the end of the war in Washington, OSS/MO was working on the theory that the Emperor of Japan should be saved as a figurehead and rallying point for a defeated nation. An Issei, Tokutara "Tokie" Slocum, is credited with starting this action and pushing it through OSS and State think tanks until it was eventually accepted by General Douglas MacArthur.

After VJ Day most OSS personnel returned home. Some were integrated into CIA. Others went to work from the Department of State and the armed services. Most returned to private life.

The decorations awarded to OSS women have recently been released. The following capsulated citations are a few of the awards accorded to American, British and French OSS women who worked in intelligence.

French Women With OSS

Griselda F. Martineau, civilian, Unit Certificate of Merit: Martineau's contribution to the mounting of OSS operations was of greatest importance. Her knowledge of French and of France was exploited to the full in maintaining liaison with French intelligence and supplying of agent personnel with false French papers.

Elizabeth Risler, civilian, Unit Certificate of Merit: Risler while attached to OSS in Spain distinguished herself with extraordinary courage operating four large chains over the Pyrenees into France.

Anne Marie Reybaud, civilian, Bronze Star: Acting as secret agent, Reybaud displayed great courage in planning military operations by the armed forces of the U.S. On 14 separate occasions she exposed herself to grave danger and due to her daring was personally responsible for the capture of an advanced enemy command post.

Madeleine Arcelin, civilian, Bronze Star: Arcelin served as member of inter allied Mission Union in Savoie Department, acting as chief cipher clerk. She accomplished her assignment with great coolness despite increasing vigilance of the Gestapo. As a result of her activities she was arrested after four months and subjected to every refinement of torture. Arcelin demonstrated the highest degree of physical courage and did not break her silence. She was sent to a German concentration camp until liberation.

Paulette Marteliere, civilian, Bronze Star: In spite of overt enemy resistance, Marteliere assisted in organizing a resistance circuit in the Loir-et-Cher Deptment and also worked as a messenger crossing the Loire daily, carrying money and compromising material, virtually under enemy fire.

Madame Andree Goubillon, civilian, Medal for Merit: She lodged, fed and hid the equipment of at least 21 secret intelligence agents in her small cafe in Paris. She never considered the personal danger to herself nor accepted monetary compensation.

Marguerite Kiel, civilian, Medal for Merit: Kiel received in her small cafe the leader of Pathfinder Mission who made it the Mission headquarters. She also lodged compromising radio equipment of 13 Sussex Mission agents. Her address served as a meeting place and letter drop for a large number of intelligence teams.

British Women With OSS

Frances Perdita MacPherson, civilian, Certificate of Merit: Fluent in French and German, and capable in Italian, her intimate knowledge of the continent contributed inestimably to the analysis and evaluation of counter intelligence reports. Working first as an assistant on the Italian desk she was later transferred to Paris and later went in to Germany as one of the first OSS group.

Junior Commander Virginia Grant-Lawson, Certificate of Merit: Grant-Lawson was in charge of keeping the Special Forces War Room battle maps up to date, maintaining a visual explanation of Resistance activities, writing daily reports on field operations and briefing both her British and American superior officers on the current state of the Resistance.

Muriel A. King, civilian, Certificate of Merit: She rendered special service as secretary of the OSS/ETO training and operations sections and as assistant to the ETO War Diary Officer. She has demonstrated remarkable qualities of resourcefulness and understanding of office procedures of a Government not her own.

Ruth F. Keble, Junior Commander, British Army, Certificate of Merit: Keble produced maps and charts on Resistance activities of signal value to Special Forces.

Nancy J. Robertson, ATS, British Army, Certificate of Merit: When members of the Supreme Headquarters conferred with Special Forces officers in the war room, which Robertson maintained, on every occasion Robertson's knowledge proved invaluable, having at her fingertips the location of all pertinent towns under discussion in France, Germany, Belgium, Norway and Denmark.

American Women Cited For OSS Operations

Dr. Rhea C. Blue, civilian, Certificate of Merit: Blue was assigned to Far East Division, Research and Analysis, tasked with preparation of target lists in European depositories of Far East documents and other sources of intelligence to be used against the Japanese target.

Virginia Brydon, civilian, Emblem for Meritorious Civilian Service: As secretary and administrative assistant, Operations Office, OSS, India Burma Theater, Brydon voluntarily worked repeatedly far in excess of normal duty hours so administrative details concerning on going operations were constantly updated.

Jayne House, 1st Lieutenant (WAC), Certificate of Merit: As supply officer, Air Ops Section, Special Forces, House was responsible for dispatching supplies to resistance areas. On two occasions, it was necessary for House to plan the entire supply phase of special operations to Norway and Germany when there was no precedent to follow.

Joyce Mayolin, civilian, OSS Certificate of Merit: She rendered outstanding service to the OSS mission in Sweden as a member of the cable service. She personally handled the large volume of code work for internal communications in Sweden between OSS posts.

Virginia J. Kuch, T/Sgt., Certificate of Merit: At the opening of OSS Paris headquarters, Sgt. Kuch showed great initiative, tact and ability in regulating administrative matters which included the difficult job of assigning billets in an overcrowded situation, handling of civilian mess funds and administrative duties.

Julia McWilliams (Child), civilian, Emblem of Meritorious Civilian Service: As head of the Registry of the Secretariat, OSS, China Theater, the important job of registering, cataloguing and channeling of a great volume of highly classified documents was performed with exceptional speed and accuracy. Her drive and inherent cheerfulness served as a spur to greater effort by those working with her. Morale in her section could not have been higher.

Agnes Greene, civilian, Emblem of Meritorious Civilian Service: In accomplishing and expediting administrative work, Special Intelligence Branch, Chungking, she displayed qualities of resourcefulness and devotion to duty. Her unusual understanding of Chinese affairs and facility with the language was outstanding. She was frequently called upon to make policy decisions which she did with unerring judgment.

Doris C. Pearse, civilian, Certificate of Merit: As administrative assistant in the civilian personnel office her knowledge of France and the language assisted the section in maintaining outstanding relations with the French provisional government.

Anne Winslow, 1st Lt. (WAC), Army Commendation Ribbon: Because of her experience with the Signal Corps and proficiency in the French, German and Russian languages, Lt. Winslow herself undertook the task of identifying and interrogating, in German, German intelligence personnel and coordinating activities which resulted in the apprehension of other wanted personnel. In this work she demonstrated her skill in questioning and her comprehension of the nuances of the language.

Marian Walton, civilian, Certificate of Merit: Skilled in her knowledge of codes and ciphers, she has from the beginning of the establishment of the Special Counter Intelligence Units, OSS been markedly responsible for the success of their communications. By her diligence and tact she was able to train various officers and enlisted men of those units in the intricacies of encoding with such success that from the moment they entered combat they were able to swiftly and reliably communicate to headquarters. She moved forward with each advanced unit and was not content until that post operated with the same efficiency as the last. In a position normally held by an officer of the army, she functioned with loyalty and dispatch.

Ida Lampton, Corp. (WAC), Certificate of Merit: She was assigned to OSS on a special request in order to utilize her services as translator and processor of secret Finnish intelligence of prime importance. She did an outstanding job in handling this assignment.

Susan Tully, civilian, Certificate of Merit: One of the first three women to arrive in the United Kingdom in 1943 she helped establish the Counter Intelligence Branch, ETO; later she did the same in Madrid and Barcelona. On her return to London she was made an X2 (Security) officer and served as assistant desk chief in charge of Iberian and North African operations. She aided not only in the analysis and evaluation of intelligence but in direction and guidance.

Sophie D. Egloff, civilian, Certificate of Merit: For both allies and enemy, the Scandinavian countries served as a passage for intelligence. Egloff was assistant to the X2 chief of that area, later served as chief. In the unusual position of acting on an equal level with officers of the British and American armies, both in exercise of operational control and in liaison capacity, she contributed to the success of the OSS operations. It was under her tutelage that special X2 representatives were trained for entry into Denmark and Norway, equipped with files under her direction and briefed for objectives which were the results of her analysis..

Lillian Traugott, civilian, Certificate of Merit: During her 14 months tour of duty in Sweden, she was SI Labor Desk officer and the only American secret agent assigned to work with communist groups in Scandinavia. From these she recruited several agents whom she succeeded in dispatching to Germany and enemy controlled areas, resulting in procurement of considerably important intelligence reports.

Helen E. Osmun, civilian, Certificate of Merit: An X2 officer, Osmun was special assistant to the X2 chief in Algiers. Here she was assigned liaison duties with the French Direction Securiet Militaire where she was able to extract important intelligence, with their collaboration, for use in X2 operations on D-Day and later in the Mediterranean Theater. Transferred to London, she was made senior case officer handling all cases affecting certain sections of the German Abwehr.

Not much reliable information has been documented on the role of Soviet women in espionage during World War II, but their Comintern sisters were active from Europe to Asia. In France, the Front National (FN) was operated by local communists who became more active after the Nazis abrogated the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.

Madeleine Braun, a communist convert, was editor of *La Patriot* in Lyon which editorially supported the merger of all political parties to fight the Nazis. Braun compiled and mimeographed news bulletins from BBC broadcasts and sent them to 52 FN outlets in occupied France.

An officer in the covert section of the Comintern who was known in France as Baltic Olga, recruited a key operator for the famous Richard Sorge Soviet spy ring operating in China and Japan. Sorge himself was assisted in Shanghai by an American left wing journalist, Agnes Smedley, in whose flat Sorge set up a radio telegraph transmitter and receiver for contact with Moscow.

Lavrenti Beria, head of the NKVD under Stalin, established Russia's first special Academy for Spies in 1939 at Bykovo, 40 miles from Moscow. Students, including actors and actresses, received special instruction in surveillance, communication, ciphers and hand to hand combat. They were also expected to learn several languages and were also further trained in the patois, culture and customs of the countries they infiltrated.

After World War II, intelligence became a growth industry especially in the Soviet Union. The KGB was described by Allen Dulles, CIA director in the Eisenhower years, as the eyes and ears of the Soviet state abroad as well as at home. He said it was an instrument of subversion, manipulation and violence, for secret intervention in affairs of other countries. It is roughly estimated that there were 250,000 agents stationed abroad and in the Soviet Union. The total number of Soviet diplomats in 1971 was 1,380, many being husband and wife teams, the wives being trained to supply "operational support" for their husbands.

In the fifties the KGB was primarily interested in ferreting out conventional military secrets. Today its targets are specific industrial, scientific and technological secrets with direct military application.

The doctrine the Soviet agents preached abroad – the superiority of the communist state with equal opportunity for all – was attractive to many Americans. Anna Rosenberg and her husband, Julius, risked and later sacrificed their lives for the Kremlin. They were found guilty of transmitting secret atomic information to the Soviets, expressing a preference for the Russian society and economic system over that of the United States. Another American woman, Jane Foster (Zlatovski), formerly in OSS in the Far East, was indicted on charges of conspiring with Soviets in New York City and in Europe, and of stealing documents of U.S. Defense data of interest to the U.S.S.R. Foster was granted asylum in France and never returned to the United States to face these charges. She has been described as a "Cadillac communist," daughter of a wealthy California family who was emotionally and intellectually against the American system of government. Another American dilettante, Martha Dodd Stern, daughter of an American ambassador, was indicted in 1957 for espionage and fled with her family to the Soviet Union.

Israel is a country which has depended upon its very survival on the operations of its intelligence service, the Mossad. The Mossad is served by a dedicated group of men and women who have been willing to risk everything for their country. A Mossad woman agent arranged the defection of an Iraqi pilot who flew out a top secret Russian MIG 21 from Iraq to Israel. Another woman operated a spy net in Czechoslovakia, using radio station broadcasts as cover to convey messages until Russian troops took over in 1968 and knocked the station out of commission. Cindy was the alias used by a Mossad woman agent credited with luring Mordecai Vanunu from London to Rome where he was picked up by the Mossad. Vanunu was the Israeli nuclear technician found guilty of disclosing top secret information about Israel's nuclear capability.

WOMEN IN THE CIA

In 1945 the OSS was disbanded and its functions absorbed by the Department of State and War Department. But the need for a postwar centralized intelligence system was clearly recognized. Two years later on September 18, 1947, the Central Intelligence Agency was established along lines suggested by General Donovan.

This Agency was charged with coordinating the nation's intelligence agencies and correlating, evaluating and disseminating intelligence which affects national security. In addition, the Agency was to perform such other duties and functions related to intelligence as the newly formed National Security Council (NSC) and the President might direct.

Today the Agency reports regularly to the Senate and House Intelligence committees. CIA is headed by the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) who is the primary advisor to the president and to NSC on national foreign intelligence matters.

Many of the women who worked for OSS signed on with CIA, Donovan's postwar "apron strings" who maintained the continuity in records, office management, payroll, research and analysis, cryptography and in certain covert operations. It was not until recent years, with the development of the true career woman, have a larger number of women been given positions of real authority in the Agency.

One OSS woman who held a responsible job as head of Order of Battle in the China Theater, continued in CIA as assistant to the Far East chief. Now retired, she has this to say about her career: "Women in general, if they have looks, education, manners and brains can do anything a man can do. It is vital to have a good education and to write proper English. There were very few intelligence officers among women in the postwar period, and very few case officers. In my case, I was determined to out sprint and to out think the men. I enjoyed the competition."

Usually women assigned to headquarters had a better chance of promotion. In the years after World War II it was the jobs overseas where competition was fierce and discriminatory. One woman, who

retired from the Air Force as a WAC Lieutenant Colonel, went to work for CIA with hopes of serving overseas. "I was sent out to the Far East," she says. "First to Japan, then Korea and finally Vietnam. I was in grade for 13 years, in important work and often as deputy to the chief. I got splendid jobs. I worked with the bright boys. And I'm grateful for the experience. If I hadn't been a female, there is no telling how far up the ladder I would have gone."

Most women in those days theorized that the excitement of the career was worth the discrimination. One very able woman officer said she had no regrets about working twice as hard for a promotion because "the career itself was the payoff, not recognition."

A retired chief of station (COS) in a European capital analyzed the atmosphere in the 1950's and 1960's as he remembers: "We had no female case officers at my station. Women there were responsible for support operations such as research and analysis or office management. There was also a feeling that women were not as stable in critical situations as men. There was a prejudice in Europe and Asia about dealing with women officers. They couldn't work in the field on the same level as men."

Over the past twenty years the situation is changing. Women are now working in positions of responsibility including chief of station. One woman who became chief of station in a European capital said the change was partly due to the groundwork women did in supporting the work of the Agency's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity. Women are now given important operational training. They even participate in the tough "crash and bang" anti-terrorist courses.

She said she was able to handle foreign liaison assignments as well as men, and proved it to them. "In some cases women do a better job but it's been a long uphill battle against older agency division chiefs who became feudal barons, and would never consider a woman on an equal basis. But the new career women recruits are proving them wrong."

William E. Colby, CIA Director from 1973-76 is an outspoken supporter of equality of women in government. He points to Thatcher, Ghandi, Aquino and Bhutto as great women leaders. In the future, as equal opportunities increase, Colby foresees that a woman will one day be appointed Director of CIA.

Colby says women have a greater "sense of humanity", and that the truly successful ones use the power of their minds, not pressure, to influence people.

When he became Director, Colby said, the Agency, like the rest of government, was male oriented and that one of his objectives was to change this direction in CIA. He pointed out that in the Soviet intelligence system, a KGB couple acted as a team. In the Agency, this was not encouraged and usually the wife resigned to assume family responsibilities. Colby, during his tenure, made it possible for the wife to resign her staff position and return as a contract agent. Today the wife may now retain her staff job in pursuit of her career.

In Vietnam, Colby noted, wives of CIA personnel used their homes as safe houses where agents frequently met. Wives also supported their husbands at overseas posts, as hostesses and partners in Agency activities. They are also included in pension plans.

Colby has always maintained that morally and politically he supports the efforts of women and blacks in government careers. "These minorities have been groping for a long time for a real role to play in the Agency and in government."

The former Director fought in World War II and parachuted behind enemy lines for OSS. He recalls that General Donovan, in addition to the many other legacies he left the Intelligence Community, also gave women a chance to perform in the field of intelligence.

Recently a statue of General Donovan was dedicated at CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia, and the present Director, William H. Webster, spoke at the unveiling.

"To those of us here today," he said, "CIA is General Donovan's greatest legacy. He realized that a modern intelligence organization must not only provide for today's tactical intelligence, but it must provide for tomorrow's long term assessments. He recognized that an effective intelligence organization must not allow political pressures to influence its counsel. And finally, he knew that no intelligence organization can succeed without recognizing the importance of people, with discretion, loyalty, ingenuity and a deep sense of responsibility to protect and promote American values."

The statue of General Donovan in uniform stands to the left of the main entrance in CIA headquarters at Langley. Not too far from the statue is a biblical verse etched into the marble wall which characterizes the mission of an intelligence agency in a free world: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free."

Directly across the large lobby are more than fifty memorial stars engraved in marble, each honoring a CIA agent whose life was lost in the service. Some of these heroes have been identified because the nature of their death made headlines; men like Richard Welch, chief of station, Athens, gunned down in ambush; and William Buckley, chief of station, Beirut, tortured and murdered by terrorists. But the names of many of these men and women can never be revealed. They are still in deep cover, in death, as they had been when serving their country in all parts of the world.

The Agency is constructing a Day Care Center building for children of working parents.

Bibliography

- BIRD, Christopher. *The Divining Hand*. E. P. Dutton, 1979
- BROWN, Anthony Cave. *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan*. Vintage Books, 1984
- CHATEL, Nicole. *Des Femmes dans la Resistance*. Paris: Julliard, 1972
- CLAYTON, Aileen. *The Enemy Is Listening*. London: Hutchinson, 1980
- CORSON, William R. and CROWLEY, Robert T. *The New KGB*. Morrow, 1985
- CRUICKSHANK, Charles. *S.O.E. The Official History of SOE in the Far East*. Oxford Press, 1983
- DUNLOP, Richard. *Donovan: America's Spy Master*. Rand McNally, 1982
- EISENBERG, Dennis & LANDAU, Eli. *Mossad*. Signet, 1978
- ENGLE, Paul. *Women In The American Revolution*. Follett, 1976
- FINEBERG, Solomon. *The Rosenberg Case: Fact and Fiction*. Oceana Pub., 1953
- FOOT, M. R. D. *Resistance Paladin*. London: Granada Publishing, 1979
- FOSTER, Jane. *An Unamerican Lady*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980
- FOURCADE, Marie Madeleine. *Noah's Arc*. E. P. Dutton, 1974
- HOEHLING, A. A. *Women Who Spied*. Dodd Mead, 1967
- HOWE, Russell W. *Mata Hari: The True Story*. Dodd Mead, 1986

- HUTTON, J. Bernard. *Women In Espionage*. MacMillan, 1971
- LOVELL, Stanley P. *Of Spies and Stratagems*. Prentice-Hall, 1963
- MacDONALD, Elizabeth P. *Undercover Girl*. MacMillan, 1947
- MEISSNER, Hans-Otto. *The Man With Three Faces*. Charles E. Tuttle, 1976
- MOSLEY, Leonard. *Dulles: Biography of Eleanor, Allen and John Foster*. Dial Press, 1978
- NEWMAN, Joseph. *Famous Soviet Spies*. U.S. News and World Report, 1973
- PHILLIPS, David Atlee. *Secret Wars Diary*. Stone Trail Press, 1989
- POWERS, Thomas. *The Man Who Kept The Secrets: Richard Helms And The CIA*. Knopf, 1979
- ROSS, Isabel. *Rebel Rose*. Harper Brothers, 1954
- SHERIDAN, General P. S. *Personal Memoirs*. (Museum excerpts)
- TICKELL, Jerrard. *Odette*. London: Chapman Hall, 1949
- TULLY, Andrew. *CIA: The Inside Story*. Fawcett Publications, 1963.

The monograph series, *The Intelligence Profession*, is published by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, 6723 Whittier Avenue, Suite 303A, McLean, Virginia 22101. Individual copies are priced at cost and are available for classroom use. Current issues are available at \$1.50 per copy. Payment must accompany each order

Printed at McLean, Virginia