

KV 2/1

**'Mata Hari' alias MCLEOD Margaretha Geertruida (Marguerite Gertrude):  
executed by the French in 1917 for accusations of spying for Germany**

**1914-1924**

This document is one of two files in The National Archives collection concerning Mata Hari, the notorious First World War female spy and entertainer.

The files are part of the KV 2 series, which include security service personnel files some of which contain material about organisations and individuals involved in espionage or under surveillance during the period of the First World War.

Mata Hari was born Margaretha Geertruida Zelle in 1876. Following separation from her husband, Captain Rudolph MacLeod, in 1905 she began dancing professionally in Europe as 'Lady MacLeod' and later changed her name to Mata Hari, meaning 'eye of the day' (the sun) in Malay. A glamorous, attractive and somewhat risqué performer, she was a popular performer in many cities.

Mata Hari was reportedly recruited to spy for the French in German-occupied Belgium, but had already agreed to pass information to a German intelligence officer.

In February 1917 she was arrested in Paris on suspicion of espionage and tried by military court that July. Convicted, she was executed by firing squad on October 15 1917.

There is some discrepancy over the story of Mata Hari and her guilt or innocence. She was exculpated by Germany in 1930.



PF2917/V1	
MATA - HARI	PF2917/V1

W  
396

Kv2/1

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VOL. 1

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VOL. 1

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W17550-5959 25,000 2/16 HWV(R1413) G16/290  
5928-8 50,000 8/16

# M.I. 5 (E) I.P. No. 138459

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date <i>24. 11. 16.</i>	2 From <i>B.C.I.</i>	
3 Date of Receipt <i>27 NOV 1916</i>	Subjects <i>1) Friendships of - with - who is an associate of the banker - Rasas for her stay in Paris. 2) Information gained re accomplices</i>	Names <i>MACLEOD Marguerite Zelle known as MATAHARY CREMER WURFBAIN HOEFNAGEL</i>
4 Sender's Reference No. <i>M.A. No. 23350.</i>	5 Places	6 Special Instructions regarding Transit
7 Enclosures		

Former Papers *135360*  
*2917 Mata-Hari*  
*@ Zelle.*

8 Papers already out  
*out to E alone on 28/11*  
*M. No. 2916*

9 Date of first Transit to Branch  
*30 NOV 1916*

10 Passed to Branch Officer  
*E*

11 Date  
*E*

12 Initial

13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent

14 Enclosures sent

Referred and Date  
*E. 27. XI. 16*  
*A. 30*

Minutes  
*Jours? "M15B" might be any branch!  
we have no trace of a B.C.I. telegram  
of the 24<sup>th</sup>; but a cypher telegram came  
on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, for which Major Spence  
signed receipt.*

*E2*  
*20. 11.*

*Have you the post for J.K.  
If so, perhaps G. (Major Drake)  
would like this without delay.*

15 P.A. *1 DEC 1916* *J.K.*

16 Filed in *2917*  
*Mata-Hari*

17 Extracts, Copies, filed in  
*P.F. 4024. Bremer*  
*6.12.16*  
*m.h.k.*

18 Noted on Transit Card

19 Indexed:—Names *K.R.M. 9-1-17*  
Subjects *WT*  
Places *K.R.M. 9-1-17*

20 Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

*G*  
*Major Drake.*  
*30/11/16*

*To see. The ledz sails tomorrow  
11/12/16. F.P. herewith.*  
*JMR 30/11*

*E/*

*Spoke Acc*  
*Her baggage has not  
been searched - If it is going  
to Holland it ought to be -*

*Note Telephoned Liverpool 11.10 am.*  
*1.12.*

*Red*  
*30/11*

20 Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled:—

Nature of circular	Initial	Date
E. United Kingdom only		
E. U. K. and France		
E. General		
H.I. For B.C.I. not for Circulation		
H.I. For general B.C.I. Circulation		
H.I. B. L.		
H.I. Monthly Report		



**CLOSED**

NO FURTHER ACTION TO BE  
TAKEN ON THIS COVER EXCEPT  
BY THE OFFICE OF THE  
DIRECTOR. IF FURTHER ACTION IS  
REQUIRED A NEW COVER MUST  
BE OBTAINED.



145798



M.C.O.116/1916.

The Passport Office,  
British Embassy,  
Madrid.

18-12-16.

ZELLE.Margaretha Geertruida. DUTCH.

Subject of M.I.5E memo No.138396/29-11-16.

This woman is at the present moment staying at the Ritz Hotel, Madrid. She is under observation by the French Bureau who will give her a visa to France as soon as she asks for it. She is in regular correspondence with her a lover, a Russian Officer on the French Front.

I am given to understand that the French have ample proof of her activities on behalf of the Enemy.

*Warrington*

Captain.

The Secretary,

M.I.I.C.War Office,

2.Whitehall Court,S.W.



143727

Reply should be addressed to H.M.  
Inspector under the Aliens Act,  
Home Office, London, S.W., and  
the following reference quoted:—

HOME OFFICE.

W.O. 1,101

SECRET  
140,193/M.I.5.E.

15th December 1916.

To the Aliens Officer.

Z E L L E, Margaretha Geertruida

Dutch actress, professionally known as MATA HARI.

The mistress of Baron E. VAN DER CAPELLAN, a Colonel in a Dutch Hussar Regiment. At the outbreak of war left Milan, where she was engaged at the Scala Theatre, and travelled through Switzerland and Germany to Holland. She has since that time lived at Amsterdam and the Hague. She was taken off at Falmouth from a ship that put in there recently and has now been sent on from Liverpool to Spain by s.s. "Araguaga", sailing December 1st,

Height 5'5", build medium, stout, hair black, face oval, complexion olive, forehead low, eyes grey-brown, eyebrows dark, nose straight, mouth small, teeth good, chin pointed, hands well kept, feet small, age 39.

Speaks French, English, Italian, Dutch, and probably German. Handsome bold type of woman. Well dressed.

If she arrives in the United Kingdom she should be detained and a report sent to this office.

Former circulars 61207/M.O.5.E. of 9th December, 1915 and 74194/M.I.5.E. of 22nd. February, 1916 to be cancelled.

W. HALDANE PORTER.

H.M. Inspector under the Aliens Act.

Copies sent to Aliens Officers at "Approved Ports" four Permit Offices, Bureau de Controle, New Scotland Yard and War Office (M.I. 5(e)).



140193

SECRET.

Ref.No.485.

M.I.5.E.

L I V E R P O O L.

2nd Decr.1916.

Lt.Col.V.G.W.Kell,  
G.S.O.,

M.I.5.,

WAR OFFICE.

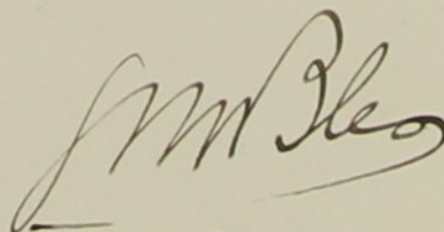
ZELLE, Margaretha Geertruida - Divorced  
Wife of Rudolf MacLeod.

(Reference letter M.I.5.E/138902 dated  
30/11/1916).

(For Mr.Rucker's information).

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The above named departed from Liverpool on Decr.1st.,  
for Spain on S.S."Araguaya".



Capt.



M.A. N° 23637.

139360

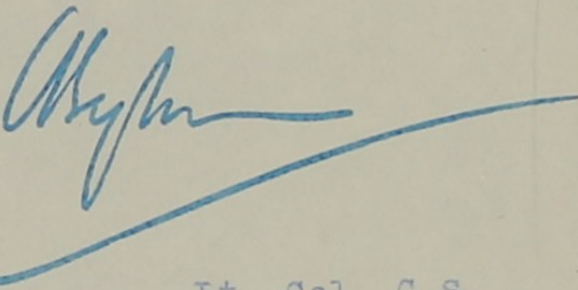
*Secret*

MISSION ANGLAISE  
MINISTERE DE LA GUERRE  
PARIS.

M.I.5.

ZELLE MACLEOD.

Reference your I36427/M.I.5/G of November 25th  
herewith a copy of the paper asked for.



Lt. Col. G.S.

B.C.I.

28.II.16.



Copie.M.A. N° 23350

D.L.

Télégramme chiffré

reçu au Cabinet le 22 Novembre 1916 à 18 heures 30.

-:-:-:-

3 c. E M A

N° 554.

la Haye, 22/II/16, 9 heures 26.

Attaché Militaire

à Ministre Guerre Paris.

N° 287.

Pour Etat-Major de l'Armée 5ème bureau, suite aux notes 35, 47 et 55.

Enquête faite sur Matahary Macleod amène constatation suivante: Cette femme a actuellement comme amant CREMER agent consulaire d'Allemagne à Amsterdam associé à Wurfbain, banquier; la maison a son siège social à Amsterdam et une succursale à Bruxelles dont le soi-disant directeur est un ture nommé Chamay.

Il ne s'agit en réalité que d'une agence occulte de la Deutschbank qui draine les capitaux récoltés en Belgique, les amène en Hollande sous formes chèques ou billets banque allemands.

P.C.C. l'officier de Service.

13336  
P.F. 2586  
H. H. H.



M.A. N° 23350.

138459

**Secret**

MISSION ANGLAISE  
MINISTERE DE LA GUERRE  
PARIS.

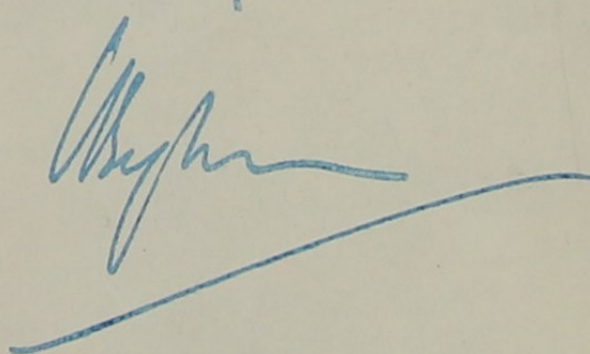
M.I.5.MACLEOD, Zelle.

Reference your telegram N° I35360/M.I.5.b; of  
November 16th.

In continuation of our telegram N° M.A. 23272 of  
to day's date.

The attached copies of telegrams, which have been  
communicated by the French Authorities are forwarded  
for your information.

This woman's full name is Marguerite Zelle MACLEOD;  
MATAHARY being her stage name.



Lt. Col. G.S.

B.C.I.

24.II.16.



M.A. N° 23637

139660

Copie de la Note N° 26103 S.C.R. IO (M.A. N° 23004.)

II

Datée du 17 Nov. 1916

Reçue de S.C.R.

**Secret**

## NOTE

Pour la MISSION ANGLAISE.

" En réponse à la note N° I35360/M.I.5.G. du 16 Novembre 1916, l'Etat-Major de l'Armée fait connaître que Melle MAC LEOD n'est pas un agent du 5ème Bureau de l'E.M.A. qui l'a toujours tenue pour suspecte.

Elle ne paraît pas devoir s'identifier d'autre part, avec [Clara BENEDIX] qui opérait en Espagne alors que Mac Leod était en France."



Copie.M.A. 23350.

A G

Télégramme chiffré

reçu au Cabinet du Ministre le 22 Novembre à 17 H  
-----

3C EMA

553

La Haye le 22 Novembre 9 H 25

Attaché Militaire

à Ministre Guerre Paris.

----288----

Comme suite à 287.

Parmi ces valeurs, s'en trouvent tirées à vue sur certaines banques françaises ou anglaises. On indique notamment mais sans références sérieuses Banque Paris et des Pays -Bas. C'est surtout pour toucher ces valeurs sur place que Matahary qui passe pour un des meilleurs agents de CREMER, se trouve et reste à Paris.

Note complémentaire suit.

J'ai recueilli d'autre part certain nombre d'indications notamment sur Etat-Civil des complices de Hoefnagel. Y a-t-il intérêt à ce que je les télégraphie?

P.C.C. L'Officier de service



[I.P. Form 2 c.]

*V. + Sata-Hari  
29/17*

EXTRACT.

I.P. No. 151963

Relating to (Name) ZELLE, Miss, van EMDEN, Leon, SATAKE, Yoshio

SUBJECT Movement of Suspects.

Extracted from Weekly report No. 1

Author of original Passport Office

Place of origin Madrid

True Copy, or Paraphrase, &c.

{ File Report } Reference No.

Dated 9/1/17

{ Sub-File Minute or Page, &c. } No.

Made by

Date 23/1/17

MOVEMENTS of SUSPECTS

Miss ZELLE, alias Mrs. McLeod left Madrid a few days ago for Paris where she is now.

Leon van EMBDEN as I have informed you by telegram has been arrested in Portugal. His arrivals in that country apparently co-incide regularly with local disturbances. I had just received instructions to grant him a visa for England. He was then at Bilbao or Corunna, but instead of coming to Madrid, as the Dutch Embassy asked him to, he elected to go to Portugal where he is now safely interned.

A Japanese student, from Zurich, SATAKE, Yoshio, P.Port 19005, at Berne, 9/12/16, recently applied for a visa to go to Gibraltar. The reason for his journey was a wish to study Architecture in Tangier. The visa was refused and I signalled him to the French who had him searched on his return to Switzerland. I consider him suspect.

*15. 114/200  
P.P.E. 82*



## Marga Mac Leod-Zelle (Mata Hari) terechtgesteld?

Uit Engeland terugkomende landgenooten hebben verleden week het bericht meegebracht, hoe in welingelichte kringen te Londen verzekerd wordt, dat de Hollandse danseres Margaretha Zelle in het begin dezes jaars in den Tower terechtgesteld zou zijn, beschuldigd van spionage en omtrent de wijze waarop in deze vonnis gewezen en voltrokken zou zijn, zonderlinge geruchten de ronde doen.

Deze bewering, — waarvan wij bij familieleden hier te lande evenwel geen nadere bevestiging konden krijgen, onbekend als men met haar lot was, — zou dan in overeenstemming zijn met een bericht in het *Bat. Nieuwsblad* van 30 April. Toen reeds wekte het tragische einde van Mata Hari in de Indische pers groote ontroering.

Alvorens op deze tijding nader in te gaan, willen we met een enkel woord in herinnering brengen wie Margaretha Zelle, in de kunstwereld Mata Hari geheeten, is, — of wás?

Marga Zelle, zeldzaam mooi meisje, rijzig van gestalte, met iets opvallend oriëntaals in snit van gezicht, uitdrukking der oogen en tint, trouwde in 1895 den, met verlof uit Indië teruggekeerden, kapitein Mac Leod, huwelijk dat echter verre van gelukkig was en dan ook ruim tien jaar later bij uitspraak der Amsterdamsche rechtbank ontbonden werd. Het is geen indiscretie, deze oprakeling der scheidingsprocedure, in hetzelfde jaar toch verscheen van de hand des Heeren A. Zelle, den vader der gescheiden vrouw, een in romanvorm gekleed vlugschrift, waarin het droef huwelijks- en familieleven zijner dochter, op niet altijd even kiesche en vooral jegens den gewezen echtgenoot weinig onpartijdige wijze, te boek gesteld was.

Margaretha Mac Leod-Zelle is daarop in de kunst gegaan. Al van kind af genoot zij de reputatie eener eminent bevallige danseuse en zoo werd zij, toen de f 1200 jaarinkomen, die zij zich bij het scheidingsvonnis toegewezen zag, haar voor levensonderhoud onvoldoende bleken, danseres, den schuilnaam van Mata Hari (Mata beteekent oog en Hari dag, zoodat we onder deze samenstelling de zon te verstaan hebben) aannemende.

Haar eerste lauweren plukte zij in de ville lumière, Parijs, waar zij in een Hindoe-creatie een schitterend debuut maakte, onmiddellijk gevolgd door een engagement in Weenen. Van een dier eerste Weenske avonden schreef de correspondent van de *N. Rotterd. Crt.* in het nummer van 10 December 1906, onder meer het volgende:

„Met bloemen in de hand trad zij met hieratische passen, schokkende ledematen en plastische bewegingen voor den god en

over het spel der gazen sluiers, over de bewegingen der armen en handen, over de mooie danspassen, waarbij de zware sieraden zacht rinkelen, juichte haar toe.

Voor dit publiek, zoo weinig bekend met Indië, is die prachtige vrouw met haar bloote bovenlijf, de borst slechts met een kostbare collier bedekt, en het onderlijf gewikkeld in een nauwsluitende slendang van lichtgele zijde met groen glinsterende kronkelfiguren en slangen-braceletten om de enkels, iets heel nieuws. Aandachtig volgden de oogen der toeschouwers, om toch maar niets te verliezen, de bewegingen der barrevoets gaande Mata-Hari; hoe zij het altaar nadert, hoe zij met een spel van gebaren en ledematen aarzeling uitdrukt alvorens de symbolische bloem te plukken, hoe zij het offer volbrengt en den sluier laat vallen.

De derde dans was die voor Sjiva, den wreeden god, dien zij verzoenen wilde. Maar te vergeefs, al danst zij ook steeds vuriger, al scheurt zij de sluiers van zich, als symbool van de verschillende deugden, die zij aan hem prijsgeeft. Maar nog was Sjiva niet voldaan, en weer trekt zij een kleedingstuk van haar lijf.

De muziek werd vuriger, maar ook hare bewegingen. „Sta” roept zij, en het volk herhaalt het. En weer vliegt iets van haar weg, totdat zij, na een oogenblik aarzelen alle kleeren van zich afwerpt, slechts een dun weefsel op haar lichaam houdend en uitgeput neerzinkt.

Een oogenblik stilte, maar als Mata Hari, na zich in een sjawl gewikkeld te hebben, opstaat en buigt, wordt zij lang en hartelijk toegejuicht.”

Tien jaar lang heeft Mata Hari door heel de wereld lauweren geogst, de meeste modedanserssen, die na haar naam maakten, leverden slechts matte imitaties harer danskunst. In December 1910 had zij door bemiddeling van haar impresario te Amsterdam gecontracteerd voor een drietal gastvoorstellingen in den Stadsschouwburg, welke echter, in weerwil van het feit, dat de zaal voor alle drie de avonden uitverkocht was, op het laatste oogenblik afgelast werden op verzoek van de pleegouders van Mevr. Zelle's enig dochttertje, dat van af haar scheidung hier ter stede opgevoerd werd. In 1915 heeft zij opnieuw ons land bezocht, ook toen echter niet als kunstenaar, wij herinneren ons, haar op een avond in *Trianon* gezien te hebben.

Daarna hoorde men niets meer van haar, tot dat in de laatste maanden berichten over het tragisch lot onzer landgenoot de aandacht opnieuw op haar persoonlijkheid vestigden.



Marga Mac Leod-Zelle (Mata Hari).

offerde, onder het ruischen van een zachte, aan Indische motieven ontleende muziek, bloemen, lucht, water en stof.

In een paar minuten was dit afgelopen en zij verdween, om kort daarop weer



Links: Mata Hari in den Indischen tempeldans. Rechts: in den Hindoeschen „dans der deugden”.

te verschijnen en aan Visjnoe te offeren. Nu is zij heel anders en het publiek, in bewondering over de prachtige kleedij, over de schoone vormen van het slanke lichaam,



bede, was het maar vrede, hoe lang moet dit onheil nog duren? Doch dit wil geenszins zeggen, dat men in Duitschland vrede wil tot elken prijs!

Geenszins; integendeel, alleen een eervollen vrede wenscht men. Elk volk, zoo wenscht men, zal zijn eigen lot moeten kunnen bepalen, waardoor dus annexatie uitgeschakeld wordt.

Wat verder de socialistische conferentie behandelt? De sociaal-democraten aller landen hebben tot principe gesteld, dat geen enkele natie een andere overheerschen mag, immers door overheersching verdwijnt de cultuur van een volk en dit kan niet toegestaan worden. Dan bespreekt de conferentie de kwestie van herbouw van België, Servië, Noord-Frankrijk, van de landen dus, die door het optreden der Duitschers het meest geleden hebben. Dat het dus Duitschland is geweest, die geleid door zijn vredeswensch deze conferentie heeft doen geboren worden, zal niemand bij het lezen van deze vragen meer kunnen zeggen. Verder tracht de conferentie een basis te vinden, waarop het wellicht mogelijk zal zijn, een voortdurende vrede te bouwen. Verschillende twistpunten, welke reeds vroeger den vrede meermalen hebben bedreigd te verstoren, moeten eerst bij de officieele conferentie behandeld en hopelijk voorgoed uit de wereld geholpen worden. Men denke slechts aan de Poolsche kwestie, de Armenische, de Perzische, aan Marokko, Algiers, Tripolis, Egypte, Malta. De conferentie tracht ook te komen tot een regeling van de internationale rechtsorde, internationale scheidsgerichten, een voorgeschreven termijn voor de onderzoeking bij eventuele conflicten en andere

middelen om de rust te handhaven, eventueel met te hulproeping van dwangmaatregelen. Aan het vraagstuk der geheime diplomatie wordt zeer veel aandacht besteed. Deze en nog vele andere vragen worden door de conferentie behandeld op een zeer objectieve wijze, d.w.z. op 'n wijze die beide partijen der oorlogvoerende machten bevredigen zal. De Duitschers, de Oostenrijkers, Hongaren, Bulgaren, Tsjechen, de Oekkrainers, de Amerikanen, de Finnen, de Russen, enz. enz. hebben reeds aan de conferentie deelgenomen en men kan met het resultaat dezer besprekingen uiterst tevreden zijn. Het wachten is slechts op de Franschen, immers ook een Engelsch vertegenwoordiger is reeds op de conferentie aanwezig geweest. En niemand twijfelt, of de Franschen zullen komen. Indien gij de woorden van den Franschen minister van oorlog, den sociaal-democraat Thomas gehoord zoudt hebben, kunt ge niet meer twijfelen aan hun komst. Immers zeide hij niet woordelijk, dat, nu hij alles gehoord had, hij de overtuiging is toegedaan, dat de Duitse sociaal-democraten *gemeend* hebben goed te handelen, door bij het uitbreken van den oorlog hun regeering te steunen, dat ze volgens zijn persoonlijk inzicht verkeerd gehandeld hebben, doch te goeder trouw, „de bonne voie” waren. En is dit niet reeds een eerste stap tot toenadering van de zijde der Fransche sociaal-democratie. En indien men dit gehoord heeft, zoo geloof men, dat de tijd niet meer verre is, dat de proletariërs aller landen elkaar weer de broederhand zullen geven, vereenigend tot, zoowel het bereiken, als het handhaven van een goeden en gelukkigen vrede!



De vertegenwoordigers der Duitse minderheid te Stockholm. Van links naar rechts: Ed. Bernstein, Hugo Haase, Nine Bang, Karl Kautsky, daarachter: Albarda, Herzfeld, daarachter: A. Engberg, geheel rechts: Mayer.

### *Om in de vacantie wat te lezen te hebben,*

*koopt Gij HET LEVEN niet langer als losnummer, doch Gij abonneert U er op. Het nieuwe halfjaar is zoo juist met Juli begonnen. Wij sturen U dan als premie geheel kosteloos een compleet exempl. van*

*onzen, zoo enorm opgang makenden roman DE STORMVOGEL.*

*288 pag. druks, uit de pen van onzen hoofdredacteur FRANS VAN ERLEVOORDT en PAUL HÖCKER, op het oogenblik zonder twijfel HET MEEST GELEZEN BOEK.*



In „De Avondpost” wordt het een en ander meegedeeld naar aanleiding van de arrestatie van Mata Hari. Wij ontleenen daaraan het volgende :

In Mei 1916 ging Mata Hari scheep per s.s. „Zeelandia” naar Spanje. Zij had door bemiddeling van haar impressario in San Sebastian en elders een engagement aangenomen. Onder de passagiers bevond zich een Amsterdammer, die, om de belasting te ontduiken, zich afgemeld had als woonachtig in Argentinië. Hij kon dit allicht doen, want hij is steeds en veelvuldig op reis voor „zaken”. Dit waardige lid der maatschappij oefent in vreedstijd het beroep uit van diamantsmokkelaar op de Zuid-Amerikaansche Staten en nu doet hij . . . . nu ja, zoo'n beetje aan spionage.

Nu was gedurende de reis deze Amsterdammer wat erg opdringerig galant en aardig tegenover Mata Hari geweest, doch zijn geheele wezen en persoon boezemde haar weinig sympathie in, ja zelfs voelde zij een instinctmatigen afkeer van dien man. Daar hij zag, dat al zijn pogingen vruchteloos waren en hij geen succes bij haar had, wist hij niets beters te doen, dan eenigen heeren snoevend te vertellen van zijn succes bij haar, daarbij lasterlijke aantijgingen uitend, die haar persoon ten zeerste compromitteerden, wat haar ter oore kwam.

Terwijl hij nu in gezelschap van eenige personen achter op het promenadedek stond, ging zij recht op hem toe en vroeg hem rekenschap en verantwoording over zijn

laaghartige lasterpraatjes. Hij loochende eerst hardnekkig iets van haar gezegd te hebben, doch kon dit niet langer volhouden tegenover de verpletterende getuigenissen van verschillende passagiers, die het gehoord hadden. Toen zeide zij, dat hij gerust ronduit kon spreken, en vroeg hem op den man af, of er ook maar één woord waar was, van wat hij daar verteld had. Hij zwoer toen bij het hoofd van zijn kinderen, dat het niet zoo was. Tot bescheid gaf zij hem in tegenwoordigheid van allen een klinkende oorvijs. Als een hond droop hij af naar beneden. Vernederd en onmogelijk gemaakt schuimbekte hij van woede en besloot bittere wraak te nemen.

Den volgenden dag stapten beiden in Vigo aan wal.

Begin November wilde Mata Hari per s.s. „Hollandia” naar Holland terugkeeren. Op dezelfde boot was ook weer de bedoelde Amsterdammer, die te Falmouth de autoriteiten in kennis stelde, dat Mata Hari een gevaarlijke spionne van Duitschland was. Door vrouwelijke detectives werd zij in haar cabine streng onderzocht. De geheele hut werd onderste boven gehaald, al haar bagage uren lang stukje voor stukje nageplozen, zelfs de kanten van sommige ondergoederen afgescheurd. Men vond echter trots de ijverigste nasporingen geen termen of bewijzen, om haar als spion te arresteren. Maar daar aan de zware verdachtmaking nu eenmaal geloof werd geslagen en immers het kon wel eens zijn — zoo'n alleen

reizende vrouw — werd zij van boord afgehaald en aan land gebracht. De „Hollandia” vertrok zonder haar naar Holland. Na herhaald verhoor, waarbij men niets wijzer werd, oordeelde men het toch veiligheidshalve beter, dat zij toch maar liever niet naar Holland ging, dus zond men haar weer naar Spanje terug. Daar ging zij zich bij den gezant beklagen, doch deze kon niet veel voor haar uitrichten. Daarop ging zij naar Parijs, waar zij ook sedert eenige jaren een huis heeft. Doch natuurlijk was zij als gevaarlijk en verdacht door de Engelsche autoriteiten gesignaleerd, zoodat men ze aldaar ook ten slotte arresteerde.

De schrijver zegt ten slotte dat men haar zal moeten vrijspreken, daar ze absoluut onschuldig is.

Het „Bat. Nieuwsblad” van 30 April weet echter reeds te vertellen, dat de Indische danseres, de bekende Mata Hari, vroeger echtgenoot van een overste van het Indische léger, een paar maanden geleden voor spionage haar leven heeft gegeven in den Tower te Londen. Een reisgenoot van haar vertelde, hoe ze van boord gehaald was van een der Zuid-Amerikaansche booten en niet meer teruggebracht is.

Waarschijnlijk is zij niet te Londen gefusilleerd, maar overgebracht naar Parijs, waar zij dan nu zou terechtstaan, of terechtgesteld is.

## [Een sprookje.

Door Cissy van Marxveldt.

Er was eens een schrijfster, die beroemd was. Of eigenlijk, beroemd was ze nog niet. Ze had alleen voor haar trouwen een boek geschreven, dat de aandacht getrokken had, en in haar huwelijk schreef ze haar tweede boek, dat nog meer opgang maakte. Er werd zeer waardeerend over dat boek in de kranten geschreven; een bekend criticus zei o.m.: „De veelbelovende schrijfster gaat een groote toekomst tegemoet.”

Toen de schrijfster dat las, was ze verrukt, want niemand had nog ooit tevoren gezegd, dat zij een groote toekomst tegemoet zou gaan. Ze knipte die heerlijke woorden uit, plakte ze op een stuk carton, en zette het carton op haar schrijftafel, zóó, dat ze het altijd kon zien. En toen begon ze aan haar derde boek.

Haar man, die een bekend taalgeleerde was, verheugde zich ook over het succes van zijn vrouw, en als hij haar studeerkamer binnen kwam, en zijn oogen vielen op het stukje carton, dan droomde hij ook van de groote toekomst, die zijn vrouw tegemoet ging. Hij zag haar reeds alom bekend en alom geëerd.

Doch toen de schrijfster haar derde boek schreef, kondigde zich een kleine onverwachte gast aan, die noch door de schrijfster, noch door haar man gewenscht werd. De schrijfster was zóó ontsteld over de kleine gast, die komen zou, dat ze heele dagen in haar kamer verdroomde, zonder te schrijven. En toen ze eindelijk op een avond haar boek vervolgen wilde, en weer voor haar schrijftafel zitten ging, ontdekte ze opeens, dat ze niet meer de macht had haar gedachten in woorden om te zetten, zooals ze dat te voren had gekund. Ze schreef leelijke, stijve zinnestjes neer, die vreemd volgden op de gemakkelijk-vloeiende, zangerige zinnen, die ze reeds geschreven had. En op de schrijftafel stonden de woorden op het carton haar aan te staren. Ze leken

haar te bespotten. Doch toen ze de hand reeds naar het carton uitstreekte, om dit te verscheuren, kwam haar man binnen, en dien vertelde ze haar onmacht om te schrijven. Hij kon het niet direct gelooven en zelfs toen hij las, wat ze pas geschreven had, kon hij nóg niet aannemen, dat het zoo altijd zou zijn. Daarom zei hij, dat ze afleiding moest hebben, en dat ze zouden uitgaan, om haar verstrooiing te geven. De schrijfster ging overal heen, naar schouwburgen, concerten, naar feesten en partijen. Tot ze op een dag den drang tot schrijven weer in zich voelde. Ze sloot zich op in haar studeerkamer. En wéér gelukte het haar niet, haar gedachten te modelleren. Ze kón niet. En de stille afkeer, die ze aldoor in zich gevoeld had tegen het kindje, dat komen zou, werd nu een groote alles-beheerschende haat. Ze wist, dat als het kindje er was, het met haar kunst gedaan zou zijn. Het kind zou huilen, ze zou het overal hooren, haar gedachten zouden afdwalen: Het kind zou groter worden en lastig zijn. Ze zou aan de opvoeding moeten denken, er zouden ontelbare vervelende dingen voor het kind te doen zijn, en ze wist, dat ze alles even onuitstaanbaar vinden zou . . . . Toen wenschte ze uit den grond van haar hart dat er toch iets gebeuren mocht, waardoor het kindje niet komen zou. Want ze kon de groote toekomst, die ze tegemoet ging, niet offeren aan zoo iets lastigs en vervelends als een kind . . . .

Het kindje werd op een mooien, zonnigen Meimorgen dood geboren. De schrijfster was heel ziek. Toen ze weer beter was, was het kindje al lang begraven, en de schrijfster had het kleine, bleke gezichtje niet eens gezien. Doch daar dacht ze niet aan. Het overheerschende gevoel in haar was, dat ze nu eindelijk weer vrij kon gaan schrijven.

En werkelijk was haar oude gave teruggekomen. Ze eindigde haar derde boek, dat nog meer geprezen werd dan de twee andere. Ze gunde zich geen tijd om rust te nemen, en begon vol ijver aan haar vierde boek. Dat zou nóg beter worden.

Toen gebeurde het, dat haar man op een avond een collega meebracht, die pas in de stad was komen wonen. De schrijfster vond hem een zeer onderhoudend man. en zij was een beminnelijke gastvrouw. Hij wenschte haar geluk met heur succes, ook hij had haar boeken gelezen, en ervan genoten.

Toen hij wegging vertelde hij als terloops, dat zijn vrouw met hun dochttertje naar buiten was, maar volgende week terug zou komen. Hij hoopte, dat ze dan eens kennis kwam maken.

Een paar weken daarna, toen de schrijfster den geheelen morgen had zitten werken, en zeer voldaan was over wat ze geschreven had, besloot ze 's-middags eens een bezoek te brengen aan het jonge mevrouwtje, dat nu weer thuis zou zijn. Ze dacht er niet aan, of ze ongelegen kon komen. Ze hechte niet aan die dingen. Dus kleedde ze zich in haar artistiek wandeltoilet en ging uit. Het deed haar genoegen, dat ze overal opgemerkt werd, de menschen keken haar na en spraken over haar. O, wat heerlijk dacht ze, om al zóó bekend te zijn.

Later zat ze in een hooge, vroolijke, zonnige tuinkamer met tegenover zich een tenger, jong vrouwtje.

De schrijfster keek rond en zei genadig: „U woont hier heel gezellig.” Maar haar artistiek oog zag in een hoek een leelijk houten paard liggen, dat daar natuurlijk heelemaal niet hoorde. Het paard met zijn domme, glazen oogen ergerde haar. Doch het jonge vrouwtje scheen het niet te zien. Die praatte druk, terwijl ze thee schonk, over haar man en haar kind en hoe heerlijk



ze naar buiten geweest was. Af en toe keek ze naar de klok, en dan zei ze:

„Ik begrijp niet waarom Truida zoo lang wegblijft met Baby.”

„Vindt u het niet lastig, zoo'n kind?” vroeg de schrijfster.

„Lastig?” — De mooie oogen van het vrouwtje straalden. — „Lastig? Het is het zaligste, wat ik me denken kan.” En haar vroolijke lach tokkelde door de kamer, toen ze nog eens herhaalde: „Lastig!” — Toen zei ze: „U hebt zelf geen kinderen zeker, dat u dat zoo vraagt?”

„Nee,” zei de schrijfster. Ze vertelde niet van het doode kindje. Het vrouwtje zou haar toch niet begrijpen, dat leek zoo burgerlijk en alledaagsch, sprak heelemaal niet over haar boeken, deed, alsof zij, de schrijfster, het doodgeeeste mens was, wat er bestond.

Over het grint van den tuin knerpten wielen van een wagen.

„Daar is mijn schat,” riep het vrouwtje opspringend en de tuindeuren openend.

De schrijfster stond op.

„Nu ga ik maar,” zei ze.

„Och nee, blijft u nog even,” drong het vrouwtje. „U moet Baby toch zien.”

Om den hoek van het huis kwam een witte sportkar gereden. De Moeder liep de serre door, en den tuin in, kwam met het kind op haar arm, glunderend weer binnen. „Daar hebt u nu ons prinsesje,” zei ze trots.

Een paar heldere, bruine kinderoogen keken de schrijfster aan, onderzoekend, gansch niet verlegen. Toch was het prinsesje niet veel ouder dan twee jaar.

„Geef eens een handje,” zei de moeder, het kindje neerzettend. Even stond het kleine figuurtje, in wit kanten jurkje, stil, toen liep het parmantig op de schrijfster toe, die even heel zacht, mollig kinderhandje in de hare voelde.

„Zoo kleine,” zei de schrijfster onbeholpen, vast besloten nu direct weg te gaan.

Doch ze moest nog even blijven, zei

het Moedertje en zelfs moest ze het dulden dat het leelijke, groote paard haar door Baby op den schoot gezet werd, terwijl het vleierende stemmetje vroeg: „Och, lief paardje hè? Paardje zoentjes geven?”

Toen bedacht de schrijfster een uitvlucht om weg te kunnen gaan, en het jonge vrouwtje met Baby aan de hand, liet haar zelf uit. Baby kaarsrecht, blond prinsesje, riep haar nog een zangerig, hoog „dåg” na. De schrijfster liep naar huis, overdenkend wat een enorme drukte zoo'n kind direct gaf.

Doch 's-avonds, toen ze op haar gemak stalen doorkeek voor een herfstjapon, en liefkoozend streek over een lap bronskleurig fluweel, schoot haar opeens te binnen, dat ze dienzelfden dag nog zoo iets zachts had aangeraakt. Wat was het toch? Ze dacht lang na. Tot ze opeens wist, dat het 't kleine, mollige babyhandje geweest was, dat in de hare gerust had.... Toen trok ze ongeduldig haar schouders op.

Op een middag kwam ze het vrouwtje, dat met Baby wandelde, tegen. Baby herkende haar, lachte guitig van onder haar blonden krans. De schrijfster vond het toch wel een aardige combinatie, dat donkere oogbruin bij blond haar. Maar dat was natuurlijk, omdat ze een artiste was, en artistiek voelde.

Sinds dien dag was het alsof de Baby haar overal achtervolgde. Liep ze op straat, dan zag ze uit een witte sportkar een wuifhandje. Bleef ze thuis, dan kwam het jonge vrouwtje haar bezoeken, met lange verhalen over Baby's schranderheid en liefde. En langzaam, heel langzaam begon de schrijfster te veranderen. Wanneer er een week voorbij ging, waarin ze Baby niet gezien had, dan vond ze het vreemd. En eens, toen het prinsesje met het houten paard in haar kleine armen geklemd, door haar stille kamers gedraafd had, voelde ze 's-avonds een groote leegte en onrust in zich, die haar beletten om te schrijven.

„Natuurlijk,” zei ze tegen zichzelf, „ik

ben ook geen kinderen gewend.”

Het duurde nog een langen, langen tijd, voor ze zichzelf durfde bekennen, dat ze gansch onder de betoovering stond van Baby's lieve maniertjes, Baby's reine kinderoogen, Baby's omhelzingen, Baby's grappig gebabbel.

Op een avond, dat Baby al in haar witte bedje lag en zij met het Moedertje sprak, vertelde ze opeens van haar eigen doodgeboren kindje.

„O,” zei het moedertje, terwijl ze krampachtig de hand der schrijfster drukte, „o, wat vreeselijk.”

„En ik heb het niet eens gezien,” bekende de schrijfster.

Verontschuldigend voegde ze erbij: „Ik was erg ziek, zie je.” — De heldere oogen van het moedertje zeiden evenwel duidelijk, dat dat geen verontschuldiging was. Zoo beschouwde de schrijfster het ook opeens.

Toen werden de dagen een lange marteling voor haar. Ze schreef niet meer, ze dacht er maar steeds aan, dat ze niet eens even het bleeke gezichtje van haar kindje gezien had.

En ze stelde zich voor hoe lief het nu al geweest zou zijn. Het zou natuurlijk net zoo'n aardige verstandige Baby geworden zijn als het prinsesje. Ze fantaseerde, hoe door haar grooten, kalmen tuin kleine voetjes zouden komen aanrennen, hoe zij haar armen uit zou strekken, om een slank, wit figuurtje op te vangen, hoe tegen haar borst een klein, blond kopje zich drukken zou, terwijl een vleistemmetje kweelde: „Lieve Mammie....”

En de schrijfster verlangde met haar geheele hart naar een tweede kindje, dat haar dat geluk geven zou. Doch het tweede kindje kwam niet. De jaren gingen voorbij. Het kindje kwam niet.

Ze bracht al haar liefde over op het prinsesje, later op het donkere baby-broertje.

En haar vierde boek is nooit voltooid geworden.

**De tuberculose-middelen, uitgevonden door EILERS te OEGSTGEEST, zijn de eenige die in waarheid radicale en standhoudende genezing verzekeren, als men niet wacht totdat het te laat is.**

**N.V. „JAPANA”.**  
**AMSTERDAM, LOOIERSGRACHT 23-25.**  
 P. O. BOX 739 — TELEPHOON CENTRUM 1166.

**SOJA**

verbetert den smaak van soep, jus en andere spijzen.  
 Geregeld uit voorraad te leveren.  
 Vraagt monsters en prijsopgave.  
 Nog eenige actieve vertegenwoordigers worden gevraagd.



# M.I. 5 (G) I.P. No. 199922

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1 Sender's Date 21. 7. 17	From } 2 To } British Consul, Rotterdam
3 Date of Receipt 24. 7. 17	Subjects Copy of magazine - which contains article n -
Sender's Reference No.	Names HET LEVEN 8 MATA HARI
Enclosures Magazine	6 Special Instructions regarding Transit
7	9

Former Papers

Papers already out

10  
Date of first Transit to Branch  
11 24 III 1917 G.

12 Passed to Branch Officer	Date	Initial
13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Note, sent		
14 Enclosures sent		

14  
P.A. 25.7.17. 15.

Filed in

Extracts, Copies, filed in 29.7. 21.8.17. RSM.

16  
Noted on Transit Card

Indexed:—Names JH, 26/10.  
Subjects ✓  
Places ✓

17  
Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

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Minutes

20 Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled:—

Nature of circular	Initial	Date
E. United Kingdom only		
E. U. K. and France		
E. General		
H 1. For B.C.I. not for Circulation		
H 1. For general B.C.I. Circulation		
H 1. B. L.		
H 1. Monthly Report		



From: H. B. M. Consul General,

ROTTERDAM.

To:

Major Carter

M. I. S. E.

For your information.

This may be of interest  
to you as it contains an  
article on "Mata Hari"

(page 95-6)

Date

21/7/17

F. C. B. Wood  
British Vice-Consul



201475

BUREAU DE CONTROLE,  
18, RUE CHAUVEAU LAGARDE,  
PARIS.

798/564.

26th July, 1917.

Major C.E.Dansey,  
M.I.5.E.  
War Office,  
London.

Z E L L E, Margaretha Gertruida.

Reference your 140193 of 6/12/16 and Home Office  
circular W.O.1101 of 15/12/16.

This woman was tried yesterday by Court Martial  
and condemned to death, as dangerous spy.

Copy sent to Home Office.



I.P. Form 45C.

**PRESS CUTTING.**

FROM

*Evening News*Dated *26<sup>th</sup> July 1917*

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**DEATH FOR SPIES.**

"Japanese" Dancer Condemned by Paris Court Martial.

PARIS, Wednesday.

The Paris Court-martial has condemned to death on a charge of conveying intelligence to the enemy the well-known dancer, Marguerite Zelle, the divorced wife of a Dutch officer. The woman was known on the stage as the Japanese dancer, Mata Hari.

The court-martial also condemned to death Gustave Mathias Michaelson, a former Finnish officer. Prisoner was found guilty of conveying information to the enemy by means of secret documents addressed to a German agent in Spain, containing reports on aviation.

The Nancy Court-martial has condemned to death for espionage a man named Eugene Kalsch.—Central News.

*Evening News***WOMAN SPY.**

DANCER SENTENCED TO DEATH BY FRENCH COURT-MARTIAL.

PARIS, Thursday.

The court martial has sentenced to death for espionage the dancer, Marguerite Zell, known as "Matahari," who was born in the Dutch East Indies; and Gustave Mathias Michelson, an ex-officer who was in relations with a German espionage agent living in Spain.—Reuter.

A Central News telegram says Marguerite Zell was sentenced on a charge of conveying intelligence to the enemy. She is the divorced wife of a Dutch officer named Macleod. The woman was known on the stage as the Japanese dancer, Mata Hari.

*Evening Standard**26. 7. 17.*



THE EVENING STANDARD.

Thursday, July 26, 1917.

### WOMAN SPY.

#### DANCER SENTENCED TO DEATH BY FRENCH COURT-MARTIAL.

PARIS, Thursday.

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A Central News telegram says Marguerite Zell was sentenced on a charge of conveying intelligence to the enemy. She is the divorced wife of a Dutch officer named Macleod. The woman was known on the stage as the Japanese dancer, Mata Hari.

*Matahari*

*V.F. 2917*

*AF 20265*

*See I.P. 203130*

*Separate enquiry:*

### CONDEMNED WOMAN SPY.

#### SCOTLAND YARD'S ACTION.

So far from Marguerite Zelle, the Dutch dancer condemned to death in Paris as a spy, being permitted to come and go in this country unmolested by the police, as has been asserted, it was through the action of Scotland-yard that she was handed over to the French authorities, her trial and death sentence as a spy following.

The woman arrived at an English port a little time ago and was immediately recognised by Special Branch men. No charge was brought against her, but she was detained under the provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act. The French police were at once communicated with and the woman was handed over.

*Daily Mail*  
*of*  
*31-7-17*



Marguerite Gelle

M. S. I want to know  
how far ~~is~~ the Daily  
Mail paragraph is  
correct.

Mr. Nestee telephoned  
to Cap. Potts today  
that Daily Mail para.  
was incorrect. E. A.

31 JUL 1917



Name

Address

*[Faint handwritten marks]*

*Ju*

Name

Address

*S*

*M*

(949) W14779-H3343 5M 2/17 B ,M.&S H16/1973..



I.P. Form 45C.

**PRESS CUTTING.**

FROM *Daily Mail*

Dated *July 30<sup>th</sup> 1917*

- 1. Passed to *S.P.* *H1* for any further circulation or action necessary.
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**WOMEN SPIES.**

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.  
Sir,—I see that the French authorities have sentenced the well-known dancer Marguerite Zelle, the divorced wife of an officer named Macleod, to death for conveying information to the enemy.

For nearly three years, to my certain knowledge, this woman has been travelling between Germany, Holland, England, France, Spain, and Portugal, while the authorities have been aware of the business on which she was engaged, and so far as England was concerned she has been allowed to pass through British ports with nothing more than a search being made.

I do not mention this with a view to complaining, as I am aware that our authorities never act without ample proof and justification; but this extreme caution, while we are at war, does appear to me to be taking great and unnecessary risks. It is difficult to realise how much valuable information this woman has conveyed to the enemy while our authorities have permitted her to pass to and fro.

I heard of her actions and business in Holland early in 1915 and again while on a visit to Spain in January 1916. I was staying at the Ritz Hotel, Madrid, and found her there; she had been busy in Barcelona and Valencia, and was then about to leave for Lisbon to catch the boat for Holland. She was describing the careful way she was always searched at English ports and said they would never find anything about her, as what she could not remember she forgot, meaning, of course, that she relied on her memory for carrying her information, and being a clever woman I do not suppose she forgot very much. From Madrid I warned the authorities about her departure and the nature of her business, and was afterwards surprised to hear that there were many women engaged in the same business, and others were even travelling in the same boat.

In travelling through France during the war I have observed the care exercised by the authorities with regard to espionage, and am satisfied that it will be a very clever person who can convey much information to and from that country, and it is satisfactory to learn that they have been able to put a stop to the work of one very dangerous and clever enemy agent.

ALBERT F. CALVERT.  
Royston, Eton-avenue, N.W.

*Memorandum.  
passed me in 1915  
London - in transit.  
She was 4 days in cells.  
W*

*Zelle M. P.F 2917 out  
Mata-Hari (1916)*



"Daily Mail,"

Tuesday, 31st July, 1917.

**CONDEMNED WOMAN SPY.**

**SCOTLAND YARD'S ACTION.**

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25/7/17

///

Mb.

g See

This is another name for Mata Hari. I think her file has been asked for.

Could you hurry it up.

B.W.



## MARGUERITE ZELLE— SPY AND DANCER.

### Incidents in the Career of a Mystery Woman.

Marguerite Zelle, the Dutch dancer, who has been arrested in Paris as a spy and condemned to death, was known in London, where she was a frequent visitor before the war.

She is—or was—a Creole, and was born in the Dutch Indies about 32 years ago. Very tall, with jet black hair, dark eyes, and an elegant figure, she was a striking looking woman, although she could not be described as beautiful. She made her home in Paris, where she was well known in society.

A celebrated London theatrical agent told *The Evening News* that he first saw Zelle in a Paris drawing-room several years ago. She was then doing Indian dances, but there was nothing novel or exceptionally interesting in her performances, and she was not clever enough for the stage.

"Four years ago she was a widow," said the agent, "and she told me she had married a British officer. She was a very intelligent woman and spoke many languages.

"She could speak English, French, German and Dutch perfectly, and was very vivacious and well informed on a great many subjects.

"She never appeared on the stage in London, although she tried several times to get an engagement here. I saw her once here since the war broke out.

"It was in Piccadilly-circus, and I was very surprised to see her, because I did not think she had been in England for some time. She stopped me and we had a few minutes' conversation about things theatrical. She told me she had come over from Paris and was 'going home to Holland.' That would be about two years ago."

During the war Zelle has passed frequently to and fro between Holland and France and Spain, and always travelled on a neutral vessel.

#### AN AUTHOR'S SUSPICIONS.

She was seen in Madrid at the beginning of last year by Mr. Albert F. Calvert, the distinguished author and scientist, who had his suspicions aroused with regard to her movements.

The woman was staying at the Ritz, the most expensive hotel in Spain, and made frequent journeys to Barcelona and Valencia. She was luxuriously dressed, and appeared to be alone, although she freely conversed with one or two people who became acquainted with her in the hotel.

She never said anything about her own plans or movements to anyone.

One of Mr. Calvert's friends, a Greek merchant, met Zelle, whom he had previously met in Egypt, in Holland in 1915. She was living there in good style, and on one or two occasions he rode with her in her motor-car. This Greek merchant was at the Ritz in Madrid at the same time as Mr. Calvert and Mme. Zelle.

"My Greek friend," said Mr. Calvert, "whose sympathies were really with the Allies, was very much interested in the woman, and admired her cleverness. As soon as he saw that I, as a British subject, was taking more than an ordinary interest in her movements, he decided to protect her, and refused to discuss her or her business with me any further.

"I thereupon made independent inquiries and satisfied myself beyond all question that she was Marguerite Zelle, the dancer, and the divorced wife of an officer named Macleod.

"On the day she was leaving Madrid for Lisbon to catch the boat for Holland I took steps to warn our authorities about her.

"I am inclined to think that she may have been one of the direct agents from Germany who assisted in causing the recent troubles in Spain."

Mme. Zelle was recently detained at a British port because she resembled another person who was "wanted." She came to London, but after inquiries by the authorities had been concluded, her movements were no longer interfered with. She then went on to Spain.

*Evening News.*

JULY 31, 1917.



MARGUERITE ZELLE.





De Ned.-Indische danseres MATA HARI, na een winterverblijf in de residentie, onlangs weer naar haar geliefd Parijs vertrokken. — MATA HARI (Maleisch, bet.: Het oog van den dag) als Diana, waarmee zij in Frankrijk een enorm succès behaalde; pastel van den Franschen Kunstschilder Ruteau, speciaal voor de „Kroniek“ *foto Vermeulen*

Mata Hari has returned to Paris.





Wanneer dit bescheiden tooneel-overzicht onder de vriendelijke bruine en blauwe oogen mijner lezeressen en onder de peinzende dito's mijner lezers komt, is het tooneelgebeuren van Mei — al ligt dit ook reeds een maand achter ons — nog geenszins uit ons geheugen verdwenen; neen, Max Reinhardt's drietal opvoeringen zijn nog in onzen geest, als de herinnering aan een intellectueel genot achtergebleven. Weinig artistieke prestaties aan gene zijde van 't voetlicht zullen vooreerst in staat zijn die drie avonden voor ons te vervagen.

Dat Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm als verouderd, niet meer voor de tegenwoordige geestelijke eischen der dramaturgie toereikend is, heeft niet belet, dat Reinhardt's opvoering van dit klassieke blijspel door Else Heims en Johanna Terwin in de beide dameshoofdrollen een beeld heeft geschonken van wat goede comédie vermag.

Hauptmann's Biberpelz, de 2e der Haagsche voorstellingen, gaf als satire den strijd tusschen democratie en Pruisisch, niet Duitsch, conservatisme in 't ambtenaarsleven, een en ander rondom den diefstal van een beverpels, bedreven door de sluwe, handige en toch uiterlijk zoo trouwhartige, goeddelijke Frau Wolff. Een knappe scène: die waarin de Amtsvorsteher zijn politieken tegenstander, die hem den diefstal komt aangeven, hoort in tegenwoordigheid van een paar oogdienaars en van den heler bij den diefstal, die, half betrokken in dit tooneeltje van fijnen spot, medehoonlacht, maar o, zoo gedrongen, omdat hij in den grond der zaak voelt als heler niet zoo heel zuiver tegenover de zaak te staan. Die tooneeltjes van fijnen spot waren en producten van geestigen dialoog en proefjes van oogen comediatoon. De groote Karakterdarstellerin, Else Lehmann, die we jaren geleden in Berlijn reeds genoten in „Glaube

und Heimat" was wel in elk opzicht de figuur, die zij geven moest; zij gaf haar type met een niet in overdreven naturalisme overslaande ruwheid. Naast haar Hans Wassmann en Jannings als hoog-komische typeeringsfiguren.

Een veel hoger punt van artistiek genot bereikten wij echter bij Ibsen's Gespenster, dat de herinnering aan 't Heine-ensemble en Helene Riechers Frau Alving wakker riep. Deze voorstelling heeft ons wederom overtuigd van de geweldige tragiek van Ibsen's prachtwerk, van de tragiek, die er siddert in heel die vaak zoo kankerige samenleving,

tot een recapitulatie in een seizoen, waarin we zoo jammerlijk van hartverheffende Kunst werden gespeend.

Keeren we terug tot wat we vergelijkenderwijs een middelmatige revue kunnen noemen, dan valt in de eerste plaats Het Genie van Andreas Nagy te „verslaan", want tot meer dan een „verslagtoon" mijn waardeering voor dit blijspel niet opstijgen. 'n Bijzonder gelukkige greep kunnen wij deze Verkadevertooning niet noemen; 't gegeven, dat aan „In Rok" doet denken, waarin echter meer de fijn-spottende satire naar buiten trad, geeft de botsing tusschen

het genie zonder den practischen mensch in zich, tegenover den practicus, die zijn nuchter-overheerschenden zin tot ingrijpen in eigen en andermans leven heeft opgevoerd tot een hoogtepunt van geniaal egoïsme, waardoor hij in 't leven slaagt te koste van het genie, dus: de practicus als parasiet op het genie. Ongetwijfeld een rijk gegeven voor een dit treffend „spel van persoonlijk belangen", door Nagy in 't eerste bedrijf wel aardig aangepakt, maar niet fijnspottend genoeg volgehouden in de beide volgende bedrijven, waarvan 't laatste verloopt in een smakeloos kluchttafereel. Musch gaf 't genie als eenhalf-onnoozelen, een ontoerekenbaren idioot, niet als een werkelijk Kind-genie en deed ons niets; Cor van der Lugt Melsert benaderde oneindig veel beter de figuur, die hij geven moest en was in II bijzonder fleurig van spel en dictie.

Van onzen zeer productieven stadgenoot Jan Fabricius kregen wij zoowaar de derde premiere, ditmaal weder bij Verkade. Het is een onomstootelijk feit, dat elke schrijver van rijke productiviteit wel

eens bij het schrijven van een stuk gaat staan onder den boom, die geen laurierbladeren draagt, d.w.z. zich wel eens in den boom vergist. Nu, in zooverre heeft de heer Fabricius zich ditmaal met 't artistspel Popje ook in den boom vergist, waaronder hij, de pen voerende, het bohémien-leven van Popje en haar „trouwe trawanten" dramatiseerde. Murger in zijn „Vie de Bohème", Bierbaum in zijn „Stilpe" en zoo velen zijn gelokt door de bedwelmende sfeer van 't leven der vagebond-artisten, der ratés; zoo velen hebben den Montmartre-prikkel, den jubel



foto Couvée

„HET GENIE" 3e bedrijf  
JAN MUSCH als Rudolphe Mirablaou en HETTY BECK als Berthi

die in het huwelijk tot uiting komt. Else Lehmann, die in „Biberpelz" meer zichzelf en daardoor voller was, had als Frau Alving momenten van bijzondere ontroering en wekte vooral in samenspel met Paul Hartmann, een pracht-Oswald, oogenblikken van huiveringwekkende deernis. Jannings' dominé kan men zich niet beter denken.

De maand Mei was niet bijzonder rijk van disch; we moeten ons dus helaas beperken



M.R

N° M.A. 36107

203847

*Secret**M.I.5. (Major Anson)*

MISSION ANGLAISE  
 MINISTERE DE LA GUERRE  
 P A R I S

Referring to your M.I.5.C/2/ 201771 of July 1st  
 1917.

Marguerite Zell has been sentenced to death but  
 the sentence has not yet been carried into effect. Captain  
 Ladoux who had the case in hand tells me that they found  
 nothing incriminating amongst her effects and nothing to  
 show that she had been in any way connected with espionage  
 in England. During her interrogation she divulged nothing  
 but Ladoux is of opinion that now that she has been  
 condemned she will probably make a statement with a view  
 to getting her sentenced commuted, in which case it is  
 conceivable that there would be matter interesting to  
 M.I.5.

We will keep you informed of anything that  
 transpires.

*Falaborche*  
*Major*  
 for Lt. Col. G.S.

B.C.I.

3.8.17



M.I.5. G.2./201771.

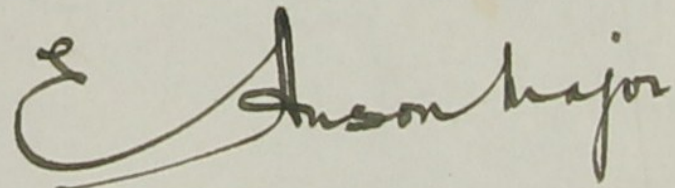
July 31st, 1917.

CONFIDENTIAL.

B.C.I.

The English Press of the 26th July 1917 published a Paris report to the effect that Marguerite ZELL, better known as MATA-HARI had been sentenced to death by the French authorities for espionage.

Any British address which may have been found upon her or anything showing her possible connection with espionage in this country are, naturally, of great interest to us; and I should be glad if you could furnish me with any obtainable information on these points at an early date.



for Col. V. G. W. Kell.

ESTGA/BBB



HAS MARGA MAC LEOD-ZELLE ( MATA HARI ) BEEN EXECUTED?

\* \* \* \* \*

Some of our country-men who have returned from England informed us last week that well-informed circles in London state that the Dutch dancer Margaretha Zelle, who was accused of espionage was executed in the Tower at the beginning of this year; and that strange rumours concerning the trial and the execution are circulating.

This assertion,- of which we were unable to obtain closer details even from the members of her family, for they did not know what had become of her,- seems to find confirmation in an article in the "Batavisch Nieuwsblad" of 30th April. Already at that time the tragic end of Mata Hari caused a great sensation in the Dutch Indian Press.

Before proceeding to consider the details we will recall to our memory who Margaretha Zelle is, - or was?

Marga Zelle, a very pretty girl, tall and with more or less oriental features, expression and complexion, married Capt. Mac Leod, who had left India on furlough, in 1895. This union was far from being happy and about 10 years later ended in a divorce granted by the Amsterdam Court. There is no indiscretion in recalling the procedure of the divorce, for in the same year, a book was published, written by M.A.Zelle, the divorced woman's father, in which in the form of a romance, he related the unhappy married life of his daughter.

Margaretha Zelle then went on the stage. From childhood she had the reputation of being an exceedingly graceful dancer.

The separation decree allowed her 1200fr. annual income. When this sum proved to be insufficient, she became a dancer under the stage name of Mata Hari ( Mata= eye, and Hari= day, which suggests sun).

She achieved great success in Paris, where she made a brilliant début in a "Hindu-dance". This secured her an engagement in Vienna.



For ten years, Mata Hari has been reaping success after success, most of the modern dancers, who made their name after her, only gave poor imitations of her dancing.

In December 1910, her agent secured her a contract for three private performances in the local theatre. Although all the seats had been booked for the three performances, these were cancelled at the request of the foster-parents of Mrs. Zelle's only daughter, who had been brought up here, since the divorce had been pronounced.

In 1915, she paid another visit to our country. After that no news of our country-woman reached us, until a few months ago we heard of her tragic fate.

The "Avondpost" gives the following account of the arrest of Mata Hari:-

" In may 1916 Mata Hari went to Spain on board the s.s. "Zelandia". Her agent had secured her engagements in several places, Sebastian, being one of them. Amongst the passengers was an Amsterdam man, who, in order to escape the taxes, pretended to live in <sup>the</sup> Argentine. This could be easily ascertained, because he is always travelling for "business". In peace time, this worthy member of the community is a diamond smuggler in the South American States, whereas now he does a little bit of spying.

During this journey, the Amsterdam gentleman, was obtrusively courteous and friendly towards Mata Hari, but his personality inspired her with little sympathy; indeed, she felt an instinctive repulsion for this man. When he was aware that all his attentions were of no avail, he collected a few gentlemen and then boasted of his success, citing most slanderous facts which imperilled her character. Having heard everything she went up to the gentlemen and asked the calumniator to justify his slanderous language. At first, he obstinately denied everything, but at last had to admit the truth, in the presence of the astounded witnesses.



She made him swear that not a word of it all was true. In reply to this and in the presence of the whole company, she gave him a smack in the face.

Greatly ashamed of himself he went down like a beaten dog. But he foamed with rage and resolved to take a bitter revenge.

The following day they both landed at Vigo.

At the beginning of November Mata Hari wished to return to Holland, on board the s.s. "Hollandia". Among the passengers was the same Amsterdam man, who wired to Falmouth, that Mata Hari was a dangerous German spy. She was searched by female-detectives. Her cabin was turned upside down and all her luggage subjected to very careful search, even the hems of some undergarments were torn off. However, nothing suspicious was found, and there were no reasons for arresting her as a spy. But suspicion had been aroused, a thing that could easily be done in the case of a lady travelling alone - and she was taken ashore.

The "Hollandia" started for Holland without her. After repeated interrogatories, leading to no other results, she was sent back to Spain. She went to the Ambassador and made her complaint. As he could not do anything for her, she went to Paris, where she has had a home for a few years. Of course, she had been described by the English authorities, as being dangerous and suspicious, so that eventually she was arrested in Paris.

The writer concludes by saying that she will be acquitted, because she is absolutely innocent.

The "Battavische Nieuwsblad" of 30th. April, however, relates that the Indian dancer, the well-known Mata Hari, ex-wife of an officer of the Indian Army, was executed in the Tower of London, two months ago as a spy. A fellow-traveller of Mata Hari told that she had been obliged to leave one of the South American boats and that she had never come back.



Probably she was not shot in London, but was taken to Paris to be tried, or perhaps she has been executed.

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# M.I. 5 ( G ) I.P. No. 204122

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 4. 8. 17	From } 2 To } N.I.	Subjects Translation of article on - ZELLE Margaretta from Dutch magazine forwarded - (MATA HARI) a MACLEOD-ZELLE.	Names
3 Date of Receipt 7. 8. 17	4 Sender's Reference No.		5 Places
7 Enclosures Magazine.		8 9	

**FILE DESTROYED**

**M-F HARI**

10 Former Papers 199922 out to G 618 PF 2917 Mata-Hari Papers already out out 30/7 G2 alone Dign 7/8 Rec 7/8/17	11 Date of first Transit to Branch G.	12 Passed to Branch Officer Date Initial 39	13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent	14 Enclosures sent Paris de 23/8 ces.
15 Filed in 20/7 21/9 ASM.	16 Extracts, Copies, filed in	17 Noted on Transit Card	18 Indexed: - Names 26-10-17 Subjects Places	19 Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

Referred and Date	Minutes
G. 7/8	Number & ff. please 92 8/8
Col. Ormerod 9/8	I understand you are dealing with this. S.R.C.
E. 21/8	E. Sec. for cur. E.O.W. done. 22.8.17
G. 23/8	G2 (Col. Ormerod) Anything further? S.R.C.
24/8 YA.	
25/8 MB	
26/8	
27/8	
28/8	
29/8	
30/8	

Cap. R. Cooke  
The only thing I've seen lately was a short  
notice in The Times the globe a few weeks ago that  
our appeal had been refused. Some of the  
might go to the G.P. & straighten up the  
of the world at present

Instructions for circulation to be stated and initialled :-

Nature of circulation	Initial
E. United Kingdom only	
E. U. K. and France	
E. General	
H 1. For B.C.I. not for Circulation	
H 1. For general B.C.I. Circulation	
H 1. B. L.	
H 1. Monthly Report	



**CLOSED**

NO FURTHER ACTION TO BE  
TAKEN ON THIS COVER EXCEPT  
BY THE IF FURTHER ACTION IS  
REQUIRED A NEW COVER MUST  
BE REGISTERED



Copy.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

4th August 1917.

① Referring to minute on docket No. A.R./30727-9 attached:  
 I beg to report that Madame Marguerite Gertrude Zelle, professionally known as Mata Hari, first came under notice of Police here when she arrived at the Port of Folkestone, on 3rd Dec. 1915. Upon being questioned she stated that she had arrived at Tilbury from the Hague on the 30th November 1915, and was then proceeding to her home at No. 11 Rue Windsor, St. James', Neuilly, Paris, for the purpose of seeing her effects and to sign professional contracts which might be for engagements in South America. She said she had resided at the Hague since the outbreak of war, previous to which she had travelled through Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Holland. She contradicted her statement in a subsequent interrogation, and said that her object in going to France was to sell her home and then return to the Hague and take up residence there.

She was then thoroughly searched, but nothing was found to incriminate her. She was, however still regarded with suspicion by military and police, but was allowed to proceed to France, the military authorities there being informed.

In view of the foregoing, on 9th Dec. (1915?) an M.O.5. circular was sent to Port Officers, and the Military authorities in France directing that she was not to be allowed to return to the United Kingdom. On 22nd Feb. 1916 a further circular was sent out by M.O.5. saying that Madame Zelle was then in Holland, and if she came to this country she was to be arrested and sent to Scotland Yard.

② On 14th November 1916 Madame Zelle McLeod arrived at the Port of Falmouth from Vigo, travelling on a Dutch passport issued at the Hague on the 12th May 1916. She was interrogated at Falmouth and made many contradictory statements. She said she was going to the Hague to look after her affairs, and also probably to do some secret service work on behalf of the French authorities. She was taxed with having travelled under the name of Clara Benedix, a known German agent, which she denied, but admitted that she had met a lady of that name when travelling from Madrid to Lisbon earlier in the year, and that she had dinner at the same table with Clara Benedix and an English and German Consul.

She was sent to C.O. under escort, and on 15th, 16th, and 18th November 1916 was interrogated by A.C.C. in the presence of Lord Herschell and Major Drake, with the result that they were satisfied she was not identical with Clara Benedix. It was decided, however, that she was not to be allowed to go to Holland, but must return to Spain. Meanwhile she was allowed to stay at the Savoy Hotel, until a passage could be arranged, and from that Hotel on 23rd November she applied for permission to go to Rotterdam. This was refused.

According to M.I.5. circular dated 6th December 1916, Madame Zelle left Liverpool for Spain and the circular directed that should she again return to the United Kingdom she was to be detained. According to the "Evening News" of the 31st July 1917 Madame Zelle was arrested in Paris as a spy, and has been condemned to death.



(4 6 56) W14777-H8341 50,000 2/17 JWV(R1113) H17/380

# M.I. 5 (52) I.P. No. 203988

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 6.8.17	From } 2 To } C.I.D.
3 Date of Receipt 6 AUG 1917	Subjects Files forwarded re -
4 Sender's Reference No. 30727 1-9	Names ZELLE, Gertrude Margaretha "MATA-HARI"
5 Enclosures	6 Special Instructions regarding Transit
7 Former Papers 201771	8 Referred and Date
9 Papers ready out	9 Minutes

10 Date of first Transit to 6 AUG 1917	Branch 92
11 Passed to Branch Officer Major Anson	Date 7/8
12 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent D.S.T.	Initial OB
13 Enclosures sent 30727 S.Y. 1-9 15/8/17 S.S.	

14 P.A. M.D.G. 8/8
15 Filing 2017

16 Extracts, Copies, filed in VF 243/55 Embassy Street P.F. 2191, Oberdisse HM. 10-1-18
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17 Noted on Transit Card
18 Indexed:—Names ✓ 20/10 Subjects ✓ Places ✓

19 Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing
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20 Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled:—		
Nature of circular	Initial	Date
E. United Kingdom only		
E. U. K. and France		
E. General		
H 1. For B.C.I. not for Circulation		
H 1. For general B.C.I. Circulation		
H 1. B. L.		
H 1. Monthly Report		



W17550-5959 25,000 2/16 HWV(R1413) G16/290  
5928-S 50,000 8/16

# M.I. 5 (E2) I.P. No. 138396

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 23-11-16.	From } Permitt. Office.
2 Date of Receipt 28-11-16.	Subjects
3 Sender's Reference No. 45644.	Names
4 Enclosures	appen. for permit by - <u>ZELLE</u> , Margaretha, Gertruida divorced wife of - <u>MACLEOD</u> , Rudolf - NT going to marry - <u>MASSLOFF</u> , Capt. Vladimir de NT
5 Places	Special Instructions regarding Transit Please register & return.

Former Papers VF 2917 Matahari recent  
VF 10349 Hauer S.D.C. hereant

Papers already out

93  
Date of first Transit to 28 NOV 1916 Branch E2

82  
Passed to Branch Officer Date Initial

12  
Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent

13  
Enclosures sent

Referred and Date

Minutes

Spoke Major Drake who says she ~~has~~ have a permit for Spain "special no return".

Sec Copy of her and [unclear] 28/11/16

HR  
E2

E1  
Capt Kendall 28.11.16 Major Drake says there is no need to search this lady as going out. Do you want to tell Spain about her? 28/11

E See Capt letter attd:  
Then base for [unclear] circular! J.K.

29.11.16

E2 I have written to Spain, but the circular had better wait over till the old thing has really got [unclear] J.K.

14  
P.A. DA. 7/12.

15  
Filed in 2917 Mata-hari R.M.P. 8.12.16.

16  
Extracts, Copies, filed in

17  
Noted on Transit Card

Indexed:—Names K.R.-h. 9-1-17  
Subjects [unclear]  
Places K.R.-h. 9-1-17

18  
Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

19

20 Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled

Nature of circular	Initial	Date
E. United Kingdom only		
E. U. K. and France		
E. General		
H I. For B.C.E. not for Circulation		
H I. For general B.C.E. Circulation		
H I. B. L.		
H I. Monthly Report		

21



Mrs  
McLeod.

20th November 6.

With reference to the attached, I  
beg to report that Mrs McLeod was further seen by A.C.C.  
Major Drake and Lord Herschell on Saturday 18th instant.

At the conclusion of the interview it  
was decided that McLeod would have to return to Spain,  
and whilst awaiting a boat she would be allowed to stay  
at the Savoy Hotel.

She was handed back the whole of her pro -  
perty against receipt, which she took with her to the  
Savoy Hotel where she is occupying room 261.

*Edward Parker.*  
Inspector.

*P. Lunn*  
SUPERINTENDENT.



N° M.A. 23004.  
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136427

*Secret*

MISSION ANGLAISE

Ministère de la Guerre

Paris.  
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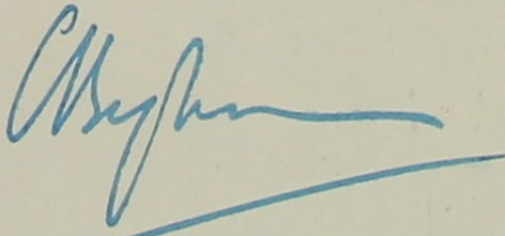
M.I.5.

MADAME ZELLE M A C L E O D .

*Not recd  
4 H3  
CWS*

Reference our telegram N° M.A. 22939 of November 16th, herewith a copy of a letter from Captain Ladoux on this woman. He informs us that he has suspected her for some time, and pretended to employ her, in order, if possible, to obtain definite proof that she is working for the Germans.

He would be glad to hear that her guilt has been clearly established.



Lt. Colonel. G.S.

B.C.I.  
18.11.16.



New Scotland Yard, S.W.

18th November, 1916.

Madame Zelle McLeod was seen here to-day by A.C.C. Lord  
Herschell and Major Drake being present, and was informed  
that they were satisfied that she was not identical with  
Clara Benedix, <sup>P.F. 2191</sup> but it had been decided that she would not  
be allowed to go to Holland, but that she must return to  
Spain. She expressed her willingness to do this and  
instructions were given that she was to leave by the next  
boat and that her papers were to be returned to her.

It was found that the Royal Mail would be sailing from  
Liverpool next Wednesday and in the meantime she stated  
that she would stay at the Savoy Hotel.

.....



W17550-5959 25,000 2/16 HWV(R1413) G16/290  
 5928-8 50,000 8/16

# M.I. 5 ( G ) I.P. No. 135360

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
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1 Sender's Date 16/11/16	From } 2 To } B.C.I.	
3 Date of Receipt	Subjects Telegram asking if — is employed by Capt. Ladoux +	Names MACLEOD Zelle [BENEDEX] P.F. 2191
4 Sender's Reference No.		
5 Enclosures	6 Places	Special Instructions regarding Transit

7 Former Papers

8 Referred and Date

Minutes

Papers already out

By 16/11/16 "Straight back, please"

10 Date of first Transit to Branch

11 16 NOV. 1916 G

12 Passed to Branch Officer

Date	Initial

13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent

14 Enclosures sent

15 P.A. Sln.

Filed in 297.

Extracts, Copies, filed in 20.16 with.

16 Noted on Transit Card

17 Indexed:—Names M. G. 22-11.  
 Subjects M. G. 22-11  
 Places M. G. 22-11

Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

20 Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled:—

Nature of circular	Initial	Date
E. United Kingdom only		
E. U. K. and France		
E. General		
H.I. For B.C.I. not for Circulation		
H.I. For general B.C.I. Circulation		
H.I. B. L.		
H.I. Monthly Report		



135360  
 Cipher from ANGLARCH.  
 Paris

To SUBSIDED

London.

D 12.50 pm

R. 2.17 pm

17. 11. 16.

Paraphrase.

MA. 22939 Year 135360 m.v.5. (G)

Madame <sup>ZELLE</sup> MACLEOD is considered

extremely suspect by Captain Ladoux -

but he has not been able, so far,

to obtain definite evidence against

her - Therefore in order to obtain,

if possible, evidence, he has pretended

to make use of her -

She is certainly not [Clara BENEDEX]

Letter follows.

J.S.

S.I.D. informed

Photograph of -- p. 9.

Photo. Book 365A

RED  
7/11



The following was

~~Message~~ ciphered to B.C.I. :-

^

Madame Zelle Macleod, <sup>Police here</sup> Dutch  
 subject, ~~was~~ detained by <sup>Scotland</sup>  
~~Yard~~, <sup>enemy</sup> believed to be German  
 agent [BENEDEX]<sup>P.F. 2191</sup>, claims to be  
 employed by Capt. Ladoux. Please  
 verify.

M.I. 5. g. 6.30 p.m.

16.11.16

S. Russell Cooke

lady was interviewed at S.Y. by Major Drake 17/11/16.

sent back to Spain - not identical with Benedex.



METROPOLITAN POLICE.

SPECIAL REPORT.

SPECIAL BRANCH,

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,

NEW SCOTLAND YARD,

16th. day of November, 191 6.

SUBJECT M. G.

Zelle McLeod.

REFERENCE TO PAPERS.

With reference to ~~Madame~~ Zelle McLeod,

I beg to submit the attached list of names and addresses supplied by this woman of persons whom she states can clear up her identity.

I also submit a letter written by this woman to the Dutch Ambassador. This letter has been translated by Sergeant Ginhoven and is a request for assistance from the Ambassador.

*Edward Parker*

INSPECTOR.

*P Quinn*  
SUPERINTENDENT.



List of addresses given as references by Madame  
 Zelle Macleod, Dutch, detained at Cannon Row.

---

Col. Baron van der Capellen, No.56, Bezuidenhout,  
 The Hague, Holland.

Mr. D. van Houten, 39, Molenstraat, The Hague, Holland.

Messrs Hymans Bros. (Barristers), 18 or 19, Nieuwe  
 Uitleg, The Hague, Holland.

Dr. E. van Dieren, No. Keizersgracht, Amsterdam, Holland.

Mr Albert Keyzer, of the Daily Mail and the "Era",  
 London.

Henri Rudeaux, artist painter, Savoy Hotel, London.

Marquis de Beaufort, a Belgian, with 4th Lancers,  
 Belgian Army, France.

Mr Guimet, Director Indian Museum, Place de Jena, Paris.

M. Manoury, Chef de Police, NO.7, Boulevard de Palais,  
 Paris.

Capt. Ladoux, Ministre de la Guerre 282, Boulevard  
 St. Germain, Paris.

Count van Limburg-Stirum, Legation de Hollande, 133,  
 Avenue de Malakoff, Paris.

Mr Bunge, Consul de Hollande, 133, Avenue de Malakoff,  
 Paris.

---

Translation of note in Dutch:- "Dr, van Dieren,  
 Keizersgracht Amsterdam, was the doctor who attended  
 my first confinement".

---

X.  
 believed to be  
 German agent  
 Clara Benedek.

Noted in VF 243/55  
 Limburg Stirum made  
 2039/88



Mata-Hari.

Dr. Evan Dieren, Amsterdam, Keizersgracht.

dit is de arts die mg by myn eerste beralling geholpe heefr.

Graaf van Limburg Hyrum, Legation de Hollande, Avenue  
Malakoff 133, Paris.

Mr. Bunge, Consul de Hollande, 133 Avenue Malakoff, Paris.

Fundter de Beauchere, Hoofd commissaris van Politie,  
Warmoesstraat, Amsterdam.

Kunt u Aadelyn naar London Komen voor identificatie  
Ben in Scotland Yard in wanhoop.

Help mij.

Mevrouw Zelle-MacLeod  
Mata-Hari.

Comte de Limburg Hyrum, Legation Hollande, 133 Avenue Malakoff,  
Paris.

Envoyez immediatement quelqu'un de l'ambassade a Londres  
pour identification. On venter vous meme. Suis a Scotland  
Yard en desespoir.

Marguerite Zelle MacLeod  
Mata Hari.



Translation by P.S. Ginheven.  
.....

Legation Royale des Pays Bas.

Madrid, 6th June 1916.

Madame,

Enclosed herewith please find your passport duly endorsed by the Minister of the Legation.

At my request to give you a recommendation to the French Embassy, M. van Royen stated that this was absolutely unnecessary, as the gentlemen at the Embassy are always most obliging.

I should have been glad to have brought your passport back personally had + not been prevented by my work. Please note that the Minister thinks it important that you obtain the ~~xxxxx~~ French visa as late as possible before commencing the journey.

Assuring you of my greatest respect,

I remain your Obedient Servant,

Sgd, J. Higby.  
.....

*Found in  
Helle's luggage  
16/11/16*



E.R.

16th

November,

18

Confidential.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a woman carrying a French passport bearing the name of Margaretha Zelle Macleod, No.2603 issued at The Hague on the 12th May 1916, has been detained here on suspicion that she is a German agent of German nationality named Clara Benedix <sup>P.F. 2191</sup> of Hamburg. She denies her identity with this woman, and steps are now being taken to establish it. The passport bears signs of having been tampered with. She has applied to be allowed to write to Your Excellency and the materials for the letter have been furnished.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant

His Excellency The Netherlands Minister,  
32, Green Street,  
Park Lane, W.



30727/5.  
12/12/16.

Mme ZELLE-McLEOD.

Translation of letter found in this woman's papers.

Minutes.

Found in Zelle's luggage.  
Lay by in Zelle-McLeod's papers.  
(sgd) B.T. 12/12.

---

Translation by P.S.Ginhoven.

-----  
C A S I N O D E M A D R I D .  
-----

Madrid, 18th June, 1916.

Madame,

Upon receipt of yours of the 14th instant, I have immediately informed the Minister of the difficulties which you have experienced. Mr. van Royen has thereupon immediately recommended you to the officials at French Embassy, and to be precise, he has done everything in his power to get permission for you to enter France. But not even the personal intervention of the Minister could avail anything; neither the declarations that your sympathies are pro-ally. I can assure that Mr. van Royen has done everything in his power to assist you.

The reason for your being refused is that you are on the English list of suspects. This has just been phoned to me by Mr. van Royen.

I am extremely sorry that I have to give this unfavourable information, but if I can be of assistance to you any other manner I am entirely at your disposal.

In the meantime I remain with respectful salutations,

Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

Sgd. J.Higby.

-----



Property of Madame M.Zelle McLeod, detained at Cannon Row.  
 -----

1. One small wooden box containing gilt clock.
2. Hat box, containing:- six hats, 2 hat pins, white feather boa, one veil, 2 fur necklets, 2 fur hears?, 2 hat decorations, one imitation peach, 1 dressing gown.
3. Trunk containing:-  
 1 pair Gent's boots, 1 brush, 1 bundle wadding, 1 pair putties, 1 pair spurs, three apirs shoes, 3 chemises, 1 napkin, 1 pair leggings, 3 veils, 1 box of ribbons, 2 brass shells, 2 belts, 2 underskirts, 3 skirts, one dress, 4 pair gloves, 1 umbrella, 3 sunshades, 1 douche, 1 pair stockings, 1 blouse, 3 scarfs 1 night dress case, 1 coat, one costume, 1 bag of dirty linen, 1 bundle sanitary towels, 1 box contg. 4 hair ornaments, 1 hat pin and false hair, 3 fur necklets, 1 bottle Vernis Mordore Dore, 1 box powder, 1 bottle white fluid.
4. Boot trunk containing, 6 pairs slippers, 1 box face cream, 3 pairs boots, 2 pairs shoes, 1 pair stockings.
5. Trunk containing:- 2 pairs corsets, 30 pairs stockings, 1 lavender packet, 1 veil, 8 under bodices, 1 handerchief, 1 underskirt, 1 shawl, 10 pairs knickers, 3 princess petticoats, 3 combs, 2 dressing jackets, 11 chemises, 1 dressing gown, 1 towel, 1 garter, 2 coats, 5 blouses, 4 dresses, 1 petticoat, 1 scarf, 2 pair gloves, 1 collar, 2 powder puffs.
6. Trunk containing, 1 hand bag with mirror inside, 1 hair comb, 3 coats, 1 box containing comb, 1 dress, 1 ornament, 2 pair shoes, 1 fancy box, 1 box contg. copper plate and visiting card in name of Vadime de Massloff, Capitaine, 1er. Regiment Spl Imperial, Russe., 1 pair gloves, 1 blouse, 7 dresses, 2 princess robes, 1 petticoat, 1 belt.
7. Wooden box contg. 2 brushes, and china tea service.



-2-

8. Gladstone bag, containing:- 1 pair shoes, nail polisher, box of powder, pair of stockings, 2 boxes containing cigarettes, 8 hair nets, box visiting cards, box soap, pair gloves, 2 powder puffs, 1 under bodice, 3 nightdresses, handkerchief sachet containing 21 handkerchiefs, 1 dressing gown, 1 empty cash box, bunch of keys, pearl necklet in case, monacle in case, 2 ear rings in box, 2 pearls in case, green stone ring in case, green stone necklet and 2 ear rings in case, 3 fans, 2 cloth purses, 1 containing 1 £1 treasury note, 5/6 silver, 1d. copper, 14 silver coins, and 5 bronze coins, holdall of cotton, needles etc. handbag containing cigarette case (2 photos inside) powder puff and rouge stick on chain, boat ticket, visiting card W.Kamp, treasury note case empty, bank note case containing, 4 £100 franc notes, 2 £1,000 franc notes, 1 60 gulden note, 1 40 gulden note, 1 50 pesetas note, 1 3 Russian note, 2 peices Music, bundle photographs, Spanish and French dictionary, cheque book, crayon drawing, pocket wallet containing papers etc.

9. One travelling rug.

10. One fitted lady's dressing bag.

Two letters. French identity book, French Passport and annexe to French Passport book. One Dutch Passport and One French agreement.

Received all the above property this day from Inspector Parker, New Scotland Yard.

(Sgd) M.G.Zelle McLeod.  
18th November, 1916.

WITNESS.



Copy. File No. 97470/4.

Margaretha Zelle MACLEOD.

Interrogation notes of interview attached,

Copy to D.I.D.

E.R.  
15.11.16.

Copy to Lord Herschell and Major Drake.

20.11.16.

It was decided in conference that she should be allowed  
to go to the Savoy Hotel and return to Spain by the first  
boat.

20.11.16.

Sp. further report B.T.

Report attached 20.11.16.

Further report  
P.Q. 22.11.

Report attached 23.11.16.

A.C.C. Reply that she cannot be allowed to go anywhere  
but to Spain whence she came. B.T.

24.11.

Done ? ? 28.11.



M.Z.M. I do not know the name of the gentleman. When did this lady travel to Liverpool?

A.C.C. I cannot give you the exact date. <sup>Reference</sup>

M.Z.M. I know where I have been all that time.

A.C.C. Just before you went to France, did you receive the sum of 15,000 francs from anybody?

M.Z.M. No.

A.C.C. That was in Holland.

M.Z.M. No, but I took my 15,000 francs from a Bank and gave it to another Bank. I have two Banks in the Hague.

A.C.C. What was the Bank you took it from?

M.Z.M. Londres, and I have another Bank, Sch

A.C.C. Londres Bank is the Bank of the German Embassy.

M.Z.M. I do not know.

A.C.C. We have information that Mata Hari received 15,000 francs from the German Embassy.

M.Z.M. That was the amount I took to go to Paris.

A.C.C. Is your father alive?

M.Z.M. No, my father is dead. I told you yesterday. He died on 13th March, 1910.

A.C.C. Do you remember your life-story being published in a certain paper?

M.Z.M. In many papers.

A.C.C. This was a paper owned by Mr. Veldt, in Amsterdam.

M.Z.M. Yes, I remember.

A.C.C. Who wrote your life for that paper?

M.Z.M. Sir, that is a dirty story.

A.C.C. Was it your father who put it in?

M.Z.M. My father left my mother twelve years ago. He went to Amsterdam and lived with a woman, one of the common class. My family then sent me to school. I married to become happier. He was twenty-two years older than I. Then my father married this woman. I always sent my father money, and then as I left McCleod, I went to Paris and became a great dancer. Two writers went to my father, and asked <sup>for</sup> his name. <sup>she</sup> wrote the book.



18th November, 1916.

Madame Zelle McCleod was seen here to-day by A.C.C., D.I.D., Lord Herschell, and Major <sup>Drake</sup> Anson, and stated as follows:-

- A.C.C. Who wrote you that letter? (Showing letter).
- M. That is a Mr. Higby, of Madrid.
- A.C.C. Did you ever go to Liverpool since the beginning of the War?
- M.Z.M. No, never.
- A.C.C. It is a most interesting case of identity, because a lady of your name did go to Liverpool, and was seen by this Officer, and you are not the lady. That is interesting.
- M.Z.M. I have no family, so that is funny. I am quite alone.
- A.C.C. First of all you came with Zelle's passport, now we have a Clara Benedix, who met you in the train, and then we have another Madame Zelle who was seen at Liverpool by this Officer.
- M.Z.M. I do not understand.
- I have had the same trouble in Paris. Not so gravely. In Paris they asked me if I ever went to Antwerp. I was never there. The same Captain, I gave you his name, said it was a Dutch woman. She was always called McCleod. And one day in the Grand Hotel in Paris I received a love letter from somebody for Mrs. McCleod, in English. It was not for me. I went to the Manager of the Hotel, and he said "That is the Grand Hotel in London".
- A.C.C. Then there is another lady going under your name.
- M.Z.M. Yes, it must be. I would be happy to see her. Clara Benedix is the woman I have seen in the train. We had the same compartment from Madrid to Lisbon.
- A.C.C. The same eyes?
- M.Z.M. I do not know.
- A.C.C. Do you know a Mr. Hans Sagali, or some such name?
- M.Z.M. No, I have never heard of his name.
- A.C.C. He never paid you any money?
- M.Z.M. No, I do not know the man.
- A.C.C. He did pay Mata Hari some money.



M.Z. That is old history. In the lawyer's Office. He said "There is a lady of your name in Antwerp".

A.C.C. When was that?

M.Z.M. Now. No, I will tell you. I was not well in Holland, and I went to Paris to go to Vitol. Vitol is in the zone of the Army, and to go there you must have a special permission. I went to the Police, and <sup>they</sup> made my paper out, and asked me my reasons, etc., and then one day I received a note from the Lawyer, to go to his Office, and saw Captain Ladoux on the second floor. He was very polite. He said "I know you very well. I have seen you dancing. There is a lady with your name in Antwerp". I told the Captain I never was in Antwerp. The last time I was in Brussels was in 1912. One day the Captain said to me "You can do so many things for us if you like", and he looked me in the eyes. I understood. I thought a long time. I said "I can". He said "Would you". I said "I would". "Would you ask much money?" he said. I said "Yes, I would". "What would you ask?" I said "If I give you plenty of satisfaction I ask you 1,000,000". He said "Go to Holland, and you will receive my instructions". "If it is for Germany I do not like to go". "No" he said, "it is for Belgium". So I awaited his instructions in my home.

A.C.C. Then you went to Spain after that?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. Will you describe Captain Ladoux?

M.Z.M. A fat man with very Black beard and very Black hair, and spectacles.

A.C.C. How tall?

M.Z.M. He was tall and fat. Fatter than a man of fifty years.

A.C.C. Has he any peculiarity in speech; any particular habits? Did he speak loud, or softly?

M.Z.M. I did not make any impression of that. He smokes all the time. He always has a little cigarette in his lips.

A.C.C. When you went to Spain was that part of Captain Ladoux's instructions?



M.Z.M. No. Captain Ladoux let me through to go wherever I like. I went to the Prefect of Police, who signed my passport. I told Captain Ladoux I was going to Spain.

A.C.C. When you got your passport vised at the Consulate in Rotterdam on the 27th March, 1915, you said you had an address in London.

M.Z.M. Yes, I have a letter. I do not remember. I was at the Savoy Hotel. I telephoned to the place. It was Court Road. I do not remember the name.

A.C.C. Did you go there?

M.Z.M. No.

A.C.C. You were staying at the Savoy?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. How long?

M.Z.M. Four or five days.

A.C.C. You were a very short time in Spain this time.

M.Z.M. Yes, half a day.

A.C.C. I do not understand why, in October, you came through on the way to Holland.

M.Z.M. I have ten trunks, and I like to do this.

A.C.C. That was on the former voyage.

M.Z.M. The Dutch Legation, they said you must go quickly back. You must have a permit. I said "It is not necessary. I go the other way. I have not finished my story. When I was in Vigo, I met the French Consul from the Dutch Legation. He came to me "You love a Russian Officer. You would give him the pleasure of sending a telegram to see if he is wounded, and work a little with me. Will you do something for the Russians". I did not tell them about the French. He said "Can you go to Austria?" He said he wanted to know what Reserves they had, to fight. He said "Do you know Austria?" I said "Yes, I have danced in Vienna". I go home and await his instructions.

A.C.C. That would have been rather awkward, and when they



New Scotland Yard, S.W.

15th November, 1916.

MARGARETHA ZELLE MACLEOD was seen here today by A.C.C.,

I.D. and Lord Herschell, and interrogated as follows:-

Z.M. My real name is Margaretha Zelle Macleod. I married Macleod and was afterwards divorced from him.

A.C.C. Where were you born?

M.Z.M. In Frisia.

A.C.C. That is your photograph?

M.Z.M. No, it is not my photograph.

A.C.C. I put it to you that your real name is Clara Benedix. P.F. 2191

M.Z.M. I swear to you that it is a mistake.

A.C.C. I put it to you that that passport is a false passport on which somebody has written the upper part.

M.Z.M. No.

A.C.C. Just to show you are not speaking the truth - there is writing under the photograph.

M.Z.M. Send it over to Holland and you will see that it is right.

A.C.C. Are you ready to account for the fact that that seal does not meet?

M.Z.M. I did nothing with my passport, Sir.

A.C.C. Can you account in any way for that seal not meeting? Do you wish to say anything about the writing coming under the photograph?

M.Z.M. That is my passport.

A.C.C. You wish to say nothing?

M.Z.M. Nothing.

A.C.C. You say you were born in Frisia?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. What was the name of your father?

M.Z.M. Ardum Zella.



-6-

asked

M.Z.M. I do not understand.

A.C.C. I was only asking you.

M.Z.M. The Germans did not ask me.

A.C.C. It would be awkward to have a levee of all the belligerent countries in your room.

Who was the Russian who saw you?

M.Z.M. He was not Russian. He is the French Agent from the OI  
He gave me two cards.

A.C.C. How disappointed these people will be in Holland if you are late for the appointment at your home.

M.Z.M. I do not know.

A.C.C. In any case they will knock at the door and find  
home.

Did Captain Ladoux or the other man give you any money?

M.Z.M. No..

A.C.C. Just a promise that if you were useful -

M.Z.M. I would not make anything out of the Russian business.  
If I gave Captain Ladoux plenty of satisfaction, then I  
would have 1,000,000.

A.C.C. Well, we are sending a telegram to Spain. We are going to  
get over here somebody who knows Madame Clara Benedix, and  
I have got a list of people to whom you think we should  
refer, people that know you. I will have some enquiries  
made, of them, and that is all we can do, except that you  
can look up Mr. Keyzer.

M.Z.M. He is a Belgian Correspondent for the "Daily Mail".

-----



(2)

A.C.C. Living where?

M.Z.M. He is dead. He was born in Laeuwanden.

A.C.C. When did he die?

M.Z.M. In 1913. I think in March.

A.C.C. Where?

M.Z.M. In Amsterdam.

A.C.C. What address?

M.Z.M. He died in a hospital: I do not know which. I  
seen my father since my divorce from Mac

A.C.C. What was the date of your birth?

M.Z.M. The 7th August 1876.

A.C.C. Are you 40?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. You were born at that

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. At what age did you leave

M.Z.M. When I married Macleod in 1

A.C.C. Where were you married?

M.Z.M. In the Consulate. I have t  
born in Amsterdam in 1897 and  
My daughter is 16 years old  
in Holland. I have not  
not want to see me.

A.C.C. Had you begun your stage career

M.Z.M. No, I left him in 1903 to go to  
taken out in 1907.

A.C.C. You never went under the name of C

M.Z.M. Never, but I have been in the sam  
with that woman.

A.C.C. When was that?

M.Z.M. As I went from Madrid to Lisb

A.C.C. Was that the 24th of

M.Z.M. Yes, it must have



(3).

A.C.C. Have you been at Seville at all?

M.Z.M. Never. I know Barcelona, San Sebastian and Madrid.

A.C.C. But you were working in Malaga, were you not?

M.Z.M. I never saw Malaga.

A.C.C. Where were you when the war began?

M.Z.M. I was in Italy. I danced in the Scala at Milan; then I had an engagement at the Metropole in Berlin. Then the war broke out and I went back to Holland.

A.C.C. Where did you stay in Holland?

M.Z.M. In my home.

A.C.C. Do you speak Dutch?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. When did you leave Holland?

M.Z.M. I left Holland to go to Paris: you have my French passport. I came to London, to Folkestone and then to Paris.

A.C.C. Were you in Holland in 1914?

M.Z.M. Yes. I have a friend in Holland who is with the 2nd Regiment of the Fusiliers and I lived with him.

A.C.C. In November 1915 you got a visa for London. It was on the 27th November 1915 that this passport was issued No.312. And you were in Paris on the 4th January 1915?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. Did you ever have inflammation of the left eye?

M.Z.M. No, I have never had anything the matter with my eyes.

A.C.C. You know that one of your eyes is more closed than the other?

M.Z.M. Yes, it has always been so.

A.C.C. This photograph also has that peculiarity.

M.Z.M. It is possible, but that is not me.

A.C.C. There are also other similarities. Is that your photograph?  
(photo in small red book)

M.Z.M. Yes. That was taken in Madrid this year.

A.C.C. You then left Paris, on what date?

M.Z.M. I do not remember, it was 1916.



(4).

A.C.C. I notice that your visa is for Holland via Spain and Portugal: why was that?

M.Z.M. Because I had a great deal of baggage and my Consul advised me to go that way as there were good boats going from Lisbon.

A.C.C. Was it less expensive to go that way?

M.Z.M. I think a little more so. The agent looked after the forwarding of my luggage.

A.C.C. What did you actually do - did you go straight through Spain and Portugal, or wait?

M.Z.M. I left Paris on Sunday night, 5th February, arrived in Madrid on Wednesday and Vigo on Thursday. Then I went to a French gentleman in Barcelona Juan Caris Januona (?)

A.C.C. Why did you stop a fortnight in Barcelona if you were on your way to Holland?

M.Z.M. To see the place.

A.C.C. What was happening to your baggage all the time?

M.Z.M. It was with the agent.

A.C.C. Have you got the bill for this baggage?

M.Z.M. Yes, in my home in The Hague.

A.C.C. Are you wearing a bracelet?

M.Z.M. Yes (this was shown)

(An inspector was instructed to speak to her in Dutch, and he stated that she spoke the language well, but with a northern accent)

A.C.C. You went to Barcelona in February for a fortnight, then to Madrid and on to Lisbon?

M.Z.M. That was not with this passport. The passport is in Holland.

A.C.C. Have you any proof at all of your alleged movements in Spain other than this passport?

M.Z.M. No. The other passport is in The Hague at the Passport Bureau.

A.C.C. What we propose to do is to bring somebody from Barcelona who knew you there under the other name.



(5).

M.Z.M. You cannot do that.

A.C.C. If you are going to be put on your trial as a spy you can then send for any witness you like from Holland, but in the meantime we shall keep you in custody on suspicion of espionage and on the charge of having a forged passport.

M. I hope I shall be given opportunities of proving my identity.

A.C. O certainly. If there is anybody now that you wish to call as to your identity, we shall be very pleased to see them.

M. I have Mr. Albert Kayzer and his wife: they have known me for twelve years.

A.C.C. What is his nationality?

M.Z.M. English. Then there is Monsieur Henri Rudeaux, who knows me well.

A.C.C. Did you say you have never been in Hamburg?

M.Z.M. I swear it.

A.C.C. Not in a stage capacity?

M.Z.M. No.

A.C.C. Where did these pearls come from?

M.Z.M. From Paris.

A.C.C. It is a very rare thing that two people should have a droop in the left eye and the peculiarity in the left eyebrow exactly identical, as they are in this photograph and yourself.

M.Z.M. That is not my photograph, Sir.

A.C.C. Then you are a victim of circumstances. There is another circumstance in which you are the victim. There is handwriting under the photograph on this passport, and if it is forged it is a very clumsy forgery.

M.Z.M. It is not a forgery.

Can I be visited by the Dutch Ambassador?



(8).

A.C.C. You can communicate with the Consul. I am going to write to the Dutch Embassy as we have grave doubts as to your passport. I shall also tell him that I believe you to be Clara Benedix, a German.

Could you tell me what Clara Benedix is like?

M. M. She is younger than me - much the same height or a little shorter, of stout build. I could not see the colour of her hair.

A.C.C. Did she talk to you?

M.Z.M. Yes, we talked together all the time.

A.C.C. What did she say she was doing?

M.Z.M. I did not ask her.

A.C.C. What hotel did you stay at in Madrid?

M.Z.M. Always the Ritz.

A.C.C. What hotel in Barcelona?

M.Z.M. Hotel des Quatres Saisons, under the same name as is on my passport.

A.C.C. Did you ever stay at the Hotel Roma in Madrid?

M.Z.M. No.

A.C.C. Is this the passport you signed?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. Did you sign it when it had the photograph on it?

M.Z.M. Yes.

A.C.C. Very well, you explain the fact that the writing goes up underneath it.

M.Z.M. That is my passport: that is all I can tell you.

(She was told to write her signature, and it was found to be the same as that on the passport).

She was sent over to Cannon Row and instructions given that writing materials be furnished her.



W17319-6024 5000 2/16 HWV(P1401/1) G16/1261  
5928-8 5000 8/16

[I.P. Form 2c.]

I.P. No. 136414

EXTRACT.

Relating to McLEOD, Ze lle.

Extracted from	<i>not to a</i>	File, Report, Reference No.	Page or Minute No.
Author of Original	P.O.Falmouth.	Place and Date of Origin	14.11.16.
True Copy, Paraphrase or Translation	Made by	G.H.	Date 21.11.16
Copies supplied to			

Telegram to "Subsided", London.

Zelle McLeod, supposed to be Benedix, Clara, <sup>P.F.2191</sup> \* \* \* \*

taken off S.S. "Hollandia" by Naval Control, and sent to  
Scotland Yard to-day.

Porringer, Falmouth.



COPY.

Port of Falmouth.

14th November, 1916.

I beg to report that amongst the passengers which arrived here to-day by the S.S. Holland from Vigo was one named "MARGARETHA ZELLE MacLEOD". travelling on Dutch Passport No. 2603, issued at the Hague, 12<sup>th</sup> 5.16.

This woman has travelled frequently between Spain and Holland, and it is belived that she is the woman <sup>P.F. 2191</sup> "CLARA BENEDIX", a German agent, circulated by M.I.5.E, and D.I.D.

When interrogated as regards the object of her journey Madame MacLeod made many contradictory statements.

She said that she spent most of her time in Paris and that she is now engaged to a young Russian Officer at present in Paris. She is now going to Holland to look after her affairs at the Hague, and also stated that on arrival there she would probably do some secret work on behalf of the French Authorities.

When she was taxed as having travelled under the name of BENEDIX this woman denied the fact, but admitted that she had met a lady named "Clara Benedix" in the early part of this year when travelling from Madrid to Lisbon, and that she had dinner at the same table with her and ENGLISH and GERMAN Consul.

As Madame MacLeod's story seems altogether very strange it was decided to remove her and to send her to London for further examination. She is being sent to C.O. tonight under escort.

(Sgd) George Grant  
for Quinn Supt.



COPY. 97470/2. 14/11/16..

See 135/260

M.Z.M.

My father left my mother twelve years ago. He went to Amsterdam and lived with a woman, one of the common class. My family then sent me to school. I married to become happier. He was twenty-two years older than I. Then my father married this woman. I always sent my father money, and then, as I left McLeod, I went to Paris and became a great dancer. Two writers went to my father, and asked him if he would give his name, and she wrote the book, and my father gave my photographs. I have been very unhappy through this horrible book. She wrote this book, and my father gave the name, and one day 60,000 books went to India, where I am known very well I took the train to Holland, and a great lawyer from Amsterdam said it was no good for me; All Paris thinking I was twenty-eight years, and this said I was seventy-six or something like that. He said "Do nothing. You will only make trouble for yourself. Say nothing". I saw this book always. It was at the Hague, and there was always a new edition. I went to a lawyer. He said "Do nothing. You can give money to buy this book out". All the people bought it. It was the great unhappiness of my life.

A.C.A.

Have you had an illness this year?

M.Z.M.

Yes.

A.C.C.

Were you ill in Holland?

M.Z.M.

No. March, the 17th

A.C.C.

Last March, the 17th?

M.Z.M.

Yes, I remember. I stayed in bed for many days. It was not serious, but I stayed in bed.

A.C.C.

Is that your picture? (Showing it)

M.Z.M.

Yes. That is the picture M. Rudeaux made for me.

You know to-day that I am not Clara Benedix, I hope.

A.C.C.

Well, rather a curious thing has happened. We were in doubts. We have got to get evidence from Spain as to



whether you are a separate person from Clara Benedix. We have been in communication with Holland, and there we find that Madame Zelle is a German agent, and Mata Hari is truly a German agent, and so is Clara Benedix, so now comes this new complication, that a third lady appears to have been seen by this Officer, who is also travelling on a passport of Zelle, and she is not identical with you.

M.Z.M.

Now I have something to tell you that will surprise you. I thought it was too big a secret. This Captain, Captain Ladoux, asked me to go in his service, and I promised to do something for him. I was to meet him in my home at the Hague. That is why I sent a telegram.



99553/M.I.5/G.

5 July, 1916.

My Dear Commandant,

The following is for Captain Ladoux.

-----  
Margaretha Gertruida ZELLE alias Mata-Hari.

This woman is a dancer living at 15 Nieuwe Uitleg, The Hague, and is at present the mistress of a Colonel in a Dutch Hussar Regiment. She left this country for France in December last and was considered unsatisfactory. Instructions have been issued to prevent her landing again in the United Kingdom.

She has since been reported to us from Holland as being in German pay. She is a demi-mondaine who is in relation with various highly placed people and has appeared in Germany, France and Italy. She is acquainted with many French and Belgian officers. She is at the present moment in France. It seems curious that, although she is said to advertisement pro-German feelings whilst in Holland, she has no difficulty in travelling backwards and forwards to France. Her address in Paris is not known.

-----  
Yours sincerely,

Commandant Walner, D.S.O.



99533

27th. June 1916.

251

re:- Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, alias Mata-Hari.  
A dancer living at 15 Nieuwe Uitleg, The Hague.

---

Dear D,

Please find attached herewith a reproduction of a picture of Mata-Hari. According to the magazine "De Kroniek", which publishes the picture, Mata-Hari has returned to France, and is now said to be in Paris.

Photographs of Mata-Hari were attached to our report on her, File No. 751 B of the 16th. Feb. 1916.

In our report File No. 751 C, of the 18th. March, it was stated that she had been recommended by the French Consulate for a visa to travel to England on her way to France.

Despite the fact that, when here in Holland, she advertises her pro-German feelings, Mata-Hari has still found it possible to travel to France, where she may prove a source of danger.

Yours,

"T"



W.

# M.I. 5 (G.) I.P. No. 99533

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE SECTION,  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 27. 6. 16	2 From " T "		
3 Date of Receipt 27. 29. 6. 16.	4 Subjects Visa to travel to England for Dancer with Pro-forma Sympathies	5 Names Zelle, Margaretha feertruida @ Mata-Hari	
6 Sender's Reference No.	7 Places 15. Nieuwe Kitleg The Hague.	8 Special Instructions regarding Transit	

9 Former Papers V.F. Mata-Hari 2917. out to Falone 30/6 C.T.B. 1/7/16.	10 Papers already out
11 Date of first Transit to 9	Branch
12 Passed to Branch Officer	Date Initial
13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent	
14 Enclosures sent	

Referred and Date	Minutes
29/6	Look-up please
27/7	Comrad! Walker for Falone
H.7. Mrs White	I think this must be the file you want. It is called <u>Mata-Hari</u> so you will see the reason for our ignorance of it's being in the branch. With you point this out to H.2
G. 12/7	
H.7	

SH. 10/7

15 P.A. <i>SH</i>
16 Filed in V.F. 2917. <i>T. 251</i> M-7-16 M.17
17 Extracts, Copies, filed in
18 Noted on Transit Card
19 Indexed:—Names V.H.H. 1/9/16 Subjects <i>SH</i> Places V.H.H. 1/9/16.
20 Special Instructions regarding Action and indexing

Instructions for circulation to be dated and initialled.

Nature of circular.	Initial.
E. United Kingdom only	
E. U. K. and France	
E. General	
H 7. For B.C.I. not for Circulation	
H 7. For general B.C.I. Circulation	
H 7. B. L.	
H 7. Monthly Report	




# M.O. 5 ( G ) I.P. No. 79554

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE OFFICE  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 18. 3. 16	2 From T.	3 Date of Receipt 20 MAR 1916	
4 Sender's Reference No. 751 C.	5 Subjects Proposed movements of Dutch dancers. Suspected German agent.		6 Names ZELLE, Margaretha Piertruida @ Mata Hari.
7 Enclosures	8 Places	9 Special Instructions regarding Transit <b>URGENT</b> Hence	

10 Former Papers I.F. Mata-Hari @ Zelle 2917. here with N.S. 20/3/16. already out	11 Date of first Transit to 20 MAR 1916	12 Branch g
13 Passed to Branch Officer	14 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent	15 Enclosures sent
16 P.A. BR. 21/3.	17 Filed In Indexed in T File (329) 2917. 22/3 ASM	18 Extracts, Copies, filed in
19 Noted on Transit Card	20 Indexed: - Names V.H.H. 1/9/16 Subjects ✓ Places V.H.H. 1/9/16	21 Special Instructions regarding Action and Indexing

22 Referred and Date #2. 20/3. 21/3	23 Minutes PP 8:00. PA 8:00.	24 w/3Kl.
		



Ref:- Report 7, 16-2-16

REPORT:- 18th. MARCH 1916.

79554

File No. 751 C.

T

251

SUBJECT:- Margaretha Geertruida ZELLE, alias MATA HARI.

a dancer living at Nieuwe Uitleg 15, The Hague.

Mme. MATA HARI, as she calls herself, is the divorced wife of Rudolf MAC-LEOD, a captain in the Dutch army. The book referred to in report 751 B, 16-2-16, deals principally with the incidents of her married life. When interviewed, MATA HARI stated that the book in question had been published without her consent as a money-making scheme, but it is supposed that she has allowed the book to be published for the sake of the notoriety it would bring her.

MATA HARI claims to be financially independent and states that all her money has been earned by dancing. She also states that she has many detractors who, from time to time, have spread false stories about her. She denounces Dutchmen in general as a lot of "Blackmailers". She has a partiality for Paris and states that she has only returned to Holland because everything in Paris is so dear since the beginning of the war. MATA HARI describes herself as an "international character" and in the opinion of informant, seems to be quite able to look after herself and her affairs.

On March 17th., MATA HARI was reported to be ill and not to be seen. The servant girl at MATA HARI's reports that her mistress has no intention of leaving The Hague just at present, but that she may go away (presumably to Paris) later on if she is able to obtain desirable professional engagements.

-----  
 SUPPLEMENTARY: from informant of report dated 3rd. February:

Early March, MATA HARI had in mind the intention of leaving Holland again, for an unknown destination supposed to be France. Informant concludes from this that MATA HARI will shortly be sent out on another mission to France in the interests of Germany. Same informant claims to know that MATA HARI is very pro-German while here in Holland and that she is sure that the Germans will win the war. ...

-----



# M.O. 5 ( G ) I.P. No. 74194

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE OFFICE  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date 16. 2. 16	From } T	
2 Date of Receipt 19 FEB 1916	Subjects	Names
3 Sender's Reference No. 751B.	Reported return to The Hague of alleged German Agent:	Zelle <del>Margaretha</del> G
4 Enclosures		MATA HARI X
5 Places	6 Special Instructions regarding Transit	
		<b>URGENT</b> H.H.C.

7 Former Papers	8
9 Papers already out	10 Date of first Transit to 19 FEB 1916 G. Branch
11 Passed to Branch Officer	12 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent
13 Enclosures sent Parts & 22/2/16.	14 <b>P.A.</b> <del>24/2/16</del> BR Filed in T. file (251) 26. 2. 16. 25/2 6.7.2917. Mata. Hari A.H.W. E.S.S. 27.2.16
15 Noted on Transit Card	16 Indexed:—Names V.H.H. 1/9/16 Subjects K.B. K.B. Places V.H.H. 1/9/16
17 Special Instructions regarding Action and Indexing	18

19 Referred and Date	20 Minutes
G. 19/2.	
<del>H. 2.</del>	J.P. please. f.
20/2	
E	Please see. If she comes over I suggest arrest & sending to S.Y. f.
21/2/16.	
S.A. 22/2	
E Sec.	Circulate:— Ref circular 61207. This woman is now in Holland if she comes to this country she should be arrested and sent to S.Y. W.H.K. 22/2
G.	top A W.H.K. 24/2



74194

Refer.: Report of 3rd. Inst.

REPORT OF 16th. FEBRUARY 1916

File No. 751 B

T share  
(251)

SUBJECT : Z N L L S , Margaretha, Geertruida, alias M A T A H A R I  
a dancer, living at Nieuwe Uitleg 15, The HAGUE.

MATA HARI is reported to have returned here, coming from FRANCE. It is supposed she has succeeded in her mission, and is to get now an amount, which has been deposited in a bank for her by the germans.

The life story of MATA HARI is related in a Dutch book, published by her father. (Editor C. VELDT Amsterdam).

The attached photos are reproductions of illustrations appearing in the above mentioned book. The separate photo is a recent one, with sample of handwriting.

← book 365  
Vol. II

-----  
THE MATTER IS BEING FOLLOWED UP



# M.O. 5 ( 9 ) I.P. No. 71637

**THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE OFFICE  
AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.**

1 Sender's Date *3-2-16.*

2 From } *" T. "*

3 Date of Receipt **6 FEB 1916**

Subjects  
*Suspicious visit of -  
to France, probably on  
important mission for  
the Germans -*

Names  
*Miss  
Mata-Hari. ~~X~~  
Dancer.  
16 Nieuwe Kerk  
The Hague -*

4 Sender's Reference No. *757.*

5 Enclosures

6 Places

7 Special Instructions regarding Transit  
**URGENT**

8 Former Papers

9 Referred and Date

Minutes

*G. 5/2.  
S.A. 7/2*

*seen red,  
E.*

10 Date of first Transit to *G.* Branch  
**5 FEB 1916**

*G*

*Seen*

11 Passed to Branch Officer  
Date. Initial.

*M.K.  
7/2*

SEEN  
J.F.C.

*pa; of 8/2/16*

12 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent

13 Enclosures sent

14 **P.A.** *S.H.*

Filed in *T. file (251) 12.2.16*

*2917. Mata-Hari. NB.*

Extracts, Copies, filed in *14/2/16.*

16 Noted on Transit Card

17 Indexed:- Names *J.H. 15-2-16*

Subjects *W.R.*

Places *J.H.*

Special Instructions regarding Action and Indexing

**IS THIS TO GO TO H7  
Yes or No.**



M.O. 5 (E) I.P. No. 61207

THIS PAPER IS CONFIDENTIAL AND MUST NOT LEAVE THE OFFICE AND MUST BE PASSED OUT FOR INDEXING IMMEDIATELY AFTER ACTION.

1 Sender's Date 4. 12. 15.	From } 2 To } <b>P.O. Folkestone.</b>
3 Date of Receipt <b>5- DEC 1915</b>	Subjects Unsatisfactory account of Zelle, Margaretha Gertruida. Connection with - Vander Capellen, Baron E. van. Suggestion of permission to re-enter h.l. to be refused.
4 Sender's Reference No.	Names Col. in Dutch Hussar Regt.
5 Enclosures	6 Special Instructions regarding Transit
7 Former Papers	8

9 Former Papers 2) n.t. 9B	10 Referred and Date <del>8/12</del>
11 Date of first Transit to E. Branch <b>6 DEC 1915</b>	Minutes for circulation Mr Taylor She on 2/12/15 & draw with I think B.C.D. shall also be informed. 10/12
12 Passed to Branch Officer E. Date. Initial. 2/12/15 M	<del>11/11</del>
13 Formal Acknowledgment, Letter, Minute, sent	Capt Gladstone will you please do the necessary
14 Enclosures sent Parts etc 9/12	<del>12/11</del>
15 <b>A. 15 DEC 1915 E.T.W.</b> Filed in 1.7. Zelle, Margaretha S. note - bare 817	Capt. Whitehead. B.C.D. in formal: copy in file. It may interest your branch to see how you & I circulate the different forms in which you & I circulate information. J.H.I.
16 Extracts, Copies, filed in L.P.P. n.t.	<del>13/11/15</del>
17 Noted on Transit Card	H.7. 14.12.15 Many thanks, most interested but why not copy the leaf correctly E.T.W.
18 Indexed: - Names Subjects Places	E. 15.11.15. Thank you! I was right in my form. but not in my view. To ever is known to "regime" "vine" J.H.I.
19 Special Instructions regarding Action and Indexing	



REPORT: -3rd. FEBRUARY

File No. 751

T

251

Spate

SUSPECT :- NATA-HARI , dancer, 16 Nieuwe Ditleg, The Hague.

DESCRIPTION :-	Nationality	:- Dutch, speaks French
	Age	:- between 35 & 40 yrs.
	Height	:- rather tall
	Hair	:- mahogany colour.
	Appearance	:- very pretty woman, always elegantly dressed. Travels expensively.

NATA-HARI speaks French perfectly and has travelled as a dancer in Germany and France. She returned from Germany about a year ago and appeared at the French Opera in The Hague. At the time, she was known to be in straitened financial position but this soon changed and she received money from the Germans. She is said to have received 15000 frs. from the German Embassy which money was paid her by a certain HANS SAGAVE. (?)

NATA-HARI left some time ago for France on a mission and she is expected back shortly. She has tried to come back to Holland via Switzerland but without success. She will not go to England because she is frightened of being stopped there by the Authorities.

This person has a second address at The Hague where most of her correspondence arrives. She has received letters at her home from a French and a Belgian officer. These letters were addressed to BAC - LEO.

NATA-HARI is a demi-mondaine who is in relation with highly placed people and during her sojourn in France she made the acquaintance of many French and Belgian officers. She is suspected of having been to France on an important mission for the Germans.

-----  
THE MATTER IS BEING FOLLOWED UP.



61207

W 4667-2250 25 (ks. 6/15 H W V(M 804) G. 15/658

SECRET.

No. 65

From M.C.O.  
To M.O.S.e  
Nature of Report C.R.

Place Bellesfontaine  
Date 4.12.15.

Surname ZELLER.  
Names Margaretha, Gertruida

Date of Arrival 3.12.15.

Reason of Suspicion  
in factory under cross-examination.  
Nationality Dutch.

Action taken Searched & cross-examined & signalled to France.

Residence: Savoy Hotel when in England.  
Business Address: 1876

Copies sent to—

DESCRIPTION:

Height 5 ft. 5 in.  
Build Medium stout.  
Hair, on head Black.  
Hair on face —  
Forehead and Face Oval  
Complexion Olive.  
Forehead Low.  
Eyes Grey brown.  
Eyelashes Dark.  
Nose Straight.  
Mouth Small.  
Teeth Good.  
Chin Pointed.  
Hands Well kept.  
Feet Small  
Age 39.

Peculiarities of Carriage, Gait, Manner, Speech, Marks

Speaks French English. Italian Dutch; & probably German. Handsome - good type of woman

Peculiarities of Dress, Hat, Boots, Stick, Umbrella, Hand Luggage

Well & fashionably dressed. Brown costume with racoon fur trimming hat to match

Signature S.P. Dillon



61207

M.O. 5e.

SECRET.

ZELLE, Margaretha, Gertruidz.

The above named Dutch woman embarked for France from this port yesterday. Under cross-examination although she had good answers to every question she impressed me very unfavourably but after having her very carefully searched & finding nothing I considered I had not enough grounds to refuse her embarkation.

Her statement is as follows:-

She is the mistress of a Dutch Officer Baron E. Van der CAPELLER, a Colonel in a Dutch Hussar Regt. When war broke out she was engaged at the Scala theatre in Milan. She then left Milan & travelled through Switzerland & Germany to Holland. She then lived in Holland till the present time. At an hotel in Amsterdam till August last & then in a house of her own at the Hague. Her reasons for going to Paris were that she had some furniture etc in Paris & wished to bring it over to furnish her new home at the Hague. Cross-examined as to why she had suddenly made up her mind to get this furniture & start a home of her own... she stated that her lady had this intention as an hotel was inconvenient



61207

to her lover wh. was a married man but she had delayed getting the furniture in the hope that the war would end & then she could make her headquarters in Paris as she did before the war. At present that was impossible as her lover was undivided. She had papers to prove that the story of the furniture was genuine.

As this woman hopes to get engagements in London & the English Provincial Theatres after this trip to Paris & she seems far from satisfactory I suggest that she should be refused permission to land, and Southampton be informed in case she should come that m<sup>o</sup>. I signalled her to France.

S. S. Dillon  
Capt.

---

Folkstone

4. 12. 15.

---



COPY. 30727. 4.12.15.

Port of Folkestone.

I beg to report that Madame Marguerite Gertrude ZELLE, age 39, a Dancer and a Dutch Subject, arrived here by the Dieppe boat train at 11.15 a.m. yesterday.

She was subjected to examination by Police, Alien and Military Authorities, and stated she was proceeding to her home at 11 Rue Windsor, St. James's, Neuilly, Paris, for the purpose of selling her effects, and to sign contracts for her profession, possibly for South America.

This woman arrived at Tilbury on the 30th ult from The Hague, where she has resided since the outbreak of war; having left Milan, where she was then resident, and travelled through Germany to Holland.

At a subsequent interrogation by Captain Dillon, M.O.5., she contradicted her statement as to her reason for travelling to Paris, and admitted her object was to sell her home, and found another at the Hague, as her lover - Baron Van der CAPELLEN, Colonel Commandant, 2nd Regiment Hussars, Eindhoven, of the Dutch Army, was mobilised and in consequence was unable to visit her unless she resided at that place.

Although she was thoroughly searched and nothing incriminating found, she is regarded by Police and Military to be not above suspicion, and her subsequent movements should be watched.

Madame ZELLE, who is the divorced wife of a Dutch India Officer named McLeod, was allowed to proceed and left by the S.M. "Arundel" for Dieppe at 2.30 p.m.; being signalled to the Military Authorities there.

(Sgd) Frank Bickers P.C.

@ Warrell Sergeant.

P. Quinn Supt.



71637

February 3rd, 1916.

Dear Colonel Kell,

The attached for any action you may deem  
necessary.

Copies have also been sent to Mr. MAXSE,  
for use in connection with his Passport Department.

Yours sincerely,

"T"



PF2917/V1	
MATA - HARI	PF2917/V1

W  
396

Kv2/1

DOCUMENT TO BE  
SEEN ONLY  
UNDER  
SUPERVISION

PF2917/V1
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83

HPW 52-6240 5/69

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Piece 1

HISTORICAL

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KV 2/1

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<del>R8</del>		25.4.78						
<del>R22</del>								
PA								
<del>RO</del>		18.7.90						
PA								
AO		14/2/91						
PA								
<del>RO</del>		<del>15/3/91</del>						
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