

Enemies within our bosom: Nazi Sabotage in Canada

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With the encroachment of World War Two (1939-1945) the Canadian government and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) re-examined German espionage in Canada during World War One. At some stages in WW I members of the Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office - AA) in the United States (US) organized and encouraged Germans to conduct sabotage activity within North America for the benefit of Germany's war effort. Due to American neutrality AA members initially found the United States a convenient location to carry out espionage and sabotage. With guidance and support from Berlin, they established small groups of saboteurs within the United States and Canada. These groups succeeded in organizing a sabotage network that attempted to delay aid and military supplies destined for Europe. The AA carried out its diplomatic functions in the United States but it also directed sabotage activities, spending one hundred and fifty million dollars for this purpose. Sabotage attempts from these funds took place on vessels on the Great Lakes, in coastal harbours, and ships returning to Europe, in Canadian and American factories, transportation centres, and railway links.¹ Although sabotage activity in North America has been examined

¹ Selection from Papers found in the Possession of Captain von Papen (Hereafter von Papen Papers), His Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1916, pp. 1-24, Dominion of Canada, Official Report of Debates

during World War One, German intrigue in North America during this time frame remains a neglected topic in German, American, and Canadian historiography. This paper examines German sabotage in Canada during World War Two, and the fear it fomented amongst the residents of Canada. Between 1939 and 1945 Canadian experiences during World War One influenced decisions made by the RCMP and the Canadian government. This paper argues that the threat of Nazi sabotage in Canada was a small, but real danger. It also contends that the RCMP lied to Canadians claiming that enemy sabotage did not occur during World War Two. "Sabotage" is defined as the deliberate attempt to destroy the property of another party; this destruction was aimed at harming the Canadian war effort. This work will not examine Nazi attempts to bring in saboteurs to North America via submarine.

With Adolf Hitler's ascension to power in Germany, and as National Socialist ideology gained prevalence within some German speakers in Canada, fear of German sabotage was again evident. By the late 1930s Nazi aggression in Europe made Canadians suspect that Germans had secret plans to attack Canada. The reality was less grim.² On January 1, 1934 the German Bund, Canada was founded. This Nazi organization was open to all German nationals and ethnic Germans, regardless of citizenship or country of origin. By late 1934 the Bund worked almost exclusively with German-Canadians claiming to advance German culture. It was not a harmless club however, but a private society with a political agenda. How many Bund members were in Canada is open to interpretation. The Bund claimed to have roughly 1200 members by 1935, four years later this figure rose to slightly over 2000 members.³ An historian

House of Commons, Second Session Nineteenth Parliament, 1941, Vol.I, pp.308-309, Dominion of Canada, Official Report of Debates House of Commons, Fourth Session Eighteenth Parliament, 1939, Vol.IV, pp.4042-4047, Province of Ontario Archive (Hereafter POA) RG 23: Proof Links Bernstorff with Bombs, in Detroit Journal Dec. 7, 1917; Politisches Archiv des Auswaertiges Amtes (hereafter PAAA) 77354: Kempff, Deutsches Konsulat fuer Kanada to AA Berlin, Jan. 29, 1924.

² National Archive Record Administration (NARA) Washington RG165 Military Intelligence Division Correspondence 1917-1941: Brigadier General J. Magruder to Colonel W.J. Donovan, Oct. 14, 1940; Scott, W.J.: Sabotage Prevention, T.E. Bowman, King's Printers Ottawa 1941, pp. 2-16; Hints Canada Might Bear Brunt of Sabotage Plots, in Toronto Star Jan. 23, 1941, p. 2.

³ Ross, Gerald G.: Volkische Ideologie and Deutschtumarbeit of German Canadians during the Inter-War Period, MA Thesis Lakehead University 1996, pp. 71, 140; Keyserlingk, R.: Allies or Subversives? The Canadian Government's Ambivalent Attitude toward German-Canadians in the Second World War, in Minorities in Wartime, Berg Publishers Limited Oxford 1993, pp. 239-260; Keyserlingk, R.: 'Agents within our Gates': The Search for Nazi Subversives in Canada during World War II, in Canadian Historical Review Vol. LXVI No.2, 1985, p. 57; Keyserlingk, R.: German-Canadians in the Second World War, in

writing 40 years later, Jonathan Wagner believed, however Nazi party members in Canada were less than 100. According to a 1937 German report, 88 NSDAP members lived in Canada. Other Nazi sources reveal the same number in 1939 although with variations in the names given.⁴ Wagner analyzed Bund membership and noted that many Bund members were negatively affected by the depression, a problem compounded by the fact that they were Germans living in a non-German society. Bund members tended to be recent immigrants, or first generation German-Canadians under 45. Generally they were young, unassimilated immigrants that retained petty bourgeois ideals, and lived in poverty.⁵

Canadian authorities were worried about the possibility of German subversive actions throughout the country.⁶ In 1938 R.B. Bennett, the leader of the opposition in the Canadian parliament requested an investigation into Nazi activity in Canada. He also wanted German organizations placed under greater scrutiny.⁷ Only as the war approached, however did security issues and Nazism take top priority. During the 1930s the RCMP focused its attention on communism. After the Nazis annexed all of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, many Canadians no longer could ignore Nazi aggression. On May 13, 1939, over three months before Canada declared war on Germany, Arthur G. Slaght, a distinguished lawyer from Toronto, and Member of

Panikos P. (ed.) *Minorities in Wartime, National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars*, Berg Publishers Limited Oxford 1993, p. 249; Offenbeck, John: *The Nazi Movement and German-Canadians, 1933-1938*, M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1970, p.65.

⁴ Wagner, Jonathan F.: "Heim ins Reich: The Story of Loon River's Nazis," *Saskatchewan History* 29 (1976), p. 68; Wagner, Jonathan F.: "The Deutscher Bund in Saskatchewan", in D.Bocking (ed.) *Saskatchewan History* 31 (1978), pp.42-44.

⁵ Wagner, Jonathan: *The Deutscher Bund Canada, 1934-9*, *Canadian Historical Review*, June 1977, pp. 182-193.

⁶ Murray, David R.(ed.): *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, Department of External Affairs Ottawa 1967, H.L. Keenleyside to Secretary, Canadian Section, Permanent Joint Board on Defence to Secretary, Cabinet War Committee Oct. 31, 1940, Volume 8 Part II Document 281, pp. 456-457; Murray, *Military Appreciation by General Staff*, Nov. 2, 1940, Volume 8 Part II Document 282, pp. 457-458; *Dominion of Canada: Official Report of Debates House of Commons 1940*, pp. 672-673.

⁷ Rome, D.: *Clouds in the Thirties*, Section 5, Montreal 1977, pp.102-103; *Nazi Umtriebe auch in Kanada*, in *Pariser Tageszeitung*, May 28, 1938, p.2; *Nazi-Wuhlarbeit auch in Kanada*, in *Pariser Tageszeitung*, June 30, 1938, p.1.

Parliament for Parry Sound, Ontario from 1935-1945, informed Parliament that German saboteurs again threatened the country. He explained that there were;

enemies within our bosom, who are prepared to destroy our country from within, and who, if the history of the last war and the known facts and lessons connected with it are to be relied upon, will be equipped with money, leadership, brains, dynamite, bombs, and poison serum for the express purpose of paralyzing and destroying our contribution of supplies and manpower in the next war. It is the duty of those in charge of this country and the duty of every loyal citizen to be tremendously alert and to cooperate in the necessary governmental and military agencies and through the necessary citizen agencies to counteract the campaign of espionage, sabotage and treachery to which this country will be deliberately subjected from within in the event of war. [. . .] Germany instigated and equipped a campaign, of dynamiting, destruction and international murder by placing large sums of money in the hands of – whom? In the hands of her diplomatic representatives then residing in the United States. On the surface they were there to carry out their diplomatic functions and to preserve friendly relations with the United States. Surreptitiously they were there to direct German sabotage activities, which they did.⁸

Slaght enjoyed the confidence of William J. Scott, Fire Marshal of Ontario (FMO) from 1935-1965. In addition to his provincial duties Scott had contacts with other provincial, and dominion authorities. Slaght also served as honorary consul in charge of examining crimes committed against Canadian servicemen and nationals during WW II, Slaght had privy information from provincial authorities in Ontario, and within the federal government. From September to November 1942 Scott acted as Fire Advisor to the Dominion Director of Civilian Defence. He was loaned to the Government of Canada to survey the Civilian Defence Fire Services and travelled throughout the country to ensure appropriate safety measures were followed. In November to December 1944 Scott was again loaned to the Canadian government and was sent to Great Britain to help the British National Fire Services, and the Corps of Canadian Fire Fighters.⁹ When speaking to the Greater New York Safety Council in New York City,

⁸ Dominion of Canada Debates May 13, 1939, pp. 4042-4043.

⁹ House of Commons Debates May 13, 1939, Edmond Cloutier Printer Ottawa pp. 4042-4047; House of Commons Debates Nov.21, 1941, pp. 307-310; Brode, Patrick: Casual Slaughters and Accidental

Scott warned that “to judge what anti-sabotage precautions should take place on this continent during the present pre-war emergency, one of the best methods is to look back to the days of the First Great War of 1914-1918.” Scott noted American statistics during this address stating that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) uncovered thirty-five cases of spying between 1933 and 1938, by 1938 two hundred and fifty. In the first six months of 1939 these figures jumped dramatically to one thousand six hundred and fifty one cases.¹⁰ Scott’s position of FMO allowed him to be in close contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Scott and the FBI exchanged information on wartime developments, including sabotage. The FBI provided Scott with models of incendiary devices disguised as pencils and cigars, which he used during his public lectures. Scott provided medals to the FBI given to Canadian communists for their loyal work. Both the FBI and Scott gained from their tales of sabotage and enemy intrigue. Both Slaght and Scott had an amiable relationship with Gordon D. Conant. Conant was appointed Attorney-General of Ontario in 1937 until May 1943. In 1940 Ontario formed a Civilian Defence Committee (CDC) to protect against enemy activities. This organization assisted police protecting property, and combat foreign subversion. Conant chaired the CDC¹¹ while heading the Ontario Anti-Sabotage Committee. He inspected possible sabotage targets, and the personnel guarding these installations, e.g. Ontario Hydro plants along the Niagara River.¹² Conant was praised for bringing to the attention of Canadian authorities the dangers of subversive elements in their midst, historian Larry Hannant singles out Scott as being especially driven.¹³ Conant, Slaght, and Scott had access to privileged facts, but it was

Judgments, The Osgoode Society Toronto 1997, pp.30-35; Scott, W.J.: Report of the Fire Marshal for the Year 1945, T.E. Bowman 1946 Toronto, pp. 7-9.

¹⁰ Scott 1941, pp. 2-8.; Scott, W.J.: Sabotage Prevention, in Canadian Insurance April 23, 1940, p. 12; G-Men Will Seek Thousand Spies Sabotage Known, in Toronto Star, June 16, 1939, p. 23; United States: Federal Bureau of Investigation Annual Report for Fiscal Year ending June 1939, Washington D.C. 1939, p.3; Hannant, Larry: The infernal machine: investigating the loyalty of Canada's citizens, University of Toronto Press, 1995, pp.95-96; Higley, Dahn D.: The History of the Ontario Provincial Police Force, Queens Printer Toronto 1984, p.298.

¹¹ Higley, pp. 256-260; Committee is Named on Civilian Defence, in Toronto Star, Sept. 25, 1940, p. 4'; POA RG33 Series I-1 84.3 B444562: W.J. Scott to Edward A. Tamm, FBI, July 16, 1940.

¹² Power Plants are Well Guarded, in Globe and Mail Sept. 11, 1939, p. 11; Police Reserves Inspected, in Globe and Mail, Aug. 28, 1939, p. 9; Scott, W.J.: Handling Explosives and Incendiary Devices, T.E. Bowman Kings Printer Toronto 1941, Foreword by C.D. Conant, p. 2.

¹³ Hannant, pp. 95-96.

Scott who had the most pertinent information due to his contacts with FBI, Dominion, and British sources. During World War Two these men predicted impending damage inflicted by Nazi agents.¹⁴ The three men shared information and contributed to publications dealing with security related measures during World War Two. Although they had access to privileged information due to their domestic and international contacts their interpretation of events were different from the RCMP's official version of events.¹⁵

An important player nationally was Norman Robertson. He had been working within the Canadian Department of External Affairs since 1929; by 1937 he became an advisor to Prime Minister Mackenzie King. By 1941 he was the director of External Affairs for Canada. Robertson issued a memorandum on May 24, 1939 asking for efforts to curtail the propaganda efforts of the German and Italian consuls. As a federal official he feared what Nazi elements might do in Canada, but as a humanitarian he cautioned against RCMP excesses. He feared a heavy-handed RCMP program might cause resentment amongst the population in general, and drive the Nazis underground. Robertson believed the RCMP should concentrate on persons capable of, or suspected of committing treason. Robertson represented a voice of reason against RCMP zealotry; he wanted hard evidence against any individual, not rumor.¹⁶ As war in Europe seemed imminent the RCMP incarcerated German speakers linked in any way to the Nazi Party, including Bund members. Internees were detained under the Defence of Canada Regulations (DCR), which suspended civil rights, giving the Canadian government the power to intern anyone considered a threat. The DCR came into effect September 3, 1939 and provided measures to evacuate threatened areas of Canada, restrict public assembly, destroy contaminated property, protect Canadians from attack or sabotage, and restrict contact with the enemy. This legislation was periodically updated during the war, e.g. foreign-born elements were forbidden to

¹⁴ Whitaker, R. and Kealey, G.S.: RCMP Security Bulletins- the War Series, 1939-1941, Committee on Canadian Labour History, St. John's, Nfld., 1989, pp. 45-46, 95.

¹⁵ Slaght to Deliver Message to U.S. from Premier, in *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 11, 1935, p. 5; Anglo-Saxon for Peace, in *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 12, 1937, p. 14; Slaght 1941, pp. 5-25; Conant, p. 2.

¹⁶ Granatstein, J.L.: *A Man of Influence Norman A. Robertson and Canadian statecraft 1929-1968*, Deneau Publishers, Ottawa, 1981, pp. 52-91.

possess firearms.¹⁷ RCMP intelligence officer, Clifford Harvison, thought that German saboteurs were established in Canada by the start of the war.¹⁸ Leon Turrou, an FBI agent believed this to be the case as well.¹⁹

On September 4, 1939, six days before Canada went to war, three hundred and three Germans and German-Canadians were arrested. The public appeared to be grateful that these individuals were detained. When the Phoney War (September 1939 - May 1940) ended in Western Europe fears raged about fifth columnists in Canada. The government of Canada reacted with further arrests on June 10, 1940. One RCMP superior noted that these internments calmed the public.²⁰ The Globe and Mail (Oct. 10, 1939) informed its readers, "if history means anything they [Germans] are equipped with money, leadership, brains, dynamite, bombs and poison. Attention has previously been called to their plotting in the Great War, when dynamiting atrocities were perpetrated in Canada and the United States. Canadians have not forgotten that German agents in the Embassy in Washington furnished the finances and hatched the plots to blow up the Niagara power plants, the Welland Ship Canal, railway bridges, and munitions factories for the purpose of crippling Canada's effort against the Huns. These Nazi thugs will stop at nothing." In early 1940 an inquiry into the possible release of enemy aliens interned in Kananaskis revealed that the majority of interned Germans expressed loyalty to Hitler and the Third Reich. These individuals were not released as all Bund members were viewed suspiciously.²¹ By 1941 the number of Germans, and German-Canadians interned was seven hundred and eighty. By the end of 1942 four hundred and eleven German nationals and ninety-four German-Canadians

¹⁷ Canada: Civil Canada 1936-1946, Department of National Health and Welfare Ottawa, 1953, p. 6; Higley, p. 270; Phillips, Lester H.: The Impact of the Defence of Canada Regulations upon Civil Liberties, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Michigan 1945, pp. 290-321.

¹⁸ Harvison, C.W.: The Horsemen, McClelland and Stewart Ltd Toronto, p. 95.

¹⁹ Turrou, Leon G.: Nazi Spies in America, Stratford Press New York 1939, pp. 11, 142-146, 164-165; Flow of Spies to Canada seen because of Air Plan, in Toronto Star, Oct.27, 1939, p. 17.

²⁰ Keyserlingk 1993, pp. 239-260; Keyserlingk 1985, pp. 217-238; Keyserlingk, Robert: Breaking the Nazi Plot- Canadian Government Attitudes Towards German Canadians, 1939-1945, in On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and Canadian State, 1939-1945, Canadian Government Publishing Centre Ottawa 1988, pp. 53-60.

²¹ Enemies at Work, in Globe and Mail, Oct. 10, 1939, p. 6; Interned Men Heard Here, in Calgary Herald Feb. 8, 1940, p. 9; Kirkconnell, Watson: Acid Test for Nazi Saboteurs, in Edmonton Journal June 8, 1940, p. 4.

were still interned. Historian Robert Keyserlingk, examined Canada's detentions of foreign nationals during WW II. He concluded that Canadian authorities had ignored the political left and once war approached they were desperate to calm the public and give the impression of police surveillance on any subversives. Historian Barbara Lorenzkowski believed the Canadian administration feared the possibility of subversive operations among German elements, forcing them to incarcerate German speakers.²² Both Keyserlingk and Lorenzkowski examined RCMP documents involving detainees while ignoring contemporary published accounts and Department of Justice files on the topic.

Keyserlingk noted that historians Jonathan Wagner, and John Sawatsky, and retired RCMP officers such as Vernon Kemp, William Kelly and Clifford Harvison, contend that the RCMP and Canadian authorities were not caught off guard by any Nazi threat and enemy aliens were interned for legitimate safety measures. They argued that the RCMP had been watching Nazism in Canada and knew whom to detain for the security of the country.²³ RCMP Inspector G.H. McLellan stated that precautionary measures had been taken by the Canadian government early in 1939 rendering potential enemy action impossible.²⁴ In contrast journalist Dean Beeby, described RCMP incompetence during WW II, "several observers have noted the RCMP's anti-Nazi operations were nevertheless inadequate and amateurish. The Mounties put their resources into dissecting the institutions of Nazism in Canada rather than ferreting out true saboteurs and dangerous subversives. Owing to the force's 'total lack and capacity for intelligence work, its officers were unable to distinguish between social or political criticism and subversive doctrine.'"²⁵ Robertson noted that the Germans arrested were not victims of a mass round up but dangerous individuals. Robertson did not want all Germans in Canada labeled as 'enemy aliens' and interned;

²² Keyserlingk 1993, pp. 239-260; Keyserlingk 1985, pp. 217-238; Keyserlingk, 1988, pp. 53-60; Lorenzkowski, Barbara: 'Spies', 'Saboteurs' and 'Subversives': German-Canadian Internees and Wartime Discourse at the Canadian Homefront, 1939-1945, in *A Chorus of Different Voices German-Canadian Identities*, Peter Lang Publishers New York 1998, pp. 171-176.

²³ Wagner, Jonathan F.: *Brothers beyond the Sea*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981, pp. 131-135; Sawatsky, pp. 66-68; Kemp, Vernon A.M.: *Without Fear, Favour or Affection*, Longmans, Green and Company Toronto 1958, pp. 201-202; Harvison, C.W.: *The Horseman*, McClelland and Stewart Limited Toronto 1967, pp. 86-102; Nora and William Kelly: *The Royal Canadian Police*, Hurtig Publishers Edmonton 1973, pp. 190-191.

²⁴ RCMP Blocked Foe Saboteurs, in *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 26, 1944, p. 4.

²⁵ Beeby, Dean: *Cargo of Lies*, University of Toronto Press, 1996, p. 48.

only those that were detrimental to the Canadian war effort. He thought the internment of thirty-seven German Bund members from Saskatchewan unnecessary due to their isolation and distance from any war related industry or factory. There was little they could do which was harmful to Canada's interests, or the war effort. Due to anti-Nazi concerns, fear of sabotage and the fact these individuals had been Bund members, however they remained detained.²⁶ The Toronto Star gave the impression that the RCMP and government officials had all subversive elements under surveillance while working closely with the American and British governments.²⁷ But historian Harry Hinsley wrote "until the spring of 1940 MI 5 [British Military Intelligence, Section 5] had only tenuous links with the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police".²⁸ William Stephenson, the famous Canadian spy and the senior representative of British intelligence believed that German sabotage would be more widespread in World War Two than World War One. He reasoned that Nazi agents had huge resources at their disposal throughout North America. Stephenson was in a position to know due to his contacts, and top quality sources. One of his wartime responsibilities was the prevention of sabotage which could hurt Britain's ability to wage war.²⁹

Due to immigration trends after World War One encouraging Germans to acquire farms in western Canada, these regional authorities feared fifth column subversive activities.³⁰ The RCMP believed special protection was needed regionally throughout Canada.³¹ Before 1939 there were fears of Nazis in Canada regionally, authorities were concerned about "alleged drilling of German settlers in the Kamloops

²⁶ Hilliker, John: Canada's Department of External Affairs Vol.1 The Early Years 1909-1946, McGill-Queen's University Press Montreal and Kingston, 1990, pp. 224-225; Keyserlingk 1985, pp. 227-229; Grams, Grant: "Was Eckhardt Kastendieck one of Saskatchewan's most active Nazis?" in Saskatchewan History 2007, pp. 5-13.

²⁷ German Agents Seal Dominion's Munitions Data, in Toronto Star June 22, 1939, pp. 1,2; Spies in Canada Lose Citizenship Lapointe Warns, in Toronto Star, May 30, 1939, pp. 1,2; Higley, p. 256; Kennedy, John deN.: Protection of Industry Against Sabotage, in Industrial Canada, Vol. 42 July 1941, pp. 143-144.

²⁸ Hinsley, F.H. and Simkins, C.A.G.: British Intelligence in the Second World War, Vol.4 Security and Counter-Intelligence, Her Majesty's Stationary Office London 1990, p.142.

²⁹ Hyde, H. Montgomery: The Quiet Canadian The Secret Service Story of Sir William Stephenson, Hamish Books London 1962, pp. 60-74; Beeby, pp. 60-61.

³⁰ National Archive of Canada (hereafter NAC) MG 26-J1 C4568 Vol. 286 Nr. 242374 to 242367: Andrew Davison Mayor Calgary to W.L. Mackenzie King, May 21, 1940; NAC MG 26-J1 C4862 Vol. 304 Nr. 257371 to 257374: Dr. H.R. Fleming M.P. [Sask.] to W.L. Mackenzie King, June 13, 1941.

³¹ RCMP Security Bulletins, 1939-1941, p. 22; RCMP Security Bulletins, 1938-1939, pp. 426-431.

[B.C.] district.” As well as foreign nationals, alleged sighting of foreign ships and planes were also problems for Canadian authorities.³² C.P. Stacey, in the official history of the Canadian army during WW II, noted possible threats internally in the late 1930’s. This brought about increased cooperation between local authorities with the RCMP at “vulnerable points”. The level of security increased during the course of the war with railways, transportation systems, oil depots, factories, dry locks, wireless stations, hydro-electric plants, canals, harbours and grain elevators being guarded.³³ Other problems for authorities included a Nazi invasion of Canada launched from the US; a topic was discussed within Canada’s parliament. It was also believed that the fifth column, Nazi organizations, and Nazi sympathizers in Canada would actively support any Fascist attacks or sabotage. In addition there were isolationists, nationalist East-Indians, and Irish in both the USA and Canada; this could place thousands of helpers wanting to aid German agents. Nazi agents and Fascist sympathizers were reported to be awaiting orders from Berlin to strike; allegedly they were located near various areas of regional and national importance.³⁴

William Guy Carr, a Canadian naval officer believed that an invasion of Canada, via Iceland and Greenland was also planned, a process facilitated by the strategic purchases of parcels of land totalling millions of dollars by Nazi agents in 1939. Although this was a fear in Canada, one should be sceptical of Carr as he placed too much credit on conspiracy theories of all kinds.³⁵ A RCMP intelligence report issued in November 1939 noted the intent to sabotage war material and personnel within Canada. They were exceptionally alarmed by the discovery of a “dynamite electric time bomb of expert workmanship” found in a Toronto service station where it had been temporarily hidden, they theorized that the ultimate destination was a munitions

³² NAC RG24 Vol.2497 File 965(29) Major-General C.G.S. to Department of National Defence Jan. 9, 1939; NAC RG24 Vol.2497 File 965(29): C.H. King Director of Criminal Investigation to Col. K. Stuart, Dept. of National Defence, Jan. 4, 1939; NAC RG 24 Vol 2497 File 965 (30): W.J. Woods to Officer Commanding E. Division RCMP Vancouver, Nov. 7, 1939.

³³ Stacey, C.P.: *Six Years of War*, Edmond Cloutier Ottawa 1955, pp. 17-43, 148-158.

³⁴ House of Commons Debates May 27, 1940 p.226, House of Commons Debates May 28,1940 pp.302-303, House of Commons Debates June 12,1940 p.711; Kennedy, J. de N.: *History of the Department of Munitions and Supply*, Vol. II, Kings Printer Ottawa, 1950, pp. 345-353.

³⁵ Carr, William Guy: *Checkmate in the North*, Macmillan Company Toronto 1944, pp. 3-28; Pipes, Daniel: *Conspiracy how the paranoid style flourishes and where it comes from*, Free Press New York 1997, pp. 44-49.

factory or bridge.³⁶ How many attempted sabotage occurrences during WW II is unknown but Scott stated that by summer 1940 there had been three. His most detailed case occurred in Trail, British Columbia (B.C.) involving Alexander Wolfgang Hauffe. The target was Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (CMSC), which had been producing materials for the allied war effort.³⁷ Ironically the smelter had come to the attention of the RCMP already in 1937 as locals gave information that Germans living in the area were engaged in espionage activities. After a preliminary investigation these allegations were thrown out by the RCMP due to the unsatisfactory character of the primary witness.³⁸ Yet in June 1938 Colonel D.G. Crerar, Director of Military Operations and Intelligence wrote the Department of National Defence “that recent evidence has been obtained which indicates the definite existence in Canada of a German espionage organization.” Their targets were focused on industrial plants that manufactured war materials, such as CMSC in Trail B.C.³⁹ This plant produced copper, lead, zinc, and chemicals for the war and was one of the biggest smelters in the British Empire. During World War Two the CMSC had a contract with the British Government supplying vital war materials to the Canadian military, and other allied governments. Scott noted that authorities at the outbreak of the war questioned Hauffe but as he pledged his allegiance to Canada, he was not interned. Yet within two months of his promises he actively engaged in a sabotage conspiracy. Hauffe was twenty-two working as a manual labourer in Nelson, B.C.; he became disillusioned with democracy and Canada, becoming part of a Nazi plot to sabotage CMSC in December 1939. Hauffe worked with at least three accomplices directly.⁴⁰ These men had the building plans of

³⁶ Whitaker and Kealey, 1939-1941, pp. 45-46.

³⁷ Scott 1941, pp. 4-8; Canada Jails Three for Sabotage Plot, in New York Times June 3, 1940, p. 11; Sabotage Checked, Canadian Asserts, in New York Times, April 18, 1940, p. 47; Man Jailed on Defense Count, in Vancouver Sun, Feb. 15, 1940, p. 22; Scott, W.J.: Sabotage Prevention, in Industrial Canada, Vol. 40 June 1940, pp. 44-45.

³⁸ NAC RG24 Vol2496 File 965(28): S.T. Wood Director Criminal Investigation [RCMP] to K. M. Guthrie Department of National Defence, June 29, 1937; NAC RG24 Vol2496 File 965(28):Director of Military Operations and Intelligence to Col. Wood, undated [June 1937]; NAC RG24 Vol2496 File 965(28): Cpl. H.P. Keeler to RCMP, June 16, 1937.

³⁹ NAC RG 24 Vol. 2496 File 965(29): Colonel D.G. Crerar, Director of Military Operations and Intelligence to Department of National Defence, June 11, 1938.

⁴⁰ NAC RG146 Hauffe, Wolfgang: Wolfgang Hauffe of Nelson interrogated by Inspector J. Macdonald, B.C. Police at Nelson on the 14th Sept. 1939; NAC RG146 Hauffe, Wolfgang; Trail Museum and Archives to G. Grams, July 4, 2012.

the CMSC and intended to destroy the sulphuric acid tanks in the plant; after this was accomplished they planned to make their way over the US border, eventually returning to Germany.⁴¹ Due to fears of local Germans sabotaging the installation an investigation was carried out by B.C. provincial police resulting in the apprehension of these four individuals. Hauffe “attempted to enlist the help of the German consul in Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. in sabotaging the large Canadian Mining and Smelting Company’s smelter at Trail, B.C. which was one of Canada’s most vital war production plants.”⁴² When Hauffe’s belongings were searched after his arrest he had in his possession sensitive information intended for the German Consul in Seattle, Dr. Gustav A. Reichel. For some individuals any involvement by AA officials was reminiscent to their encouragement and sabotage in Canada during World War Two, for some in Canada it seemed sabotage actions of World War Two, were to be repeated. Confiscated materials showed that Germans resident in the United States facilitated communication with the German Consul in Seattle.⁴³ For having sensitive materials in his possession Hauffe was sentenced to one year’s imprisonment and a five hundred dollar fine under the DCR. Information given during Hauffe’s trial indicated a conspiracy aimed at the destruction of property and loss of life. Hauffe’s trial was conducted by B.C. provincial authorities, but all materials related to the case were confiscated by federal authorities. After Hauffe’s sentence was served he was to be interned for the remainder of the war.⁴⁴ The German Embassy in Washington notified Nazi authorities in Berlin of these men’s actions.⁴⁵ Hauffe was repatriated to Germany in 1944; he signed a document promising that once in Germany “he would not bear arms during the remainder of the present war”. It is unknown if Hauffe held this promise but he survived the war.⁴⁶ Historian Max Friedman noted that Nazi Germany adamantly respected these oaths not to bear arms and did not force returnees to fight,

⁴¹ NAC RG13 Vol. 965 A2008000151/KC: Inspector J. Macdonald to B.C. Police Commissioner, Dec. 15, 1939; POA RG33 Series I-1 84.2 B444562 W.J. Scott to H.L. Miner, Manager E.I. DuPont DeNemours and Co., undated; NAC RG 146 Hauffe, Wolfgang: G.H. Ashley, Inspector for Director of Security and Intelligence to Director of Citizenship, Dept. Of Citizenship and Immigration, Nov. 6, 1956.

⁴² NAC RG 13 Vol. 965 A2008-00151: A.W. Parsons to Inspector Butchers, possibly 1943.

⁴³ NAC RG 13 Vol. 965 A2008-00151: A.W. Parsons to Inspector Butchers, possibly 1943.

⁴⁴ NAC RG 146 Hauffe, Wolfgang: Summary Suspected Sabotage, Trail B.C., Jan. 18, 1940; Scott, W.J.: Sabotage Prevention, in *Industrial Canada*, Vol. 40 June 1940, pp. 44-45; NAC RG13 Vol. 965 A2008000151/KC: Inspector J. Macdonald to B.C. Police Commissioner, Dec. 15, 1939.

⁴⁵ PAAA 41830: Thomsen, Deutsche Botschaft Washington to AA Berlin, Feb. 19, 1940.

⁴⁶ Jones, Ted: *Both Sides of the Wire*, New Ireland Press, Fredericton 1989, Vol. 1, pp. 700-701.

yet there were exceptions to this rule.⁴⁷ Although Hauffe's case was public in many newspapers, Canadian authorities were uneasy what could happen if details were unrestricted. Scott knew the Hauffe case might have "a material effect on U.S. public opinion". Canadian authorities did not want to make the incident public as it was feared it would be detrimental to the war effort and security at home.⁴⁸

Scott also described other sabotage cases in Canada involving German speakers such as attempts to destroy ships within Canadian harbours that were destined for Europe. These saboteurs used incendiary bombs hidden on board vessels that would ignite with a timing device. Scott believed the time bombs used were prepared with potassium chlorate, sugar, and sulphuric acid, one fire broke out mid-ocean; another was discovered while the ship was still in a Canadian harbour. Other minor attempts had been made to damage property and machinery but Scott noted that these "caused no real monetary loss, and no interference with Canada's war-time production." Although the damage inflicted was not great Scott believed it had been done by hands of Nazi agents. Scott knew these fires were started with incendiary devices, similar to those used in World War One.⁴⁹ The RCMP were also aware of these methods, RCMP Deputy Commissioner C.H. King wrote Scott on February 23, 1940 acknowledging that;

acts of sabotage have been attempted in Canada. An attempt was made to destroy the plant of one of our leading smelting companies [CMSC]. . . . An attempt was also made to destroy a large ocean-going steamship leaving one of our ports and in this instance we suspect that an incendiary bomb was placed on board the ship some time prior to the sailing and timed to ignite some days later when the boat would be mid-ocean. We [RCMP] are of the opinion that the bomb was prepared from a mixture of potassium chlorate and sugar, which as you know can be ignited by several drops of concentrated sulphuric acid. This principle was utilized in the construction of very effective incendiary bombs and devices used extensively by sabotage agents during the World War [WW I]. For

⁴⁷ Friedman, Max P.: *Nazis and Good Neighbours*, Cambridge University Press 2003, pp. 201-206.

⁴⁸ POA RG 33 Series I-1 84.2 B444562 W.J. Scott to T.W.S. Parsons, British Columbia Provincial Police, Victoria Feb. 26, 1940; NAC RG 13 Vol965 A2008-00151/KC: B.C. Attorney-General to W.S. Edwards Deputy Minister of Justice, Feb. 19, 1940.

⁴⁹ Scott 1941, pp. 4-8; Rowan, Richard Wilmer: *Secret Agents Against America*, Doubleday, Doran and Co. New York 1939, pp. 19-37;

instance, an incendiary pencil containing a small capsule filled with sulphur acid, was constructed to resemble an ordinary pencil. The pencil also contained in its interior chamber a quantity of potassium chlorate and sugar, the pencil being so arranged that the capsule containing the sulphuric acid can be broken within the pencil at anytime desired and when broken, will release the sulphuric acid which will immediately come in contact with a diaphragm usually consisting of a clay disk. The disk will retard the action of the sulphuric acid for a varying period of time depending upon the thickness thereof, after which the action of the sulphuric acid upon the potassium chlorate and sugar will cause an instantaneous and intense flame.⁵⁰

On April 19, 1940 Conant warned “that sabotage attempts and troubles have commenced in the last months is repeating the history of the first Great War, when it took a similar length of time for subversive forces to organize and start action. Again there is no doubt that these troubles are directly instigated by European dictators and their representatives on this continent.”⁵¹ Declassified RCMP reports reveal that early in the war, grain shipments aboard the SS Lysaker V and SS Letitia departed from Montreal destined for Great Britain. At the port of its arrival broken glass and metallic substances were found in its hold. It is unknown at what stage the foreign substances were added but British authorities rejected the ships’ cargo. In private correspondence the RCMP blamed fascists for this occurrence while in the media the RCMP appeared to have a different interpretation of events.⁵² Publically the RCMP refuted all public claims of sabotage. On May 2, 1940 RCMP Commissioner S.T. Wood stated publicly that “so far in this war there has not been a single instance of sabotage in Canada by enemy agents.” He did not, however reveal what had occurred on the SS Lysaker V and SS Letitia. Wood scoffed that Scott’s example of mine sabotage in northern Ontario was actually reported before the war and was done by an unhappy employee.⁵³ Conant retorted that sabotage at the Kerr-Addison Gold Mine in northern Ontario occurred

⁵⁰ POA RG33 Series I-1 85.13 B290294: RCMP C.H. King to W.J. Scott, Feb.23, 1940.

⁵¹ Scott 1941, pp. 2-3.

⁵² Whitaker, Reg., Kealey, Gregory S.: RCMP Security Bulletins- the War Series, 1939-1941, St. Johns: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989 pp. 45-46.

⁵³ RCMP Refutes Sabotage Story of Fire Marshal, in Toronto Star May 2, 1940, p. 1.

during the war, and not before it.⁵⁴ Scott noted that Wood chose to ignore this “sabotage attempt by German agents in Canada.”⁵⁵ Two other allegations reported by Scott were attributed to Communists; Wood emphasized “a difference between industrial sabotage and damage by enemy agents”.

At least publically Wood believed these attempts were made by discontent employees or communists, not Nazi agents. He issued no statement on the Hauffe case in Trail, B.C.⁵⁶ Scott informed the FBI that saboteurs had placed “dynamite under the top cover on three oil furnaces used for heating miner’s drills when they were being re-sharpened. When the furnaces were lighted, the dynamite just burned instead of exploding”.⁵⁷ Conant noted two later sabotage attempts in Ontario. One involved an incendiary bomb being thrown at a Hydro substation in Leaside on October 2, 1940. The Leaside substation converted hydropower from Quebec for distribution in southern Ontario. He believed, “while the incident is not a serious one, in itself, it brings home the fact that there are enemies within our gates and that vigilance is the price of safety.”⁵⁸ Scott informed the FBI that “this was an amateur bomb, made with some black powder, a glass bottle, with a five and a half-length of commercial fuse being buried into the powder, all encased in some chlorate mixture inside a tin can.”⁵⁹ Explosives were also found at Larder Lake, Ontario with the target being a nearby mine.⁶⁰ The Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) issued a statement in their 1940 yearly publication that “the Anti-Sabotage Squad has operated extensively over the Province particularly in those centres where industries are engaged in war work, and I am pleased to report that serious cases of sabotage are at a minimum.” This

⁵⁴ Conant, p. 2; Slaght, Arthur G.: War Time Sabotage, War Emergency Bulletin No. 6, T.E. Bowman Printer 1941 Toronto p. 7; Knott, L.L.: Industry’s most Relentless Enemy: the Saboteur, in Canadian Business Vol. 14, 1941, Toronto, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁵ POA RG33 Series I-1 85.13 B290294 Speeches 1940: Copy of CP dispatch from Ottawa sent 7:57pm May 2, 1940, J.A. McNeil G.M.

⁵⁶ RCMP Refutes Sabotage Story of Fire Marshal, in Toronto Star May 2, 1940, p. 1.

⁵⁷ POA RG33 Series I-1 84.3 B444562 W.J. Scott to Edward A. Tamm, FBI Oct. 11, 1940

⁵⁸ Leaside Bomb Points to Need for Vigilance, in Globe and Mail, Oct. 4, 1940, p. 4; Home-Made Bomb is Thrown at Leaside Hydro Station, in Globe and Mail, Oct. 3, 1940, pp. 1, 2.

⁵⁹ POA RG33 Series I-1 84.3 B444562 W.J. Scott to Edward A. Tamm, FBI Oct. 11, 1940

⁶⁰ Conant Urges Civil Defense Co-operation, in Globe and Mail, Sept. 16, 1940, p. 5; Sabotage Evidence in Mine Part of Plan, Conant Hints, in Toronto Star, Sept. 12, 1940, p. 3.

statement agrees with Conant's assessment that sabotage had occurred in Ontario.⁶¹ On November 21, 1940 Slaght again explained in Canada's parliament that "we may not expect from her [German] present high command any less cruel and ruthless treatment on this continent than we received in the war of 1914." Slaght incorrectly believed the RCMP had been diligently watching Nazism in Canada for years. He told parliament that "we have under the defence of Canada regulations picked up and interned hundreds of Germans and Italians whose activities were shadowed and watched by our secret police, not just since the war began but during the past three years; our secret service were ready, and within twenty-four hours of the declaration of war with Germany, and later against Italy in June last, raids were carried out; the police swooped down, and the worst of these bad men, except those who escaped in time to the United States, were interned and are behind palisades to-day."⁶²

Some German nationals in Canada admired Hitler's program and may have had subversive plans such as stopping grain shipments or disrupting railway lines.⁶³ Many feared internal agents, enemy agitators, disgruntled individuals or Nazi saboteurs. RCMP Officer Vernon Kemp noted "individual cases of damaged property arose, sometimes the work of crackpots".⁶⁴ It is not known which cases Kemp referred to, possibly Andrew Kozluk. Kozluk, as a Canadian Pacific Railway section man told authorities of patrolling train tracks near Pawetek, Ontario when he observed several men along the tracks and running into the nearby bushes when he approached. Upon reaching the area he noticed that several spikes had been removed shortly before a train was to pass. When he started to replace them he was shot in the shoulder. In hospital he was questioned by provincial and federal authorities, Kozluk's story was fabricated. His wound was self-inflicted, he was charged with mischief and sentenced to jail for three months. Historian Larry Hannant never stated how many sabotage cases arose during the war but implicates that Nazi organized sabotage occurred. He quoted

⁶¹ Ontario Provincial Police (hereafter OPP): Annual Report of the Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police from Jan. 1, 1940 to Dec. 31, 1940, T.E. Bowman Printer, Toronto 1941, p. 18.

⁶² Dominion of Canada Nov.21, 1941, pp. 308-311.

⁶³ Government of Saskatchewan Archive (Hereafter GSA) C81: Eckhart Kastendieck interview by D'Arcy Hande, August 8/9 1977; NAC RG13 C1 Vol. 968: Kastendieck, Eckhart Paul Adolf – Objection heard at Kananaskis, Alberta, December 7, 1939; Jones, Ted: Both Sides of the Wire, New Ireland Press Fredericton, 1989, Vol. II, pp. 674-675; NAC RG13 C1 Vol.966 File B: Bott, Bernhard – Objection heard at Calgary, Alberta, March 4, 1940.

⁶⁴ Knott, pp. 18-22; Kemp, p. 204.

RCMP Inspector Joseph Howe in June 1942 as stating “the German espionage organization select criminals and other persons of weak character to do their dirty work for them. They will find some person who has grievance against the state or his fellow man.” FBI agent Turrou used a different vocabulary but also discovered that Nazi agents “bought or cajoled or threatened or blackmailed” others into serving the German cause.⁶⁵ Richard Mayne, historian with the Canadian Department of National Defence, noted that sabotage was evident within the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). Although the RCN anticipated sabotage by enemy aliens during World War Two the prime suspects were the Canadian crew. At least twelve cases of sabotage were investigated between 1942 and 1944 with the actual number being higher. It appears that crew members held grievances for unknown reasons and sabotaged their own ship. Some merely wanted to remain in harbour longer for personal reasons, having exhausted legal means of delaying their departure they grew desperate. Mayne did not blame any foreign agent for sabotage within the RCN during WW II.⁶⁶

Fears of foreign elements, subversive Canadians, and actual sabotage attempts kept the authorities at a state of ready until 1944. Then, due to the improved situation in Europe, Special Constables and Veteran Guards were no longer deemed necessary in Ontario.⁶⁷ Scott noted that sabotage cases in Canada declined after German embassy and consulate officials were expelled from the United States, shortly after the Americans entered the war. This phenomena was also observed during World War One.⁶⁸ Ironically in 1944 the OPP stated, “two cases of suspected sabotage in war industries (Ajax at Pickering and Goodyear at New Toronto) were reported”, but the saboteurs, their intent and motive were unknown.⁶⁹ C.D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply during World War Two equated any attempt of labour unrest equivalent to

⁶⁵ Higley, p. 298; OPP: Annual Report from Jan. 1, 1943 to Dec. 31, 1943, pp.11-12, 29-30; Turrou, p. 143; Hannant, pp. 146-147.

⁶⁶ Mayne, Richard O.: Protestors or Traitors? Investigating Cases of Crew Sabotage in the Royal Canadian Navy: 1942-1944, in Canadian Military Journal, Spring 2005, pp. 51-57.

⁶⁷ OPP Jan. 1, 1940 to Dec. 31, 1940, pp. 18-34; OPP Jan. 1, 1941 to Dec. 31, 1941, pp. 8, 29-43; OPP Jan. 1, 1942 to Dec. 31, 1942, pp. 10, 24, 36; OPP Jan. 1, 1943 to Dec. 31, 1943, pp.11-12, 29-30; OPP Jan. 1, 1944 to Dec. 31, 1944, pp. 13, 24-25.

⁶⁸ POA RG33 Series I-1 84.3 B444562: Sabotage in Industry and the Extinguishment of Explosives by W.J. Scott Fire, Marshall of Ontario.

⁶⁹ OPP Jan. 1, 1944 to Dec. 31, 1944, p. 57.

sabotage and demanded that labour problems ended through Canadian military intervention. Howe knew Canada was producing vital war materials, anything less than full production was sabotage. Although there was no actual sabotage, there were plenty of rumours, angst and fear of foreign influence.⁷⁰ In 1945 Scott noted that at least two industrial fires that occurred in Ontario during World War Two were due to arson. One of the fires occurred “in a woollen mill in which the type of incendiary device used closely resembled a type found on German agents in England.” From Scott’s experiences working with British and dominion officials, he had first-hand knowledge of Nazi incendiary devices and was able to make this judgement.⁷¹ Scott informed FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that the incendiary bomb used was similar to the “new thermite bomb with a high sulphur content which has been found on German sabotage agents in England recently.”⁷² Researcher Richard Rowan served in the American Army Chemical Warfare Service during World War One. After his service ended he maintained a large international network of sources providing him with information on intelligence activities. He noted that Nazi scientists had created a more potent, and deceptive incendiary bomb. These incendiary devices could be hidden in various places and start a fire when a ship left port. Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, both American investigative journalists, verify that incendiary pencils were used in the United States by Nazi agents. J. Edgar Hoover also noted the usage of these devices in North America.⁷³

One of the problems for German authorities and saboteurs during World War Two was a lack of planning, training, and commitment. According to Rowan very few of the men chosen for sabotage abroad were truly committed for their chosen task as they were sometimes poorly trained; generally agents lacked the proper drive to succeed. Often these German groups were rivals, and refused to work together with fellow members. Frequently Nazi officials in Berlin did not cooperate; often different offices duplicated responsibilities. The sabotage campaign was beset by divided

⁷⁰ MacFarlane, J.: Agents of Control or Chaos? A Strike at Arvida helps Clarify Canadian Policy on Using Troops against Workers during the Second World War, in Canadian Historical Review Vol. 86 No. 5 Dec. 2005, pp. 619-633.

⁷¹ Scott, W.J.: Report of the Fire Marshal for the Year 1945, pp. 7-9.

⁷² POA RG33 Series I-1 84.3 B444562: W.J. Scott to J.Edgar Hoover [1941].

⁷³ Rowan Richard: Secret Agents against America, Doubleday, Doran and Co. Inc., New York 1939, pp. 34-35. Hoover, J.E.: The Story of the FBI, E.P. Dutton, New York 1947, p. 91; Sayers and Kahn, pp. 42-61.

loyalties and questionable leadership thus dooming subversive actions abroad.⁷⁴ In Canada there were German speakers linked to Nazism that believed all facets of life in the Third Reich were better to North American ideals. They were charmed and seduced by Nazism rejecting democracy, and determined to weaken Germany's rivals. Most immigrants of enemy origin were loyal to Canada, but a few did harm to their land of residence in favour of their land of birth.

In August 1944 RCMP Officer George McLelland boasted that "not one case of sabotage in Canada since the outbreak of the war has been attributable to enemy agents".⁷⁵ In September 1945 the Toronto Star concluded "during the war, the famous police [RCMP] nipped every attempt at sabotage in Canada".⁷⁶ Kemp gleefully boasted, "at the close of the war in 1945, not a scrap of evidence had been uncovered to indicate that sabotage had been carried out by any enemy agent."⁷⁷ RCMP commander Kelly in the memoirs wrote "there was no sabotage in Canada".⁷⁸ Keyserlingk wrote "there is no evidence from the available record that harsh measures invoked against German-Canadians during the Second World War turned up any truly subversive elements such as spies and saboteurs."⁷⁹ But Keyserlingk wrote this statement because he perceived the internment of enemy aliens between 1939 and 1945 as unwarranted and harsh. Yet Canadian archival and printed primary sources reveal that acts of sabotage occurred during World War II. Historians Keyserlingk and Lorenzkowski found no sabotage acts, and RCMP did not make this fact common knowledge, but both Scott and Conant made this detail public. Although actual numbers are unknown, tabulating Scott's figures reveal at least five sabotage actions in Canada attributable to Nazi agents⁸⁰ - the most publicized case was in Trail, B.C. RCMP officials, such as Kemp and McLelland did not want to damage the RCMP's image; it appears they had also not learned from Canada's World War One experiences. Newspapers like the Toronto Star may have questioned Canadian government actions during the early phases of the war but were

⁷⁴ Richard Rowan; *Thirty Three Centuries of Espionage*, 1967, pp. 607-612.

⁷⁵ RCMP Blocked Foe Saboteurs, in *Globe and Mail*, Aug. 26, 1944, p. 4.

⁷⁶ They Get Their Man by no Mere Chance, For the RCMP it's Scientific Policing, in *Toronto Star*, Sept.1, 1945, p.20.

⁷⁷ Kemp, p. 203.

⁷⁸ Kelly, p. 191.

⁷⁹ Keyserlingk 1993, p. 259.

⁸⁰ Scott 1946, pp. 7-8; Scott 1941, pp. 2-16.

quick to listen to, and repeat RCMP reports regarding sabotage. Canada's media cowed to official pressure and did not inform the Canadian public of sabotage.

How many agents were active in North America is unknown, but between 1939 and 1945 the fear of sabotage required increased safety measures, thus holding Canadians at home that were otherwise destined for Europe. Nazi sabotage in Canada during World War Two did occur, although denied by the RCMP within the official history of Canada. These sabotage acts reveal a government unprepared to protect the nation, the RCMP were more worried about public opinion and saving face than service to the state through truth and transparency. The lack of research on Canadian security between 1939 and 1945 serves to continue the unsubstantiated myth of the Mounties as a consistently competent law enforcement agency. This lack of truthfulness did not end with the cessation of hostilities but lingered into post-World War Two era. It can be accurately stated that sabotage by Nazi elements did occur in Canada, yet exact figures remain a matter of historical debate.⁸¹

⁸¹ Little Sabotage in Canada, in *Toronto Star*, Nov. 8, 1943, p. 6; Hints Canada Might Bear Brunt of Sabotage Plots, in *Toronto Star*, Jan. 23, 1941, p. 2; *Dominion of Canada* 1940, p. 303; Scott, William J.: Watch for Sabotage, in *Safety Engineering*, Vol. 80 Oct. 1940, pp. 33-34.