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The HARIKARI Club

German Prisoners of War and the Mass Escape Scare of 1944-45 at Internment Camp Grande Ligne, Quebec

Martin F. Auger

At approximately 0200 hours on Saturday, 5 August 1944, a strange bugle sound resounded in one of the compounds of prisoners of war (POW) Camp No. 12 in Cowra, Australia. Almost immediately, more than 900 Japanese prisoners of war rushed from their living quarters, which they had set on fire, and ran for the barbed wire fences.

Most of them were armed with an assortment of hand-made weapons, which ranged from improvised bats and clubs studded with nails to crude swords fashioned from dismantled bread-cutters and knives stolen from kitchens and mess halls. Using gloves and pieces of cloth to protect their hands and bodies, the inmates climbed over the fences with the help of ropes that they had manufactured from rice sacks. Blankets and towels were then thrown over the wires to facilitate the cross over. Despite the use of their rifles and machine guns, the Australians were incapable of stopping the Japanese and hundreds broke through the camp's wire system. At daybreak, search parties began rounding up the escapees. All 378 of them were recaptured in the days that followed the incident. In the end, 234 Japanese prisoners of war were killed and 108 were wounded. Four Australian guards were killed, two of them posthumously awarded the George Cross for outstanding gallantry and devotion to duty, and four others suffered severe wounds. An Australian military court of inquiry concluded several weeks later that the Cowra mass escape attempt had been premeditated



and that the objective of the prisoners was to overthrow the camp and commit mass suicide.¹

German POWs planned a similar mass escape in Canada. This little-known incident is almost completely ignored in the historiography. In early October 1944, Canadian intelligence officers at

POW Camp No. 44 Grande Ligne, in southern Quebec, learned that a secret organization known as the HARIKARI Club had been created by some of the camp's more ardent Nazi sympathizers. Their goal was to prepare a suicidal mass escape that promised to wreak havoc on the region surrounding the camp. They sought to break free in order to slaughter as many Canadians and inflict as much sabotage and destruction as possible before being killed. This rampage was to be launched as soon as the Nazi prisoners regarded the war as absolutely lost or in the event of Germany's unconditional surrender. Taking the threat very seriously, the camp staff began preparing for the worst. Reinforcements were brought in, requests were made for new weapons and equipment, the camp's wire system was strengthened, defensive positions were built in the vicinity of the camp, and precautionary plans were devised to neutralize the inmates in the event they launched their suicidal attack. Although the HARIKARI Club was dismantled several months later and the dreaded mass escape attempt never occurred, this incident proved how Nazism remained a powerful force

in Canadian POW camps in the last months of the Second World War. It also showed how well German POWs were organized behind Canadian barbed wire. This article will examine the rise of the HARIKARI Club and the measures taken by Canadian military authorities to counter the threat it posed.

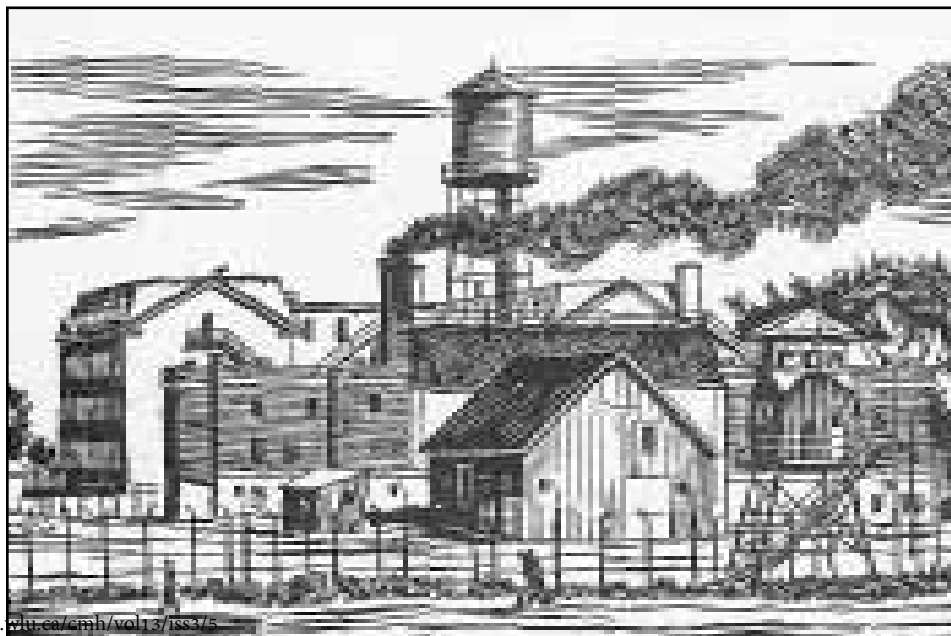
POW Camp No.44 was located in the small village of Grande Ligne near Napierville in southern Quebec, less than 50 kilometers away from Montreal and close to the United States border. It was part of a complex network of internment facilities located across Canada where approximately 34,000 German POW were detained during the Second World War.² Its origins date from early September 1942 when officials from the Department of National Defence (DND) Directorate of Prisoners of War, investigated the possibility of building an internment camp in Quebec specifically suited for German POW officers.³ According to the 1929 Geneva Convention, captured enemy officers were to be segregated from non-commissioned officers and other ranks, and were to be treated with due regard to their rank and age.⁴ This implied that special facilities had to be created by all belligerents for the incarceration of POW officers. At the time, Canada operated two such camps in Ontario: No.20 in Gravenhurst and No.30 in Bowmanville. Because these internment facilities became increasingly overcrowded, the construction of a new POW officer camp became necessary.⁵

Representatives from Military District 4 (M.D.4) headquarters in Montreal, which was

in charge of internment operations in Quebec, were given the difficult task of finding a suitable location for this new POW officer camp. Several properties were considered, including two hotel complexes in the Laurentians and a Golf Club at Beaconsfield.⁶ M.D.4 officials also inquired into the possibility of using the Grande Ligne Mission's Feller Institute premises, which then served as a residential school for young men. It consisted of a U-shaped four-story stone building, a brick gymnasium, eight frame houses, a large barn, and numerous smaller buildings with approximately 240 acres of land.⁷ M.D.4 found the site suitable, and negotiations were immediately undertaken between the Privy Council Office and the Grande Ligne Mission. An agreement ensued on 24 November 1942 whereby the Mission agreed to lease its property to the Canadian government for the sum of \$15,000 per year.⁸

M.D.4 headquarters took over the site on 15 January 1943 and immediately began converting it into a proper internment facility.⁹ It took nearly five months to build the camp. Wire fences and guard towers were erected and existing buildings were renovated under difficult winter conditions. But when Swiss representatives inspected the completed camp on behalf of the German authorities on 16 June 1943, they found the installations to be highly satisfactory.¹⁰ As the Consul General of Switzerland in Canada reported:

I was deeply impressed by the work undertaken in order to adapt perfectly the existing buildings and annexes to the new purpose. I think that, in spite of the natural difficulties due to the very hard winter and conditions prevailing in



Prisoner of War Camp No.44 Grande Ligne, Quebec.

wartime, the Canadian authorities have done splendid work on this place and I have no doubt that the new camp will be on the same level, in the way of comfort and facilities, as the Bowmanville officers' camp, which is universally regarded as being an outstanding place of internment.¹¹

After receiving this vote of confidence, within the next week, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric D.B. Kippen (camp commandant) and his staff of approximately 250 guardsmen from the Veterans' Guard of Canada (VGC) prepared for the coming of the German prisoners.¹²

The camp opened on 28 June 1943 with the arrival of 467 Germans who had been temporarily transferred to POW Camp No.40 Farnham, Quebec, in early December 1942 because of severe overcrowding at Bowmanville and Gravenhurst. Most of them were *Luftwaffe* pilots and aircrew shot down during the Battle of Britain and *Kriegsmarine* seamen captured on naval operations in the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea.¹³ Between July 1943 and February 1944, approximately 250 additional German POW were sent to Grande Ligne; many had been captured in North Africa and Italy.¹⁴ By early October 1944, when camp authorities learned of the HARIKARI Club scheme, the total POW population in the camp numbered 713.¹⁵

Nazism proved extremely popular at Grande Ligne. German POW officers, especially the younger ones who had been subject to years of exposure to Nazi propaganda, expressed a strong sense of loyalty to Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime. Even in captivity, they continued to display great pride in the military strength and conquests of the Third Reich. Because they believed Canada would someday be invaded by German armed forces and become a colony of Nazi Germany, many German officers worked to keep the Nazi spirit alive inside the camp. Canadian authorities perceived this as a serious problem. Of particular concern was the fact that Nazi sympathizers, aside from being arrogant and defiant, had a tendency to be extremely aggressive, especially against prisoners who expressed anti-Nazi sentiments. They were also very well organized. They had their own Gestapo, propaganda, and intelligence sections as well as an escape committee, all of which operated in utmost secrecy.¹⁶

The Gestapo section had the task of making sure that Nazism remained the dominant force inside the camp's enclosure. This was done through acts of intimidation and violence. Members of the camp Gestapo spied on fellow inmates and used strong-arm methods to alienate and terrorize anti-Nazis. Prisoners who cooperated with the Canadian authorities were often subjected to kangaroo courts, where they were judged as 'traitors' and usually beaten. The Gestapo section also gathered an impressive arsenal of clubs, knives, and other hand-made weapons. Beatings, death threats, and other acts of brutality usually occurred at night and in remote parts of the camp so as to prevent detection by the guards. Victims occasionally had to be segregated from the rest of the inmate population by camp authorities and held in protective custody. So successful were the actions of the camp Gestapo that very few prisoners dared openly to express their anti-Nazi sentiments.¹⁷

The propaganda section's mission was to educate fellow prisoners along Nazi lines. Its members organized Nazi celebrations and fabricated and distributed Nazi regalia and literature. They also administered an impressive Nazi training program known as NAPOLA (Nazi Political Learning), whose purpose was to keep POW officers as well trained and thoroughly indoctrinated as possible. Emphasis was placed on the maintenance of a strong German sentiment, the dissemination of Nazi doctrines, and the fostering of martial attitudes. NAPOLA training consisted of a series of secret lectures and seminars on topics such as Nazism, German history, political geography, military science, intelligence, map reading, and battlefield leadership. It not only permitted German officers to reaffirm their commitment to the Nazi cause, it also gave them an opportunity to test their military skills and knowledge of war.¹⁸

The purpose of the intelligence section was to obtain vital information on the progression of the war overseas, the military efforts of the Allied powers, the state of the Canadian home front, and the condition of German POWs in Canada. Data was collected through a variety of means, the most important being a secret hand-made radio receiver built from tin cans, pieces of wire, aluminum foil, and the amplifier of a record player.¹⁹ It allowed members of the



German prisoners of war arrive at the train station in Quebec City, July 1940. This group primarily contains German officers from the *Kriegsmarine* (navy), *Luftwaffe* (air force) and *Heer* (army).

Intelligence section to listen to American, British, Canadian, and even German radio broadcasts and to remain abreast of international events. The inmates also attempted on several occasions to use the camp mail system to transmit valuable information to Nazi Germany. To avoid detection by Canadian censors, letters were encoded or written in various types of 'invisible inks' made from milk, oranges, potatoes, urine, and other natural products.²⁰ Furthermore, the intelligence section kept detailed records of the movements of camp guards and the number of trains arriving at the local railway station.²¹

The goal of the escape committee, as the name indicates, was to plan escapes. German POWs saw it as their military duty to try to break free and return to Germany. They knew that preventing getaways was a tiresome enterprise for camp guards, who constantly had to be alert and vigilant, and that it forced detaining powers to deploy more men for the protection of internment camps. Members of the committee built tunnels, impersonated VGC guards, and helped fellow prisoners break away by jumping over fences or cutting through them.²² To facilitate such endeavors, they fabricated tools and gathered all sorts of evasion materials, some of which arrived in the camp hidden in German Red Cross parcels. These included, for example, complete

VGC uniforms with wedge caps and badges made of tin; camouflage suits and civilian clothing made from blankets; hand-made sandbags; wire cutters, compasses, saws, and other tools; daggers; falsified documents of American, Argentine, British, Canadian, Dutch, Latvian, and other origins; diagrams for assembling radio transmitters; code books; escape diaries; Canadian currency; as well as maps of eastern Canada and the United States. Camp authorities even found charts of American and Canadian airports and the detailed plan of a Douglas DC 3 transport aircraft during an extensive search of the POW compound in September 1944.²³

The escape committee also worked in close cooperation with the intelligence section. Understanding how virtually impossible it was for German POW to break free successfully from North American internment camps and return to Europe, members of the committee deliberately planned and coordinated escapes to provide the intelligence section with useful data on the Canadian home front and the area surrounding the camp. Acting as spies, escapees were to be on the lookout for bridges, factories, railways, airfields, and other sites important to the Canadian war effort. This information was then transmitted to the intelligence section following recapture.²⁴

The first escapee to be used as a spy was *Korvettenkapitän* (Commander) Hugo Foerester. The incident occurred at Camp Farnham on 28 June 1943, several hours before the transfer of the camp's POW population to Grande Ligne.²⁵ Before being recaptured by the Quebec Provincial Police the next day, Foerester was able to carry out a reconnaissance of Dorval airport in Montreal. Upon his arrival at Grande Ligne, Foerester immediately reported his findings to members of the Intelligence section.²⁶ Another successful attempt occurred on 13 September 1944 when *Oberleutnant* (Lieutenant) Gerhard Wanckel escaped from Grande Ligne and reached the United States by walking along the Richelieu River. He was caught the next day near Rouses Point, New York after having conducted a reconnaissance of the region. Wanckel's recapture provided the intelligence section with additional data.²⁷

So serious became the issue of Nazism at Grande Ligne and several other POW camps that, in the summer of 1944, the Directorate of Prisoners of War felt compelled to completely reorganize the Canadian internment operation in order to segregate Nazi inmates from anti-Nazis. For this purpose, on 5 August 1944, the Canadian

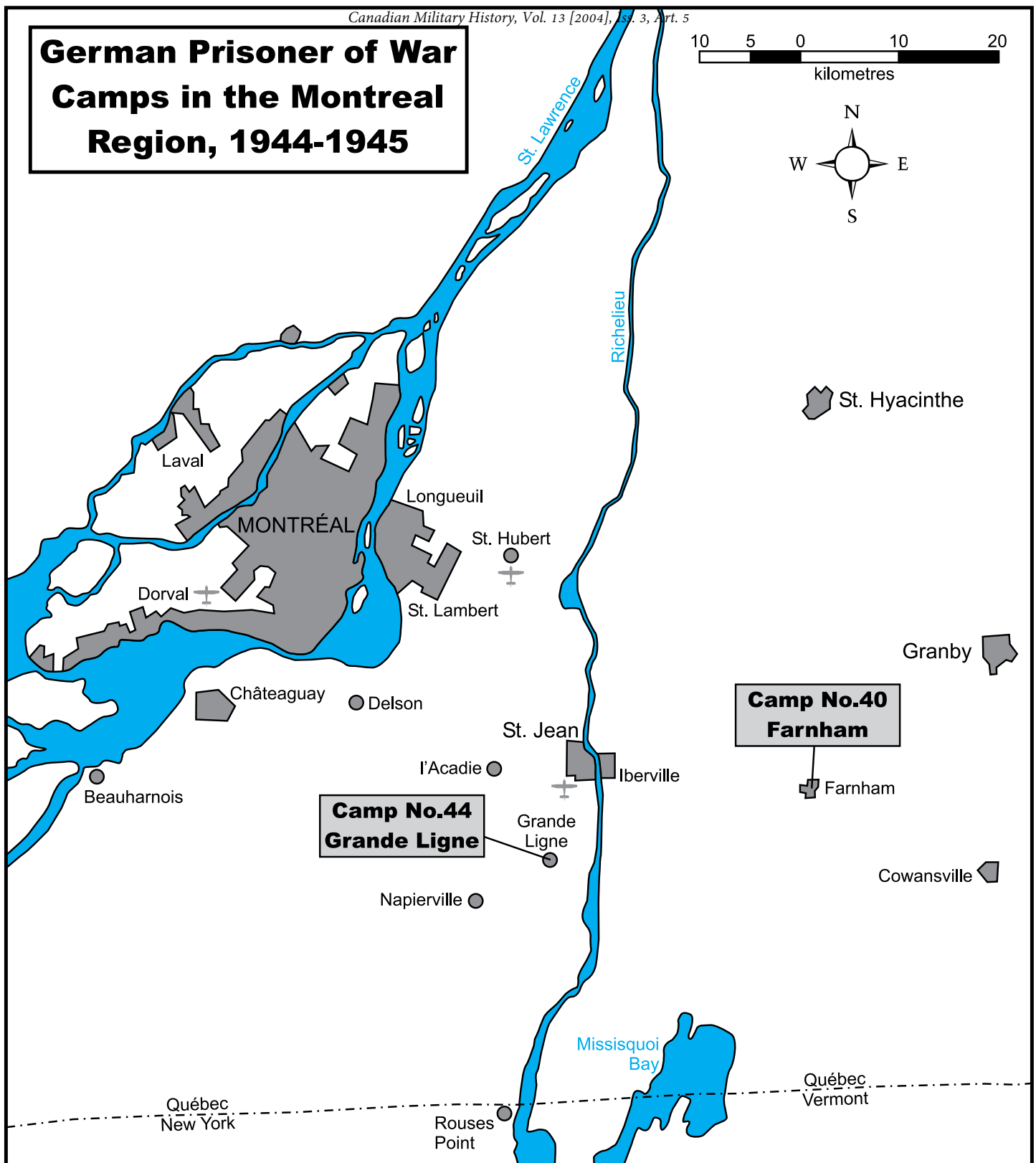
Psychological Warfare Committee introduced a special POW classification system known as PHERUDA.²⁸ In conformity with this new scheme, German prisoners were interrogated by camp intelligence officers and Military Intelligence 7 (M.I.7) agents and classed in three categories: 'Black' (pro-Nazis), 'Grey' (no strong political convictions) and 'White' (anti-Nazis). Each Canadian POW camp was assigned a specific group of prisoners. Because of the already well-established popularity of Nazism at Grande Ligne, that camp was chosen for the incarceration of 'Black' prisoners.²⁹

Nothing reflected more on the dominance of Nazism at Grande Ligne than the establishment of the HARIKARI Club. The D-Day landings of 6 June 1944 had a tremendous impact on the POWs. The realization that Allied military forces might soon crush Nazi Germany, combined with feelings of anger and uselessness, incited the Nazis to become more ruthless and rabid.³⁰ The HARIKARI Club was created in the early summer of 1944 by some of these POW as a means of continuing the war behind Canadian barbed wire. Although not much is known about the roots of this secret organization, we do know that it operated under the chairmanship of three

German POWs are searched upon their arrival at the train station in Quebec City, July 1940.



German Prisoner of War Camps in the Montreal Region, 1944-1945



senior Nazi officers: *Oberstleutnant* (Lieutenant-Colonel) Guenther Schemmel, *Major* (Major) E.C. Von Schnorr, and *Hauptmann* (Captain) Rudolf Moellerfriedrich.³¹ As reported by Colonel W.W. Murray (Director of Military Intelligence), the aim of the plot was the following:

The HARIKARI Club...is based on the old German 'Twilight of the Gods' (*Gotterdammerung*) philosophy-mythology, wherein the Gods kill off each other in a final orgy of violence. The HARIKARI plan will go into operation when it becomes obvious that the capitulation or destruction of the German Army is imminent and a negotiated peace is beyond hope. When

the right moment is decided on by the HARIKARI leaders, members will proceed to murder all fellow POW whom they consider to be 'cowards' because of their anti-Nazi sentiments. The HARIKARI POW will then rush some or all of the guard towers, regardless of cost to themselves, and break out of the enclosure. Some will proceed to murder as many of the Camp Staff as possible. In this connection, the Camp Commandant, Camp Intelligence Officer and Camp Sergeant-Major have been singled out for special attention at Grande Ligne. Others will head for the nearest plants, industrial areas, airports, etc., to commit as much damage and sabotage as possible. Their final aim is as much murder and destruction as possible before they themselves are killed. It must be realized that the POW officers involved in the HARIKARI Club are fully aware that a number of innocent people will be killed and that most or all of them will be killed. Nevertheless, their Nazi minds are so transfixed by the *Gotterdammerung* idea that their only thought is to go to their deaths in a final blaze of glory, taking as many of the enemy, and as much of his property, as possible with them to destruction.³²

Camp authorities learned of the HARIKARI Club on 3 October 1944. In a letter addressed to camp intelligence officers, German civilian internee Georg Felber, the camp's Roman Catholic priest, informed camp officials about the existence of this secret Nazi organization. For several months, Felber and his Catholic followers had been persecuted by anti-Christian Nazi sympathizers, which included several members of this so-called HARIKARI Club. Tired of the harassment and fearing for his life, Felber decided to tell the Canadian authorities about the 'Black' prisoners' clandestine activities. In his letter, he warned the camp staff of the true purpose of the HARIKARI Club, which was the preparation of a suicidal mass escape attempt that was to be launched as soon as the Nazi POWs regarded the war as absolutely lost, which Felber expected to be very soon.³³ He, therefore, requested the immediate dismantlement of the HARIKARI Club, emphasizing that "it must be done with extreme care and skill, because otherwise the HARIKARI Club would begin the attack." His solution was to close the camp altogether and divide the prisoner population by transferring it to different internment facilities. Felber also gave the Canadian authorities a list of the ringleaders and other dangerous prisoners. It included some 100 names.³⁴

The revelations concerning the HARIKARI Club took camp authorities by surprise. Although VGC guards had been aware for several months that the inmates were preparing something, they had no idea what it was. As a Canadian intelligence officer admitted after learning of the existence of the HARIKARI Club:

We have been aware for some months of the aggressiveness of Nazi officers in Camp No.44. The fact that they have an Intelligence section, which has obtained a mass of information on railroads, bridges, and airports in the Montreal area and upper New York State, has been known for some time. Also, that an escaped POW officer carried out a reconnaissance of Dorval airport and reported back to camp intelligence is past history.³⁵

Nobody, however, expected that the prisoners might use this information for the preparation of a suicidal mass escape plot. As camp commandant Kippen noted, the existence of the HARIKARI Club "indicates a new line of action by the POW and is a result of the lost German cause."³⁶ Had it not been for Felber, camp authorities might never have learned about the existence of the HARIKARI Club.

Almost immediately, camp officials began preparing for the worst. On 4 October, Kippen sent a copy of Felber's letter to M.D.4 headquarters and the Directorate of Prisoners of War. He also warned the entire camp staff of the possible danger of a HARIKARI Club attack and made arrangements to strengthen security inside the camp. At the time, 12 officers and 270 guards from No.40 Company VGC were stationed at Grande Ligne.³⁷ A change of command was instituted the next day with Lieutenant-Colonel H.W. Hiltz replacing Kippen as camp commandant, a decision that had been lingering since 20 September and had supposedly nothing to do with the HARIKARI Club affair.³⁸

To confirm the authenticity of Felber's story, a 'White' German Army *Oberstleutnant* named Alois Frank was interrogated on 12 October 1944 while in Montreal for an eye treatment. A staunch anti-Nazi, Frank assured camp officials that "the HARIKARI Club is authentic" and that it was "more serious than realized." He gave a detailed account of the Nazi organization's aims and provided a list of some of its targets, which included the



German prisoners of war relax in a reading lounge at Camp Grande Ligne.

munitions dumps at l'Acadie and the St. Jean airport, where the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (B.C.A.T.P.) No.9 Air Observation School was located and where a great number of military aircraft were concentrated. Both sites were situated approximately ten kilometers from the camp. Frank also confirmed the camp authorities' suspicions that the German POW operated a secret hand-made radio receiver. Canadian authorities perceived this as a serious problem since it meant that the inmates could know the exact date of Germany's capitulation and at this point initiate their own *Gotterdammerung*. Frank then furnished camp officials with a list of HARIKARI Club members. It was fairly identical to that provided by Felber and registered approximately 100 names. Frank explained that as a former Bavarian police prefect, he knew many of the prisoners on that list prior to the outbreak of the war and was aware of their Nazi antecedents. To avoid bloodshed and destruction, he recommended the removal of these bad elements from the camp as soon as possible.³⁹ Because of his determination to

help camp authorities eradicate the HARIKARI Club, Frank refused the offer to be sent to another internment camp. In his opinion, "there was much more work for him to do within the enclosure" as an informant "so that the camp staff can be advised of the latest information and also of any matter which may be considered of great urgency." Felber, on the other hand, was transferred to the camp at Farnham later that month.⁴⁰

The HARIKARI Club affair was taken very seriously at DND. The incident that occurred two months earlier at Cowra in Australia had shown the level of devastation that could result from a suicidal mass escape attempt. National Defence Headquarters officials in Ottawa understood the destructive impact that a similar endeavor could have on the Canadian home front. The proximity of Grande Ligne to Montreal and other urban centers, where important industrial plants, shipyards, military installations, and transport establishments (dockyards, railways, airports, etc.) were located, made the HARIKARI

Club scheme all the more threatening. Attacks against such facilities could seriously affect the Canadian war effort and cause heavy losses of life. Precautionary measures were therefore urgently required to protect the region and its population. Several days after the interrogation of Alois Frank, representatives from the Directorates of Prisoners of War, Military intelligence, and Veterans' Guard of Canada began investigating the HARIKARI Club situation. All of them were concerned with security arrangements in the camp, the greatest worry being how to combat a HARIKARI Club attack should it ever happen.

The Directorate of Prisoners of War was particularly interested in the level of readiness of the camp staff. On 17 October 1944, Lieutenant-Colonel H.W. Pearson was sent to M.D.4 headquarters in Montreal to discuss the Grande Ligne prisoners' mass escape scheme and oversee some of the measures taken to protect the camp. That same day, Pearson accompanied several M.D.4 and M.I.7 officers on a visit to the camp. The commandant, Hiltz, then informed him that "he was quite able to meet any situation that might arise so long as present conditions were unchanged" but that "he might need additional guard troops as a reserve in the event of insubordination." In his report to Colonel H.N. Streight (Director of Prisoners of War), Pearson concluded that such a mass suicide effort was quite possible and that reinforcements should be ready in the advent of trouble.⁴¹ Streight complied with Pearson's request and authorized the immediate mobilization of a reserve force of three platoons from No.10 Company, VGC stationed at Camp Farnham. These troops were to be placed at the disposal of M.D.4 headquarters. Streight felt very confident in the VGC's ability to cope with a possible mass escape attempt. He also believed that the surrounding landscape would be of advantage to the guardsmen. "The country adjacent to the camp is open, flat farm land where concealment is quite difficult," he emphasized. "Past experience has shown that recapture becomes very much more difficult if escaped POW can take concealment in densely wooded areas."⁴²

The Directorate of Military Intelligence, on the other hand, was more concerned. On 17 October, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Acland held several telephone conversations about the HARIKARI Club with M.I.7 and camp intelligence officers

as well as former camp commandant Kippen. Based on the information he received, Acland concluded in a report that such a mass suicide effort was quite possible and that, should it occur, "a considerable number of German POW officers will be shot with perhaps unfortunate repercussions on our own POW in Germany; some of the camp staff will be killed; and some of the Nazis will succeed in breaking out and in reaching vulnerable objectives such as the Dorval and St. Hubert air fields." Because of the camp's proximity to Montreal, Acland suggested that Grande Ligne no longer be used for the detention of 'Blacks' and that HARIKARI Club members be immediately transferred. As he explained:

The danger of continuing to allow the present rabid clique of Nazi officers to remain at Grande Ligne becomes increasingly more apparent...It must be considered that any 'Black' officer camp will be a first rate security problem and therefore the locating of such a camp near a metropolitan area or communications center, as is the case of Grande Ligne...is not concurred in from the security aspect.⁴³

Anxious to discuss the possibility of moving the camp's 'Blacks' to a new 'Black' officer camp, Acland arranged an M.I.7 meeting on 20 October, which was attended by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson of the Directorate of Prisoners of War. Most intelligence officers agreed with Acland's proposal. They even provided a list of potential internment camps to replace Grande Ligne: No.33, Petawawa; No.101, Angler, Ontario; No.70, Fredericton, New Brunswick; and No.130, Seebee (formerly Kananaskis), Alberta. Pearson, on the other hand, emphasized that the segregation of the POWs was the responsibility of the Chiefs of the General Staff and "it therefore follows that the General Staff should recommend or suggest the camp which should be used, keeping in mind, in view of the situation in Camp No.44, security of industry and Army and Air establishments within a reasonable area of the internment camp."⁴⁴ Colonel Streight concurred with this view. "The question of establishing a 'Black' camp for officer POW," he explained, "is one that should not be hastily answered. Up to the present, attempts towards segregation have accomplished little of a constructive nature and have added substantially to the confusion and unrest amongst POW. It is my opinion that the number of POW to be found in Camp No.44 who are not either 'Black' or 'Dark Grey' is almost negligible."⁴⁵

The Directorate Veterans' Guard of Canada was preoccupied with the protection of VGC personnel. Following a visit to M.D.4 headquarters and Camp Grande Ligne on 19 October, Colonel C.P. Lavigne (Assistant Adjutant-General, Directorate Veteran's Guard of Canada), sent a memorandum to Colonel J.M. Taylor (Director Veterans' Guard of Canada) in which he suggested that the VGC guardsmen be completely re-equipped. Among the items requested were a wheeled armoured fighting vehicle (AFV) and a universal carrier. As he explained: "The A.F.V. could be used inside the camp's enclosure while the universal carrier would be useful to follow escapees over fields." Lavigne also recommended that the camp be provided with six Vickers heavy machine guns, seven portable No.58 radio sets, a supply of tear gas, grenades, plus a good quantity of parachute flares and pistol grip lights to be used in the event of an electrical breakdown. He also requested that the British Mk-II steel helmets issued to camp guards be replaced with the American M-1, which could "afford greater protection against clubs, stones, etc."⁴⁶ Taylor, however, refused most of the items recommended by Lavigne:

It is respectfully suggested that the POW personnel of this camp remain as at present, and in addition to, or in place of Vickers machine guns...which the VGC are not trained in the use of, that sufficient Reising sub-machine guns be made available to place two in each tower instead of one as at present. That tear gas be not supplied, but instead fire hose might be used to rout the POW out of buildings. That an adequate supply of flash and pistol grip lights be kept on hand; and that a supply of wood clubs, say from 2 to 2½ feet in length, be on hand for close combat skirmishing, inside buildings, where it is not possible to use bayonets.⁴⁷

Evidently, Taylor was not as apprehensive of the HARIKARI Club as Lavigne and seemed to believe that a suicidal attack could be quelled in the same manner and with the same tools and weapons as the Bowmanville Riot on 10-12 October 1942, the only serious POW revolt in a Canadian internment camp during the war. Taylor, then commandant of Camp Bowmanville, suppressed the riot with the help of 400 Canadian soldiers armed only with unloaded rifles with fixed bayonets, hardwood clubs, and high-pressure fire hoses. Approximately 80 Germans and 20 Canadians suffered injuries during the so-called "Battle of Bowmanville." Interestingly,

many of the ringleaders were transferred to Farnham in early December 1942 and then to Grande Ligne a few months later.⁴⁸ In the end, Taylor's comments did not prevent the arrival at Grande Ligne in late October of No.69 grenades, tear gas generators, Bren light machine guns, as well as other supplies.⁴⁹

It late November, military authorities turned their attention to the protection of the region and its civilian population, and informed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) about the existence of the HARIKARI Club. The threat of sabotage to essential home front installations and the possible danger to civil life and property was taken very seriously by the RCMP. On 29 November, Deputy Commissioner F.J. Mead went to Montreal to discuss the HARIKARI Club threat with M.D.4 officials. Meeting with Major-General E.J. Renaud (District Officer Commanding M.D.4) and camp commandant Hiltz, he became impressed with the seriousness of the situation and expressed great concern with the danger of sabotage to the important electric power plants at Cèdres and Beauharnois. In the end, all agreed that something serious might soon happen and that measures needed to be immediately taken to counter the threat.⁵⁰ Deputy Commissioner Mead then visited 'C' Division headquarters, RCMP in Montreal, where he met with Glen Bethel of the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Commissioner S.T. Wood, and other members of the RCMP. They agreed that there would be the fullest cooperation between the RCMP and M.D.4 authorities and to prepare precautionary plans. Deputy Commissioner F.J. Harvison of 'C' Division, RCMP, was sent the next morning to M.D.4 headquarters to work with Renaud and his officers to prepare detailed plans and operational orders to be issued as quickly as possible.⁵¹ In the meantime, RCMP and M.D.4 officials recommended, as a precautionary measure, that additional VGC troops be based in the region. Two platoons from No.12 Company, VGC, originally stationed at POW Camp No.23 Monteith, Ontario, arrived as reinforcements at St. Jean, Quebec, in the late afternoon of 1 December. Their task was to protect the civilians living in the vicinity of the camp in the event of a possible breakout.⁵²

Although urgent requests to segregate the camp compound had been issued by the Directorate of Military Intelligence and Camp

Grande Ligne officers, higher authorities remained hesitant. The reason was that no one understood if POWs in other camps knew of the HARIKARI Club's existence or if similar Nazi organizations had been established in other internment centers. There was the dual possibility that transferring HARIKARI Club leaders might provoke the other 'Black' prisoners to initiate the suicide process or trigger the rise of similar groups in other camps.⁵³ The situation began to change on 1 December, when Major-General Renaud urged DND to move all 'Blacks' out of the district and recommended that another camp be chosen for the incarceration of such prisoners. His argument was that 'Black' internment camps should not be located near urbanized, industrialized, and densely populated areas, as was the case with Grande Ligne. Instead, they should be established in isolated regions as far removed as possible from vulnerable points. His reasons:

(A) The density of the civil population in the neighboring area; (B) The proximity of Grande Ligne to Montreal District where a considerable number of factories are employed on war work; (C) The easy access to power plants such as Beauharnois, Cèdres, Black River and even Shawinigan, the damage of which would cause great harm to the war effort; (D) The number of airports in the neighborhood – St. Jean, St. Hubert, Dorval; (E) The proximity to ammunition dumps at LAcadie and Delson; (F) The difficulty of providing immediate trained reinforcements due to lack of troops in the vicinity. This is particularly so in the winter months when roads to Grande Ligne may become snowbound.⁵⁴

Although Renaud emphasized that all possible precautionary measures had already been taken and that the situation was well in hand, he did warn about the rapidity with which a HARIKARI Club attack might occur and the difficulties which might be encountered by VGC troops if such a scenario ever happened. He was particularly concerned with the older age of VGC guards as well as their poor equipment.⁵⁵ General A.G.L. McNaughton (Minister of National Defence) was immediately made aware of the necessity to transfer the 'Black' prisoners.

On the morning of 2 December, McNaughton discussed the HARIKARI Club threat with top rank DND and RCMP officials. He noted that Louis St. Laurent (Minister of Justice) had been briefed on the HARIKARI Club by the RCMP

and was particularly concerned with the serious implications of a possible 'break out' at Grande Ligne. McNaughton made it abundantly clear that the fullest cooperation should continue between military authorities and the RCMP, which was responsible for the protection of civilians.⁵⁶ An arrangement was formalized with Commissioner Wood, whereby the RCMP agreed to supply a liaison officer to DND to enhance cooperation.⁵⁷ Their greatest concern, however, was the question of transferring approximately 100 'Black' HARIKARI Club members to another suitable 'Black' camp. After much discussion, McNaughton ordered that "an absolute secure prisoner of war camp be prepared at once to hold from 200 to 250 officers, so that it can be used if it is decided to remove the leaders from Grande Ligne" and also that "full standards of accommodation for officers under the Geneva Convention be observed in order to prevent reprisals in Germany."⁵⁸

Although it was pointed out that there was no vacant camp immediately available, all agreed that the most suitable camp was located at Seebee, Alberta. The advantage with this internment facility was that it was fairly isolated in the Rocky Mountains and far from major urban centers or military installations. Escapes would, therefore, be of almost no threat to the security of the home front. It was proposed for such reasons to use Seebee as a 'Super Black' camp for the accommodation of 'Black' German officers from all of Canada's POW camps. The problem then became where to transfer the 460 German officers and 156 other ranks currently interned at Seebee. After much discussion, it was decided that the most practical solution, with the necessary requirements of security and speed, was the conversion of the then vacant army training center at Wainright, Alberta, which could be used as a POW camp to hold approximately 700 officers and 200 other ranks. The drawback was that it would take between six weeks and two months to make the Wainright facilities sufficiently secure. In the end, it was agreed to obtain the concurrence of the general staff as to the availability of the Wainright training center, to make arrangements with the Quartermaster-General for construction and plans for the conversion, and to immediately select a commanding officer and the personnel required for the proper administration and security of this new camp. In the meantime, it



General A.G.L. McNaughton, minister of national defence, was quite concerned about the possible actions of the "HARIKARI club" and ordered that all necessary steps be taken to prevent it from happening.

which had begun a month earlier. Guard towers were reinforced, additional firearms were supplied, a plentiful quantity of pistol-grip spotlights and ground flares were furnished, additional flood lights, searchlights and other lighting equipment were installed, new barbed wire entanglements were erected, and six machine gun posts were established at strategic points around the camp with weapons facing towards the enclosure.⁶¹ Additional VGC troops, "to the limit of the capacity of the barracks," were stationed in the camp. Reserve VGC forces were also standing by at St. Jean and Farnham. According to operational orders devised

was decided to keep the eventual transfer of the 'Black' inmates a secret.⁵⁹

On 4 December, the Chiefs of the General Staff discussed the transfer of HARIKARI Club members to Seebee. Lieutenant-General J.C. Murchie (Chief of the General Staff) "directed that the hutted accommodation at Wainright would be made immediately available as accommodation for POW removed from Seebee so that in turn the latter could be used to hold officer POW removed from Grande Ligne." He emphasized that the transfer of the 'Black' inmates would have to wait until the construction of the new camp, designated No.135, at Wainright was complete. Only at that time would Grande Ligne no longer be used for the internment of 'Blacks.'⁶⁰ It was now only a matter of time before Canadian authorities could attempt to dismantle the HARIKARI Club.

In the meantime, M.D.4 completed the strengthening of the camp's security system,

by M.D.4 and the RCMP, these troops were to form a 'recapture screen' around the camp area in the advent of a mass escape. They were to protect all bridges and railway stations leading to Montreal and intercept all civilian traffic on nearby roads. An agreement was even made with the Canadian National Railway (CNR) and Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to permit VGC troops to examine all freight trains passing through the region. Men from these units were also to protect vital industrial plants as well as the Beauharnois and Cèdres electric powerhouses, where "considerable sabotage could be carried out without explosives and other sabotage equipment." Damage to these two power plants, it was believed, "would seriously affect all industries in the Montreal area" and cause delays in war production. It is important to note that VGC guardsmen were to be assisted in their duties around the region by RCMP personnel. Arrangements were also made with the BCATP No.9 Air Observation School at St. Jean for military aircraft, which were to be used for aerial

reconnaissance and for observing the movements of escapees. The Quebec Provincial Police, the New York and Vermont State Police, the FBI, and the United States Border Patrol were also to be notified. Canadian army units were only to be used if VGC and RCMP personnel proved unable to control the situation.⁶²

To coordinate a possible recapture operation, a temporary headquarters, commonly referred to as "Bleak House," was established in a vacant building located about one kilometer away from Grande Ligne on the main road leading to the camp. The house also served as a temporary barrack for two well-armed VGC platoons and for four RCMP constables. As outlined in the operational orders:

The first duty of these troops will be to assist the troops at the camp in preventing any actual escape, but the moment an escape occurs, or it appears probable that an attempt may be successful these men will take up previously assigned positions to protect the civilians in the neighborhood of the camp. There are twenty-five houses in the immediate vicinity of the camp. It is planned to place one Sten sub-machine gun equipped man in each house to remain on duty until relieved, or until instructed that the danger period has passed. They will be under the control of officers picked for this duty who will be working closely with the RCMP personnel also stationed at 'Bleak House.'...In discussing the protection of civilians, consideration was given the danger of unduly alarming these people. It was decided that advance warning would not be advisable, but that all Army and RCMP personnel visiting the houses should be French-speaking. It is considered advisable to merely tell the householders that there have been some escapes and to volunteer to safeguard the houses – rather than to handle the approach in a manner that would greatly upset and alarm householders. Constant patrols by Army officers and RCMP personnel would then make sure that proper precautionary measures were in effect at each house.⁶³

To ensure that the Canadians benefited from a proper communication system in case prisoners cut telephone lines, radio transmitting and receiving equipment was installed at Camp Grande Ligne, at 'Bleak House,' and at M.D.4 headquarters. A First Aid station was also set up in the 'Bleak House.' In the meantime, the RCMP began preparing copies of photographs that had been taken of all prisoners upon their arrival in Canada for distribution to newspapers, bridge

guards, and other civilian authorities to facilitate recapture.⁶⁴

The HARIKARI Club scheme and the fears it generated had a considerable impact on the Canadian government's refusal to accept a British request made in December 1944 that 50,000 additional German POW be interned in Canada. Since D-Day, British and Canadian forces had captured German soldiers in the tens of thousands. The Canadians, for instance, detained more than 66,000 German POW in Northwest Europe alone by early December. This was an enormous number compared to the 34,000 German POW already being held in Canada.⁶⁵ It appeared for this reason that Canada was not bearing its full share of the POW burden. At the time, the United Kingdom and the United States each detained more than 300,000 German POWs.⁶⁶ London, therefore, hoped that Ottawa could help alleviate the POW accommodation problem in Northwest Europe. The Canadian War Cabinet refused the British request on 11 December. Although the manpower crisis that prevailed in Canada and the introduction of conscription for overseas service in November 1944 served as an excuse, the aggressive nature of the German POW in Canada, especially those at Grande Ligne, seemed to have had a much greater role to play in that decision.⁶⁷ As Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King wrote in his diary that same day: "Cabinet decided not to increase the number [of German POWs in Canada]... because those we have are a real menace. We have not sufficient adequate protection for them and there is reason to believe they are forming suicide squads which may cause great trouble later on."⁶⁸ Although Grande Ligne was the only internment facility in Canada where a suicidal mass escape was being planned, the threat still seemed serious enough to attract the Prime Minister's attention.

On 30 December, an incident occurred which alarmed Canadian military authorities and confirmed the seriousness of the HARIKARI Club plot. The scare began when VGC guardsmen involved in a routine inspection of the POW living quarters found an anonymous letter addressed to the camp commandant warning him about the preparation of an "act of grave violence and destruction" by some of the camp's inmates. Unaware that the camp staff already knew about the HARIKARI Club, the author of the note,

who probably was a 'White' prisoner, urgently requested the transfer of all German officers involved in the scheme. The letter provided the names of the most important and dangerous ones, which included Schemmel, Schnorr, and Moellerfriedrich.⁶⁹

In light of these revelations, Canadian military officials became certain that HARIKARI Club members planned an escape at the earliest possible moment. On 3 January 1945, four RCMP intelligence officers arrived in the region. One of them was stationed in the camp while the others were assigned to 'Bleak House.'⁷⁰ The Directorate of Prisoners of War also informed the commandants of each Canadian POW camp about the situation at Grande Ligne. All were asked to keep a vigilant eye for the existence of schemes similar to the HARIKARI Club inside their respective camps.⁷¹ Tension rose on 6 January when a VGC guard accidentally discharged his rifle and put a bullet through an electric light conduit thereby creating a short in the wire and starting a fire in the recreation hut. Fortunately, the local fire department responded rapidly and was able to extinguish the flames without any serious damage. Surprisingly, none of the HARIKARI Club leaders took advantage of the incident to launch an escape.⁷²

The 30 December scare made the Canadian government all the more determined to prevent additional German POW from being shipped to Canada for internment purposes. When the British authorities attempted on 16 January 1945 to "re-open the question of the acceptance of further German POW by Canada," Mackenzie King left the matter in the hands of the Minister of National Defence. Meeting with the British High Commissioner in Canada on two occasions, McNaughton explained "that there are insurmountable practical difficulties here" and that "for the time being at any rate, no further commitments in this matter should be assumed by the Canadian government."⁷³ Norman A. Robertson (Canada's undersecretary of State for External Affairs), who had visited Camp Grande Ligne on 1 December 1944,⁷⁴ reiterated McNaughton's reasons in his official report to the British High Commission on 22 January:

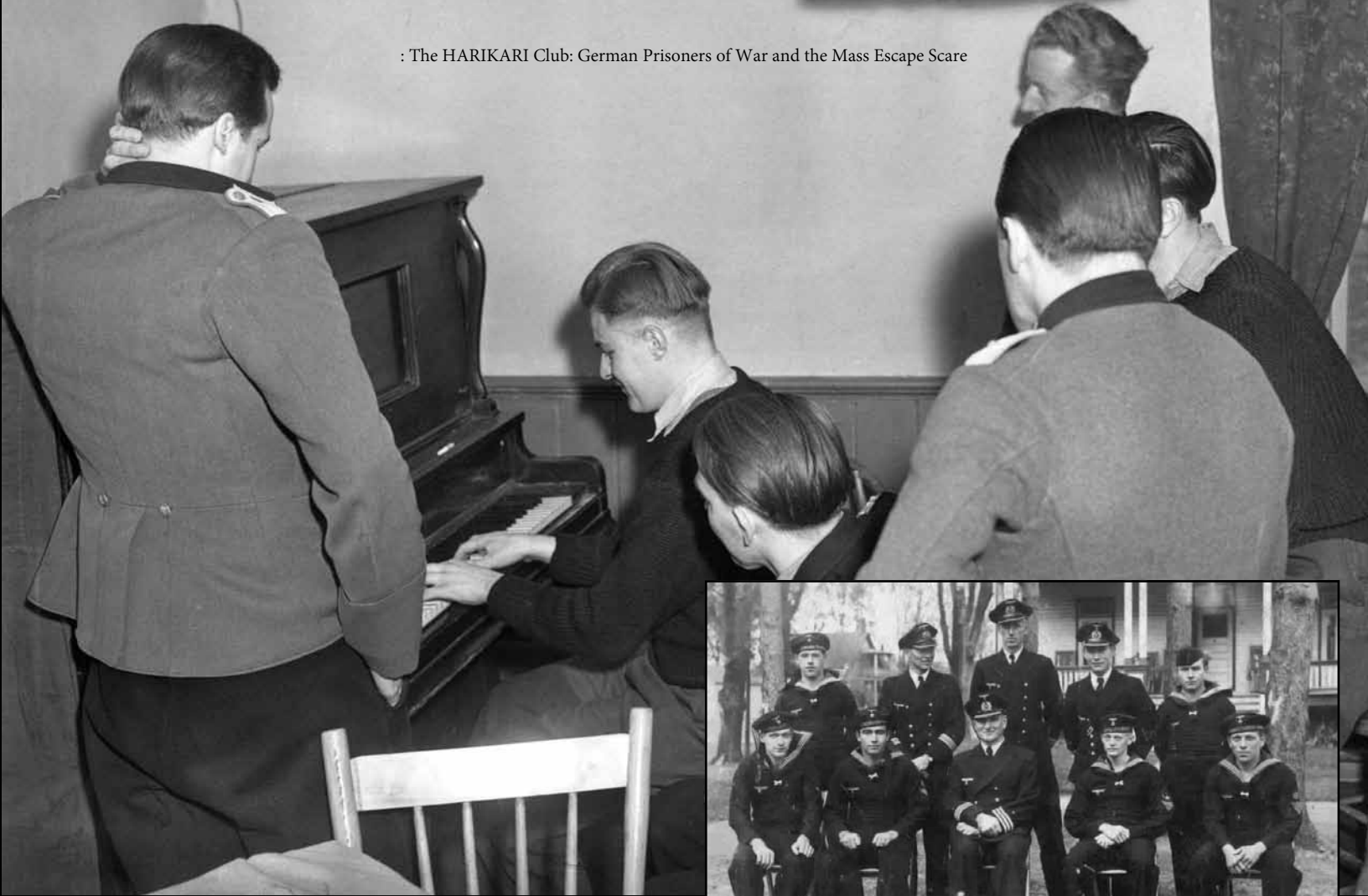
...no further commitments in this matter should be assumed by the Canadian government... General McNaughton said that he had to reckon on the possibility of serious trouble with the

prisoners of war now in Canada. There is a good deal of evidence of plans amongst the prisoners to make demonstrations and to attempt mass escapes. Many of the prisoners are desperate and fanatical Nazis ready to cause trouble even though this in effect means their committing mass suicide. He is taking steps to reduce this danger...But in the meantime he cannot afford either to reduce the numbers of the guards or to lower the quality of the men employed as guards.⁷⁵

The British government was deeply disappointed by the Canadian decision and, ultimately, few additional German POW were sent to Canada.⁷⁶ Instead, Canadian military authorities concentrated their efforts on the re-education and de-Nazification of those prisoners already in the country.⁷⁷

HARIKARI Club members were finally transferred to the 'Super Black' POW Camp at Seebe in Alberta on 6 February 1945. In order not to agitate the prisoners and face a pre-emptive HARIKARI Club attack, the move was kept secret. To instill an element of surprise, the operation was done in the early morning hours, when all inmates were asleep. The POWs selected to be transferred were immediately rounded up by armed guards and taken away along with their belongings. In the end, the Canadians faced no resistance whatsoever. Overall, some 236 'Black' inmates were transferred. The camp was thoroughly searched that evening by RCMP and VGC personnel. The radio receiver and numerous evasion tools were found.⁷⁸ The HARIKARI Club threat faded away as a result of the surprise transfer and the popularity of Nazism inside the camp drastically diminished in the following months. Subsequently, Grande Ligne became an internment center for 'Grey' prisoners of war. The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany on 8 May 1945 put the last nail in the coffin of Nazism in the camp. That summer, camp intelligence officers claimed that "confidence in the strength and sincerity of purpose of the western world (i.e. democracies)" had increased by 70 per cent.⁷⁹ Aside from a small strike organized by some of the remaining 'Blacks' to oppose the Canadian re-education program in early August 1945, Nazism remained relatively dead inside the camp.⁸⁰

Interestingly, a mass escape scheme similar to that of the HARIKARI Club was planned at Camp Seebe by several of the younger 'Black'



Above: German prisoners gather around a piano at Camp Grande Ligne. **Right:** Crew members of the German submarine *U-35* at Camp Grande Ligne, 1944.



inmates transferred from Grande Ligne. Most of them used to be members of the HARIKARI Club. According to former inmate Otto Rietdorf, who claimed to have been quartermaster of escape tools at Grande Ligne, the Seebee group intended to escape and to operate as a commando or guerilla unit to demolish bridges and dams, cut telephone and power lines, and be as disruptive as possible in the region. Their goal was to instill panic in the civilian population and tie up large numbers of Canadian troops. These young activists' plot was apparently dismantled by some of the older German officers.⁸¹

The HARIKARI Club mass escape scare of 1944-1945 well demonstrated the degree of organization of German POW officers and how Nazism remained a powerful force in Canadian internment camps in the last months of the Second World War. Despite the introduction of the PHERUDA system of POW classification in early August 1944 and constant observation by camp censors and intelligence officers, Canadian

military authorities proved unable to completely eradicate Nazi sympathies behind Canadian barbed wire. The development of the HARIKARI Club clearly showed the extent of this problem. The fact that 'Black' inmates were preparing a suicidal mass escape scheme which promised to wreak havoc on the Canadian home front took the Canadians by surprise. So intense became the HARIKARI Club affair that the Cabinet War Committee and the Prime Minister of Canada were even made aware of it. Had it not been for Georg Felber and Alois Frank, Canadian authorities might have never known about the existence of this plot. The discovery of the plot awakened great consternation and raised many questions. Why had military intelligence been unable to detect the existence of this Nazi organization sooner? Why Grande Ligne? Did similar suicidal plots exist in other Canadian internment camps? Measures adopted to counter the threat clearly illustrate the seriousness with which DND considered the issue. The arrival of additional troops, weapons, and supplies in

the region, the strengthening of camp security arrangements, and the preparation of operational orders and precautionary plans reflected military officials' fears.

The Grande Ligne situation also had a considerable impact on Canada's internment operation. It showed the danger that 'Black' inmates constituted and the increasing necessity to incarcerate them in isolated regions. The decision to use Seebe in Alberta as a 'Super Black' camp served as a testimony to this new policy. The HARIKARI Club also played an important role in Ottawa's refusal to incarcerate additional German POW in Canada. In summation, the HARIKARI Club scheme reflected the determination of German POW to remain loyal to Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime despite military setbacks in Europe and the increasing realization that Germany would ultimately be defeated. It also showed the extent to which Canadian military authorities were determined to prevent potentially dangerous POW from disrupting home front activities. In the end, the HARIKARI Club affair demonstrated how vital intelligence and counter intelligence measures were in the administration of Canadian POW camps.

Notes

This article is based on a paper entitled "The Problem of Nazism in the German POW Officer Camps of Southern Quebec, 1942-1945" presented at the 14th Military History Colloquium, University of Western Ontario, 10 May 2003. For more information on POW Camp No.44 Grande Ligne, consult Martin F. Auger, *Prisoners of the Home Front: A Social Study of the German Internment Camps of Southern Quebec, 1940-1946* M.A. Thesis (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 2000). The author wishes to thank Serge Durflinger and Cameron Pulsifer for their insightful comments.

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2. This figure represents only combatant prisoners (i.e. military personnel) and does not include German civilian internees, refugees, and merchant seamen. Taking these other groups into account, the official number of Germans detained in Canada during the Second World War increases to approximately 38,000. It is important to note that the German POW population in Canada came from all branches of the *Wehrmacht* (German armed forces), which included the *Luftwaffe* (air force), the *Kriegsmarine* (navy), and the *Heer* (army), as well as the *Waffen-SS* and even the Gestapo. British and Commonwealth military forces captured most of these inmates on naval operations in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the North Sea as well as during the Battle of Britain and the military campaigns in North Africa, the Middle East, Italy, and Northwest Europe. All were shipped to Canada between 1940 and 1945 as part of an agreement whereby the Canadian government accepted to incarcerate German POW in North America on behalf of the British authorities. They were repatriated between 1946 and 1947. See Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage [DHH], 113.3P4 (D2), "Directorate Narrative, Directorate of Prisoners of War," 5 September 1945. See also John Joseph Kelly, *The Prisoner of War Camps in Canada, 1939-1947* M.A. Thesis (Windsor: University of Windsor, 1976), p.209.; Chris M.V. Madsen and R.J. Henderson, *German Prisoners of War in Canada and their Artifacts* (Regina: Hignell Printing, 1993), pp.1-6. C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific* (Ottawa: Roger Duhamel, 1966), p.151.
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4. Canada, *Red Cross and Prisoners of War Conventions* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1942), pp.96-97.
5. Kelly, *The Prisoners of War Camps in Canada...*, p.150.
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10. NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 6 (June 1943), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 16 June 1943, p.3.
11. NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5413, File: HQS 7236-91-1-44, "O. Jaccard (Consul General of Switzerland in Canada) to Colonel H.N. Streight (Director, Directorate of Prisoners of War)," 18 June 1943.
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14. NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5374, File: HQS 7236-1-10-44, Strength Returns, Camp Grande Ligne, 17 July 1943-19 February 1944.
 15. NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5374, File: HQS 7236-1-10-44, Strength Returns, Camp Grande Ligne, 14 October 1944.
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 22. NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5416, File: HQS 7236-94-6-44, "Lt.-Col. E.D.B. Kippen (Camp Commandant) to Colonel H.N. Streight (Director, Directorate of Prisoners of War)," 7 July 1943.; NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 7 (July 1943), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 7 July 1943, p.2.; NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 8 (August 1943), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 14-27 August 1943 pp.4-8.; NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5389, File: HQS 7236-44-44, "Lieutenant-Colonel E.D.B. Kippen (Camp Commandant) to Major-General R.J. Renaud (District Officer Commanding Military District 4)," 31 August 1943.; NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 14 (February 1944), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 16-29 February 1944, pp.4-9.; NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5389, File: HQS 7236-44-44, "Lt.-Col. E.D.B. Kippen (Camp Commandant) to Headquarters (Military District 4)," 3 March 1944.; NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 19 (July 1944), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 13-30 July 1944, pp.4-8.; NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5389, File: HQS 7236-44-44, "Lt.-Col. E.D.B. Kippen (Camp Commandant) to the District Officer Commanding (D.O.C.) Military District 4," 8 August 1944.; NAC RG 24, Vol.15,403, Volume 20 (August 1944), War Diary of Internment Camp Grande Ligne, 26 August 1944, p.9.
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 28. Don Page, "Tommy Stone and Psychological Warfare in World War Two: Transforming a POW Liability into an Asset," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol.16, No.3-4 (Fall-Winter 1981), p.115.
 29. PHERUDA referred to the first capital letter in each of the topics in which German prisoners of war were to be interrogated. These were in regards to their (1) POLITICAL leanings (five categories from democrat to rabid Nazi); (2) attitude towards HITLER (five categories from anti-Hitler to fanatically pro-Hitler); (3) level of EDUCATION (five categories from university to minimum); (4) RELIGION (five categories from devout Protestant or Catholic to neo-pagan); (5) USEFULNESS for purposes of labour (five categories from willing to cooperate and skilled to refuse to work); (6) DEPENDABILITY (five categories from known dependable to undependable); and (7) attitudes towards the ALLIES (nine categories from pro-Allied to anti-Allied). See Yves Bernard and Caroline Bergeron, *Trop loin de Berlin – Des prisonniers allemands au Canada (1939-1946)* (Sillery : Éditions du Septentrion, 1995), p.304.; John Joseph Kelly, "Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence in German Prisoner of War Camps in Canada During World War II," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol.58, No.2 (Summer 1978), p.293.
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33. NAC RG 24, Reel: C 5416, File: HQS 7236-94-6-44, "Roman Catholic Priest George Felber (Civilian Internee) to Captain Jungbluth (Camp Intelligence Officer)," 3 October 1944.
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