

GASPE OF YESTERDAY

NAZI SPY AT NEW CARLISLE

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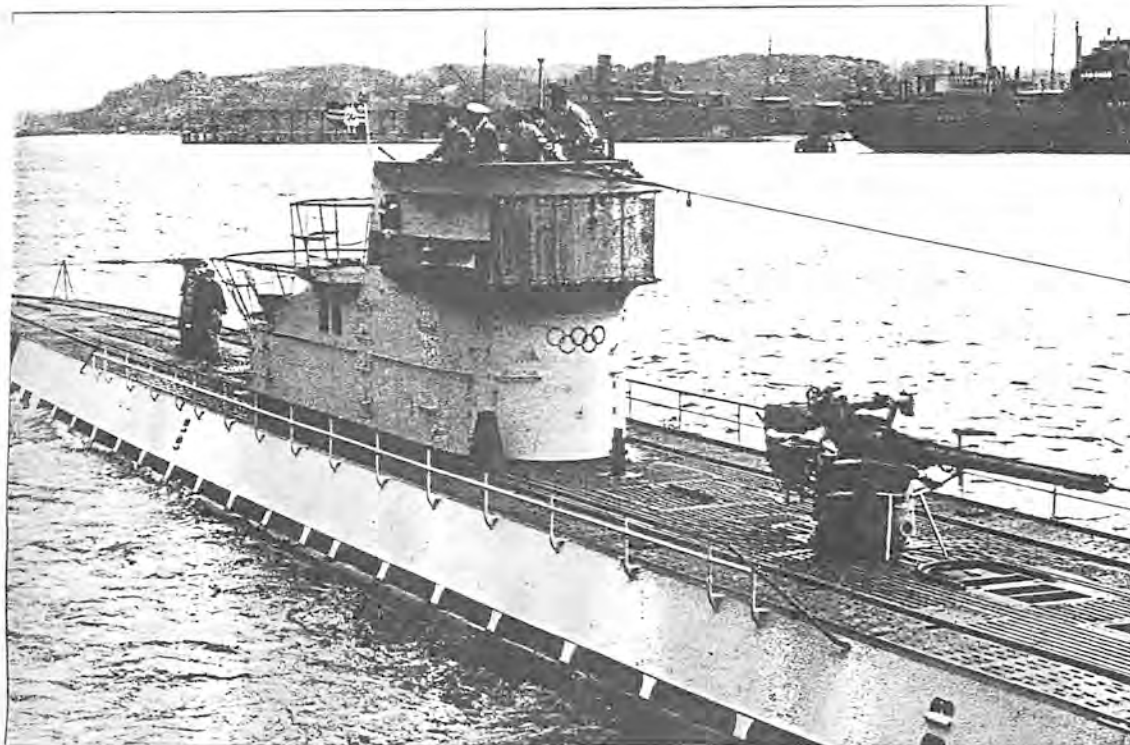
The German submarine, U-518, lands  
the Nazi spy, Lt. Werner von Janowski,  
at New Carlisle in November, 1942.

KEN ANNETT

NAZI SPY AT NEW CARLISLEPREFACE

Though more than fifty years have passed by since the German Nazi spy, Lt. Werner von Janowski, landed from the submarine U-518 on the shore of New Carlisle, his story is still topical. As recent a publication as the 1993 MEMOIRS of Pierre E. Trudeau recalls the impact of such enemy activity on the Gaspesian coast. Some ten years ago James W. Essex's book, VICTORY IN THE ST-LAWRENCE - CANADA'S UNKNOWN WAR, chronicled the stirring events of the World War II years in Gaspé. New information continues to surface with time and "GASPE OF YESTERDAY" is grateful indeed to Professor Michael Hadley, Department of Germanic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Science, University of Victoria for permission to bring to Gaspesian readers the following extract from his fascinating book, "U-BOATS AGAINST CANADA-GERMAN SUBMARINES IN CANADIAN WATERS". This book was published by the McGill-Queen's University Press.

Appreciation is expressed also to the Curator of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Museum, Regina, Saskatchewan, Mr. William A.F. Mackay for copy of the log of the submarine U-518 and photograph of the uniform, radio-transmitter, and other articles in the possession of the spy, Lt. von Janowski, at the time of his arrest on November 9th., 1942



U-518 departed Kiel, Tirpitzhaven, at 0700 hours on 26 September 1942. It stopped at the usual staging point of Christiansand, Norway, where it topped up with fuel and water on 28 September, and then negotiated the Iceland Passage north of the Faeroes on 3 October en route to the open North Atlantic. It would not reach a home port until 10:35 AM on 15 December in the Biscay base of Lorient, France. According to Wissmann's account, he entered his initial operation zone at midnight on 18 October, some 60 miles northeast of Belle Isle. This portion of the tour almost matched Rüggeberg's seventeen days of uneventful fog-bound patrol in U-513 the previous month. By now, however, both it and U-517 had reached Lorient, and U-165 was destroyed. During ten foggy days on station, Wissmann saw little more than two fishing boats and found a "completely dead area" such as Schäfer's U-183 had encountered during his recent ten days in the southern section of the Belle Isle Strait. BdU radioed U-518 and U-43 for their belated situation reports. Schwandtke's U-43 was by this time in the Gulf of St Lawrence. Anticipating instructions to shift his operation area, Wissmann headed south-east around Newfoundland, and when 100 miles northeast of Cape Freels received final authorization to "penetrate towards BA and BB 10-40 during new moon period for execution of special task."

Wissmann's sole constraint seems to have been that of delivering the agent von Janowski some time during the dark nights of the new moon period. Otherwise BdU seems to have left him latitude to decide both on routes and methods. The direct route from his present position to Percé on the Gaspé Peninsula entailed some 560 miles northwestward into the Strait of Belle Isle and down into the Gulf. For undisclosed reasons, he chose the alternative: 950 miles around Newfoundland and into the Cabot Strait. By taking the longer route, he doubtless hoped to encounter targets. Indeed he had intercepted BdU's signal to Bargsten (U-521) and Schwartzkopf (U-520) indicating special opportunities in Wabana anchorage off Bell Island, Conception Bay. Wissmann recorded his intention of "paying the anchorage a visit as the two others are otherwise engaged" (KTB). Four wrecks in Lance Cove bear witness to the attacks of Rüggeberg's U-513 in September 1942, and to Wissmann's almost two months later on 2 November. As Wissmann recorded, the ships' protective barrage effectively "spelled their doom" (KTB). Paradoxically, the regular defensive sweep of army searchlights illuminated U-518's targets at sufficiently reliable intervals to facilitate a definitive surface attack with little risk of detection and retaliation. The army defenders had disregarded their Standing Orders which explicitly called for irregular intervals. At 0602 GMT, U-518 sunk the anchored SS *Rose Castle* and the French ore carrier PLM-27 with considerable loss of life, and damaged the SS *Flyingdale* when a torpedo struck a wharf.<sup>17</sup> U-518 left the scene at full surfaced speed around the south end of Bell Island, then turned outbound toward Western Bay Head and the safety of deeper and less-constrained waters. The four-hour action in Conception Bay had taken place entirely on the surface.

The offshore antisubmarine patrols that these sinkings now triggered led to a serious bombing attack on U-518 some 40 miles east of Cape Race, while en route for Cabot Strait. Not forewarned by his FuMB search radar of the close approach of a Digby at 3.5 mile range, U-518 all but fell victim to a stick of four 250-pound charges fused for 23 feet that struck the swirl of the U-boat's emergency dive. Fog rolled in over moderate seas and foiled the aircraft's further pursuit.<sup>18</sup> The attacks of U-513 and U-518 forced the Canadians to abandon the Wabana anchorage completely and to undertake the construction of antitorpedo nets off the Wabana wharves. Although the nets were completed by the end of December despite adverse weather, the U-boats had caused a major disruption in shipping schedules and defence patrols.<sup>19</sup> Allied memories of the effective attacks would strain already overstressed resources and priorities.

3. Wissmann consulted with his *V-Mann* on the final points of detail during the approach to Cabot Strait and scheduled the operation for the night of 9 November. On 8 November his War Diary records the first hint of the actual site for the agent's landing: naval quadrant "Bruno Bruno 4141," the northern perimeter of which ran from Point Bonaventure to Pointe de New Carlisle in the Baie des Chaleurs. No other documentation is extant. In purely navigational terms he had chosen well. The Baie des Chaleurs is the deepest in the Gulf, is free of shoals, and enjoys the mildest climate in the whole region. Fogs, which are frequent outside the bay, seldom penetrate towards the head, though rain and mist may well accompany easterly gales. With any kind of luck, all circumstances would favour the operation. The choice, as will be seen, was a major tactical error. A stranger cannot remain obscure in a tiny village.

This was not the first time that the 41-year-old von Janowski had visited Canada. He had apparently emigrated to the province of Ontario in 1930 where he had first hired himself out as a day labourer in the village of Ailsa Craig, about 20 miles from London. Here the 5-foot-7-inch, 150-pound immigrant later obtained full-time employment as a farm worker. A newspaper interview with the town's police chief immediately after the war evoked the judgment that von Janowski "was a good worker, but very cocky, boasting that he came from a prominent German family."<sup>20</sup> He later described his father as a colonel in the "78th Infantry Battalion." His pro-German attitude purportedly led to a much-discussed tiff with a stalwart First World War veteran who, in the police chief's words, "didn't like the way Janowski shot off his face about Germany and the last [1914-18] war." The townspeople seem, none the less, to have accepted him because of his engaging personality and his skill on the cello. He is said to have married, in 1932, a Toronto woman who regularly vacationed in Ailsa Craig. Some accounts suggest that she was a financially independent widow with her own business. In any event, it is generally agreed that the marriage remained happy as long as she provided him money for tuition in unspecified courses. She gave him an expensive camera with which he repeatedly photographed public buildings and waterfront scenes during independent tours of the province. They separated after he had spent some \$3000 of her money. By this time, according to one account, his wife was living in fear of him, for during frequent indulgence in alcohol he would threaten her life. About a year before the outbreak of war he apparently left for northern Ontario.

Under what circumstances he returned to Germany is not clear. Other German immigrants in late depression Canada had been lured into returning by the obvious economic growth of Nazi Germany. Letters from home invited them back to share the good times. It may be that von Janowski felt so attracted as well. The mysteriousness of the subsequent interlude has triggered the imagination of post-war commentators.<sup>21</sup>



Lt Werner von Janowski as double agent (courtesy RCMP Museum, Regina).

Whether he actually joined the French Foreign Legion in Marseilles, served with the German army at Dieppe after some time in a French jail, and later recommended himself to Nazi espionage circles because of his experience in Canada, is all a matter of conjecture. His motivation for espionage remains equally vague. His apparently superficial preparation for the Canadian mission, and his obviously ingenuous and cavalier method of executing the task suggest that German authorities regarded him as eminently expendable. At any rate, post-war newspaper reports would have us believe that the "slim, mousy-looking" man was no match for the "sharp-eyed ... vigilant and quick thinking" citizens of New Carlisle.<sup>22</sup>

U-518 entered Baie des Chaleurs via the south shore on 9 November 1942. It passed close aboard North Miscou Point and the Miscou Flats until it surfaced at 1900 GMT in moderate visibility off the Shippegan Channel. Wissmann would have verified his position by the range lights of Pointe de Petite Lambèque. The *U-Bootshandbuch*, which would not be issued in Berlin until 1943, would describe the bay as presenting no navigational difficulties whatever, particularly as the echo sounder would give ample warning of any shallows.<sup>23</sup> In the absence of any recent German *Sailing Directions*, Wissmann would have had to rely on a British edition, or else upon German and British Admiralty charts based on surveys of 1913. By choosing the southern route, Wissmann avoided by 14 miles the northern shore on which the agent would eventually land. But he risked the erratic tidal streams near the Miscou Banks. The hazardous banks themselves reach westward off the point, and extend for 2 miles offshore. Yet U-518 faced little real difficulty because of the large number of navigational lights that dotted the area. As U-518 shaped course toward the northern shore at 2300 GMT on 8 November, Wissmann found the weather and illumination favourable to his purposes: light wind from SSW, moderate visibility, with a moderately bright sky.<sup>24</sup> He noted the heavy highway traffic on either side of the bay (routes 132 and 134) and was pleased to find the area devoid of vessels. As the settlements along the shore gradually switched off their lights, Wissmann stood fascinated by the seemingly constant stream of automobiles.

The U-boat now ran in towards shore on a rising tide in order to carry out the special mission in quadrant "BB 4141 upper edge centre" (KTB). At 0336 GMT on 9 November, the crew on deck prepared the inflatable dinghy for launching. Von Janowski and Wissmann had chosen for the landing the beach lying just east of Sawyer's Point. Hidden from the settlement of New Carlisle by the wooded knoll of Pointe de New Carlisle, the beach provided not only seclusion, but access both to highway 132 and to the Canadian National Railway line. This was important, for the agent planned to locate as quickly as possible in Montreal in his assumed



Spy equipment of Lt von Janowski, landed at New Carlisle, Quebec, from U-518 on 9 November 1942 (courtesy RCMP Museum, Regina).

role of a radio salesman representing a Toronto manufacturer.<sup>25</sup> Once there, he was to contact Hamburg for further instructions. German Intelligence had apparently provided him with but a single contact: the Canadian Fascist Party under Adrien Arcand of Montreal. This group, he was given to understand, was sufficiently well organized and loyal to the Nazi cause to provide him all possible assistance. Paradoxically, no one had troubled to inform him that Arcand and ten of his most active and trusted associates had been arrested in 1940 and were still behind bars. This crucial oversight is particularly surprising in light of the fact that the "Arcand arrests" were front-page news in Canadian newspapers of the time. There is no evidence to support the specious anglophile myth that other "people in Quebec fed information to Nazi agents."

Approaching shore under electric power at 0435 GMT on 9 November, Wissmann flooded his forward diving tank in order to beach U-518 on the gently sloping shoals. It was half-past midnight local time, he observed, and isolated houses stood along the shore, which rose ahead of him some 15 m above sea level. A highway skirted the beach to his left (KTB). Fifteen minutes after U-518's bow slipped onto the beach, automobile lights swung unexpectedly along a curve in the road just to the left and swept across the U-boat and surrounding waters before continuing on towards the east in the direction of New Carlisle. "Completely flummoxed" (KTB) by the suddenness of this perfidious intrusion into the operation, Wissmann involuntarily ordered all hands to duck. They felt totally exposed as the lights flashed by about 800 yards off the bow. They illuminated "houses standing separately on shore," and enabled the crew "to pick out all the details" along the beach. The houses made a distinctly "dreary impression" on the Germans (KTB). Von Janowski had by now loaded his three suitcases into the dinghy before being rowed ashore. One suitcase contained the civilian clothes into which he would change once safely ashore. Once packed with his full naval uniform (blue officer's jacket, green canvas submariner's pants, and an officer's cap of surprisingly inferior manufacture) and buried in the sand, it would provide his alibi. In the event of capture, he would, as Langbein had ostensibly planned, claim to have deserted from a U-boat, and demand recognition as a prisoner of war.

The other two cases contained the tools of his trade.<sup>26</sup> The first contained the very heavy and cumbersome 40 W Telefunken transmitter-receiver that he had to lug up the beach and along the highway into town. The second, a deep-grained leather briefcase, obviously of German manufacture, contained an array of ready-use equipment: \$4994 in Canadian currency, both current and (unknown to him) outdated issues; \$1000 in U.S. \$20 gold pieces; coding material including microphotographic copies of instructions; secret writing mediums in the form of matches; a 25-calibre automatic pistol easily concealed in the palm of the hand and manufactured by the Ruby Arms Company, Spain; a set of viciously spiked knuckledusters; emergency rations in the form of chocolate and dextrose tablets (which he believed to be far more potent than was subsequently revealed by analysis); several small maps of Saint John, New Brunswick, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, and general areas of eastern Canada; a metal identity disc of German military origin; a German soldier's pay-book cover, stamped with the tell-tale eagle and swastika; a Canadian National Registration Certificate, the original name of which had been replaced by that of William Branton, 323 Danforth Avenue, Toronto; a 1940 Quebec driver's licence treated in a similar manner. These Canadian documents may have been taken from Canadian soldiers after the Dieppe raid. A number of seemingly innocuous items completed the kit: a cardboard alphabet slide rule, presumably for developing primitive codes, and two books in English that he might have intended as sources for code texts. One of these was a pulp collection of badly written detective stories, and the other a special edition of P.L. Travers's *Mary Poppins*, published in Leipzig in 1939 with the imprint on the cover "Not to be introduced into the British Empire or the USA."



At 0120 local time on 9 November 1942, one hour and thirteen minutes after the landing operation had begun, the inflatable dinghy returned, "the *V-Mann* and his baggage having been put ashore well and dry" (KTB). Von Janowski changed into his grey turtle neck sweater and grey tweed suit, buried his naval uniform, threw away his shovel, and waited until dawn. U-518's bows lifted off as Wissmann pumped the forward tanks and eased astern on electric motors. The task, he noted, had been "executed soundlessly and unobserved." Despite occasional flickers of anxiety, the general ease of the operation gave Wissmann cause for satisfied reflection: "Because of the peacetime conditions we found there, I'm fairly convinced that the agent has made it the rest of the way" (KTB). The conclusion could not have been farther from the truth, for within twenty-four hours Leutnant Werner von Janowski had been arrested and was on his way to being "turned around" to work as a double agent.

Janowski remained at the base of the cliffs until approximately 7:00 AM when it was sufficiently light for him to make his way to the top. In the absence of German documentation to the contrary, his plans and decisions on landing strike one as impetuous. Certainly, after forty-four days in the confines of U-518, followed by a night on a cold Quebec beach, he must have longed for a bath. This is the only reasonable explanation for his brief stop in the small town of New Carlisle. Carrying the transmitter and the briefcase, he started to walk along the highway into town about 8:30 AM. He was picked up by a passing vehicle driven by CNR conductor James E. Coull who was heading into New Carlisle from his home several miles to the west. According to the *Montreal Standard* for 20 May 1945, this was Canada's "first contact with the trespassing Teuton."<sup>27</sup> Despite Coull's naturally inquisitive banter, they seem to have conversed little. As a former resident of Toronto and environs, Janowski's role at this juncture should not have been difficult. He described himself as a salesman for the Northern Electric Company and, with what seemed like foreknowledge of the town to which they were now heading, mentioned the hotel. He checked into the Carlisle under the assumed name of William Branton of 323 Danforth Avenue, Toronto. Von Janowski had no intention of remaining at the hotel any longer than necessary. He informed the staff that he only wished to have a bath and some breakfast before moving on. It concerned no one that he spoke English with a "foreign" accent.<sup>28</sup> Yet the brevity of his stay, his hesitant manner and rather odd body odour hinted at something amiss. Inexplicably, he claimed to have arrived by bus when in fact the first bus of the day would not arrive until noon.

The hotel proprietor's son, 23-year-old Earle J. Annett Jr. became involved when "Janow," as he was nicknamed in Germany, discarded an empty matchbox marked "Fabriqué en Belgique" and paid his bill by cash using two outdated Canadian \$1 banknotes. Janowski later blamed his controllers with having double-crossed him by planting such incriminating clues. But, as young Annett informed the press in 1945, neither he nor his father had any serious suspicions even at this time despite their expectation "that the Germans would try to land a spy on the bay shore" some time during the war.<sup>29</sup> On learning that a westbound train would depart at 11:10 AM, Janowski declined Earle Annett's offer of a lift to the station and set off on foot, still lugging his cumbersome radio transmitter. As soon as Janowski had left, Annett telephoned Constable Alphonse Duchesneau of the Quebec Provincial Police. By now he had second thoughts about having been bilked with counterfeit money. He may also have communicated at this time his curiosity about a rather musty-smelling traveller who arrived so early on a non-existent bus. Duchesneau's subsequent inspection of the hotel room revealed Janowski's carelessness: he had forgotten an almost-empty package of Belgian cigarettes. Having grown suspicious, Annett followed Janowski to the station. Here he of-

ferred the mysterious traveller a cigarette, whereupon Janowski produced a box of matches identical to the one he had discarded at the hotel. At the wicket he peeled a new-issue \$20 banknote from a large roll of bills to pay for the \$3.40 one-way fare to Matapedia. With self-congratulatory hindsight three years later, the CN ticket agent, Mr D.D. "Dewey" Smollett, recalled the furtively "suspicious" character who prompted him "to phone Gus Goulet, the deputy sheriff."

As an editorial in the *Ottawa Citizen* remarked immediately after the war, the story had by this time already become "a Laurel and Hardy scenario."<sup>30</sup> Believing his suspicion correct beyond doubt, Annett notified the naval shore patrol, which was known to ride the trains en route to and from the base at Gaspé. But as the naval policeman, J. (Johnny) Lozinsky, had no authority to deal with civilians, both he and Annett jumped from the waiting train and drove off to the Quebec Provincial Police, housed in the Maison Blanche Hotel. Constable Duchesneau returned with them to the station, climbed aboard the train and sat down beside the suspect, while a colleague drove down the highway to the next station. Turning casual conversation to carefully probing interrogation, Duchesneau soon requested the suspect's ID and then searched the incriminating luggage. At this point Janowski declared: "I am caught, I am a German officer." His gun was in his luggage, and he had made no attempt to use the brass knuckles he carried in his pocket. Janowski-Branton played his cover story and claimed status as a prisoner of war.

Constable Duchesneau and his prisoner alighted at Bonaventure, Quebec, 9 miles to the west, and drove back to New Carlisle by patrol car. Janowski claimed the right to don his naval uniform and police officers conducted him to the site where he had buried it. The police acted more quickly in other respects than the post-war press realized. They notified the Staff Officer (Operations) in Gaspé who ordered a special antisubmarine patrol of the two Bangors HMCS *Burlington* and *Red Deer* into the Baie des Chaleurs for a two-day search.<sup>31</sup> Post-war newspaper reports berated the QPP for having allowed Janowski to claim POW status so flagrantly. RCMP officers, they asserted, had chastised the QPP for their lax handling of the case. There is, however, no publicly accessible evidence for this assertion, though indeed Janowski later informed a townsman who visited his cell that he too was "surprised to be so well entertained." Once changed into his naval cap and jacket, though apparently still wearing his tweed trousers, he was conducted to the QPP office in the Maison Blanche Hotel. At about 10:00 PM that night, Duchesneau took Janowski to the county cell and placed him in the charge of the jailer and county sheriff, Gus Goulet. Gus seems to have enjoyed chatting with "Janow," whom he next morning provided with a nourishing breakfast of fresh eggs. Duchesneau had by now informed Chief of the QPP Léon Lambert in Quebec, who in turn brought the RCMP into the picture. Around midnight on 10 November 1942, then-inspector C.V. Harvison of RCMP Montreal Headquarters formally took custody of the spy. The RCMP quickly removed him to Montreal where they utilized him as a double agent.

As the story emerged, Janowski regaled the police with the fiction that he had arrived in one of the most powerful submarines in the German navy. By his distorted account it mounted anti-aircraft guns, no fewer than four torpedo tubes, and carried twenty-two torpedoes and a crew of seventy. It was a type IXC Boat. An early report by Canadian Naval Intelligence of 12 November 1942 noted that the RCMP at New Carlisle had "arrested a suspicious character on 9 November," later identified as "a German Naval Officer landed at Gaspé from a U-Boat on 6 November." The navy seems to have accepted his alibi. By leading Canadian authorities



8.

to believe that he had landed three days earlier than had in fact been the case, Janowski was clearly attempting to dissuade the Canadians from pursuit. Wissmann's U-518 needed time to make good its escape. Yet from first alarm on 9 November until running low on fuel on 13 November, *Burlington* and *Red Deer* criss-crossed the bay in order to intercept their quarry. Once refuelled at Gaspé, they continued the search with the assistance of RCAF aircraft until daylight on 14 November. Watchers on shore often diverted the vessels with well-intended though false alarms. These reports contributed to the "twenty submarines sighted" by coast watchers and fishermen during the month of November. The search had commenced too late, for by 1100 GMT on 9 November, five and a half hours after having departed the New Carlisle beach, U-518 had passed the small exposed port of Chandler, Quebec and was heading for a cursory patrol in "U-boat alley" off Gaspé Bay.

Inspector Harvison's personal account of his interrogations and subsequent management of Janowski-Branton as a double agent provides the only reliable public record of this key event in the Canadian experience of counter-espionage. Under the guidance of a high-level interservice and interdepartmental steering committee, the RCMP established a radio transmitter for Janowski in the Montreal home of an RCMP interpreter identified only as "Johnny." He had served in U-boats in the First World War and would form part of the boarding party in the attempt to capture U-536 off Pointe de Maisonette, New Brunswick, one year later in November 1943. The output and range of the new transmitter exceeded that of the suitcase model the spy had brought ashore, and had to be calibrated carefully so as not to reveal to Hamburg that its man was now being managed. Using this system, the RCMP had Janowski pass carefully selected information to Berlin via Hamburg control. By establishing his credibility they hoped to extract clues as to the methods of Germany's intelligence-gathering agencies. The RCMP contacted Janowski's radio control station in Hamburg in December 1942 and exchanged daily messages with Hamburg until November 1943.<sup>32</sup> However, the information flow seems to have been one way. Hamburg apparently never attempted to contact Montreal, but waited instead for Janowski to initiate any moves. When communications broke off some time after November 1943, Janowski could raise no response to requests for guidance or assistance, not even when feigning having run out of funds. Yet even twenty years later, on meeting his spy in Germany, Harvison remained convinced that the ruse had succeeded.

The RCMP's success in managing Janowski as a double agent depended in very large measure on the secrecy of his capture in New Carlisle. Inspector Harvison's memoirs reveal that reporters had in fact gotten wind of the arrest, and that many had even arrived in time to ferret out stories from among the local residents. They would have had little difficulty in gathering sufficient details to kindle their readers' imagination about the proven threat to national security. News coverage of Janowski's arrest would not only have blown the RCMP cover, but would have confirmed Quebec's worst fears about the imminent Nazi threat. Harvison was doubtless sensitive to the whole "spy scare" that hovered over the Gulf, and in his subsequent autobiography praised the press because "not one line appeared until the lifting of censorship at the end of the war."

In fact, however, there were many leaks. On 23 November 1942, just two weeks after Janowski's arrest, the American magazine *Newsweek* published the first clues under a caption entitled "Canadian Note." It invited its readers to "watch for an announcement revealing the capture of a German submarine commander near New Carlisle, Quebec."<sup>33</sup> No further notes followed. But the very next day, on 23 November, Navy Minister Angus Macdonald gave a press conference during which he deftly skirted the spy issue when confirming the sinking of twenty ships in the St Lawrence River and Gulf in 1942. Asked directly if any spies had

9.

ever landed in Canada from German submarines in the St Lawrence area. Mr Macdonald gratuitously remarked that while it might be technically possible to land men at remote points on the shores of the St Lawrence, they could perhaps only "get by provided they spoke French fluently and wore civilian clothes."<sup>34</sup> Presumably he himself was aware of Janowski's arrest, though he may not have heard of the *Newsweek* leak. The next breach of security occurred in the Quebec legislature on 4 March 1943 when Mr Onesime Gagnon interjected, during a lengthy speech touching on national security, that a German spy had been arrested at New Carlisle just as he was about to give out important information on the defence of the St Lawrence. A number of newspapers referred to this statement next day: among them *La Presse* and *La Patrie* (Montreal), *L'Action Catholique*, *L'Evenement-Journal*, *Telegraph*, and *Quebec Chronicle* (Quebec City), and *Le Droit* (Ottawa).

There is no record of these reports having filtered back to Berlin. On the contrary, German naval records suggest that, despite these leaks, Janowski may have gained a degree of credibility that Canadian authorities could not have appreciated, though indeed Berlin did not express its confidence by playing any information into their hands. Thus an entry in the War Diary of the German Naval Staff for 24 April 1943 records an agent having reported a Murmansk convoy departing Canada on 19 April.<sup>35</sup> On 31 May 1943, the same War Diary recorded the report of a "very reliable agent from Canada" that had been transmitted on 17 May signalling the departure of "the first large wheat shipment" from the St Lawrence Gulf. The convoy, purportedly escorted by the unlikely complement of "fourteen ships including two cruisers and one to two aircraft carriers," could be expected off St John's, Newfoundland, by 6 May. As Allied Operational Intelligence well knew, BdU had no U-boats in the area to corroborate these claims.

If Harvison is correct that the RCMP ran Janowski for eighteen months before delivering him to British Intelligence in England, then his cover may well have been blown. The Fredericton *Daily Gleaner* ran a human-interest story on 14 June 1943 datelined Rimouski, Quebec, that appears to have been syndicated through the *Toronto Star* News Service. It would have received wide distribution. The account, headlined "CPC Organized on St. Lawrence - German Officer Spotted in Hotel by Woman," described the work of the Quebec provincial "Comité Protection Civile," which "guarded" the district in conjunction with the federal ADC "shore watchers." The Dominion government, the report revealed, had just "outfitted the CPC watchers with blue overall[s] and tin hats." With ingenuous frankness the report observed: "Typical of the work [that Quebec provincial] civilian observers and members of the Reserve Army are able to do ... is the story [which Bruno Grandmont of Rimouski] told of how a hotelkeeper's wife in New Carlisle, on the Bay [sic] des Chaleurs, nabbed a German officer last year." The account then summarized the essential clues (Belgian cigarettes, large-sized dollar bills) and revealed that the officer had "led the police to his cache on the beach, where he showed them his German uniform, a radio and handcuffs." Whatever other talents the German might have had, so the CPC civilian observer Grandmont had informed the reporter, "he wasn't smart enough to outwit the people of this peninsula." The next security breach occurred on 29 July when Col. Léon Lambert, joint director of the Quebec Provincial Police, addressed the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Quebec Police and Fire Chiefs Association in Quebec City. In describing the added responsibility that war placed upon their members, he claimed that the vigilance of the QPP was responsible for the capture of "more than one spy."<sup>36</sup> RCMP at the time considered the allusion a breach of censorship even though Lambert had revealed virtually no details. The Germans, they felt, would easily have inferred that the "one spy" to whom he alluded was Janowski. The RCMP would not yet have known of Langbein. Finally, on 27 December 1943, *L'Action Catholique* reported an announcement in the *Canada Gazette* that Alphonse Duchesneau had been decorated by the king. *L'Action Catholique* correctly guessed the reasons: "On croit savoir que

le détective Duchesneau a été décoré pour le courage et la présence d'esprit qu'il a manifestés en arrêtant un espion allemand."<sup>37</sup>

The lifting of censorship restrictions at the end of the war brought forth a rash of partly factual, partly speculative accounts of Janowski's landing and capture. All were based on a lean official press release; many derived from conflicting interviews with local witnesses; none reflected any knowledge of either German or RCMP sources.<sup>38</sup> The story constituted "hot" front-page news for some papers; stale back-page news for others.<sup>39</sup> The accounts created a number of confusing myths, not the least of which held that the spy Janowski had landed "near jagged shores" of Métis Beach on the St Lawrence River, had "clambered on to the Métis rocks," and then made his way southward across the Gaspé Peninsula to New Carlisle before attempting to reach Montreal. There is no publicly accessible evidence in support of the *Ottawa Journal's* claim of 15 May 1945 that "the deceiving of the Nazi spymasters in Hamburg was so successful that other German espionage agents [were] lured into betraying themselves to the RCMP."<sup>40</sup>

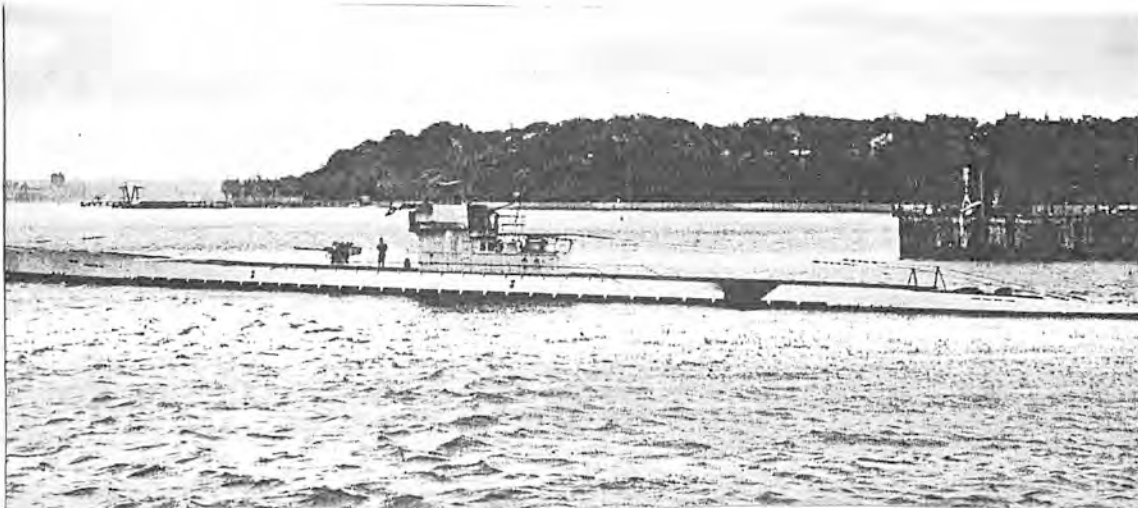
The spy story had rather volatile repercussions in Quebec politics. In the words of the *Montreal Gazette*, "Battles against German submarines off the Gaspé coast were re-fought in the Quebec Legislative Assembly" on 15 May 1945 during a debate of the estimates of the attorney-general's department.<sup>41</sup> Liberal MLA Léon Casgrain had triggered the heated exchange by asking Premier Duplessis whether he intended to reward detective Alphonse Duchesneau for having captured the German spy. Duplessis' response was unequivocal. Duchesneau, he asserted, had been a Union Nationale appointee; it was due to his vigilance alone, and not that of the federal government, that the spy had been caught at all. Exploiting the political moment, Duplessis then voiced a long-standing Quebec concern: the inadequate defence of the Gulf and river, of which the spy's activities seemed incontrovertible proof. He alluded to wartime speculation in the province to the effect that federal forces had actually allowed German U-boats to penetrate the Gulf virtually unopposed. The express purpose of this federal deceit, he explained, was to close down the Port of Quebec and force the diversion of lucrative trade elsewhere. (This had in fact been somewhat the case when the river and Gulf were closed to all but the coastal trade in 1942.) Casgrain inadvertently cast himself in the role of a lackey of Ottawa by explaining that he had known of the New Carlisle incident since 1942, but had kept silent at the request of a "British Intelligence" officer who had interviewed Janowski. (This was likely Lt W.S. Samuel, RNVR, of Canadian Naval Intelligence). Casgrain's silence struck Duplessis as almost beneath contempt; the Quebec citizen should have revealed the threat instead of hiding behind federal censorship regulations.

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COPY OF THE ACTUAL LOG OF THE GERMAN SUBMARINE, U-518, COMMANDED BY LT. WISSMANN, FOR THE PERIOD OF NOVEMBER 7, 8 AND 9, 1942 AS THE ENEMY CRAFT MOVED FROM THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE INTO BAY CHALEUR ON ITS MISSION TO LAND LT. VON JANOWSKI AS A SPY AT NEW CARLISLE.

THE GERMAN TEXT IS FOLLOWED BY AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

THE COOPERATION OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE MUSEUM, REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN IN PROVIDING THIS LOG IS SINCERELY APPRECIATED.



GERMAN SUBMARINE OF THE U-500 TYPE.

Datum und Uhrzeit	Angabe des Ortes, Wind, Wetter, Seegang, Beleuchtung, Sichtigkeit der Luft, Mondschein usw.	12.	Vorhommnisse	114-
- 25 -				
7.11. 0000	St.-Lorenz-G BB 5143 WSW 4, S 3, C, dkl. Nacht, sehl. S. Meeresl.		Absicht Marsch nach BB 414	
0400	BB 5114 SW 3, S 2-3, C 9, Regensch. mittl. S.			
0800	BB 1997 WSW 4, S 3-4, mittl. S. Meeresl.			
1109			Getaucht.	
1200	BB 1982-		Tidal: u.W. 66 sm. u.W. 37 sm.	
1600	BB 1981			
2000	BB 1972		Aufgetaucht.	
2231				
0000	BB 1896- WSW 3-4, S 3, C 6, mitt. bis S.S.		Nach Vereinbarung mit V-Mann wird die Insel für die nächste Nacht geplant.	
0400	BB 1889- WSW 4-2, S C-1, C 2, S.S. Nordlicht		Beabsichtige unter Beobachtung des evtl. V-Manns vorsichtig nach BB 4141 zu gehen um dort in der nächsten Nacht Aufgabe durchzuführen. Landungsplatz mit V-Mann vorher abzusprechen.	
0800	BB 4241 WSW 1, S C, C 1, S.S. Nordlicht, kein Meeresl.			
1059			Getaucht. Es scheint hier kein Verkehr zu herrschen.	
1200	BB 4152		Tidal: u.W. 83 sm. u.W. 35 sm.	
1600	BB 4129			
2000	BB 4155-			
2200			Auf Sehrohrtiefe, Die Bucht ist nach allen Seiten leer und frei von Fahrzeugen.	
2255			Aufgetaucht. Beabsichtige Durchführung Aufgabe in den Morgenstunden. Bis dahin auf- und abstehen und beobachten.	
8.11. 0000	BB 4145- SSW 1, S C, C 3, mittl. S., mittelhelle Nacht.		Wetter und Beleuchtung sind günstig. Fahrzeuge nirgends zu sehen.	
0400	BB 4142 SSW 1, S C, C 4, mittl. S. mittelhelle Nacht, ger. Meeresl.		An Land starker Autoverkehr auf beiden Seiten. Autostraßen anscheinend dicht an der Küste. Navigatorische Feuer in genügender Menge vorhanden und brennen. Langsam wird es in den Ortschaften dunkler. Der Autoverkehr bleibt aber noch ziemlich reg.	

DATE AND TIME	DETAILS OF PLACE, WIND, WEATHER, SEA STATE, ILLUMINATION, VIS., MOONLIGHT, ETC.	OCCURENCES
<p><u>7.11.</u> 0000</p>	<p>St. Lawrence Gulf BB 5143 WSW 4, S3, 0. dark night luminescent sea.</p>	<p>Intention: Advance to BB 41</p>
<p><u>8.11.</u> 0000</p>	<p>BB 1896 WNW 3-4, S 3, C 6 moderate to good visibility</p>	<p>With concurrence of secret agent, landing planned for the next night.</p>
<p>0400</p>	<p>BB 1889 NW 4-2; good visibility; northern lights.</p>	<p>By observing possible traffic, intend to advance cautiously toward BB 4141 [in Baie des Chaleurs] in order to execute mission the next night. Landing place discussed precisely with agent.</p>
<p>0800</p>	<p>BB 4241 WSW 1, good visibility, northern lights, no luminescent sea</p>	
<p>1059</p>		<p>Dived. Seems to be no traffic here.</p>
<p>1200</p>	<p>BB 4132</p>	<p>Distance run: 83 mi surfaced, 35 submerged.</p>
<p>1600</p>	<p>BB 4129</p>	
<p>2000</p>	<p>BB 4155</p>	
<p>2200</p>		<p>Periscope depth. The Bay is empty on all sides and clear of vessels.</p>
<p>2255</p>		<p>Surfaced. Intend execute mission in the morning hours. Until then, patrol up and down and observe.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Signed) <u>Wissmann</u></p>
<p><u>9.11.</u> 0000</p>	<p>BB 4145 SSW 1 moderately clear night</p>	<p>Weather and illumination are favourable. No vessels to be seen. Heavy automobile traffic on both sides ashore; highways apparently close to the coast. Navigational lights in sufficient number and burning. Slowly it gets darker in the towns and habitations. However, automobile traffic still remains fairly heavy.</p>
<p>0400</p>	<p>BB 4142 SSW 0-1 Moderate visibility, mod. bright night, sea luminescence.</p>	



Datum und Uhrzeit  
Angabe des Ortes, Wind, Wetter, Seegang, Beleuchtung, Sichtigkeit der Luft, Mondschein usw.

14.

Vorkommnisse

- 26 -

9.11.  
0438

0440  
0512

0535

0550

0520

0525

0700

0800

1100

1200

1600

2000

2232

113m

~~...~~  
Auflauf auf Wasser  
~~...~~  
auf dem Wasser  
festen Land, Dingh, an  
Land. Dort ... Uhr. Ent-  
fernung von der Küste 700 m. Küste ist et-  
wa 15 m hoch. Oben stehen Häuser, direkt an  
der Küste verläuft eine Straße.

Auf der Autostraße kommt ein Auto mit Bug  
links. Gerade vor uns macht die Straße eine  
Kurve, so daß der Scheinwerfer des Autos  
einen kurzen Augenblick über das Wasser  
streicht. Mir bleibt die Spucke weg. Unwill-  
kürlich befehle ich noch schnell: Köpfe weg.  
Das Auto dreht weiter und läuft dann unmit-  
telbar vor uns in etwa 800 m Abstand mit  
links Lage 90 an uns vorbei. In seinem Schein-  
werferlicht sind an Land die dort einzeln  
stehenden Häuser und alle Kleinigkeiten zu  
erkennen.

Die Häuser machen einen ärmlichen Eindruck.

Diegi kommt zurück. V-Mann wurde mit seine  
Gepäck gut und trocken an Land gebracht.  
Tauchbunker 7 und Regelzellen ausgedrückt.  
Boot mit E-Maschinen zurückgezogen und nach  
Mitte Dacht abgelaufen.

Aufgabe wurde völlig gelöst und unter-  
merkt durchgeführt.

Auf Auslaufkurs gegangen.

Ich bin nach dem dort vorgefundenen friedensmäßigen Verhältnis  
der festen Überzeugung, das der V-Mann auch weiterhin durchgekomme  
ist.

EB 4143  
ZNW 1-2, S 1, C 3, g.S.  
Der Meeresl.

Getaucht.  
Etwa: U.W. 100 am. 36 m u.W.

Aufgetaucht.  
Absicht in Qu. BB 1730 an die Küste zu gehen  
und unter der Küste nach NW zu laufen.

*Handwritten signature*

10.11.  
0000

EB 1846  
ZNW 4, S 3, C 5, g.S.  
kein Meeresl.

~~...~~

DATE AND TIME	DETAILS OF PLACE, WIND, WEATHER, SEA STATE, ILLUMINATION, VIS., MOONLIGHT, ETC.	OCCURENCES
9.11.		
0436		Run in to execute mission in BB 4141 upper corner centre. Rising tide
0440		Dinghy cleared away.
0512		Blown diving tank No. 7. Beached U-Boat with Electro Motors.
0535		U-Boat firmly beached. Dinghy away and landed. There it is approx. 0030 o'clock. Distance from the shore 700 meters, coast about 15 meters high. Houses standing on top. A highway runs right along the coast.
0550		A car comes along the road to the left. The road takes a curve just in front of us, so that the car's headlights sweep across the water for a brief moment. I'm simply flabbergasted. I involuntarily order everybody to get their heads down - the car turns and runs directly past us at about 800 meters..... In the gleam of its headlights we can easily recognize the houses standing isolated ashore and all the details. The houses make a dreary impression.
0620		Dinghy returns. Agent and his gear put ashore well and dry.
0625		Clear diving tank 7 and regulator cells U-Boat pulled back on electro motors and withdrew towards middle of the Bay.
0700		Set departure course.
		Because of the peacetime conditions we found there I'm firmly convinced that the secret agent has made it the rest of the way.
0800	BB 4143 WNW 4, 1-2 good visibility, slight luminescence	
1100		Dived
1200	BB 4133	Distance run: 100 miles surfaced; 36 submerged
2232		Surfaced. [.....]
		(signed)  <u>WISSMANN</u>