

# SPIES IN THE SHADOWS<sup>®</sup>

## SELECTED CANADIAN HISTORICAL INTELLIGENCE ELEMENTS

Well into the Cold War, elements of intelligence history shaped Canada's development as a country. This list of elements is not exhaustive, but provides a good starting point for students and teachers alike to dig down into key historical events, and do their own investigations into the role played by espionage in Canadian history.

This website, and this list, focus on the early years of Canadian history and foreign intelligence. More recently, “security intelligence” has dominated the headlines and the news, especially since the 1984 formation of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). As these recent matters are those of a mature country managing security issues, they fall outside the mandate of this project. However, some sources are provided at the end to provide background to researchers interested in security intelligence issues.

### 18TH CENTURY NORTH AMERICA

#### George Washington & The Seven Years War

George Washington enters Fort Le Boeuf in the Ohio Valley to deliver a message from Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie, ordering the French to leave the valley.

A surveyor, the 21-year old Washington spends his time waiting for a reply counting men, and assessing capabilities and intentions.

- Selected Sources:
  - "The Journal of Major George Washington, of His Journey to the French Forces on Ohio"
  - P.K. Rose, *The Founding Fathers of American Intelligence*

#### George Washington & US War of Independence

Having learned from his experiences in the Seven Years' War, the now General George Washington becomes the Commander in Chief of the Continental Army, collecting information from agents, including agents who report only to him.

- Selected Source:
  - Thomas Allen, *George Washington, Spymaster: How The Americans Outspied The British And Won The Revolutionary War*

## 18TH CENTURY CANADA

### Plains of Abraham, General James Wolfe

After a 3-month siege, General James Wolfe decides upon a landing site to attack the French and seize the Plains of Abraham. Deception is the key to Wolfe's success, such as leaving men at the camp to stoke fires to make their camp look occupied. Cannons fire on an alternate landing site, and British ships float up and down the river until French sentries stop watching them. Intelligence helps those operations, as does the knowledge that Montcalm's forces have been expecting re-supply boats.

- Selected Sources:
  - Christopher Hibbert, *Wolfe At Quebec*
  - Dan Snow, *Death or Victory: The Battle of Quebec and the Birth of Empire*

## 19TH CENTURY CANADA

### 1812 War

**Battle for Detroit:** American troops under General William Hull arrive in Detroit. Much of his equipment was shipped ahead, but the ship, the Cuyahoga, is seized by the British. Its contents reveal many stories. General Sir Isaac Brock and Tecumseh use deception to make the number of troops look larger, and play to American fears.

**Battle of Stoney Creek:** American troops begin to march toward Burlington, stopping for the night at Stoney Creek. Billy "The Scout" Green rides to Burlington, telling the British commanders where the troops are, as well as the password for their sentry.

**Battle of York:** American troops ransack Upper Canada's capital, which is mostly unguarded, instead of the heavily fortified Kingston. Badly disorganized, Canadian commanders fail to anticipate the American attack, made worse by a breakdown in communications once the assault begins.

**Battle at Beaver Dams:** Laura Secord, whose husband had been injured during the Battle of Queenston Heights, overhears talk regarding the upcoming American attack, and walks thirty kilometres toward Beaver Dams to warn the British troops. Her information corroborates information provided to Lt. James FitzGibbon; British and native forces successfully ambush the Americans.

**Burning of Washington, DC:** The British land by sea near Washington, but the American government finds itself divided and unprepared. Even Secretary of State James Monroe scrambles to provide intelligence to his own government.

- Selected Sources:
  - Pierre Berton, *The Invasion of Canada*
  - James E. Elliott, *Strange Fatality The Battle of Stoney Creek, 1813*
  - Donald Hickey, *Don't Give Up the Ship! Myths of the War of 1812*
  - Donald Hickey, *The War of 1812 – A Forgotten Conflict*
  - Jon Latimer, *1812 – The War with America*
  - Robert Malcomson, *Capital in Flames: The American Attack on York, 1813*
  - Anthony Pitch, *The Burning of Washington*

## US Civil War (1861-1865)

Canada is a target for foreign spies during the US Civil War, in particular Confederate spies looking to divide the Northern alliance. Key personalities include Jacob Thompson and Godfrey Hyams, and plots include the St Alban's Raid, attempts to commit arson in New York on a large scale, and plots against President Abraham Lincoln.

- Selected Sources:
  - Donald Markle, *Spies and Spymasters of the Civil War*
  - Edwin Fishel, *The Secret War for the Union* (American context only)

## Fenian Raids & Confederation Debate (1864 to 1870)

Gilbert McMicken sends Canadian police to Detroit, Buffalo, Chicago, and other American places with large Irish populations to collect intelligence on the Fenian Brotherhood's plans to invade or attack Canada. Early on, the Fenians surprise Canadian authorities, which boosts Canadian nationalism, and helps the pro-Confederation lobby during constitutional negotiations.

- Selected Source:
  - Hereford Senior, *The Last Invasion of Canada*

Henri Le Caron (real name Thomas Beach) becomes a spy within the Fenians in 1868, and feeds Gilbert McMicken key information that undermines future Fenian raids.

- Selected Source:
  - Peter Edwards, *Delusion: The True Story of Victorian Spiespy Henri Le Caron*

## Policing

Sir John A MacDonal creates the North-West Mounted Police in 1873, and within a year it is enforcing Canadian law throughout western Canada. In 1920, the North-West Mounted Police are merged with the eastern based Dominion Police.

- Selected Sources:
  - RCMP Online History: <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/hist/index-eng.htm>
  - John Turner, *The North-West Mounted Police, 1873-1893*
  - Rod Macleod, *The North-West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905*
  - David Ricardo Williams, *Call in Pinkerton's – American Detectives at Work for Canada*

## 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CANADA

### World War I & Post-war

Elements include the gas attack at Ypres (an intelligence failure) which increases Canadian nationalism; and General Arthur Currie orders trench raids to steal intelligence in 'no man's land' (the area between allied and German trenches). Also included: logistics as deception – moving a field hospital knowing that it would be reported by German spies; Colonel Andrew McNaughton learns to use intelligence in artillery battles.

- Selected Sources:
  - Pierre Berton, *Vimy*
  - Tim Cook, *At The Sharp End: Canadians fighting the Great War, 1914-1916*
  - Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians fighting the Great War, 1917-1918*
  - Sir Arthur Currie, *The selected papers of Sir Arthur Currie: diaries, letters, and report to the Ministry, 1917-33*
  - Dan Richard Jenkins, *Winning Trench Warfare: Battlefield Intelligence In The Canadian Corps, 1914-1918* (PhD Thesis)

### **Defense Scheme #1: Canada's invasion plan against the United States & War Plan Red, the American equivalent.**

At the end of World War I, Canadian Director of Military Operations and Intelligence James Sutherland Brown senses that the greatest strategic threat to Canada is the United States, and in 1921 formulates a plan to pre-emptively invade the United States. The plan is later supported by reconnaissance missions into the United States.

- Selected Sources:
  - Atholl Sutherland Brown, *Buster: A Canadian Patriot and Imperialist*
  - Charles Taylor, *Six Journeys: A Canadian Pattern*

### **Early 20th Century International Intelligence**

New global technologies change the global intelligence landscape. Technology increases the scope of the intelligence war: reconnaissance planes, trench reports, sound ranging. Meanwhile, radio and telegraph mean information travels farther and is easier to steal.

- Selected Sources:
  - Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service*
  - Michael Nelson, *War of the Black Heavens*
  - David Nickles, *Under The Wire: how the telegraph changed diplomacy*
  - High Skillen, *Spies of the Airwaves*
  - Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram*
  - Herbert Yardley, *The American Black Chamber*

### **World War II Intelligence in Canada**

Canada joins the intelligence war, intercepting signals, decrypting messages, training Canadians and Americans to go “behind the lines,” and capturing landed spies.

- Selected Canadian Sources:
  - John Bryden, *Best Kept Secret*
  - Dean Beeby, *Cargo of Lies*
  - David Kahn, *The Reader of Gentlemen's Mail: Herbert O. Yardley and the Birth of American Intelligence* (Chapter 18)
  - Roy MacLaren, *Canadians Behind Enemy Lines*
  - David Stafford, *Camp X*

### **World War II International Intelligence**



Canada's allies increase intelligence resources during World War II, breaking the German military (Enigma) and Japanese diplomatic (Purple) ciphers to deception operations, placing agents behind the lines, fighting propaganda and resistance battles, and using double agents to increase the likelihood of success in the June 1944 Normandy landings.

- Selected Sources:
  - Anthony Cave Brown, *A Bodyguard of Lies*
  - Nicholas Rankin, *Churchill's Wizards: The British Genius For Deception 1914-1945*
  - Roger Hesketh, *Fortitude*
  - RV Jones, *Most Secret War*
  - John Masterman, *The Double Cross System*

### **Post – World War II Canadian Intelligence Structure**

As World War II ends and the Gouzenko defection takes place, Canada realizes its own national priorities, but must balance its resources to the perceived threat. The arrival of peace launches an internal debate about what priorities should be funded. A new generation of diplomats, soldiers and scientists revives the debate about autonomy and partnerships, now in the context of Canada as an independent country.

- Selected Sources:
  - John Bryden, *Best Kept Secret*
  - Kurt Jensen, *Cautious Beginnings, Canadian Foreign Intelligence 1939-1951*
  - William Lyon Mackenzie King Diaries,  
<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/index-e.html>

### **Cold War & Cold War Spies**

GRU cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko defects in September 1945. The Gouzenko investigation raises many concerns in Canada about its own perception of nationhood, Canada's ability to manage criminal investigations related to spies exposed by Gouzenko, and perceptions of Canada by its allies.

In investigating spies and suspects, Canada must come to terms with the reality that being part of an alliance also brings pressure from its allies, which includes testing the loyalty of Canadian bureaucrats. Additional names for students to study include: Fred Rose, Gerda Munsinger, Herbert Norman, Gordon Lonsdale, Victor Spencer.

- Selected Sources:
  - The Defection of Igor Gouzenko: Report of the Canadian Royal Commission
  - Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive: the KGB in Europe and the West*
  - JL Granatstein & David Stafford, *Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost*
  - Amy Knight, *How the Cold War Began: The Igor Gouzenko Affair and the Hunt for Soviet Spies*
  - Reg Whitaker & Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War*

## **International Sources on Signals Intelligence (SIGINT), includes Canadian Participation in UKUSA intelligence agreement**

An extension of the intelligence war during World War II, some have called the Cold War an intelligence war. Wartime partnerships continue, as both sides in the Cold War try to determine what the other side knows, what the other side can or can not do technically, and how to use that information to their advantage.

- Selected Sources:
  - Matthew Aid, *The Secret Sentry: the Untold History of the National Security Agency*
  - Richard Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America & Cold War Secret Intelligence*
  - Richard Aldrich, *GCHQ: the Uncensored Story of Britain's Most Secret Intelligence Agency*
  - Christopher Andrew and Vasilli Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive: the KGB in Europe and the West*
  - James Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace: a Report on America's Most Secret Agency*
  - Patrick Radden Keefe, *Chatter: Dispatches from the Secret World of Global Eavesdropping*

## **Foreign Cold War Espionage & Canadian Security Intelligence**

Canada is forced to come to terms with both real and imagined Soviet espionage in Canada: David Soboloff (aka Gideon), Gordon Lonsdale, Gerda Munsinger, Victor Spencer, Operation Feather Bed. During the Cold War, it becomes common to see other countries use Canadian citizenship as a 'cover' for spies, whether located in Canada or elsewhere.

- Selected Sources:
  - Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive*
  - Victor Ostrovsky, *The Other Side of Deception*
  - Reg Whitaker & Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War*

## **RCMP Security Intelligence & The FLQ**

Beginning in 1963, the Front de libération du Québec becomes active as a violent supporter of Quebec nationalism. The FLQ's activities, including a series of violent attacks and bombings, culminate in the bombing of the Montreal Stock Exchange in 1969, and the kidnappings of British Trade Commissioner James Cross, and Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte, (who is eventually found murdered) in 1970. Once again, the Canadian government finds itself using the War Measures Act.

- Selected Sources:
  - Michael Freeman. *Freedom or Security: The Consequences for Democracies Using Emergency Powers to Fight Terror*
  - William Tetley, *The October Crisis, 1970 – an Insider's View*

RCMP creates RCMP Security Service in 1970, one of the long line of RCMP forays into security intelligence, which has included fighting Communist infiltration from the 1920s,

prohibition smuggling, wartime agents and infiltrators, a Cuban Trade Mission bombing, and dealing with Quebec nationalists in the 1960s and 1970s.

- Selected Sources:
  - John Sawatsky, *For Services Rendered: Leslie James Bennett and the RCMP Security Service*
  - John Starnes, *Closely Guarded: A Life in Canadian Security and Intelligence*

### **Iran Hostages (The Canadian Caper?)**

Iran Hostage situation: Ambassador Ken Taylor and Canadian diplomatic staff help six Americans escape from Iran after the US Embassy is seized.

- Selected Sources:
  - Antonio Mendez, *The Master of Disguise – My Secret Life in the CIA*
  - Jean Pelletier & Claude Adams, *The Canadian Caper*
  - Robert Wright, *Our Man in Teheran*

### **Creation of CSIS & the Evolution of Security Intelligence**

The 1981 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Certain Activities of the RCMP (also known as the McDonald Commission) investigates allegations that the RCMP went too far in its security investigations. This leads to the creation of CSIS in 1984. Has Canadian intelligence learned lessons from its history, or is it repeating mistakes?

- Selected Sources:
  - Richard Cleroux, *Official Secrets: The Inside Story of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service*
  - Fabrice De Pierrebourg & Michel Juneau-Katsuya, *Nest of Spies – The Startling Truth About Foreign Agents At Work Within Canada's Borders*
  - Andrew Mitrovica, *Covert Entry – Spies, Lies and Crimes Inside Canada's Secret Service*

### **General Reading / Historical Surveys**

- Selected Canadian Intelligence History Books:
  - Mike Frost and Michel Gratton, *Spyworld, Inside the Canadian and American Intelligence Establishments*
  - JL Granatstein & David Stafford, *Spy Wars: Espionage and Canada from Gouzenko to Glasnost*
  - James Littleton, *Target Nation: Canada and the Western Intelligence Network*
- Selected International Sources:
  - Christopher Andrew & Oleg Gordievky, *KGB: the Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev*
  - Christopher Andrew & Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Mitrokhin Archive*
  - David Kahn, *The Codebreakers: The Story Of Secret Writing*
  - Jeffrey Richelson, *A Century Of Spies: Intelligence In The Twentieth Century*

## **Selected Government Commissions and Reports on Intelligence**

- Commissions
  - Royal Commission to Investigate the Facts Relating to and the Circumstances Surrounding the Communication, by Public Officials and Other Persons in Positions of Trust, of Secret and Confidential Information to Agents of a Foreign Power (Kellock-Taschereau Commission, 1946)
  - Royal Commission of Inquiry into Certain Activities of the RCMP (The McDonald Commission, 1981)
  - Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar (2006)
  - Commission of Inquiry into the investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182 (The Major Commission, 2006)
  - Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence Reports & Canadian Security Guide Books (2007)
- Legislation
  - Order in Council P.C. 6444 October 6, 1945 (Allowing suspects to be detained to prevent secret information from being given to foreign powers)
  - Order in Council P. C. 411 on February 5, 1946 (Royal Commission to Investigate Facts Relating to and the Circumstances Surrounding the Communication, by Public Officials and Other Persons in Positions of Trust of Secret and Confidential Information to Agents of a Foreign Power)
  - The War Measures Act (est. 1914), The Emergencies Act (1988)
  - Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act (1985)
- Recent Policy Statements
  - Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy (2004)

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