

Cheers and Tears:
Relations Between Canadian Soldiers and German Civilians, 1944-46

By

Hugh Avi Gordon
B.A., Queen's University at Kingston, 2001
M.A., University of Victoria, 2003

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of History

©Hugh Avi Gordon, 2010
University of Victoria

All Rights Reserved. This Dissertation may not be reproduced in whole or in part by
photocopying, or other means without the permission of the author.

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

Cheers and Tears:
Relations Between Canadian Soldiers and German Civilians, 1944-46
By

Hugh Avi Gordon
B.A.H., Queen's University at Kingston, 2001
M.A., University of Victoria, 2003

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. David K. Zimmerman, Supervisor
(Department of History)

Dr. A. Perry Biddiscombe, Departmental Member
(Department of History)

Dr. Eric W. Sager, Departmental Member
(Department of History)

Dr. Scott Watson, Outside Member
(Department of Political Science)

Dr. David K. Zimmerman, Supervisor
(Department of History)

Dr. A. Perry Biddiscombe, Departmental Member
(Department of History)

Dr. Eric W. Sager, Departmental Member
(Department of History)

Dr. Scott Watson, Outside Member
(Department of Political Science)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines relations between Canadian soldiers and German civilians from March 1945 to April 1946. This study will show that Canadian relations with German civilians were, in part, an extension of relations with civilians in liberated countries, but were also something new altogether. At the beginning of the invasion of Germany, most Canadian soldiers did not wish to associate with Germans and followed a fraternization ban that had been put into effect. Canadians were more likely than American soldiers to believe in the ban. Soldiers were fed a propaganda campaign that told them all Germans were evil and needed to be punished for starting the war. As the invasion proceeded further into Germany, more Canadians realized that all Germans were not Nazis and began to fraternize with the ban still in place. In the Netherlands, where Canadians have been remembered as liberators, relations at times were also tense and bitter after the war ended. Canadians also had to deal with large number of Displaced Persons (DPs), who caused more headaches than German civilians for the occupation authorities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| Supervisory Committee | ii |
| Abstract | iii |
| Table of Contents | iv |
| List of Tables | v |
| List of Figures | vi |
| Acknowledgements | vii |
| Dedication | viii |
| Epigraph | ix |
| List of Abbreviations and Acronyms | x |
| CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Background Historiography | 1 |
| CHAPTER TWO: Canadians and the Great Crusade: Relations in France and Belgium | 30 |
| CHAPTER THREE: “Free us from our Liberators”: The Dutch Example of Deterioration in Civil-Military Relations | 61 |
| CHAPTER FOUR: Non-Fraternization: Win the War and Win the Peace | 85 |
| CHAPTER FIVE: Don’t Fraternize | 114 |
| CHAPTER SIX: Feeling Their Way in the “Canadian Way” | 152 |
| CHAPTER SEVEN: Rape | 200 |
| CHAPTER EIGHT: Calm, Disciplined and Obedient: Fraternization and the CAOF | 238 |
| CHAPTER NINE: VD | 292 |
| CHAPTER TEN: DPs: A Far Bigger Problem Than the Germans | 304 |
| CONCLUSION | 343 |
| Bibliography | 350 |

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

1: Table of Rape Cases in Germany, 1945

209-10

LIST OF FIGURES

| FIGURES | PAGE |
|---|------|
| 1: Bing Coughlin Cartoon | 150 |
| 2: Map of Lower Saxony, Germany | 154 |
| 3: Bing Coughlin Cartoon | 175 |
| 4: Bing Coughlin Cartoon | 198 |
| 5: Chart of Rape Cases in Germany, 1945 | 209 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank:

My family, for their unending support.

My friends and colleagues, for their intellectual stimulation, guidance and suggestions through troublesome times. In particular (but in no way limited to):

Doron and Ruth Barak, the entire Baron family, Timothy Balzer, Steven and Roland Burggraaf, Jenny Clayton, Denis Dubord, Marg Drysdale, Richard Goette, Kevin Liang, Christian Lieb, Ari Liederman, Nicholas May, Michael Mills, the entire Singer family, the entire Trayner Family, Angela Wan, Sarah Wiebe, and last, but certainly not least, Kathleen and William Young.

The faculty of the History Department of the University of Victoria, in particular:

Professor David Zimmerman, for his continuing guidance, support and mentoring... and for introducing me to a topic which continues to fascinate and challenge me daily.

Professors Peter Baskerville, Perry Biddiscombe, Patricia Roy and Eric Sager, for pushing me to find my own opinions on subjects that never previously captured my full attention and for helping me find my professional ego.

All of my other professors at UVic, for making graduate school the best time of my life.

The staff of the History Department of the University of Victoria, for treating me like a human being and for their enduring patience with my foibles.

The staff of the National Archives of Canada and the United Kingdom, for teaching me that bureaucracy is international.

The staff and serving officers of the Department of National Defence Directorate of History and Heritage, for teaching me and reminding me that the military is made up of human beings.

DEDICATION

To my late mother, Marlene Rafman-Gordon, who made me promise to undertake this dissertation and this degree. It was the easiest and happiest promise I ever made, but slightly harder to keep.

To my father, David Gordon, for his love and continuing to be there for me and helping see me through the worst few years of my life.

To Beth Greenblatt, for seeing things in me I never saw before and for accepting me as one of her sons.

To my grandparents, Rachel and Philip Gordon for their love, support and unending faith in my abilities.

EPIGRAPH

I know what I am.
And I know what I am not.
At least unlike some, I know I cannot be someone else,
Truly see and feel from someone else's experience and heart.
Nevertheless, I have always believed in empathy, in the broad sense of commonality of
being human.
Admittedly, we cannot understand.
But we can try.
Gregory Macdonald, *Son of Fletch*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS:

| | |
|-------|---|
| AMGOT | Allied Military Government of Occupied Territory |
| AWL | Away Without Leave (Canadian usage of AWOL) |
| BAOR | British Army of the Rhine |
| Bde. | Brigade |
| CA | Civil Affairs |
| CAO | Canadian Army Overseas |
| CAOF | Canadian Army Occupation Force |
| CI | Counter Intelligence |
| CMHQ | Canadian Military Headquarters |
| Det. | Detachment |
| Div. | Division |
| ENSA | Entertainments National Services Association |
| FFI | French Forces of the Interior |
| FS | Field Security |
| DHH | Directorate of History and Heritage (Canadian Department of National Defence) |
| DP | Displaced Person |
| Globe | The <i>Globe and Mail</i> (Toronto, ON Newspaper) |
| GI | General Issue (Slang for US Army soldier) |
| HQ | Headquarters |
| Inf. | Infantry |
| LAC | Library and Archives Canada |
| MG | Military Government |
| MP | Military Police/Member of Parliament |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NAAFI | Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes |
| NA UK | The National Archives (United Kingdom) |
| NBS | Nederlandse Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten (Dutch Resistance organization) |
| NCO | Non-Commissioned Officer |
| NSB | Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (Dutch Nazi Party) |
| NYT | New York Times |
| OR | Other Ranks (British/Canadian term for enlisted men) |
| RAF | Royal Air Force |
| RCAF | Royal Canadian Air Force |
| RHC | Royal Highlanders of Canada (Black Watch) |
| RHLI | Royal Hamilton Light Infantry |
| QOR | Queen's Own Rifles of Canada |
| PS | Public Safety |
| PSO | Public Safety Officer |
| SCAO | Senior Civil Affairs Officer |
| UN | United Nations |
| USO | United Services Organization |

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The Second World War placed Canadian soldiers in close contact with European civilians. Regardless of whether soldiers were liberating farmhouses or occupying entire towns, they interacted with civilians. Canadian soldiers bartered for fresh food and civilians traded for chocolate and nylons, but these simple actions do not tell the entire story.

This thesis examines how soldiers interacted with civilians while serving overseas, especially in Germany during 1945 and 1946. No study has previously examined in detail the Canadian Army Occupation Force (CAOF) in Germany. Pamphlets, slogans, editorials and orders relating to interactions with civilians will be examined, along with soldiers' responses to the indoctrination. Canadian soldiers' relationships ranged in a spectrum from friendly casual encounters creating lasting friendships to violent rapes. Soldier-civilian relations need to be examined and analysed to see how they reflect on Canadian actions and soldiers in general. Canadians also had to deal with large number of Displaced Persons (DPs), who caused more headaches than German civilians for the occupation authorities.

Canadian soldiers' relations with civilians changed over the course of the invasion and occupation of Germany and were, in part, an extension of relations with civilians in liberated countries. When Allied soldiers first entered German territory, Canadian soldiers were more likely to follow orders and refuse to fraternize with local civilians. Whereas American soldiers fraternized unreservedly, Canadians initially did not. This research project has found that Canadian soldiers were more likely to follow

the non-fraternization policy when dealing with German civilians, but that did not mean the policy was an unqualified success. Within three months of entering German territory, the non-fraternization policy in Canadian-occupied areas was almost a dead letter. Before the Allies had begun the conquest of German territory, the American Army officers who originated the policy were not convinced it could be effective. Whereas historians have shown that American GIs disregarded the non-fraternization policy from the beginning, Canadian soldiers took until V-E Day in May 1945 to start disobeying it *en masse*. When the Canadian Army began its occupation of Germany, Canadians and civilians initially viewed each other suspiciously and some soldiers acted out their conquest sexually, as well as militarily.

Certain groups of soldiers, in the course of their duties, were more likely to meet civilians. The primary duties of the Civil Affairs/Military Government (CA/MG) and Field Security (FS) units were either to interact with the local population and/or ensure their security, as well as that of other Allied soldiers. All soldiers received a variety of training materials to help them prepare for battle with Axis forces. They also received pamphlets and manuals from Allied Headquarters pertaining to relations with civilians. The *Maple Leaf*, the Army newspaper, gave Canadian soldiers information on everything from the location of leave centres to the repatriation process. Through its editorials, the newspaper also attempted to be a moral compass, chastising and cajoling soldiers to think and act in certain ways. Other explicit propaganda devices, such as radio slogans, were used to remind soldiers of their duties. When not engaged in fighting, films were also shown to fill the soldiers' insatiable need for entertainment, as well as to educate

them about their mission overseas. The official effort to educate soldiers now benefits historians: we have a mass of documents on soldier-civilian relations.

Historians have discussed American President Franklin Roosevelt's continually changing views about what to do with the defeated Germany, but the Canadian position has received little or no attention. Canadian media tend to portray only the liberation aspects of the invasion of Europe, but Canadian soldiers also were involved in the occupation of Germany in the immediate postwar period. Roughly 17,000 Canadian soldiers participated in the Canadian Army Occupation Force in Northwest Germany until the spring of 1946. At that time, the King government decided that enough was enough and ordered the Canadian Army home after more than six years of war and occupation.¹

Fraternization was a term that had gained a certain meaning by the end of the First World War and continued to have this meaning in the next war as well. While "fraternization" suggested any form of non-official communication with civilians, "fratting", as it was known colloquially to the Americans, referred to mainly sexual encounters between Americans and Germans. For this study, fraternization will include *all* unofficial contacts between Canadians and German civilians. There was a belief among the leaders of the Western Allies, particularly the Americans, that if fraternization was allowed, soldiers would be exposed to Nazi propaganda and venereal disease. The Allies believed that preventing fraternization could also prevent the Germans from launching another world war. The official position was that in order for

¹ Jeff Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers : Canada's Second World War*, Studies in Canadian Military History ; 5 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 255.

the Germans to be punished, there could be no fraternization of any kind. A combined Western Allied ban on fraternization was promulgated in Western Germany and Canadian soldiers had to follow the policy. The Canadian Army inherited the policy on non-fraternization from the Allied High Command. Canada had no consultation on the policy, but was expected to carry it out with no questions asked. Despite the wartime battles about who would command the Canadians in battle, the Army did not protest when it had to blindly follow the same rules as British and American soldiers.

What separates the Canadians from the Americans is that they attempted to follow the ban diligently when they entered Germany. Whereas American troops in Germany have been described as “martial tourists”, Canadians viewed local civilians with suspicion, as they had been ordered. Letter excerpts from Canadian soldiers show an appreciation for the fraternization ban and contempt for German civilians. The ban appeared to be just and necessary because they believed all Germans were just as evil as Allied propaganda described; however, as Canadian soldiers continued their invasion of Germany, their attitudes began to change. Some soldiers questioned whether the ban would only continue to create animosity between the Germans and the Allies after the war. While many soldiers were appalled at the idea of fraternization, many Canadians started to illegally interact with the Germans. Large numbers of soldiers talked and held hands with Germans, even though it could cost them their hard-earned pay or freedom. Despite a strong advertising campaign telling soldiers “Don’t fraternize”, changes had to be made. General Eisenhower’s firm non-fraternization policy began to erode with the decision to allow soldiers to talk to children, and later, in July of 1945, a more general

relaxation of the fraternization ban was announced. American, British and Canadian soldiers could talk and dance with German women, but could not live with them or take them back to their barracks.

While disobeying the fraternization ban, some Canadians also committed crimes against the civilian population. Small numbers of Canadian soldiers entered German homes and raped local women, a violent form of fraternization. Whether or not they were fraternizing, Canadian soldiers also engaged in looting European homes during their march into Germany. Relieving the enemy of his Luger or medals was common on the battlefield, but this was also true of civilians as well. Looting was always forbidden by military regulations, but in letter excerpts soldiers bragged about what they had found, or were upset when items had been confiscated. Many Canadians were more interested in what they could find in the rubble. In Germany, this was particularly true because of the belief that the German people had forfeited their right to their property because they had started the war. In particular, Canadian soldiers were astounded by the generous amount of foodstuffs in German homes, particularly when Dutch civilians across the border were starving. The Canadians felt it was their duty to relieve the Germans of their food and feed themselves with it.

One would think that a history of civil-military relations in Western Europe would predominantly be about civilians from those countries; however, late wartime and postwar Europe was a place of mass upheaval. Thousands of displaced persons (DPs) roamed the countryside waiting to be repatriated to their home countries, if those places even existed. These DPs included, among many other groups: Jews liberated from

concentration and extermination camps; Polish and Russian *Ostarbeiter* (Eastern workers) who had functioned as slave labour in the Nazi empire; and prisoners of war (POWs) from every imaginable Allied and Axis army. The DPs presented a much larger problem for Allied military government/civil affairs authorities than the actual sedentary populations of liberated countries. Canadian soldiers were placed in a position of protecting civilians who had recently been labelled as dangerous enemies. Thus, relations with DPs are also a focus of this dissertation.

There are several common themes that have been a part of Canadian military historiography about the Second World War including: command failure, soldiers' lack of discipline, and of course, relations with civilians, which also includes crimes committed by soldiers against civilians and relations with Displaced Persons. "Command failure" is a common theme between this research project and Denis Dubord's research on disease in the Canadian Army in the First and Second World Wars. Dubord argues that the Army tried and failed to suppress the spread of communicable diseases in the Second World War; the Canadian Army also attempted to regulate soldier-civilian relations, and failed at this task as well. The "failure of command" that Dubord suggests was the reason for the problem with disease can be extrapolated to the fraternization issue, as well as the failure to control venereal disease.² There was the need and the will to deal these problems, but the Army never seemed to be able to control these situations. The Canadian Army leadership was unable or unwilling to control the soldiers

² Denis Gerard Dubord, "Unseen Enemies: An Examination of Infectious Diseases and Their Influence Upon the Canadian Army in Two Major Campaigns During the First and Second World Wars." (Dissertation, University of Victoria, 2009).

under its command when it came to dealing with civilians. Dubord suggests that, if the Army High Command had made disease prevention and hygiene a priority, many of the problems could have been avoided. The same was true about relations with civilians and especially with venereal disease. Soldiers could have been subjected to even more “short-arm” inspections and punished for failing to treat VD or for having relations with diseased women. Also, punishments for fraternization could have been handed out much more freely than previously since mechanisms were in place to throw the book at offending soldiers. However, at least for the fraternization ban, the lack of willingness to punish soldiers might point to the fact that senior officers did not believe in the ban either. The lack of any serious punishment for non-violent infractions of the fraternization ban leaves historians with the impression that soldiers were wild and untamed. Sean Longden’s *To the Victor the Spoils* is an anecdotal history of the British Army’s 21 Army Group that also portrays the Canadians as wild soldiers. To Longden’s credit, he mentions at every opportunity that Canadians formed a substantial part of 21 Army Group, but unfortunately he uses limited Canadian sources. This is of particular concern when he portrays the Canadians as “ferocious in battle and a nightmare for any authority figures who tried to keep them under control.”³

Canadian military historians have mostly ignored relations with civilians in Germany. The only official histories on the Canadian Army’s relations with civilians during the entire Second World War were historical reports written for Colonel Charles P. Stacey at the end of the war. Stacey did not refer to civilians in Germany in his

³ Sean Longden, *To the Victor the Spoils : Soldiers' Lives from D-Day to Ve-Day* (London: Robinson, 2007), 18.

published works. Very little has been written on the Canadian Army Occupation Force (CAOF) and fraternization in particular. Captain Claude Beaugard and Edwidge Munn of the Directorate of History and Heritage of the Department of National Defence wrote the lone article on the CAOF. Beaugard and Munn express a similar conclusion as this study does: the Germans caused little trouble for the Canadians. On one point, the article is inaccurate; the authors claim that the term “fraternization” was simply a euphemism for prostitution. This dissertation shows that, as a euphemism, not as a legal or military term, “fraternization” was used as a term for sexual intercourse by soldiers, whether or not the soldiers had to pay for it. It also meant non-sexual encounters, including acts as simple as holding hands.⁴ Jeffery Keshen argues soldiers were torn about whether or not to fraternize with the Germans. He suggests that the troops were driven by a mixture of friendship, greed and sexual desire when they decided to fraternize with the Germans. He also mentions that Canadian soldiers committed several violent home invasions, including one instance where a Canadian soldier who was attempting to restore order was killed while restraining one of the perpetrators. Keshen’s book is a good overview, but it does not go into detail about these events. A single example is not enough to understand the pattern of violence that was taking place in Germany in the spring of 1945.⁵ Angelica Sauer argues that there were more rapes than fraternization at the beginning of the occupation and implies that there was less friendly fraternization. This is only half true. As will be shown, despite the fact that

⁴ Beaugard, Captain Claude and Edwidge Munn, “Les Troupes D’Occupation Canadiennes en Allemagne Juillet 1945 – Juin 1946”, *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, May 1993, 36-41.

⁵ Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers : Canada’s Second World War*.

few soldiers were *charged* with fraternizing with the Germans, many were convicted of this offence instead of rape. In addition, many incidents of fraternization were not reported by the Army, as the sheer number of violations exceeded its ability to handle them.⁶ Laurel Halladay found in her research on entertainment in the Canadian Army that like senior American officers, the Canadian leadership believed “with the policy of non-fraternization superimposed, [we] have great need of good and plentiful entertainment and organized recreation.”⁷ This was in addition to a general increased need in entertainment as the war in Europe ended.

Little has been written on relations between Dutch civilians and Canadian soldiers except for Michiel Horn’s article, “More than Cigarettes, Sex and Chocolate: The Canadian Army in the Netherlands, 1944-1945.” The article, published in 1981, only begins to scratch the surface of the complex relations between soldiers and civilians. Horn does not shy away from pointing out that Canadians, though generally welcome in the Netherlands, were on occasion seen as unwelcome invaders. Horn begins his work with a description of his personal experience during the liberation and uses that to segue into a discussion of the Canadians in Holland. His article is full of emotion and lacks objectivity. He does have some valid points, particularly when he discusses the

⁶ Angelika Elisabeth Sauer, "The Respectable Course: Canada's Department of External Affairs, the Great Powers, and the German Problem, 1943-1947" (microform, National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1994).

⁷ Laurel Halladay, *Ladies and Gentlemen, Soldiers and Artists: Canadian Military Entertainers, 1939-1946* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 2001), microform.

fears of a reserved male-dominated society that saw young women releasing their inhibitions with foreigners on the streets and in the parks.⁸

Some authors have discussed Canadian civil-military relations in the United Kingdom prior to the invasion of France. C.P. Stacey also co-wrote *The Half-Million* with Barbara Wilson, a study of Canadian soldiers in Britain. While the book's area is beyond the scope of this dissertation, *The Half-Million* gives a good explanation of how the machinery of control affected Canadian soldiers in Britain.⁹ Since the Canadian Militia Act specified that troops would be tried under the British Army Act, there was a unified system of discipline in Britain and in the rest of Europe as well. As a result, while in Germany, Canadians were tried under British military law instead of Canadian law. While in Britain, Canadian troops could also be tried by British civilian courts. Americans in Britain could be tried by their own courts-martial, away from the public eye. Canadians tried in civil courts received a larger share of publicity for their crimes, giving a bad impression of Canadian soldiers as a whole. There was also another fear that British judges showed leniency to Canadian soldiers defending Britain, which might have encouraged the Canadians to commit more crimes without fear of serious reprisal.¹⁰

David Reynolds' book *Rich Relations* is mainly about the American "occupation" of Britain in the war, but offers some relevant comments.¹¹ Reynolds notes that there were 170,000 Canadians in Britain at the end of 1943, a group much larger than that in

⁸ Michiel Horn, "More Than Cigarettes, Sex, and Chocolate: The Canadian Army in the Netherlands, 1944-1945," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 3-4 (1981).

⁹ C. P. Stacey and Barbara M. Wilson, *The Half-Million : The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 159-67.

¹¹ David Reynolds, *Rich Relations : The American Occupation of Britain, 1942-1945*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1995).

Germany after the war ended, but still only a fraction of the 773,000 Americans in the UK. While Reynolds shows that when troops were billeted in homes, relations between Canadians and civilians were good, but there were also endemic problems of soldiers being drunk and disorderly. The main problem was that Canadian troops had arrived in Britain with little training and after their long period of idleness now lacked motivation. General Andrew MacNaughton's preference for keeping Canadians together to fight as a group had led to no fighting at all. Without anything significant for them to do other than to fend off a non-existent Nazi invasion, the Canadians were bored. As a result, Canadians became distressed about their food and billet conditions. Unfortunately, while Reynolds offers detail after detail about the American experience in Britain, he fails to do the same for the Canadians, focusing on the Army's inactivity, boredom and the disastrous Dieppe raid. While he notes that Canadians were drunk and disorderly in towns like Oxford and how they received warm welcomes in towns like Aldershot, there is very little mention of how those soldiers got along in general with British civilians.¹²

Canadian soldiers in Britain also had a notorious sexual reputation. While there were thousands of British war brides who went to Canada after the war ended, there were also many charges of bigamy. There were also problems with VD that suggested the problems that would be seen later in Europe. Stacey and Wilson suggest that an early lack of VD cases led to complacency in preventing the spread of such infections. The rate in Britain reached an astounding 144 cases per 1,000 men in 1945, which

¹² Ibid., 127-40.

included soldiers returning from the Continent.¹³ Reynolds notes that the American VD pattern was similar to the Canadian one.¹⁴ The spread in venereal disease had many reasons, but many officials were quick to blame “predatory” women as well as oversexed soldiers. Sonya Rose argues that while brothels in Britain were illegal, some solicitation was allowed. In the United States, prostitution in any form was considered immoral and both countries had to work out legal and moral issues while American soldiers were in Britain. Both governments agreed that women were the problem, either as professional prostitutes or as “amateur” “good-time girls”. This was part of the double standard where extramarital sex for men was considered normal, whereas for women, it was immoral. Conversely, white women needed to be protected from the “excessive sexual urge[s]” of African-American GIs and black Commonwealth troops. In this case, women were considered “naive instead of wanton”.¹⁵ This double standard was very evident in Germany. The Allies were afraid that soldiers’ need for sex would lead them directly into the arms of German “good time girls”.

Beginning just five years after the end of the Second World War, the Korean War is another area where Canadian historians have discussed relations with civilians. The Canadian experience in Korea offers several similarities to that of the Second World War. Canadians had problems with indoctrination, venereal disease, crime and morale, as well as relations with civilians. Brent Watson, in his book *Far Eastern Tour*, suggests that many of these problems were caused by inadequate training and teaching

¹³ Stacey and Wilson, *The Half-Million : The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946*, 148.

¹⁴ Reynolds, *Rich Relations : The American Occupation of Britain, 1942-1945*, 208.

¹⁵ Sonya O. Rose, "The 'Sex Question' in Anglo-American Relations in the Second World War," *The International History Review* 20, no. 4 (1998): 895-98.

materials that were given to soldiers on their way to the fighting. The war was just as brutal as the previous conflicts in Europe, where a lack of training and good equipment was particularly dangerous for Canadian soldiers. Racist attitudes towards civilians were fostered through limited and biased information given to soldiers onboard ship on the way to Korea. The situation did not improve once the soldiers arrived in Korea. The soldiers found the living conditions appalling. They were struck by the casual attitude towards death exhibited by the Korean soldiers and civilians. Watson notes that, if the Canadians had been better informed, they would have recognized that the Koreans had become desensitized to the constant violence in their daily lives. In addition, Watson excoriates the military for failing to look after soldiers, with one result being a VD rate that is comparable in areas to that of the Canadians in Europe in the Second World War.

Canadians also committed crimes in Korea that were similar to those that occurred in Germany. Brent Watson suggests a similar argument to that which will be made in this dissertation. He suggests that violent crime committed against civilians spiked while the Korean War was in a mobile phase and slowed down after the front had stabilized. This research will show for Germany that the number of rapes indeed peaked during the mobile phase, but continued briefly during the changeover from war of movement to occupation. Watson also notes that Canadian soldiers had more violent interactions with Korean civilians during the war of movement, while in Germany Canadian soldiers met more civilians after the war ended. Watson suggests that the “sensational” nature of some of the violent crimes has overshadowed the experience of the infantry in Korea. He concludes that “the number of crimes of a serious criminal

nature were not disproportionate to the number of Canadian troops who served in Korea.” One can simply substitute “Germany” for “Korea.” While the crimes against civilians are shocking, the actual numbers are minute compared to the total number of Canadians who served overseas in these wars.¹⁶ One case in particular resonates with the rapes committed by Canadians in Germany. On 17 September 1951, a group of inebriated soldiers entered a farmhouse near Chung Woon Myung, raped Korean women and fought with South Korean soldiers trying to stop the crime. Three soldiers were tried and convicted of manslaughter or attempted rape, but all were released within a year. As Chris Madsen notes in his book on Canadian military law: “Those implicated in the disreputable business at Chung Woon Myung escaped deserved punishment because military authorities were embarrassed to have soldiers incarcerated in civilian prisons for crimes in the field.”¹⁷ As far as this study can determine, the Canadians in Germany did not wilfully murder civilians. Madsen does not cite similar evidence for crimes committed during the Second World War, but perhaps a comparison can be made. Canadians in the Second World War were sent to civilian prisons for committing crimes during the war, so there appears to have been a change in heart by the military commanders from that war to the next. The research on rape in this study has determined that the senior military officials were more worried about the length of sentences rather than the actual stigma of having soldiers in civilian prisons.

¹⁶ Brent Byron Watson, *Far Eastern Tour : The Canadian Infantry in Korea, 1950-1953* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 16-17, 58-61, 172-73.

¹⁷ Chris Madsen, *Another Kind of Justice : Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 109-10.

On the British Zone after the immediate end of the war, nothing substantial has been published by academic historians, particularly concerning soldier-civilian relations. However, since the Canadian Army in the field functioned as a unit of the British Army, Canadians are visible in the limited British literature. Two official histories were written by F.S.V. Donnison. One volume dealt with planning and training for Civil Affairs and Military Government operations in Northwest Europe, while the other dealt with events that occurred after arrival. The histories deal primarily with command and organizational decisions.¹⁸ Displaced persons were the biggest problem for soldiers in the British Zone other than tribulations with fraternization. Donnison suggested that because the Western Allies worried about Anglo-American prisoners in Soviet hands, negotiations were reached to repatriate all Soviet citizens, regardless of their wishes. This was against SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) policy, which was changed to fit government policy. As a result, nationals from other Allied countries were now explicitly given a choice as to their repatriation. This included the Polish DPs in the Canadian area.¹⁹ Donnison notes in his volume about Military Government operations that the Canadians began to receive thousands of DPs coming across the lines during the second half of April. Overall, DPs going west gave little trouble to the Allies. It was the “eastbounders” that caused more problems, in particular the Poles. Donnison briefly described the conditions in the DP camps and the need to cut rations in the summer of 1946, primarily after the Canadians had departed. He

¹⁸ F. S. V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government* (London, : H. M. S. O., 1966).

F. S. V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government, North-West Europe, 1944-1946* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961).

¹⁹ Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government*, 202-06.

suggests that the poor food and accommodation were better than those experienced by the German civilians, but in many cases the DPs were worse off than they had been under the Nazis. The answer to these conditions, for some, was repatriation, while other DPs wanted to avoid that fate at all costs. Also, Donnison suggested that since there was no work for them to do, they could only look at their former German masters with envy. This led to endemic violence as DPs searched for food, alcohol and female companionship. The Germans did not submit to such pillaging and “Murder, rape and looting followed.” As Donnison put it simply, “British military patrols restored order.” Canadians had the same responsibilities. But what is most striking about Donnison’s description of the DP problem is how he used excerpts from MG reports to show outbreaks of violence interspersed with evidence of DPs calmly organizing entertainment events like concerts.²⁰

Edward Peterson suggests that while British soldiers did rape German civilians, the numbers were less than those committed by DPs and the troops were better disciplined than other Allied forces. He mentions the experience of fellow historian Lewis Gann, a former interpreter in the British Zone. Gann noticed that rape was rare, but looting was common. Instead of rape, more soldiers engaged in “forbidden” fraternization, to the extent that British soldiers lived with girlfriends they were not allowed to have. Gann also noted the large numbers of German war brides who later went to Britain.²¹

²⁰ Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government, North-West Europe, 1944-1946*, 350-51.

²¹ Edward N. Peterson, *The Many Faces of Defeat : The German People's Experience in 1945*, American University Studies. Series IX, History, Vol. 88 (New York: P. Lang, 1990), 74-75.

While there has been limited discussion of British soldiers' relations with civilians, much more research has been done on American soldiers and fraternization. Within the general category of fraternization by American GIs, historians have looked at certain specific areas. These areas include the invasion of Germany, the fraternization ban itself, the sexual relations and politics between GIs and Germans, the rape of German women by soldiers and finally the anti-fraternization reactions of civilians to soldiers.

The invasion of Germany was a tough campaign. Canadian soldiers would remark in their letters that April 1945 was the worst month of fighting since the D-Day landings in June 1944. Recent historiography has started to detail the fierce fighting of the last few months of the war in Europe in the west and some historians have mentioned how soldiers interacted with civilians on the ground. In particular, there were large fears that the Germans would create a "National Redoubt" in the south. The American invasion of this region of Germany was examined by Stephen Fritz in his book *Endkampf*.²² Fritz' study extends from the planning stages on the American side to the hard slog from town to town as the U.S. Army made its way to its objectives. He notes that the American fears of a "national redoubt" in southern Germany actually sparked Nazi efforts to create one. He portrays the insanity of how some civilians wished to surrender but were prevented by the *Wehrmacht*, the SS or even members of the Hitler Youth. Fritz shows very well that all Germans were not Nazis, but argues that the Nazis were still an ideological force to be reckoned with as the Allies made their way into Germany. One

²² Stephen G. Fritz, *Endkampf : Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

book that focuses on the Allied fears of Nazi resistance is Perry Biddiscombe's work on the Werwolf resistance movement. While Werwolf violence was very real and contributed to thousands of deaths, the Allied fears of Nazi resistance allowed the soldiers to be very prepared for any guerrilla activity. In addition, the violence only heightened German disillusionment with the Nazi movement and the crumbling regime.²³ Such guerrilla activity only fuelled Canadian resentment of German civilians and heightened antipathy to soldiers fraternizing with civilians.

The fraternization ban is a popular subject for historians of the American occupation of Germany. Authors have variously described the policy as "unpopular", "doomed to failure" and a "farce".²⁴ Perhaps because of his own experience in Germany as soldier during the Occupation, Franklin Davis commented: "Rarely has any army suffered under a more unpopular policy or one more difficult to enforce." While authors are unanimous that the ban was a failure from the beginning of the American occupation, different studies have focused on various reasons why it failed. Areas of interest for this dissertation are the "Don't Fraternize" propaganda campaign, the soldiers' reactions to the fraternization ban and the reasons fraternization occurred.

The occupation, through the fraternization ban, was an attempt to show Germans that the Allies and democracy were morally upright compared to Nazism. Authors like John Gimbel, in his study of the city of Marburg, and John Willoughby, in his

²³ Alexander Perry Biddiscombe, *Werwolf! : The History of the National Socialist Guerrilla Movement, 1944-1946* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

²⁴ Franklin M. Davis, *Come as a Conqueror; the United States Army's Occupation of Germany, 1945-1949* (New York,: Macmillan, 1967), 142-44.

John Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation : Marburg, 1945-52*, Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), 49.

study of GI behaviour, argue that soldiers acted as “martial tourists” and failed to offer the correct attitude the Allied High Command wanted to display to German civilians.²⁵ Soldiers’ bad behaviour, such as looting, only created animosity towards the American occupiers. This resulted in the Western Allies altering the expectations, and the length, of the military occupation of the country. The American GIs made light of the fraternization ban and contorted the policy into something unenforceable. Since the GIs caused so many problems for the occupation of Germany, the Americans chose not to undertake an extended occupation. They were forced to rely on local Germans to create self-government. The U.S. Army also attempted to re-educate its soldiers to reduce racism among the troops and brought families from America so that the soldiers would settle down. As one reviewer put, “The real significance of this book is its understanding that foreign policy, usually studied by trying to get into the minds of a handful of elites, is itself the product of the actions and beliefs of people far removed from the centers of power.”²⁶ At least one reviewer has remarked that Willoughby overplays his argument, perhaps because he is not a historian by training.²⁷ Also, his assertion that unruly soldiers were the primary cause of the change in plans for the occupation lacks credibility. That is not to say that Willoughby is totally wrong, but he fails to note the increasing fear of tensions with the Soviet Union. In the case of the Canadians, the King government used unruly behaviour by Canadian soldiers as an excuse to take them

²⁵ John Willoughby, *Remaking the Conquering Heroes : The Social and Geopolitical Impact of the Post-War American Occupation of Germany* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

²⁶ Michael S. Neiberg, "Remaking the Conquering Heroes (Book)," *American Studies International* 40, no. 3 (2002).

²⁷ Ibid.

home, but the real reason was because the government had already made the decision and did not wish to be burdened by any more foreign entanglements.

Willoughby recounted the reaction of GIs to relaxation in the ban against talking to children. Soldiers would go up to German women and say "Good day, child" as a means of getting around the restrictions against talking to adults.²⁸ Part of the problem was that in the chaotic environment of defeated Germany, DPs and Germans looked and talked alike. Many an American soldier, suspected by MPs of fraternization, would claim "She's a DP!" As German labour was needed to rebuild the country, more interactions between soldiers and civilians took place.²⁹

Historians have discussed soldiers' reactions to the "Don't fraternize" advertising campaign that was an attempt to enforce the fraternization ban. Franklin Davis described the propaganda campaign as a "positive" means to influence soldiers not to fraternize, rather than simply the "negative" punishments that were used if soldiers broke the ban. He even quoted one of the ubiquitous radio slogans similar to those that will be discussed in a later chapter. Gimbel pointed out the flaw in the propaganda that would be obvious to some soldiers: the Germans did not appreciate that everyone was labelled a Nazi without evidence.³⁰ Petra Goedde also notes the extensive radio campaign. She suggests that while the soldiers were told to reject any attempts at friendship made by the Germans, the ads did not diminish the "sexual appeal" of fraternization. This created a curious dichotomy where soldiers had a negative view of

²⁸ John Willoughby, "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany," *The Journal of Military History* 62, no. 1 (1998): 159.

²⁹ Davis, *Come as a Conqueror; the United States Army's Occupation of Germany, 1945-1949*, 142-44.

³⁰ Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation : Marburg, 1945-52*, 69-71.

Germans as a group, but did not have any problem concerning fraternization with German women as individuals. The Allied High Command defined fraternization as a political act, whereas the soldiers defined it as a personal and recreational one.³¹

Some studies have focused on gender and sexual relations as the primary reason why the fraternization ban failed. Framing the desire for fraternization in gender terms allows historians to go beyond the stereotypical and oft-repeated assertion that men needed female companionship simply because they were men. The desire for sex was not only a male concept, but also a function of power. Franklin Davis suggested that since "Hitler had preached a certain sexual license" and Germany had lost a lot of its young men, "A man was a man." His comment about Hitler is confusing since Nazism abhorred German sexual relations with non-Aryans and the ideology was decidedly anti-feminist in its sexual policies. Just as women used American men to survive in postwar Germany, it was the American soldiers' "basic hunger for women and liquor and the German willingness to supply the demand that doomed the non-fraternization policy." Davis argued that no one had been "very interested" in enforcing the ban.³² Petra Goedde suggests that, "The desire for female companionship and sex often superseded the decision of whether the objects of desire were allies or enemies... For American GIs, fraternization at its most basic level was sexual in nature."³³

Sex can also be an expression of conquest over an enemy. In the Second World War, rape was perhaps the most violent act of fraternization on the continuum of

³¹ Petra Goedde, *Gis and Germans : Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven Conn. London: Yale University Press, 2003).

³² Davis, *Come as a Conqueror; the United States Army's Occupation of Germany, 1945-1949*, 145-46.

³³ Goedde, *Gis and Germans : Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*, 70-74.

soldier-civilian relations, except for murder. J. Robert Lilly's study of GI rapes during the war in Britain and Northwest Europe is an in-depth analysis of the cases found in American court-martial records. While Lilly is a sociologist and not a historian, his research and analysis points to similarities in the actions of American and Canadian soldiers. For example, as in rape cases committed by Canadians, records of the American Judge Advocate General note a greater proportion of rapes occurring in Germany than in other countries which the Allies had liberated. A fundamental tool used by Lilly for historians of rape-fraternization in Germany to note is his use of a sociological model for peacetime statistics that suggests that for every rape reported, there were many more that went unreported, and therefore unpunished. While rape cases were different in Germany than in Britain, rapes occurred wherever American soldiers were stationed.³⁴ From a qualitative historical view, Petra Goedde describes the experience of American Jewish war correspondent Meyer Levin. The journalist noted that the entire experience of war inverted moral values as soldiers were taught that killing was just and, as a result, there appeared to be a license to commit other crimes such as theft and rape. Levin freely admitted that rape was a means for him and other Americans to "release their hatred" on the Germans after witnessing Nazi atrocities. Levin also presented the curious argument that German women welcomed such violent acts as a means of cleansing any possible taint with Nazism. Despite Levin's assertion, Goedde rejects the argument that fraternization was solely based on revenge, or defeatism on the part of German women, acknowledging that these people initiated

³⁴ J. Robert Lilly, *Taken by Force : Rape and American GIs in Europe During World War II*, English ed. (Basingstoke, Hants, England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 12.

relationships for their own reasons. While the peak of such allegations against Americans was 402 in March 1945 and 501 in April, the numbers diminished to 241 in May. Twenty-five to 50% were brought to trial, but only 30% to 50% of those cases resulted in convictions. Surprisingly, Goedde does not tie the rape cases to the fraternization ban and she suggests that with continuing restrictions on German-American relations after the demise of the fraternization ban, such relations did not undergo as much of a change. Nor does she indicate if the Americans used fraternization as a charge in place of rape. She argues that American rapes were much lower than those on the Eastern Front. She quotes several GIs who indicated their disdain for the ban and the general unwillingness to support it.³⁵

Finally, there is only one article on anti-fraternization, that is, resistance by civilians to fraternization with soldiers. Perry Biddiscombe argues that it is not surprising that women were chastised in Germany for fraternizing with Allied soldiers because it was similar to how women in other countries had been treated for fraternizing with German soldiers. He argues that fraternization was simply another culturally-based reason to oppress women who were already viewed as prone to sin.³⁶ Women in Allied countries were also singled out for having relations with foreign soldiers. As will be seen in this dissertation, some Dutchmen were incensed that Dutch women were more interested in Canadian soldiers.

³⁵ Goedde, *Gis and Germans : Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*, 83-87.

³⁶ Perry Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons: The Anti-Fraternization Movement in the U.S. Occupation Zones of Germany and Austria, 1945-1948," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 3 (2001).

One cannot discuss the Allied occupation of Germany without mentioning the experience of the Russian Zone. With the advent of the Cold War so close to the end of the Second World War, most information about the Soviet occupation came from defectors and other refugees from the East. Soviet relations with German civilians have a brutal reputation that has been proven by the work of Norman Naimark who used Russian documentary sources to write the first post-Cold War history of the Soviet Zone. Naimark suggests that over *two million* women were raped in the four-and-a-half years the Soviets occupied eastern Germany, which is now the standard estimate historians use.³⁷ Many women were raped more than once by more than one soldier. As he notes: “The reports of women subjected to gang rapes and ghastly nightly rapes are far too numerous to be considered isolated incidents.” He does, however, intersperse his stories of rape with reports of Soviet courage and charity, with soldiers protecting civilians from the rampages of their fellows.³⁸ Catherine Merridale notes in her social history of the Red Army that rape is a common military instrument in history, a regular component of conquest and occupation. There were other violent crimes committed by Soviet soldiers against German and Eastern European victims, but “rape was the most prevalent.”³⁹ Anthony Beevor, in his popular history of the fall of Berlin, notes the two things the conquerors were most interested in were rape and wristwatches.⁴⁰ According to Merridale, rape was a means of fulfillment for the soldiers, many of whom had never

³⁷ Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany : A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 132-33.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

³⁹ Catherine Merridale, *Ivan's War : Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*, 1st ed. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006), 268-77.

⁴⁰ Antony Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin, 1945* (New York: Viking, 2002).

left their peasant villages before the war began. Also, she suggests that because there were no official brothels, men had no official sexual outlet to use. They were away from their wives and girlfriends for several years. Another explanation might be the official blessing of Stalin and his subordinates towards what was happening at the front and later during the occupation. She asserts that “There is no doubt that the men’s actions were encouraged, if not orchestrated, from Moscow.” Soviet propaganda “stoked the collective rage” against the enemy. At first, there was no punishment meted out to Russian soldiers for raping civilians. There is little memory of such brutality in Russia since a portrayal of Germans as victims was not allowed.⁴¹

Revenge is a common theme in histories of the war in the East. Merridale discusses the fact that Soviet soldiers believed they were fighting a war of ideology and race. Not only did Russian soldiers believe that the German race had to pay for its attack on Mother Russia, but also the fascist beast had to be eliminated by the onward surge of Stalinist Communism. Merridale suggests that the soldiers believed they would not be finished until they had “destroyed their [the Nazis’] world.” She also mentions the copious amounts of alcohol consumed by Soviet troops, an element which can be compared with the Canadian experience in the West and in Korea.⁴² Naimark confirms that Soviet soldiers were indoctrinated with a desire to seek revenge upon the German people who had invaded their beloved *Rodina*, or motherland. For the duration of the war, Soviet propaganda was filled with exhortations to pillage the enemy countryside. Officials had to stop soldiers from burning everything in sight so at least some supplies

⁴¹ Merridale, *Ivan's War : Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*, 268-77.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 268-77.

could be sent back to feed families in Russia.⁴³ Anthony Beevor uses examples of writings from correspondent Vassily Grossman to show the vitriolic propaganda that was given to the troops until the Soviets realized that such exhortations of vengeance were counter-productive.⁴⁴

This review of the historiography brings a few thoughts to mind. The most comprehensive literature on relations with civilians is currently based on American soldiers. While Canadian histories seem to be focused on either policy or personal experience, the American works on the occupation of Germany deal more thematically with the subject in terms of sex, gender and violence. The limited work on Canadians does highlight that these soldiers were just as liable to fraternize with civilians in the United Kingdom as Americans. However, the historiography offers no information on how Canadians interacted with the German people. What was the history of soldier-civilian relations before the Canadians entered Germany? How did Canadian soldiers view Germans before entering Germany? How did the Canadians react to meeting the “enemy” civilians? How did the fraternization ban affect soldier-civilian relations? Did the removal of the ban facilitate relations, or was it of no consequence? Were Canadians more likely or less likely to fraternize than American soldiers?

The next chapter will discuss relations in France after D-Day and those in Belgium in the fall of 1944. Chapter Three will examine the Canadians in the Netherlands and the friction in those relations that happened before and after the war ended. Chapter Four will examine fraternization policy in Germany. Chapter Five details fraternization from

⁴³ Naimark, *The Russians in Germany : A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*.

⁴⁴ Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin, 1945*.

February 1945 to V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, while Chapter Six depicts relations from V-E Day to the end of the fraternization ban in July 1945. Chapter Seven examines rapes of German women committed by Canadian soldiers. Chapter Eight discusses fraternization and policy from July 1945 to the end of 1946, while Chapter Nine discusses venereal disease. Chapter Ten is an examination of the problems the Canadians encountered with Displaced Persons in Germany.

Any historical study of Allied soldiers and European civilians during the Second World War is bound to be complicated by the fact that relations revealed in documents are primarily official events recorded in the performance of military duty. In terms of Civil Affairs (CA), Military Government (MG) and Field Security (FS), such events were not necessarily combat related, but also do not necessarily show casual encounters either. Unfortunately, the only casual encounters documented in official records were usually those prohibited by military and civil law, namely crimes against persons like rape or assault or crimes of property such as looting. Interactions between soldiers and civilians performed by CA/MG units will be referred to as "official" relations. Actions such as evacuating civilians from a combat zone can be labelled "official". There were also a few other official relations during combat operations. Fraternization will refer to casual encounters, including romantic and sexual liaisons, bartering for goods and other relationships soldiers made with civilians.

Researching fraternization or "unofficial" relationships is a much harder process because government archives do not keep records of relationships that might have lasted a day or two and involved nothing more than some friendly words, perhaps a

bottle of wine or spirits and a good memory. Newspaper reports offer some help in this regard as war correspondents were much freer to report on soldiers and women holding hands than casualties in battle. War memoirs and censorship records offer some stories as well.

The Library and Archives of Canada (LAC) and the National Archives of the United Kingdom (NA UK) hold a vast amount of Civil Affairs and Military Government documents, including weekly reports and war diaries. The NAC also holds microfilm reels of censorship reports, court-martial records and cabinet records of government decisions concerning Canadian troops in Europe. The NA UK also holds records of non-fraternization radio slogans produced by the BBC for broadcast to British and Canadian troops. The Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH) of the Canadian Department of National Defence is the repository for CA and MG records, as well as soldiers' memoirs. The DHH also held additional court-martial records that acted as a helpful finding aid in examining the NAC microfilm reels. The Canadian War Museum's archive holds items submitted from personal collections, including correspondence, official documents and photographs, as well as soldiers' memoirs.

Newspaper articles are a helpful source, but they only reflect relationships that became "newsworthy", either because they were troublesome, or because the story was written for propaganda purposes. The Army's newspaper, the *Maple Leaf*, was used to distribute information that soldiers needed, as well as relaying ordinary news. The editorials also give a good idea of the Army's official position in attempting to educate the troops about the enemy they faced and fraternization.

Canadians fraternized with Germans despite warnings, bellicose propaganda, and some angry holdouts. However, they also attempted to follow the ban on fraternization more systematically than American soldiers. Censorship records show that Canadian soldiers, in early 1945, believed that the fraternization ban was justified in punishing German civilians. This attitude lasted for roughly three months before soldiers were able to meet civilians *en masse* and put the lie to Allied propaganda. Rape was a more serious problem that was prosecuted, but not punished, as severely as it could have been. VD affected large numbers of Canadian troops in Germany and the numbers only began to diminish as Canadians left Germany. Problems with DP crime and violence increased bonds between Canadians and Germans.

This thesis explores what happened when tens of thousands of young Canadians encountered European civilians for the first time during the most terrible war in history. These encounters were shaped by anger, fear, lust and joy and a range of other emotions. Lines between “friend” and “enemy” were set on paper, yet in real life were not as easily drawn. From the beginning, the Army recognized that it would have to control, or at least regulate, relations between soldiers and civilians. Despite a plethora of propaganda to convince soldiers on how to interact, the Army had limited success telling soldiers how to act while they were not on duty. This thesis will examine the policy, the propaganda, and the soldiers’ responses to both.

CHAPTER TWO:
CANADIANS AND THE GREAT CRUSADE: RELATIONS IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

While Canadian soldiers had been overseas for five years by the summer of 1944, the first extended sojourn to Northwest Europe was the landings at D-Day. This chapter begins with a background of Canadian Army involvement in the United Kingdom and Italy before discussing relations with French and Belgian civilians in the summer and fall of 1944. While the stereotype of gifts of wine and flowers can be seen in war diaries and the letters home of Canadian soldiers, they were also shocked to find civilians shooting at them and after a while the civilians also began charging steep prices for goods the soldiers wanted. When it came to rest and relaxation, soldiers would ignore rules and focus on only having a good time, regardless of the problems that their drunken behaviour caused.

Canada declared war on Germany ten days after the invasion of Poland on 10 September 1939. Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had declared "Parliament will decide" if Canada was to join this new war. In part, King wanted to press an independent Canadian foreign policy, but he also worried about keeping Canada's involvement within modest limits in order to prevent domestic strife. Canada's tiny Permanent Force had begun mobilization on 1 September, and it was decided 18 days later to send one division, comprised of volunteers, as an Expeditionary Force to Britain. By December, the 1st Canadian Infantry Division began arriving in Aldershot, in Hampshire, England and two months after that, there were approximately 23,000 Canadian soldiers in Britain. By the end of the war in 1945, it was estimated that almost 500,000 Canadians had been in Britain since 1939. Apart from a short, relatively

uneventful venture to France before the country fell to the Germans, and the Dieppe fiasco, Canadians predominantly stayed in Britain until 1943. They were there, ostensibly, to help defend against a German invasion that never arrived.¹

Initially, the Canadians were little more than “civilians in uniform”. Having received little training before embarking for Britain, consequentially, they lacked discipline as well. Coming from Canada, which had a patchwork of prohibition laws still in place, Canadian soldiers found Britain and British pubs a wondrous place where one could mingle with the opposite sex at certain times. In Britain, Canadians quickly gained a reputation of being drunken and disorderly.²

Canadians served in Britain for the rest of the war. In 1942, untested troops were sent into combat for the raid on Dieppe. In the following year, the First Canadian Division landed in Sicily as part of Operation Husky and the invasion of Italy. It was not until June 6, 1944 that the bulk of Canadian forces in England were utilized in the invasion of Normandy on D-Day.

“Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Force! You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade...”³ This was the preamble to General Dwight David Eisenhower’s message to the Allied Expeditionary Force on D-Day, June 6, 1944. In the message, Eisenhower exhorted the Allied troops to victory against the Nazi aggressor. This was perhaps the most obvious example of Allied propaganda in educating troops about what lay ahead in the liberation of Europe, but this pep talk only supplanted other

¹ Stacey and Wilson, *The Half-Million : The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946*, 3, xi.

² Ibid.

³ "Focus on Liberation," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/liberation/signal-corps/?content=1> Date Accessed 16 October 2010.

pamphlets and messages that informed Canadian troops. Eisenhower also distributed a personal message on how Allied soldiers were to conduct themselves during the invasion.⁴

Three pamphlets were also given to troops to teach them about civilians: *Instructions for British Servicemen in France, Civil Affairs and You* and *Notes on a Common Doctrine: Civil Affairs Within First Canadian Army*. Whereas the first two pamphlets were meant for ordinary soldiers, the third was possibly meant for Canadian officers. The pamphlets explained the role of Civil Affairs in the Army, and how soldiers were supposed to treat civilians. Civil Affairs in France, as well as Belgium and the Netherlands, was not a Military Government, but a liaison group that would deal with local administration. Soldiers were required to show respect for the culture and customs of the people whose country they were visiting. Soldiers were prohibited from foraging or bartering for food with civilians so the Army would not have to supply more to the region. The main purpose in regulating civilian-military relations was to prevent civilians from hindering the progress of the war. The pamphlets reveal that the military recognized that such relations needed to be watched carefully, but there was a realization that only soldiers themselves could ensure relations remained cordial since Civil Affairs had no control over the civilians.⁵ Relations with the local population were but one problem soldiers had to face during the invasion.

⁴ Perhaps many Canadians were unmoved by the inspiring tone of the message. In Paddy Chayefsky's screenplay "The Americanization of Emily", American GIs react with scorn as General Eisenhower's message is repeated *ad nauseum* to them onboard landing ships prior to landing at Normandy.

⁵ *Instructions for British Servicemen in France 1944*, (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2005).

Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 89/219, "Civil Affairs and You",

The D-Day landings were a profound moment for the Canadian Army. Not only were they the first taste of combat for many young soldiers, but France was a new country and culture for them as well. Some idea of what soldiers felt about their predicament was captured in the letters posted by Canadians unfortunate enough to have been wounded in the days after the landings. Letters excerpted in censorship reports posted from 21st Army Group and hospitals in Britain suggest that wounded soldiers were eager to go back into the fight against the Germans. The Army's censors divided letters discussing relations with civilians into either "good" or "bad" categories. Censors read 9,539 letters from the Canadians in 21st Army Group between 15 June and 30 June 1944, and of these there were 283 letters that mentioned "good" relations with the French compared to only 49 indicating that there were "bad" relations.⁶ The soldiers also commented on the few French civilians they had seen. The stereotype of French civilians welcoming Allied soldiers with flowers and champagne is confirmed by the letters the soldiers posted, as well as many other sources. The scenes of celebratory liberation would be repeated over the next several months in France, Belgium and Holland. In return, in violation of orders, soldiers were already passing out candy to children and receiving gifts from the locals. An unidentified soldier remarked in a letter that he knew he was not supposed to take food from civilians, but it was hard to avoid. A farmer offered him wine. The private refused because he feared it might be poisoned, at least until the farmer drank it himself, claiming he had saved it for four years. The

University of Victoria, Macpherson Library, Special Collections, UA600 C32, Accession #641821, HQ First Canadian Army, Brigadier W. B. Wedd, "Notes on a Common Doctrine: civil affairs within First Canadian Army".

⁶ Library and Archives (LAC), RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Repts/2, Canadian Army Overseas, "Censorship Report for period 15 Jun-30 Jun 44", 1.

soldier was also given food: “An old lady brought us some eggs, we didn’t want to take them, but you can’t say much if you don’t understand them.”⁷ One private in the Canadian Scottish Regiment was surprised at the number of cattle, as well as ducks and geese he saw, leading him to remark:

They said the ‘occupied countries’ are starving—I don’t get it. Of course this is one of their most richest parts of their country I guess, as farming goes. They have lots of wine and cider, in fact everything you could think of, but they say it has to go to the Germans.⁸

Many of the “adverse” comments about the French civilians reproduced in a hospital censorship report for the second half of June had to do with what the soldiers referred to as “German” snipers, except that this particular enemy consisted of French women. Comments about these French women continued over the next two months. Soldiers reported girls as young as 14, to middle-aged women of 45 sniping at them from trees in civilian clothes. One 12 year-old girl pointed the 45 year-old sniper out to the Canadians as she was sniping from a window.⁹

One private in the Canadian Scottish noted wryly:

Did they (the French ever give us a welcome – waving flags? Not those people, instead everyone was behind a bush or up a tree taking a shot at us. (Army of Liberation, well, I have my own ideas). The wise old Frenchman who said “Cherche la Femme” was wiser than I figured as the women are all snipers.¹⁰

⁷ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France, 16th June to 28th June 1944”, 8.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 9.

¹⁰ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France, 16th July to 31st July 1944”, 10.

Another unidentified rifleman testified to the tenacity and determination of these civilian snipers:

I have to send you that present yet. The pins and knife was taken of [sic] a sniper that shot at me. She got five boys before we got her. It was a woman, 19 years old and married to a German, and there is a lot like that. She was shot while trying to escape from the Prisoner of War cage. She killed one of the boys and got about 100 yards away before one of the guys shot her. I did not shoot her. She was alive when I took the pins and the knife off her, but ther [sic] is war in one of its worst forms.¹¹

The horrors of war, in particular the killing of women, led a British corporal at the same time to comment:

Yes Nan it is not good fighting here. I don't mind fighting men or how many—but women it makes one wonder whether the world is really civilized after all. There is quite a few women snipers around here and so have to pick them off and shoot them its [sic] too awful.¹²

The sniping led several soldiers to assume that all the French were worthy of suspicion. One soldier suggested that 75% of Frenchwomen were married to Nazis and the locals did not hide that fact.¹³ Another soldier claimed that 90% were “Pro-German fifth columnist, or whatever it is but the other 10% are OK although we keep our distance.” Others shared similar sentiments:

You have to watch the French civvies as well as the Germans—they will shoot you in the back as soon as look at you—girls too. They have married Germans and tell you to your face they wish you had stayed away.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Repts/2, 21st Army Group, “21st Army Group Overseas Mail, Censorship Report for period 15 Jun-30 Jun 44”, 5.

¹³ LAC, RG 24, T-17935, C-2, Vol 12323, 4/Censor Repts/4, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France, Censorship Report for period 29 June to 15 Jul 44”, 5.

¹⁴ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Repts/2, Canadian Army Overseas, “Censorship Report for period 15 30 Jun 44”, 6.

It is unclear exactly who these snipers were. The soldiers suspected many were women who had collaborated or cohabitated with troops of the German occupation force. The Canadians defended themselves against these attacks, though at least one soldier reported he was not happy at having returned fire. One private in the Parachute Battalion reported having shot a sniper as she smiled at him. He figured he simply shot her before she could shoot him.¹⁵ More letters in the next few months would continue to mention French collaborators who shot at Canadians and were, in turn, killed. The Canadians displayed an element of grim determination: "It seems hard but has to be done."¹⁶

Despite the overwhelming assertions that soldiers saw female snipers and caught these women themselves, some historians are not convinced. With no mention of Canadians, Anthony Beevor, in his new book and in an excerpt posted in the *Guardian*, suggested that the female snipers reported by American and British troops were figments of their imagination and possibly that the soldiers were simply shooting at women who were collecting guns for the resistance before they could explain themselves. He suggests the "extraordinarily widespread belief" was "unconvincing", but does not give any facts to explain why he feels that way. Without further evidence, this statement appears to lack credibility. Beevor asserts that British officers viewed these reports as "latrine rumours". Since some of the Canadian soldiers quoted above

¹⁵ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), "Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France, 16th June to 28th June 1944", 9.

¹⁶ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), "Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France, 1st August to 15th August 1944", 8.

said they saw the snipers for themselves, and Beevor quotes one as well, it is doubtful that all such observers were liars. While he dismisses the sniper reports, he suggests that many French women chose to remain with their German boyfriends after the liberation. If these women were so devoted to their lovers to abandon their homeland, some would not hesitate to fight back against the Allies who were breaking up their lives.¹⁷

Amidst the stories of celebration and hard fighting, there were moments of levity and general human warmth as well. One letter censored between 29 June and 15 July recounted how Canadian soldiers from an unknown unit barged into a house and found a sick Frenchwoman. The letter writer wished he could speak French because the woman was trying to tell them she was in labour. "Believe me that shook us, but you can't stick these crazy Canadians. We went out and stole a Jerry jeep and brought her in. Next morning we heard there was a new Frenchman born. Guess we should adopt him."¹⁸

While engaged in combat, ordinary soldiers, Canadian, British, American or otherwise, might not have had any relations at all with foreign civilians. Veterans asserted that while the fighting was going on, a combat area was the last place civilians wanted to be; however, the distance between the front and the rear can be exaggerated. Historian and veteran R.H. Roy described in an interview how the frontline

¹⁷ Anthony Beevor, "An Ugly Carnival", *Guardian (UK)*, 5 June 2009, <http://guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2009/jun/05/women-victims-d-day-landings-second-world-war> (Date accessed: 16/07/2009).

Anthony Beevor, *D-Day : The Battle for Normandy* (New York :: Viking, 2009), 160-61.

¹⁸ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), "Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France 29th June to 15th July 1944", 14.

might have been the slit trench in the front yard, while the farmhouse behind it might have constituted the rear.¹⁹

The landings on D-Day brought ordinary troops into contact with French civilians, but Canadian Civil Affairs (CA) officers did not participate in operations until 23 July. This was over two weeks after the landings in Normandy, but the fighting was ongoing during that entire time. The area liberated by the Allies was minimal and presumably there was little need for rear-echelon CA troops to deal with large numbers of French civilians. In any case, by that point, "Civil Affairs problems were few and of routine quality," according to the Canadian Civil Affairs official history.²⁰

Newspapers were also a source of information for Canadian troops. At the end of July 1944, the *Maple Leaf* began publishing in France. Theoretically, one copy was supposed to be distributed between seven men, according to an issue published in Caen on 27 July.²¹ This was one of the few Canadian sources of information, offering news from home as well as instructions to the troops. A lot of articles were taken from wire services, but some articles, like on demobilization at the end of the war, were written especially for Canadian soldiers.

The 27 July issue included the first report with information on French civilians for the Canadian troops. Taken from the Canadian Press, it is notable for its candour, considering the fact that it noted several infractions of the rules concerning civilians in the pamphlets discussed above. The article, entitled "Butter thick for French people but

¹⁹ Interview with Dr. R.H. Roy, Nov. 16, 2006.

²⁰ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), Canadian Military Headquarters Report 149, C.P. Stacey, "Canadian Participation in Civil Affairs/Military Government: Part III: France", 1945.

²¹ "Maple Leaf Delivery," *Maple Leaf*, 27 July 1944.

bread still slices thin”, examined how the war had affected Normandy’s food supply. It stated that meat was plentiful, due to “clandestine slaughtering of cattle”, but bread was in short supply because traditionally wheat had been imported from other areas of France. By the end of July 1944, wheat had disappeared and “now bakers have become dealers in hardtack.” Butter was in good supply, but milk and eggs were not, because these were items that the enterprising farmers sold to the Allied troops.²²

The article stated that such economic practices were “a mild form of black market.” Troops would buy glasses of milk or single eggs for prices upwards of ten cents. Farmers’ supplies of cider were also exhausted in sales or gifts to Allied soldiers. Soldiers apparently did not hear or follow warnings against imbibing such strong drink. However, this mild form of economic opportunity or exploitation, depending on one’s point of view, went both ways. Under the Germans, according to the article, Normans received four packages of cigarettes a month. The Allies were more generous with their tobacco and the Normans were now “smoking quite regularly”.²³

The article mentions the black market trades without reminding the troops of the provisions against such actions. Perhaps this was because this article was written by a member of the Canadian Press. Later articles would not be so blasé about infractions of the rules. However, this was already two months into the invasion and such idealistic prohibitions might have been relaxed to secure good relations with the French civilians.

On 31 July, the *Maple Leaf* published another article “Cooperation is keynote: Civil affairs branch helping France,” written by Gerald Clark from the *Montreal Standard*.

²² M. Desjardins, “Butter Thick for French People but Bread Still Slices Thin,” *Maple Leaf*, July 27 1944.

²³ Ibid.

The article described the duties of Civil Affairs for the average soldier. Clark told them that Civil Affairs was in France as an aid to the civil authorities. It was the instrument that passed on Allied supplies to the Free French officials. According to the article, CA was staffed by soldiers trained for their current assignment because of qualification from "Civvy Street". Clark noted that medical problems and evacuations were the primary jobs of CA in Caen. Medical Officers or MOs would report to CA about health concerns in the region, and CA would pass the concern along to French civilian health authorities: "They do the clamping down."²⁴

The major problem for CA troops of all armies in France was that of refugees, but Reid asserted that again Second British Army dealt with the problem before First Canadian Army arrived on the scene. The Field Security/Counter Intelligence (FS/CI) units were appreciative that the frontline units did a good job of turning civilians seen in their areas over to the proper authorities. One Field Security Section reported that troops were all too willing to talk about battle experiences within earshot of civilians; however, since most of the Canadians were unilingual anglophones talking amidst unilingual francophones, there was not much of a concern. The senior officers were not so much worried about the battle experiences that the troops were relating, but information about future operations. One example took place when troops were briefed in forward areas about Operation Totalize, an attempt to break out of Normandy, but then the troops were allowed to re-enter Caen. Once in Caen, troops discussed the operation and gave their opinions openly. Knowledge of the operation was common in

²⁴ Gerald Clark, "Cooperation Is Keynote: Civil Affairs Branch Helping French," *Maple Leaf*, July 31 1944, 3.

Caen and the FS unit was obviously worried that the Germans knew as well. 15 FS recommended that HQ only brief soldiers immediately before battle, and that they then keep them away from civilians.²⁵

Soldiers also disobeyed the regulations on trading with civilians. One member of the Royal Canadian Engineers, Sapper "Hugh Graham"²⁶, approached a farmhouse with the idea of purchasing some eggs for himself and some friends. This was of course contrary to regulations, but the desire to trade with civilians and fellow soldiers is something common to all of military history. The Norman farmer was more than willing, but Graham was disturbed by the state of the farmhouse itself. The poverty and basic living conditions surprised him in particular. Sixty-one years later, he described his amazement that the humans and their cattle used the same entrance and dirt floor in the farmhouse.²⁷ David G. Marshall expressed a similar sentiment in his memoir. "Often the cattle shared the house with the family and frequently the house had only one room." Overall Marshall "found the peasantry in Normandy to be very suspicious, very close-fisted, dirty and appeared uneducated."²⁸

Even though looting was also forbidden, soldiers' letters reveal it still took place. According to one example, soldiers had been able to get away with looting during June, but in July, the authorities started cracking down. The civilians would evacuate as the Allies approached, leaving buildings open to plundering. A couple of examples suggest that soldiers were primarily interested in strong drink and some soldiers found

²⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, "Counter Intelligence Report No. 2 Period from 25 Jul-8 Aug 44."

²⁶ The subject of this interview requested that a pseudonym be used to identify him.

²⁷ Interview with "Hugh Graham", 14 Nov. 2005.

²⁸ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, "Me and George", 28.

themselves with a gigantic barrel of wine. As the ambulance driver put it in his letter, “Did they ever have a terrible time.”²⁹

In fact, by the end of August, looting was so bad in Normandy that the town of Caen was made “Out of Bounds” for Canadian soldiers not on official duty. According to orders given to the No. 1 Canadian Town Major unit on 22 August 1944: “No ofrs below the rank of Lt Col or OR [Other Rank] may enter the town without written permission stating the nature of his duty.” Provost troops were instructed to take appropriate action if pilfered items were found in soldiers’ possession. Soldiers were reminded they could be court-martialled for looting and commanding officers were warned not to accept the excuse from their troops that, “If I don’t take it someone else will!” General Eisenhower’s message on “Conduct Overseas” was reprinted for the troops to remind them how they should act.³⁰

Near Carpiquet, 16 Field Security Section reported in late August that the French civilians in Normandy were more accepting of Canadians than the British, who were “hated”. French Canadians, on the other hand were “readily accepted”. The report gave no indication why the Canadians were held in higher esteem than the British.³¹ Two months later it was explained that little contact had been made with civilians in mid-August, according to 15 FS, because most of the population had been evacuated and 95% of civilians encountered were refugees.³²

²⁹ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, Canadian Army Overseas, “Censorship Report for period 1 Jul-15 Jul 44”, 7.

³⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 16511, Serial 2349, No. 1 Canadian Town Major Unit, “Part I Orders”, 22 Aug. 44, 2-3.

³¹ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16397, Series 1444, “Counter Int Report No. 1”, 23 Aug. 44.

³² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, “Counter Intelligence Report No. 3 Period from 9 Aug-24 Aug 44.”

By 2 September, 15 FS Section was in Dieppe. According to the unit's report from that period, this was the first instance that the unit made contact with civilians. The report noted that relations between troops and civilians were good. In fact, a victory parade was held for 2nd Canadian Division on 3 September, partly to commemorate the disastrous raid that occurred just over two years earlier. The parade was viewed by "practically the whole town plus people who cycled 15-20 kilometres to see the 'liberaters' [sic]." ³³

Relations, however, between French forces and the civilians in Dieppe were not so good. The French Army had started to recruit in the area, but only 4 out of 600 local members of the FFI (French Forces of the Interior) had joined the Army. The prevailing view was that the war was almost over and that the army would be used to fight the Russians. Presumably many of the resistance members in the area were Communists who resented the possibility of going to fight their ideological comrades. By September, French civilians were coming to the Canadians to ask them to intercede on their behalf with the FFI, who were continuing investigations of collaborators. Family members of the suspected parties attempted to tell the Canadian security officers that they had to conduct business with the Germans in order to survive, but were not collaborators. The Canadians were forced to tell them that they could not interfere in French domestic concerns. If these reports were true, these collaborators were "functional resisters": persons in-between outright active collaboration or resistance who were simply trying

³³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, 2 Cdn. Corps, No. 15 Field Security Section, "Counter Intelligence Report No. 4 Period from 25 Aug – 7 Sep 44."

to survive.³⁴ They could also have simply been lying to the FS officers, but there is no further report about the subject.³⁵

The 15 FS Section reported that troops were more than happy to give French and Belgian civilians captured German weapons. There was no concern that such a practice would continue once the troops entered Germany, but there were worries about “underground agents and sympathizers in Germany” who might trade with Canadians for their weapons. Even at this early stage, there were fears that the soldiers would be unable to follow regulations once they were occupying an enemy country, despite the fact that the French and Belgians were allies.³⁶

Some soldiers claimed they were coming across more French civilians because the Germans were retreating so fast now that they did not have time to evacuate them before the fighting began. Others claimed that the further they got away from the Normandy beachhead, the friendlier the French became. There was also surprise that the French were content with the Allies after all the fighting and destruction that had taken place since the liberation, though some reports did suggest that some French civilians were none too happy about “all the shelling.”³⁷ More important was that information gleaned from both official reports and soldiers’ letters suggest that the initial distrust between the French and the Canadians, as well as the other Allies, was

³⁴ John Sweets coined the term in his study of Clermont-Ferrand: *Choices in Vichy France: the French under Nazi occupation*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, 2 Cdn. Corps, “Counter Intelligence Report No. 5 Period from 8 – 24 Sep 44”.

³⁷ LAC, RG 24, T-17935, C-2, Vol 12323, 4/Censor Reps/4, Overseas Mail (British) 21 Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-14 Aug 44”, 2.

LAC, RG 24, T-17935, C-2, Vol 12323, 4/Censor Reps/4, Field Censors (Home), “Censorship Report”, undated, 6.

gone by the end of the summer. A British sergeant recounted in a letter how a French farmer helped his unit avoid German machine gun nests. Canadian and British soldiers also praised French civilians for hiding Allied airmen, in one instance for a total of nine months, until the Germans had retreated.³⁸

While there was still more than enough food, flowers and drink offered to the soldiers, the British and Canadians complained that the French civilians traded with them for exorbitant prices. While one account mentioned farmers giving milk away free, another hapless soldier reported having spent 35 francs, a chocolate bar, cigarettes “and a few odds and ends” for just a pound of butter. Another British soldier paid 775 francs, which he judged to be almost three pounds 17 shillings and sixpence, for one pair of shoes.³⁹

The Belgians welcomed the Canadians with the same enthusiasm as the French. In the second half of September, according to the censorship report, 6,386 letters were intercepted in the Northwest European theatre, of which 814 reported “good” relations with Belgian civilians, while only a paltry seven reported bad relations. This was not a fluke, because in the next report which covered the first half of October, there were 827 instances of “good” relations and only six “bad” ones, while the report for the end of October noted 1,283 “good” relations and only “48” bad ones. The sheer number of

³⁸ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report, Overseas Mail (British), 16-31 Aug 1944”, 8.

LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, Canadian Army Overseas, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Sept 1944”, 4,9.

³⁹ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, Canadian Army Overseas, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Aug 1944”, 11.

LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report, Overseas Mail (British), 16-31 Jul 1944”, 6.

soldiers reporting on relations with civilians in their letters is over ten times higher than in previous months, but no reason was given in the report. Perhaps the friendly Belgians inspired the Canadians to write about them, or soldiers could have simply met civilians in greater numbers. Unfortunately, even though the censorship reports from September to November indicate that over 1,000 letters every two weeks mentioned good relations with Belgians, the reports stopped excerpting the letters on that topic. This was possibly because the good nature of relations continued consistently and there were no problems that the higher authorities needed to bother about. Nevertheless, a source that had provided an excellent insight into the minds of soldiers began to neglect relations with civilians almost entirely. Other military records suggest that relations were good, with only minor problems being recorded. According to 13 Canadian Provost Company, which moved from Belgium into Holland through the fall, a sense of goodwill was maintained throughout, despite the increase in minor crimes such as theft and looting.⁴⁰

Canadians were thrilled to learn that the Belgians were happy to be liberated by them. It was speculated that the Belgians were so glad to see the Canadians because of memories of the last war, when Canadians were fighting in the trenches.⁴¹ One private suggested in a letter home that when he entered Brussels he received plums, pears and

⁴⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, No. 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report" multiple, Sept. to Dec. 1944.

⁴¹ LAC, RG 24, T-17925, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2, Canadian Army Overseas, "Censorship Report for period 16-31 Sep 1944", 1.

LAC, RG 24, T-17925, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2/2, Canadian Army Overseas, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Oct 1944", 1.

LAC, RG 24, T-17925, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2/2, Canadian Army Overseas, "Censorship Report for period 16-31 Oct 1944", 14.

a “big bunch of grapes,” with more continuing through the day. “In Antwerp and Blankenberg we came out with more fruit and tomatoes. They really gave us a welcome. In one town our Company took, they had ‘Welcome Canadians’ all over the place. Four hotel owners argued in whose Hotel we should sleep.” Another unidentified soldier wrote that the civilians were feeding them better than the Army and several more said that they were receiving all the food they wanted in trades with the civilians, unlike the case in France.⁴² Canadians received help as well as food. One private reported that when he was wounded, he “crawled to a civilian house and the people got me down in the cellar out of danger and got a civilian doctor to bandage my wounds until the Army Medical Officers could get there.”⁴³

Soldiers thought that Belgians were much cleaner than the French, even to the point of scrubbing sidewalks in front of their homes.⁴⁴ Not only had the Normans been “dirty and grubby... the prevailing attitude was ‘what’s in it for me?’” In contrast, the Belgians and Dutch wanted to get to know their liberators and the children marched along with the Canadians, keeping them company.⁴⁵ A cartoon showed soldiers covered in clinging children, and the caption quipped: “Communique: We have met the Belgians and we are theirs—.”⁴⁶

⁴² LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France 16th September to 30th September 1944”, 11.

⁴³ LAC, RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France 16th September to 30th September 1944”, 11.

⁴⁴ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 37.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 37.

In February 1945, after over three months of no information on relations with civilians, a Canadian Army censorship report quoted one letter that disparaged the Belgian people. In the letter, a sergeant complained that the Belgians did not know how good they had it. Apparently, the soldier had been in the Netherlands and learned that the Dutch were taking their hardships much more stoically than the Belgians:

I am getting more and more fed up with the Belgian people in general, they only seem to be able to moan. Why don't they do a bit more themselves instead of sitting down and criticizing everything. As far as I have seen for myself since I returned to Belgium they should be very grateful indeed to have come out of the war at such low cost. Life in Belgium is paradise compared to Holland, and you don't hear half as much grumbling over discontentment over here.⁴⁷

Of course, this was just one soldier's opinion. During the same period, the censor unit reported that there were 789 reports of "good" relations while this letter was only one of 19 "bad" ones.

Lieutenant R.H. Roy passed through France and Belgium for the first time in March 1945, before eventually joining the fighting in the Netherlands. His first impression, as detailed in a letter, was that the French were cleaner than the Italians. In another letter, he commented the difference between Italy and France was like, "coming from the city dump to a lovely flower garden. Not only do I include the country but the people in it." In Belgium, he asserted that one could eat off the clean floors. The children in both countries were more polite, and asked only for chocolate and chewing gum, not cigarettes. Roy and his fellows enjoyed playing with the children and their dogs. The people were genuinely glad to see the Canadians. The people remembered

⁴⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Feb 45", 10.

them from the First World War and helped the soldiers as best they could: “They can’t seem to do enough for us.” According to Roy, the Italians he had met previously did not feel the same way.⁴⁸

There was also some crime by Canadians, as reported by Provost units. Canadians assaulted some local civilians, but they were more likely to rob the civilians, either at gunpoint, or to make off with local currency in exchange scams. According to the monthly statistics recorded for October by the 13 Provost Company, the type of crime with the most incidents was “Wilful Damage” by Canadian soldiers, but the Monthly Report did not mention what these incidents involved.⁴⁹

Food was always a pressing concern for civilians in whatever country the Allies were liberating or occupying. In Belgium, the civilians complained to the Allied troops that the food situation had been better under the Germans. According to one Counter Intelligence report from October, the black market had been suppressed, but higher levels of food had not appeared in regular markets. There were fears that the food situation would only deteriorate with the onset of winter. The report noted that Belgian bank regulations concerning the local franc helped curb inflation and eliminate the black market. The report surmised that the supply situation would improve once the port of Antwerp was opened.⁵⁰

Holland in particular would suffer shortages from the time the liberation began to after the war had ended in Europe. Troops helped to salvage flooded crops, which

⁴⁸ DHH, BIOG R.H. Roy, “Letter R.H. Roy to Miss Ardith Christie” and “R.H. Roy to parents”, 7 March 1945.

⁴⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, No. 13 Canadian Provost Company, “Monthly Report, Period 25 Sep 44 to 24 Oct 44”, 31 Oct. 44.

⁵⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, 2 Cdn. Corps, “Counter Intelligence Report No. 7 Period from 8 – 24 Oct 44”.

cemented good relations with the local population. One war diarist on 1 December 1944 complained that the civilians still did not understand why the Canadians could not solve the supply problem immediately:

It is strange that a people who have [been] occupied by Germany for four years still cannot understand why their food problem wasn't immediately solved by their liberators. Civilians will never understand the difficulties encountered by our forces in supplies. It tends to make them hostile and makes the work harder from a CI standpoint. This seems to stress the need for strong propaganda all the more.⁵¹

Note the diarist's urge for stronger propaganda rather than an exhortation for more supplies. The port of Antwerp had only been captured after a long campaign from October to November and supplies were only starting to get through to the Allied troops. All other supplies were coming through from Normandy. Hitler's last major offensive, culminating in the Battle of the Bulge, would take place only a few weeks later in an attempt to cut Antwerp off from the Allies. A few weeks later, the anger of the populace did "cool off" according to one CI report, with the realization of the pressure the Germans were placing on the Allies.⁵²

On 12 November, an RAF Signals officer, Major G.A.M. Hyde, wrote a letter to his CO complaining of a lack of discipline on the part of Canadian soldiers in Ghent, Belgium. According to Hyde, the central problem was that the soldiers were drunk and became violent under the influence of alcohol. Hyde had not witnessed any disruptive behaviour personally and most of his information came from other sources. In addition, most of

⁵¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, 2 Cdn. Corps, "War Diary", 1 Dec 1944.

⁵² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 1713, No. 15 Field Security Section, 2 Canadian Corps, "Counter Intelligence Report No. 11. Period from 6 – 21 Dec 44", December 1944.

Hyde's complaints had nothing to do with Belgian civilians, but during the inquiry that followed on 27 November, it was found that civilians were not happy with the soldiers either and in at least one case attempted to take revenge on the Canadians.⁵³

Hyde's primary complaint was that Canadian soldiers were often drunk and disorderly. Numerous times Canadians had entered his private officers' mess and wanted drink and accommodation. When they were refused, because it was an officers' mess, they grew abusive. They brandished pistols and waved them around, allegedly threatening to shoot the staff if they were not served. Another incident in particular involved a Canadian soldier threatening a British sergeant with a pistol if he did not help move the Canadian's truck. Apparently, it was lodged upon a sidewalk because the driver was under the influence of alcohol. The RAF Military Police (MPs) who responded to the situation were unarmed and had to retreat. Finally, a British officer telephoned the Canadian Provost unit to come and detain the soldier.

Another incident told to the 27 November inquiry was of a much more serious nature. If it had occurred in Germany, security measures would have been taken to protect the soldiers from the population. A British RAF Signals Sergeant, J.C. Lord, was escorting a young lady to a tram on either 10 or 11 November. A Belgian civilian approached the pair and said something to the young lady that was not determined by the inquiry. This frightened the young woman and made her scream and run off. The civilian put a gun into Lord's back and asked "You a Cdn soldier?" Lord responded "no", but the civilian allegedly grew insistent: "You are a Cdn soldier." Lord explained again

⁵³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D47), HQ A TPS Area, 1st Canadian Army, "Proceeding of a Court of Inquiry". 27 Nov. 1944.

that he was not Canadian, but the civilian maintained his insistence. Lord told him to look at his cap badge, which still did not convince the gunman. Lord took out his papers to show the Belgian. As the man was switching on his flashlight, Lord kicked him and ran off. His lady friend was returning with a Belgian soldier. They mounted a search for the Belgian civilian, but he was never found, nor was it learned why he was so angry at the Canadians.⁵⁴

Major Hyde's most startling accusation was that there had been numerous armed robberies and five killings during the time that the Canadians had been in Ghent, a claim he said was supported by the Canadian Provost Company's own information. This account was hotly refuted during the inquiry that was held on 27 November. Lieutenant T. Crawshaw, second in command of 7 Canadian Provost Company at the time of the incidents reported that Hyde had come to him claiming that several soldiers were involved in multiple killings. Crawshaw claimed to have told Hyde that such assertions were untrue. Daily, the Provost unit received reports about drowning, stabbings and shooting, but Crawshaw asserted to the Inquiry that they were highly exaggerated. He told the inquiry: "To my knowledge no one has been killed by foul play other than the fact that one man presumably committed suicide. There were several wounded, but as far as I know they were all accidents." Hyde was particularly worried about soldiers carrying concealed weapons. Crawshaw had already reported this, but

⁵⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D47), HQ A TPS Area, 1st Canadian Army, "Proceeding of a Court of Inquiry". 27 Nov. 1944.

Hyde wanted something more done. So, Crawshaw suggested that Hyde make his own report to higher authorities. That, of course, Hyde did, resulting in the inquiry.⁵⁵

Crawshaw was questioned as to what offences *had* occurred to his knowledge in Ghent. He explained that there were at least two robberies that had occurred. In one case, two soldiers used a pistol to rob a café of a bottle of cognac, according to evidence given by the women running the café. Another case involved a soldier holding up a civilian in the street with a pistol that was later found to be empty. Despite the fact that the pistol was not loaded, it was still attempted robbery. The cases were handed over to the appropriate authorities and Crawshaw did not know what had happened to the soldiers.

Major Hyde had questioned the “wild and dangerous behaviour” of the Canadian soldiers that was being overlooked by Army and the inquiry asked Crawshaw for his interpretation. He responded as follows:

I think that is putting it more strongly than the situation warrants. I think that an English officer might get that impression not knowing Cdn troops. A lot of their wild display was not more than blowing off steam, and as far as I was concerned I was a little apprehensive. It was not being overlooked and it wasn't being allowed to get out of control. I think a lot of it was just horse play. No doubt it makes people quite nervous who are not accustomed to Cdns. We might hear of half a dozen cases in an evening of discharging weapons in the air... The men who were discharging the weapons didn't have any intention of hurting anybody.⁵⁶

Crawshaw was asked whether there had been civilian complaints about soldiers' actions in Ghent. He explained that there had been a few complaints. Disturbances had

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

been created in cafés and sometimes damage had been done to private homes. Questions about property reimbursement had been referred to Civil Affairs.

The next witness was Wing Commander J.G. Walser (RAF) who was the CO of the Civil Affairs Detachment assigned to Ghent and the Province of East Flanders. He was in constant contact with the local Burgomasters. Walser told the inquiry that several Burgomasters had suggested to him that the behaviour of the troops was excellent. He had seen no drunks and little disruptive behaviour. Walser, for his part, blamed most of the disturbances and gunfire on the numerous members of resistance organizations that were helping to keep order in Ghent. The only casualty he knew about personally was a Gendarme who had been wounded by a resistance member. He insisted that Belgians welcomed Canadians whenever they had them in their homes. However, in an admission of the troops' drunkenness, he explained that he had asked the Burgomaster to issue an order that bottled spirits not be sold to the troops.⁵⁷

The inquiry next heard from Major J.F. Stewart, the Assistant Provost Marshal. He insisted that while he was sure Major Hyde had acted in good faith, he asserted there was no discipline problem. Brigadier Georges Francoeur, commanding 2 CBRG (Canadian Base Reinforcement Group) was the next witness. He testified that there were few incidents once the soldiers had been restricted from carrying weapons in Ghent. He said there had been no incidents with civilians. Some soldiers had complained

⁵⁷ Ibid.

of being stabbed by civilians, but one soldier's wound had allegedly been caused by striking his leg against a piece of glass!⁵⁸

The next witness was Brigadier J.R.R. Gough, who had convened the inquiry. He explained that in early November there had been 30,000 military personnel in Ghent. He suggested that behaviour had been exemplary, the proof being that the Belgians allegedly wanted the Canadians back. He claimed to have walked the streets every night and found no problems. He personally had never heard shots fired, but knew there had been a few. He had seen a few drunks, but they were being escorted elsewhere. He explained that the five deaths mentioned by Major Hyde had been caused by accidents, such as drowning, not by violence. He believed the number of Provost personnel was sufficient to maintain order and discipline.⁵⁹

Finally, to get some hard data on the numbers of crimes, the inquiry called Captain M.E. Byers, who was the Deputy Assistant Provost Marshal. Byers introduced figures that represented a breakdown of offences committed from 26 September-20 November in Ghent. The most numerous offences were violating curfew and going AWL (Away Without Leave). Over the two months in question, there were 176 incidents of broken curfew, 116 alone in September-October. There were 86 incidents of AWL, 73 in October-November. There were also 110 incidents of unattended vehicles, which represented the second largest tally of offences. There were 40 reports of intoxication, spread out over both months. There were no other significant numbers of offences

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

committed. There were roughly 15 thefts reported and 18 “other” offences, which were not specified.

The twelfth and final witness was Burgomaster Edward Anseele of Ghent, who gave the Canadians a glowing review. He claimed that when the Canadian 3 Division left, the women were crying and wanted them back. He admitted there was one unhappy incident. A soldier had been showing a civilian a German pistol that had accidentally misfired and had killed the civilian. A full inquiry had ruled it an accident. Gifts such as a mascot had been presented to 3 Division and flags had been given to the town by the troops. The Burgomaster claimed that he had not seen any problems, except for some drunkenness.

The Court of Inquiry made five points in its report. First, it was concluded that the allegations made by Major Hyde were not substantiated. Second, the offences committed were not the result of any particular unit or military group. Third, discipline, and the administration of discipline, was satisfactory in Ghent. Fourth, the Provost resources were satisfactory. Fifth, Civil Affairs and local administration had shown that Canadian troops had acted well in Ghent and had maintained good discipline. Brigadier Gough concurred in his postscript of 30 November 1944 with the decision of the court and pointed to the statistics which showed the minuscule violent crime rate. He argued that Major Hyde’s assertions were isolated incidents that did not reflect on the rest of the troops in the city.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D47), HQ A TPS Area, 1st Canadian Army, “Proceeding of a Court of Inquiry”. 27 Nov. 1944.

Using only the transcript of the inquiry, it would appear that Gough's assessment, and that of the court, is justified. Some other sources shed more light on the attitudes of Canadians in the Belgian city of 200,000 persons during that period of time.

John Raycroft was a Canadian soldier who was also in Ghent in November 1944. He noted that soldiers were sent there after they had cleared the Scheldt and opened the port of Antwerp. Raycroft related that Canadians were so desperate for rest and relaxation that when a troop convoy first went through the Belgian town, soldiers faked a road accident to flee their vehicles and go to the local taverns and brothels. Apparently, they feared a rumour that their long-promised leave was not going to happen and the Canadian troops began to search for "saturnalian locations of their own" all over Ghent. A few days after the promised leave had begun Raycroft's Royal Canadian Artillery regiment was scolded about its behaviour. The soldiers were threatened that "if we didn't straighten up, we would be pulled out early." Raycroft was surprised to learn that the Germans had apparently conducted themselves well in Ghent, and the Belgians naturally assumed the Canadians would act the same way. He assumed it simply would have been easier for the Canadian general to tell their soldiers that the Germans behaved as barbarians, but the opposite nature of German behaviour also had its effect. According to Raycroft, his fellow soldiers calmed down. There were still incidents of soldiers poisoned by alcohol and others falling dead drunk into canals,

which certainly did disturb the locals, but he does not mention any of the deaths that the inquiry searched for in vain.⁶¹

Raycroft's explanation for what went on in Ghent was very simple: soldiers needed rest and relaxation.

Also, a soldier cannot be faced with death too often without being taken out of action... In G[h]ent, those five days were essential to keep the Canadian 3rd Division viable for the fighting it had yet to do. And lapses in what is called civilized behaviour during those days must at least be accepted, if they can't be understood. For five days we were, in a sense, libertines.⁶²

The 6th Field Company of the Royal Canadian Engineers from Vancouver, B.C., was also in Ghent as part of Operation "Relax" and reported no problems at all. According to the unit history, the entire division of which the company was part was invited to the city for their entire period of rest and recuperation. The citizens of Ghent were very appreciative of having the Canadians there and helped entertain their guests. "The cafes were doing a roaring business and the alcohol consumption in this portion of the continent reached a new high." In return, the unit history thanked the people of Ghent for "their magnificent efforts on our behalf."⁶³ The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders also had a marvellous time in Ghent, and the unit history thanked the people of the town as well for inviting the Canadians there. The unit's discipline in the town was "excellent".⁶⁴

⁶¹ John Raycroft, *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands* (Prescott, Ont.: Babbelfish Press, 2002), 57-64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 63-64.

⁶³ *History of the 6th Field Company Royal Canadian Engineers, 1939-1945*, ([New Westminster, B.C.]: s.n., 1955), 92.

⁶⁴ William Boss, *The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, 1783-1951* (Ottawa: Runge Press, 1952), 236.

The only common thread between Hyde's assertions, the transcript of the Court of Inquiry and the other sources about the Canadians in Ghent is that the Army could not keep control of its soldiers. The Battle of the Scheldt had made the soldiers desperate for rest and recreation. If Raycroft is to be believed, rumours about leave being cancelled was enough to make soldiers run amuck, but the actual *threat* of cancelling the leave brought back some much needed discipline. The only assertions of violent behaviour other than drunkenness or indiscipline come from Hyde, which he did not witness personally. The charges were serious enough to warrant an Inquiry, but these seem to be groundless, at least on a general level. Neither the Belgians, nor the Canadians agreed with the more violent claims. Major Hyde embellished his tale by relating rumours and assumed they were facts. Some of the incidents that infuriated Hyde did not seem to be a big deal to some of the witnesses he brought forward. The Court's findings, and Brigadier Gough's postscript, seem to be correct, though there is a question of how "isolated" the "incidents" related during the Inquiry were. The Inquiry did not seem to think there was any problem, but Raycroft's assertions suggest that some units required more discipline.⁶⁵

From D-Day to Ghent, Canadian soldiers made contact with European civilians. The Army expected these contacts, prepared for them and watched over them. The experience of the first months after D-Day showed that a ban on fraternization would be impossible to enforce. As one example, soldiers disregarded rules about purchasing from and sharing food with civilians. Commanders might be able to influence soldier-

⁶⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D47), HQ A TPS Area, 1st Canadian Army, "Proceeding of a Court of Inquiry". 27 Nov. 1944.

civilian relations, but they could not eliminate unofficial contacts. At this stage of the invasion of Western Europe, commanders did not *want* to eliminate unofficial contacts, they welcomed them. Having rest and relaxation with civilians allowed soldiers to “blow off steam” and it improved their morale considerably. This was perhaps why the Army was only slightly concerned with what happened in Ghent. As long as the truly outrageous rumour about the soldiers’ activities, murder, was found to be groundless, then the Army decided to give soldiers some leeway so that they would not be a problem in battle. This was what made the fraternization ban in Germany such an upheaval. Soldiers that would not be controlled previously could not be controlled when it was required for policy reasons.

CHAPTER THREE:
“FREE US FROM OUR LIBERATORS”: THE DUTCH EXAMPLE OF DETERIORATION IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

One of the most common truisms about the Second World War in Canadian history is the liberation of the Netherlands. The stereotype is that Canadian soldiers were unfailingly welcomed into Holland, and of course are still welcome there to celebrate the liberation. While the gratitude of the Dutch people and their government in the present day is consistently shown to, and appreciated by, Canadian veterans, military records show that the Dutch were not initially as thankful as they are today. After five years of war, many Dutch men and women viewed Canadians as yet another occupying power. This chapter will show that some Dutch civilians were angered by the Canadian presence in the Netherlands in the spring and summer of 1945, and that the Canadians displayed anger in return. Dutch men resented Canadian fraternization with Dutch women. Drunken Canadians flirting with local women embarrassed locals who demanded that Canadian leave centres be closed to remove the off-duty soldiers from the area. Canadian soldiers were also denounced from Dutch pulpits as ministers criticized Canadian behaviour. Rumours only aggravated the problems as soldiers believed that Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands herself asked the Canadians to leave the country. These incidents made soldiers glad they had not signed up for the Army of Occupation and only increased their desire to go home as soon as possible.

The Netherlands represents a special case because the memory of the liberation holds a special place in Canadian identity. The three main focal points of Canadian memory of the Second World War in Europe are Dieppe, D-Day and the liberation of the

Netherlands. While the material presented in this chapter is not intended to diminish or dispute the liberation narrative as a whole, the examples found reveal an undercurrent of tension and a more human response to the Canadian occupation of the Netherlands in 1945.

After Operation Market-Garden in September 1944, the liberation of the Netherlands had begun. Even with the delayed and torturous clearing of the Scheldt estuary in October 1944, Belgium was liberated by the end of the year. The Netherlands was not fully liberated until the end of the war in 1945. With the push to invade Germany as fast as possible, northwest Holland was in German possession until the end of the war. The conditions were appalling and the food situation was very perilous, to the extent that the Allies had to airdrop food into the German-held regions in April 1945 simply to keep the non-liberated population alive. With the experience of liberation stretched over eight months, the Dutch would have different experiences, and thus, different reactions to presence of Allied troops.

Censorship reports suggest that relations with the Dutch were good at the beginning, even if there were few explicit mentions of relations with civilians. The precious few mentions of civilians in these early reports relate how troops were billeted in private homes and the families who lived there treated them extremely well, feeding the soldiers and washing their laundry. In return, “every” Canadian division reported having Christmas parties for Dutch children on Black Petersday or St. Nicholas’ Eve.¹

¹ The Dutch traditionally begin celebrating Christmas on December 5th, the night before St. Nicholas’ birthday.

The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, like other units, had held Christmas parties for local children since 1940 while stationed in Britain. Now in Heusden and Elshout in the Netherlands, the Argylls continued the tradition by giving a party for each town. The festivities included “movies, Santa Claus, small presents and refreshments. As usual the refreshments attracted a large number of ‘children’ of 18 or 19, but that was also accepted.” The only problem was that when one of the parties was held on 19 December 1944, there was a lot of German activity that threatened to disrupt the festivities, in part because of the launch of the Ardennes offensive that would culminate in the Battle of the Bulge. Overall, the citizens of Heusden were very happy with their Canadian liberators. While the Argylls were there, many soldiers were billeted in civilian homes and the Canadians were provided with more than enough tea or coffee and warm water to shave in. The civilians also did the soldiers’ laundry, depending on whether the soldiers were able to provide precious soap for the process. The reason why the locals were so happy to see the Canadians is not hard to understand. Before departing, German soldiers had supposedly gathered 300 civilians into the basement of a church and then had blown up the building. The Canadians had arrived as the citizens of Heusden were digging out family members from the rubble.²

As early as January 1945, before the entire Netherlands had been liberated by the Allies, Dutch citizens in Nijmegen began to take exception to Canadian soldiers interacting with local girls. Military dances were considered to be “bordels [sic] with

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, T-17925, Vol 4/Censor Reps/2/2, Canadian Army Overseas, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Dec 1944”, 9.

² *The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's), 1928-1953*, ([Hamilton? Ont: The Regiment], 1953), 156.

music' which are driving apart the respectable civ[ilian] element & our troops" according to a report by 3rd Canadian Field Security Section. The Dutch suggested to the Canadians that "NO respectable girl will attend one, and that they are an insult to the staid Dutch Catholic. This is evidence [sic] by the number of used contraceptives to be seen outside the bldgs after a dance..." The local Chief of Police had already complained to the Canadians. Other civil authorities claimed that the women who frequented the dances were "pro-German" and had been "intimate" with the German troops. As a result, these women were seeking Canadian protection from Dutch civil authorities.³

This was a common assertion on the part of local authorities, be they Dutch or German, ally or foe. The only women who would fraternize with soldiers were the untrustworthy types who were traitors, as well as being promiscuous. There was never any proof to support these assertions, but it was a common theme reported to the Canadians during their stay in Europe.

One incident in the Netherlands was only reported in July 1945 to Canadian authorities. Vloten Augustyn claimed that all the way back in mid-April 1945, his family and friends were robbed of 23,726 Guilders worth of goods by members of the Royal Canadian Regiment. Apparently, the house was rather large and it was requisitioned by Colonel R.C. Reed, the commander of the force that was liberating the area. Approximately 100 troops stayed in and around the home. Since the Germans were still in the area and the house had been designated as a headquarters, the area drew artillery fire, which the home owner described in his "Statement of Facts" as German 88

³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16391, Serial 603, No. 3 Field Security Section, 2 Canadian Corps, "By-Monthly Counter Intelligence Report No. 15. Period from 7—22 Jan 45", January 1945.

mm shells. Two officers were killed and the Canadians ordered the civilians into the cellar with some soldiers to help protect them. While in the cellar, Vloten heard noises upstairs and he was informed by the soldiers present that an artillery spotting crew was observing the situation. Eventually, the civilians were asked to leave for a Regimental Aid Post. Upon their departure, Vloten noticed that several items had already been stolen from the house. He reported this to Colonel Reed and refused to be evacuated. The officer thought this intransigence was ridiculous and promised to post guards on the house for the night. When the Dutch family and their friends returned, the back door of the house had been breached and articles had been stolen from inside trunks and cupboards, as well as other places. Colonel Reed promised to do something about the theft, but Vloten alleged that nothing had been done.

A British Intelligence officer and a Civil Affairs officer had visited the scene within days of the event, but allegedly no action had been taken until June, when many of the soldiers in the unit had been scattered after V-E Day and Colonel Reed had returned to Canada. Vloten submitted a full list of the missing goods along with his report to the higher military authorities. Sergeant J.A. Sherwood of 1 Canadian SIS (Special Investigation Section) submitted a report on the "alleged looting", including a full list of items lost and Vloten's statements. There is no indication that anything was recovered.⁴

By the end of the war, Canadian soldiers were starting to annoy the local population in the Dutch city of Utrecht. Canadian soldiers were apparently carrying on, drinking and fraternizing with local "Jerry Girls", women who had allegedly fraternized

⁴ LAC, RG 24, Series C-1, C-5270, File 8790-30, 1 Canadian SIS, "Alleged Looting", 31 Jul. 45.

with German soldiers. They looted vacated Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (NSB--Dutch Nazi Party) houses, in addition to selling cigarettes and food on the black market. The Dutch complained to the officer commanding the troops, but this only created bad feelings between the civilians and the Canadians. According to the Field Security Situational Report, the civilians were comparing the recent behaviour of the Canadians with the “good” behaviour of the British troops they had replaced.⁵

However, on the whole, Canadians enjoyed themselves in the Netherlands and the civilians showed their appreciation wholeheartedly in May 1945. The Dutch certainly appreciated that the Canadians had items they wanted. As one historian of the Seaforth Highlanders noted:

The dances and cinema shows arranged by the Auxiliary Services could not be held in proper dance halls and theatres and it was a rare Seaforth who did not have a Dutch girl to escort to these affairs. Officers and Sergeants messes and a battalion canteen were re-established in excellent quarters, and here, too, some of the hospitality of the Dutch people could be repaid... Almost everyone had his own arrangement for getting his clothes cleaned and pressed—frequently for one bar of soap. A package of cigarettes could “buy” services of various types far above their legitimate cost in Dutch guilders, and items in parcels sent from Canada could be traded at a price ten times their original cost.⁶

This shows a direct contrast to what was going on across the border at the same time. Whereas the Dutch wanted the Canadians in the Netherlands, the Germans did not. The fraternization ban in Germany, which was enforced before, during and after VE-Day, did not allow soldiers to experience such luxurious surroundings in the defeated nation.

⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, No. 6 Canadian Field Security Reserve Detachment, “CI SITREP”, 20 and 23 May 45.

⁶ Reginald H. Roy, *The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada, 1919-1965* ([Vancouver: Printed by Evergreen Press, 1969), 441.

Whereas the Dutch and the Canadians celebrated in the heady days of victory, across the border civilians were sullen, afraid and possibly dangerous. The Dutch had faced starvation *en masse* before the Allies had arrived. Perhaps the most poignant thing the Dutch could have done or said to the Canadians on the liberation of the country was expressed to Lt.-Colonel Bell-Irving of the Seaforth Highlanders by an old woman: “Thank God, at last you’ve come.”⁷

In Utrecht Province, 14 Field Security Section reported during the first week of June that the Dutch were already complaining that they were “upset and disgusted with the public lovemaking” between Canadians and their Dutch girlfriends. The locals were also worried about the increase in illegitimate children, a problem that the Dutch would have to deal with for the next several generations. In addition, the Canadians were getting drunk, assaulting civilians and “using their glamour on girls as young as 12 years.” The civilians were described as “fed up” and the Section was worried that such actions were destroying the goodwill created by the initial liberation. Such “anti-fraternization” feelings were more likely to be found in Germany because they and the Canadians had been enemies, but the Dutch were never passive when it came to criticizing their liberators, and it appears for good reason. On 19 June, the Section reported that relations were “nothing dangerous” but that the Dutch would have been happy to see the Canadians leave, only if they could find an alternate source for limited luxuries like chocolate and cigarettes! People were still complaining about the drunkenness and the public expression of sexuality, but in addition there was also

⁷ Ibid., 439.

frustration about the “unnecessary destruction” of clubs that were visited by the Canadians. The report stressed that the Dutch understood that soldiers were “a bit rougher than civilians” but believed that the military did not yet consider them free and Allies to be respected and treated appropriately.⁸

Part of the problem, according to a Canadian censorship report for the end of June, was that the local clergy had warned Dutch girls not to mingle with Canadian men. Some soldiers suggested it was the Baptist clergy, while others blamed Roman Catholic priests. It was bad enough for Canadian soldiers in Germany being unable to fraternize with the local women, but in this instance, being in Holland did not appear to be much better. According a gunner in an artillery regiment, “The Pastors of the Churches here (Baptists) have banned all girls from going to Allied troop dances.” This did not give the Canadian soldier a very high opinion of the Dutch. “These people in this area of North Holland have seen less war than any people in occupied Europe. They are cold and borish [sic] also stupid. After all we have done a lot for them and they in no way appreciate us.” Another private complained:

I get more fed up with these Dutchmen every day, its got to the point now where they’ve got to publish in the papers every other day that girls that go out with the Cdns will get their hair shaved. Not that I want to have anything to do with their women.⁹

Another soldier also noted the threats made to Dutch women for associating with Canadian men. While a woman with a shaved head conjures up images of French, Belgian or Dutch collaboration with the Germans, this perhaps was gender-based

⁸ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16395, Series 1193, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, “CI Sitrep”, 3, 7, 19 June 45.

⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Jul 45”, 6.

xenophobia against all fraternization with foreign men. What must have really hurt Canadians was the implication from the Dutch that “we are the S.S. of the British Army.”¹⁰

Jack Connor, in a letter copied into his memoir, recorded having heard such “Canadian SS” rumours as early as the end of May 1945. According to Connor, the British who had been in the area of Lochem had told the locals that the Canadians were like the SS and represented “the worst possible specimens for nice, innocent Dutch girls to associate with.” Connor suggested the British were getting back at the Canadians for having stolen their women back in England. As a result,

the entire Regiment is getting the ‘cold shoulder’. The girls run home to mother when they see us coming. This is really unfair to our gunners. They did not fraternize in Deutschland as per Army orders. We saw Limeys there who did. Now when we hit Holland the men expect a little sociability and they find their ‘Allies’ are spreading rotten stories about them.¹¹

It did not help the Canadians’ morale that the Dutch were already saying, in effect, “Free us from our liberators” a month and a half after the country’s liberation was complete. Indeed, such signs could be found in Dutch towns. As one trooper put it, “Now that’s gratitude for you.” Despite all these concerns about relations with the Dutch, the author of the quoted censorship report, a Captain Hutton, suggested that the problems had been dealt with and the clergy responsible for banning relations had been disciplined. One soldier commented that a priest had received a year in jail for causing the trouble and as a result women were coming to the Monday night dances, after

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Jack Connor, *The Way I Saw It*, self-published, 200[?], Canada, [Canadian War Museum Library, GEN D 811 C661 V. 3, B. 3].

receiving printed invitations, no less. Apparently, a good time was had by all: “They don’t run off home any more as soon as it is finished like this used to.”¹²

The Cameron Highlanders moved back into Holland from Germany in early July.

They were especially pleased upon crossing the Dutch border as

the era of non-fraternization ended. Thousands of Dutch civilians turned out to cheer the lads as they proceeded on their way... The troops enjoyed themselves by handing out chocolates and cigarettes to the Dutch people who crowded around in welcome every time the convoy paused in its forward movement.¹³

The Adjutant, Captain R. Brown, sent a message to all companies about accommodations that they were leaving in Germany and those they were about to find in the Netherlands. One quote is sufficient to give a voice to Brown’s playful tone in his note:

It behoves us to impress upon you veterans, conquerors of Germany and Models of the right of free men that you are moving to a country which you last enjoyed under wartime conditions and which has now become a country again, playing host to the First Cdn Army until those overcrowded boats can filter out the impatient warriors.¹⁴

The anti-fraternization feelings continued into July as well. In Hilversum, north of Utrecht, shop windows were plastered with messages “warning Dutch girls to keep away from Allied t[roo]ps because friendship would only result in ‘maternity’”. Unlike some of the threatening messages later sent to Dutch and German women who engaged in fraternization, the 14 Security Section viewed these messages as not

¹² LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Jul 45”, 6, 7.

¹³ Richard Wilfred Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare : A History of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada, 1935-1960* ([Winnipeg: Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada], 1960), 196.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

dangerous and the Dutch police viewed them to be the work of “a few disgruntled males”. The messages were printed by the “Anti-Fokking Club”.¹⁵

Soldiers reported the same strained relations with the Dutch in their letters home in July. While many excerpts again show anger at the Dutch for welcoming the Canadians as liberators two months earlier and now resenting them, a few soldiers assert that a small group of “anything but respectable” Canadians were making life miserable for the rest of the soldiers, as well as the Dutch. Noting that the Dutch were a jealous lot, one signalman noted:

They will cut the girls’ hair off because some Cdns are anything but respectable. If he cannot get anywhere with a girl because she is respectable he hands out the old line about marriage. When the time comes to marry her he just doesn’t show up. Things like that spoil the reputation of the whole Cdn Army.¹⁶

The Canadians had “worn out the Welcome Mat” according to an officer in the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders. He did not blame the Dutch for occasionally feeling like that. He believed the Dutch were not as tolerant as their previous English hosts and the locals did not “understand our tomfoolery... The average Canadian soldier is too damn cocksure of himself now that the war is over, and the devil is getting lots of mischief put in his idle hands.”¹⁷

There were also reports of violence in July. Apparently in Doorn, another town outside of Utrecht, drunken troops smashed café windows, shot off rounds of ammunition and one soldier was purportedly seen burning clothing that the locals

¹⁵ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16395, Series 1193, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, “CI Sitrep”, 11 and 18 Jul. 45

¹⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Jul 45”, 7.

¹⁷ Ibid., 7.

figured they might have been able to use. Utrecht was not without incident, but the troops were still popular there, according to various reports. Either the troops had “settled into a more normal frame of mind or the civs are becoming accustomed to them and realize that most of the men are neither drunkards nor rapists. Possibly more rigid provost control is bettering the situation.” Other preventative measures might have also been the reason. In Utrecht, minors under 18 were giving a curfew of 23:00 unless accompanied by parents or guardians. This was one hour earlier than the regular curfew and because the Canadians were not the guardians of the young ladies, this would cause problems. In addition, civilian committees were beginning to ponder means of entertaining the troops, though nothing was said of what the entertainment would entail.¹⁸ One lance bombardier stationed in an unnamed town joked that:

We really make them head for the cellars some nights when we come out of the canteen. They are really scared skinny of the Canadians, and last night we really made their hair stand on end when we executed an Indian war dance on the corner where we are stationed. The local citizens have not recovered from the attack yet.¹⁹

The “mutual antagonism” between the Canadians and the Dutch also coloured relations in August, according to the letters collected in censorship reports. Despite the fact that larger numbers of Canadians were now getting married as the censors and Field Security vetting officers could attest to, there were still problems. Dutch girls who were friendly with Canadians were still “victimized” by their fellow citizens. This

¹⁸ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16395, Series 1193, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, “CI Sitrep”, 11 and 18 Jul. 45.

LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16395, Series 1193, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, “Monthly CI Report No. 5”, 19 Jul. 45.

¹⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Jul 45”, 7.

“victimization” included having their heads shaved. Canadians were upset that women who dared fraternize with them were treated the same way as people who collaborated with the Germans. One private promised to shave the head of any Dutchman who did the same to any girl he or his buddies were with. He also suggested that something similar had already taken place in Utrecht.²⁰

There were also rumours that even the Dutch government and monarchy no longer wished to have Canadians in Holland, as one trooper expostulated: “Boy am I kicking. Things are getting pretty deadly around here now. Queen Wilhelmina of Holland has asked that all British and Canadian troops be moved out of Holland as soon as possible. Practically a demand!”²¹

Relations with the Dutch were so bad in August that Dutch and Canadian soldiers engaged in brawls. One soldier was proud of his battle with the Dutch:

The Dutch soldiers thought that they would beat us up the other nite, but we just stuck em out and ended up on top. They were a pretty badly bashed up bunch of fellows. Some of us got hurt, but none like the Dutch. Our Colonel told the Dutch Commander that his men were playing with dynamite as we were a trained regiment and had all been in action. They’re not so keen on a tangle now.²²

The bad relations had lowered Canadian opinions of the Dutch considerably. One sapper admitted that he was “fed up” with the Dutch who were “half Jerry anyway”, which for the first time in the censorship reports compared the Dutch unfavourably to the German “enemy”. A trooper was of the opinion that if there was to be “trouble”

²⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Aug 45”, 6.

²¹ Ibid., 6.

²² LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Aug 45”, 5.

between the Canadians and the Dutch, it was not going to be over demobilization and repatriation, but because of relations between the troops and civilians: “It seems the Dutch don’t like us any better than we like them.”²³

That is not to say there was no sense of compassion for the Dutch. As one Canadian soldier admitted in a letter to a Dutch civilian:

I like AMSTERDAM more and more, the only thing that I do not like about it now, is what the allied troops have done to it. At times I am very much ashamed of we Canadasje [sic, phonetic spelling of Dutch term for Canadians?]. But I am sure that I do not have to explain to you what an influence several years in the Army can have on a bunch of fellows.²⁴

Another soldier, perhaps unintentionally, hit on the real reason for the bad blood and misunderstandings between the Dutch and the Canadians when he described the privations suffered by the locals:

We can’t understand the meaning of scarcity in Canada but when you see these Dutchmen cutting down the majestic age-old poplars which have lined their roads for generations, you realise that the coal shortage is something terribly real. Yesterday the Dutch meat ration was cut to 1 oz per person *per week*. [emphasis added] We soldiers are wealthy visitors in a land where the sceptre [sic] of famine is loath to depart. We have cigarettes in plenty, they have none. We have food in plenty, they must tighten their belts.²⁵

A report from 13 Provost Company confirmed most of the sentiments that were shared by the Canadians: “The civilian population in this area cannot be described as unfriendly, however, there appears to be no doubt that they will be very glad to see the last of the Canadian Army presently occupying Holland.” The unit had donated

²³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Aug 45”, 6.

²⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Aug 45”, 5.

²⁵ Ibid.

chocolate bars for a local children's festival as well as rations and decorations for celebrations of Queen Wilhelmina's birthday. The unit was later commended by local police for its assistance in ensuring safe celebrations. The commanding officer of 13 Provost, Captain T. Jamieson Quirk, reported that a demonstration took place on 8 August in Enschede, where Dutch men and women booed and jeered Dutch girls and their Canadian escorts coming out of the NAAFI (Navy, Army and Air Force Institute). This apparently was also a common occurrence outside the Enschede Officer's Club where Dutch locals also congregated. Apparently, small boys were also prone to chant at Canadians and their friends that, "the girl who goes out with the Tommy is worse than the one who went out with the German." However, the rumour that would cause the most headaches for the Canadians in the months to come was the assertion by clerics in newspapers that Dutch women should not go out with soldiers because most Canadians were infected with VD.²⁶

A tense situation erupted on 16 September, in Utrecht. Several members of the Regiment de la Chaudière heard rumours to the effect that local civilians were beating up some of their comrades. According to military and press reports based on military sources, the soldiers proceeded to "make a demonstration", which meant pushing around local civilians. The local police arrived quickly on the scene and "acting on their local custom", began discharging their firearms into the air. As a result, several civilians began discharging their own firearms. Apart from bruises, only one Canadian soldier and one civilian woman were injured, slightly, by gunfire. The military had found no

²⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13Prov/5-7-0, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report", 30 June 45, 2-3 and "Part I Orders", 12 Sept. 45.

evidence that the Canadians used or were even in possession of firearms at the time. The Provost units that responded to the disturbance reported that the soldiers were following orders and there were no further problems. The town was made off-limits to soldiers for a period of time, a curfew was enacted and seven ORs were arrested as a result. Officers of the Canadian Army met with Dutch civil and military authorities and there was no antagonism. The Dutch officials admitted that some civilians were prone to “abusing” individual soldiers and were “always ready to foment trouble.” The Army officers admitted the incident had been caused by the Canadians, but asked that the civilian police refrain from using their guns as it would only create more tensions with soldiers. In the following week, there were no other incidents between the two groups.²⁷

In soldiers’ letters, the soldiers reported the situation was much worse than advertised in official reports, though presumably some examples were rumours and not necessarily based on facts. One sergeant in the Mount Royal Fusiliers related a shocking tally of violence. In the battle between the Dutch and Canadians, 14 civilians were killed along with four soldiers as well. Additionally, two Canadians had been found drowned in a canal. The sergeant explained that the reason for the fight was because the Dutch soldiers were jealous of the Canadians’ local girlfriends.²⁸

²⁷ LAC, RG 24, Series C-1, C-5270, File 8790-30, “Army Message”, 21 Sept. 45.

John Raycroft also mentioned that his unit was unable to visit Utrecht in September 1945 because of the ban on visits by Canadians. Raycroft and his fellows went to Gronigen instead where the Canadians were welcome. Raycroft, *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*, 322.

²⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 16-30 Sept 45”, 4-5.

In fact, one private in the South Saskatchewan Regiment, and another soldier in the Essex Scots, related that the direct cause for the fight was because the Dutch had finally done what they had been threatening for months: they attempted to shave girls' heads for fraternizing with Canadians. Allegedly in response, "somebody cut the ears off the fellows who did it. There has been hard feelings there for a long time..." Apparently, the Canadians did not take kindly to this act, "[T]he boys wouldn't stand for this kind of stuff. I think it will get a lot hotter around here soon, I hate those Dutchmen, and I think they are even worse than the Germans."²⁹

Hatred of the Dutch was common at this time. Some Canadians, in their letters, compared the Dutch unfavourably to the Germans. One trooper at the HQ of the Canadian Forces in the Netherlands explained, "I don't like Amsterdam and in fact I don't like any of Holland—to me the Dutch people seem and look just like Germans—I think they hate us." The Canadians also had issues with the Dutch soldiers for reasons other than simply their girlfriends' hair. Allegedly, Dutch soldiers crowded festivals and canteens, not giving the Canadians' enough food and space.

In another letter in the same month, a lance corporal in the Calgary Highlanders showed a shocking amount of multi-layered racism when he spoke bitterly about the Dutch, Jews and the British: "I just can't stomach these Dutch people. All they are good for is bumming. They say Hitler done a good job of killing all the Jews, but he sure left a pile of them in Holland. Ignorant they are, even worse than the Limeys." The racism in the statement speaks for itself. The "bumming" comment is either in regard to the use

²⁹ Ibid., 5.

of canteens by Dutch soldiers or the constant request for chocolate and cigarettes from the civilians. And the final comment of the Jews and the British being ignorant is more than a little like the stereotypical kettle calling the pot black.³⁰

The point in examining such a bigoted statement is to examine how the pendulum had swung back since the spring of 1945. At that point, there was nothing good about *any* German, a point driven home not only by the soldiers' own opinions, but by the Army itself. Now, similar attitudes were being expressed about Dutch, who previously had been adulated by the Canadians for treating them so well and being so happy about their liberation. The other point to be made is that in Holland, where fraternization was always legal and the Canadians were always willing, there was a greater backlash and more problems than in Germany where fraternization was initially forbidden.

Another issue that was different than Germany was the role of the Dutch soldiers. Whereas in Germany, the *Wehrmacht* was gone and soldiers forbidden from wearing their uniforms, in Holland, the Dutch wore their uniforms proudly after the liberation of their country. To them, the women cavorting with Canadians were insults to their honour. Much like Germans angry with Allied soldiers fraternizing with their women, the Dutch felt emasculated by the sight of Dutch women flocking to the relatively wealthy and raucous Canadians. Not only did these soldiers compete with

³⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Sept 45", 5.
LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Sept 45", 5.

Canadians for the women, but the excerpts show they competed for space and resources in the recreational areas.

Needless to say, many Canadians commented in their letters from Holland in September that they simply wished to change areas or go home. It is hard to imagine what soldiers would have preferred, dull occupation duty in Germany defending civilians from DP raids or waiting for repatriation in Holland with a population becoming more hostile by the day. The situation did change a little for the better in October, though the soldiers still wanted to go home and many Dutch civilians still wanted them to leave. Letters still recorded that soldiers were welcome in Dutch homes and the locals even set up parties for the men they still referred to as liberators. According to one staff sergeant, the Dutch would still “do anything” for the Canadians, and they knew what the soldiers had done to liberate their country: “The Canadian rates high here because through the Dutch underground, the credit due him was made known, so for once he wasn’t robbed of his glory.” Unfortunately, the rumour that Queen Wilhelmina had asked for the Canadians to be removed from the Netherlands was still going around. At least one excerpt a month had propagated this idea, but this does not seem to be based in fact.³¹

The biggest problem reported in October by Canadian soldiers in Holland concerned disturbing articles in Dutch newspapers that reported 50% of Canadians had VD and other allegations. This did not help the soldiers’ morale, and did not help relations with Dutch women. As one unfortunate infantry officer found out:

³¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Oct 45”, 5.

Everything went well until the two ladies said that Mother stipulated they were to be home by 11 p.m., as 50% of Canadians suffered from V.D. It appears this is general belief amongst the Dutch People, following an article in the newspaper HET VRIEVOLK.³²

The excerpt did not say how the officer made out, though other letters reported that Canadian generals were attempting to disabuse the Dutch newspapers about such false notions. There were enough VD problems that they did not need to be exaggerated. The Army reported a VD rate of 213.7 per-year per-thousand strength, or 1,945 new cases for the troops of Canadian Forces Netherlands in October 1945.³³

One Dutch woman was angry enough about the Canadian presence in Amsterdam that she wrote a passionate letter to Pierre Dupuy, Canadian Minister to The Hague on October 3, 1945. Mrs. G. Van Lennep-Boissavain's request was simple: "Will you please get the Leave Centre out of Amsterdam before Xmas. It is a disgrace to the city and the Dutch do not feel able to cope with it." She suggested that England and Belgium were better places for such centres. Her concern was not only for the Dutch, but for the soldiers themselves. Mrs. Van Lennep-Boissavain claimed that there was "so much misery, broken homes, sickness, murders, drunkenness and illegitimate babies." The leave centre, "the root of all evil", attracted all kinds of "scum" who did nothing but live off the soldiers, which included robbing them. "The Dutch will sell anything for gain," she claimed, including "poison liquors" that had killed Canadians since the Liberation. Army supplies were sold on the market for inflated prices, and allegedly prostitutes charged 90 cigarettes, "for a room alone." She claimed the local police were

³² Ibid.

³³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Overseas, Venereal Disease Control, "Progress Report for period Sept. 1945 to Dec. 1945", 14 Jan 46, Appendix "C".

helpless and the Military Police could be “bought”. Mrs. Van Lennep-Boissavain also reported that “Hair is being cut off every day by jealous Dutchmen. Wives are beaten, scandals are ‘hushed up’ but serious trouble is brewing.” This appears to be a confirmation of what the soldiers had been reporting in their own letters.

Mrs. Van Lennep-Boissavain related the reason why she thought events had gotten so bad: “The soldiers have too much money, cigarettes and time on their hands.” The Canadians wanted nothing but to go home, but that was taking too long. She suggested that the Netherlands no longer needed the Canadians “Holland will never stand on her own feet as long as you leave soldiers here to protect her.” If the soldiers were not there, the Dutch would get real jobs and stop preying on the Canadians. She ended her litany of concerns with the phrase: “The Queen regrets very much the delay in moving soldiers from here.” However, it is not clear whether Mrs. Van Lennep-Boissavain knew the Queen, or more likely, simply repeating the rumours the soldiers had heard themselves.³⁴

Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. McAvity of the Strathcona Royal Canadians summed up the “average” Canadian soldier’s attitude towards the Dutch. It is not what McAvity says, but what he does *not* say. His missive sounds as if he is responding to charges about the Dutch, and his soldiers, that are not repeated in the text. Previously he had mentioned Canadian indiscipline during the summer of 1945 and how the good name of the unit was protected with proper punishment. He had also quoted a war diary claiming V.D. Control had been one of the problems faced by the unit in Holland,

³⁴ LAC, RG 24, Series C-1, C-5270, File 8790-30, Canadian Army Staff Washington, Summary of European Civil Affairs Reports, Mrs. G. Van Lennep-Boissavain, “Letter”, 3 October 1945.

without making further comment.³⁵ Until this page, McAvity had not mentioned relations with the Dutch themselves.

A great many [Canadians] found them [the Dutch] kind and generous, pleasant companions and genuinely good people, people who will continue to be friends in the years to come. Others made casual acquaintances, some took no interest whatsoever. This fact, in itself, should not be considered discreditable to the Dutch for there are many among us who do not readily make friends in our own communities.³⁶

To this historian, this sounds very much like an apology for Canadian behaviour.

McAvity also offered an admonishment to his fellow Canadian soldiers.

Each of us will be asked, in the future, our opinions of the life and people in the Netherlands. Before answering, each should consider the circumstances of our prolonged stay in that country, should attempt to visualize the situation in reverse: what would an occupation army of some 80,000 foreigners feel towards Canadians after a six-months' enforced stay within our borders? What would be the reaction of Canadians toward them? All in all, the Dutch were excellent hosts.³⁷

While the Dutch and the Canadians increasingly resented one another in the summer and fall of 1945, that ill-feeling would not last, as testified to by the commemorations of the liberation of the Netherlands in the 21st century. However, the Canadians had fought hard in the war, and were understandably surprised when the people they had liberated no longer wanted them around. The Dutch had a country to rebuild, a society to mend, and the Canadians just wanted to go home. Neither side understood why the Canadians were still there several months after Germany had capitulated. Logistical reasons, such as shipping schedules, did not assuage Canadians

³⁵ J. M. McAvity, *Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians) : A Record of Achievement* (Toronto: Bridgens Ltd., 1947), 250.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 255.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

missing their families and the comforts of home. When some people attempted to put up barriers to stop Canadians from fraternizing with Dutch women, as early as one month after V-E Day, the soldiers were furious. It did not matter if the barriers were curfews, newspaper editorials or the physical act of shaming a girlfriend by shaving off her hair. By simply being in the country after a destructive war, the Canadians became just another set of occupiers to be resented by the Dutch.

The reason why civil-military relations soured so quickly after V-E Day was that the soldiers were around in the Netherlands with no real purpose. In Germany, they were occupiers with the purpose of fashioning a country from the ashes of Nazi Germany. In the Netherlands, the Dutch had a system of government and resistance members who also had a claim on helping to defeat the Nazis. Without the focus of the war, the soldiers had little to do and were more interested in having fun and celebrating their victory, as well as their survival. The Canadians were away from their homes and families and looked to the Dutch for entertainment and companionship. Cultural friction resulted when Canadians tempted Dutch women with their *carpe diem* attitude and relative wealth. Whereas in Germany, fraternization was initially forbidden, in the Netherlands there were no such restrictions: it was the Dutch themselves who wished to prevent relations between Dutch girls and Allied soldiers. The Dutch had won the war with the Allies, but their men were being emasculated as second-class citizens because “their” women were not focusing on them. As the censorship reports show, some Canadians realized that the soldiers should have had more respect for their hosts, but slights and later open hostility led to a mutual desire for the Canadians to

depart as soon as possible. It seems the Dutch were feeling, as Ben Franklin put it, “Fish and visitors stink in three days.”³⁸

³⁸ Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanac*, January 1736.

The quote is a re-invention of a line from an ancient Roman play, “For no guest can be thus hospitably entertained by a friend, but that when he has been there three days running, he must now become a bore; but when he is prolonging his stay for ten successive days, he is a nuisance to the household. Although the master willingly allows it, the servants grumble.” Titus Maccius Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*, Act 3, Scene 1.

CHAPTER FOUR:
NON-FRATERNIZATION: WIN THE WAR AND WIN THE PEACE

Definition: 'Non-Fraternization' is the avoidance of mingling with Germans upon terms of friendliness, familiarity or intimacy, whether individually or in groups, in official or in unofficial dealings. *Policy on Relations Between Allied Occupation Forces and Inhabitants of Germany*, September 1944.¹

As Canadians and other soldiers approached the German frontier, senior Allied officials ruminated on how to deal with a vanquished Germany. What were the Allies to do with Germany, particularly the German people, when they finally completed their invasion of Europe? This was the question that plagued Allied officials for several months before and after D-Day. This chapter will examine the non-fraternization policy, as it applied to the Canadians who helped invade and occupy Germany, especially with regard to the restrictions it placed on soldiers and the aims these restrictions were trying to attain. The Allies intended that non-fraternization be taken seriously, and proposed a series of incremental punishments to deal with soldiers who broke the ban. The policy was simple, in theory, but even from the beginning the American officers who envisioned the policy were unsure of its success. Persons outside the Allied militaries had their own opinions as to how Germany should be treated and views from the home front on "the German problem" will be examined as well. The next chapters will deal with the military response to the fraternization policy and how the military tried to cajole, threaten and plead with its troops to enforce the ban.

¹ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 581.009(D137), 21 A. Gp./791/Ops.(B), HQ 21 Army Group, "Policy on Relations Between Allied Occupation Forces and Inhabitants of Germany", 20 Sept. 44.

As the Allies converged on Germany from two sides, the country collapsed into a state of chaos. From January to April 1945, as Hitler and his senior staff spent greater amounts of time in the bunker beneath the Reich Chancellery in Berlin, the dictatorship grew even more remote from the people it purportedly served. Services like electricity and supplies of food dwindled dramatically. Even if it had not been the Allies' intention to occupy Germany and rule it with a military government, most likely they would have had to prop up whatever native German government attempted to assert itself in place of the Nazi regime. Indeed, many members of the Nazi leadership like SS Reichführer Heinrich Himmler and Field Marshal Hermann Goering thought they might lead post-Hitler governments, and thereby continue the war against the Soviets, despite Allied insistence on unconditional surrender. The Allies had to show the Nazis that no native German-led government would be acceptable.

A moment should be taken to explain the reasoning and circumstances behind a fraternization ban that seems nonsensical and impossible to enforce among soldiers in what, in many cases, was still a war zone. Sixty years later, fraternization, loosely speaking, is very desirable for militaries. The Canadian mission to Afghanistan, while not a peacekeeping mission, nor simply one of foreign aid, is propped up by the supposition that Canadians are "building a nation": building bridges, getting Muslim women to go to school, and offering security in a country that has had none for a long time. The only way it is felt that Canadian soldiers can do these jobs adequately, in conjunction with their combat operations, is to get to know the local population, "meeting and greeting" them so that a relationship of trust is created.

The ban, as it was eventually explained to the Allied soldiers, said that there were to be no contacts with Germans outside of military business. Soldiers could not shake hands, give or accept gifts, share food, speak to or even *smile* at Germans. The locals and Allies were to maintain separation from one another in order to punish Germans for having prosecuted the war. Friendships and sexual relationships were considered to be egregious violations of the ban. Each Allied army, including the Soviets, had an official policy of non-fraternization. While there was initial confusion about whether all Allied troops had to follow the ban, by February 1945, when Canadians first entered German territory, all soldiers were required to follow it.

The reason for submitting Germans—and Allied soldiers—to this policy was to punish the Germans for waging an aggressive and destructive war. Major General J. H. Hilldring, Director of the U.S. Army Civil Affairs Division, outlined the reasoning behind the policy in a letter to the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) in the summer of 1944. Allied soldiers were going to Germany to ensure that another war did not break out. Germans needed to understand that Nazi ideology of a German “Master Race” was wrong and militarism had only brought defeat and ruin. As soldiers would be the first Allies into Germany, they needed to show strong discipline because that was something, allegedly, that Germans knew and respected. Hilldring acknowledged that an “anti-fraternization order will be most difficult, if not impossible to enforce, but it is thought that every effort should be made to the end that the German people will be made conscious of their war guilt and of the contempt in which they are held by decent peoples of the world.” The Germans needed to repent for their

actions before the Americans and Allies could show forgiveness. Troops in return needed to show proper politeness or “stern courtesy” to Germans, opposite to the “violent vengefulness and insolent overbearance which characterized the Nazi leadership.” No looting or drunkenness would be permitted.²

The Americans and their Allies had no illusions that they were heading into an enemy country. As Hilldring explained, the non-fraternization policy was also meant as a form of protection for Allied soldiers engaged in occupation duties. Keeping their distance would allow fewer chances for Nazi saboteurs and fifth columnists to wreak havoc among Allied troops, in particular with regard to disturbing their morale. Soldiers were also not to engage in political discussions with Germans because of the fear that propaganda would reduce their morale and might convert them to Nazism.

To prevent contact from taking place, soldiers would not be billeted with civilians. Where there was no choice except to house civilians and soldiers in the same residence, officers would be billeted in the same building to ensure discipline. Unfortunately, this made the assumption that officers would follow the policy more readily than other ranks. However, officers would be held directly responsible for the actions of the men under them and would be subject to disciplinary action. The ban would be enforced by military police, though Hilldring did not give a list of what punishments the soldiers would receive.

Hilldring also recommended that recreation be ample for troops engaged in occupation duties. However, he suggested that art galleries and museums be placed off-

² The National Archives (United Kingdom) (NA UK), WO 219/3652 80013, SHAEF Analysis Sheet, 2 August 1944.

limits, at least initially, “because their presence in Germany is strictly a military mission and not a sight-seeing tour.”³ In this respect, the establishment of a fraternization ban was a political decision. It was not one based simply on ideology, but rather on anger as well.

While the fraternization ban of the Second World War has attracted a lot of attention by American authors focusing on soldiers’ actions in Germany, it is surprising to note that the end of the Second World War was not the first time a ban on fraternization was attempted. At the end of the Great War, or First World War, American, British and other Allied soldiers occupying the Rhineland were guided by an “anti-fraternization rule” that prevented them from interacting with Germans. A ban on fraternization after the Second World War did not seem out of place and alien to Allied policy makers simply because the German enemy had been treated in a similar manner the last time they had pursued an aggressive war.

On December 17, 1918, British troops occupying the Rhineland were warned against fraternizing with the locals. Any troops walking with German women would be arrested.⁴ As one order explained, “Intercourse with the inhabitants will be confined to what is essential and will be marked with courtesy and restraint.”⁵ Intercourse at this time and place meant verbal, not sexual, intercourse. Germans had already been given instructions to salute all Allied officers, even in passing. This was reported to be a French idea, but soon it was modified and Germans only had to doff hats when being addressed

³ NA UK, WO 219/3652 80013.

⁴ J. E. Edmonds and Imperial War Museum (Great Britain), *The Occupation of the Rhineland : 1918-1929*, History of the Great War Based on Official Documents (London: H.M.S.O., 1987).

⁵ Keith Jeffery, ““Hut Ab,” “Promenade with Kamerade for Schokolade,” and the Flying Dutchman : British Soldiers in the Rhineland, 1918–1929,” *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 16, no. 3 (2005). 459.

by British officers. Soldiers had fun with Germans, physically removing their hats if they failed to do so.⁶

Soldiers in the First World War reacted in a similar manner to the anti-fraternization “rule” as did the next generation of soldiers in the Second World War. As David G. Williamson suggested in his study of the British in Germany: “...fraternization with German women was banned, but it inevitably took place despite all attempts by the military authorities to stop it. Soldiers picked up girls in cinemas or cafés and most officers had their pet *fräulein*.”⁷ An article by *New York Times* journalist Edwin L. James puts the soldiers’ reactions succinctly. They were only interested in two questions in February 1919: when were they going home, and when would they be allowed to fraternize? As he put it, “Not being able to go home, it is natural that fraternization comes up for consideration.”⁸ The rule was considered “unenforceable” according to one historian and was removed in July 1919.⁹

While the Americans billeted soldiers separately from the locals, as they would after the Second World War, British soldiers were not placed under such restrictions. The British controlled civilian contacts with soldiers, but not the soldiers’ contacts with civilians. Keith Jeffery notes instances where British soldiers were taken to task for walking with German girls. One fellow, Percy Creek, was caught and sentenced to “fourteen days’ Number One Field Punishment, roped to a gun-wheel”. A local

⁶ Ibid. 457-458.

⁷ D. G. Williamson, *The British in Germany, 1918-1930 : The Reluctant Occupiers* (New York: Berg : Distributed exclusively in the US and Canada by St Martin's Press, 1991). 58.

⁸ Edwin L. James, "Bar Soldiers' Talk with German Girls: "Fraternization Rule" as Construed in Our Occupation Area, Raises a Problem," *New York Times*, 14 Feb 1919.

⁹ Jeffery, "'Hut Ab," "Promenade with Kamerade for Schokolade," and the Flying Dutchman : British Soldiers in the Rhineland, 1918–1929," 460.

schoolmaster had invited Creek and also a mate home for some potatoes and bean soup. Soldiers' newspapers printed satirical verses about having to love German women with their eyes because they were unable to put arms around their waists. As Jeffery notes, with 290,000 British troops in the Rhineland, it was difficult to stop fraternization. One commentator in 1931 suggested that, "it was not unlike the prohibition law since in America. Enforcement of the 'no fratting' order lacked the moral sanction of officers and men alike, and so came under constant discussion—and probably, as with prohibition, led, if the truth were only known, to more consorting with *Fräulein* than would have eventuated had no ban ever existed." German women apparently were attracted by the British men who had more money, better manners and more chocolate than the local German men. There would be no difference 35 years later.¹⁰

While a united Germany was acceptable after the end of the First World War, the question of what to do with Germany itself after the Second World War ended was also an issue. Rebuilding an enemy they had fought twice in the past forty years was the last thing some of the Allies wanted. Ideas for German reconstruction and rehabilitation included the plan advocated by Henry Morgenthau, to *de*-industrialize Germany and turn it into an agricultural state so that it would never have the industrial potential military might to trouble the world again. One later plan, advocated extensively by Wilson M. Southam, owner of the *Ottawa Citizen*, was similar to Morgenthau's plan in calling for a permanent division of Germany and for the use of German industry in rebuilding the European economy. Southam's plan can be summarized by the title of a

¹⁰ Ibid.

pamphlet he submitted to several Allied governments: "No Germany, therefore no more German wars". German industry and territory would be expropriated by the surrounding countries, including France, the Netherlands, Poland, the Soviet Union, Denmark and Czechoslovakia. In Southam's extensive letters to the *Times* (London) from 1945 through to 1946, he latched onto the need for a "European federation", as editorials recommended, to prevent further wars and intolerance. However, it would be several years before European cooperation was a reality.¹¹

People back home may have had ideas of what to do with Germany and its industry, but the people present for the occupation were busy rebuilding the country. The people initially on the ground were soldiers, sometimes experts in uniform, but most had been recruited during the war. There were few political appointees, as in the aftermath of the Second Iraq War, when the Bush administration staffed the Coalition Provisional Authority with candidates who were acceptable to Republican ideology rather than those with necessary qualifications, like speaking Arabic or knowledge of finance or industry. In Germany, there was no need to create a bulwark against communism, because the Soviets were still allies in 1944 and would remain so until at least the following year.¹²

Others were not ready to put such drastic ideas into action, but all were convinced of the need to punish Germany and not let it be the cause of a Third World War. On this point, both the Western Allies and the Soviet Union were in agreement.

¹¹ NA UK, FO 371/55780, Wilson M. Southam, "Letter", 10 December 1945.

¹² Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Ties to GOP Trumped Know-How among Staff Sent to Rebuild Iraq: Early U.S. Missteps in the Green Zone," *Washington Post*, 17 Sept. 2006.

While the Soviets carted off entire factories to the East, the Western Allies did not de-industrialize Germany. Otherwise, there was no consensus on how Germany as a state was to be recreated. The Soviets naturally wanted a socialist state that would no longer be a threat to them, while the Western Allies wanted a democracy that would be more stable than Weimar Germany.

Another area in which the Anglo-American armies and Soviets did not agree was how troops should interact with German civilians. While the Soviets did have a non-fraternization policy, they did not enforce such regulations until 1947. While the Soviets maintained little rein on their troops in Budapest, East Prussia and other areas under their control, as detailed by Catherine Merridale, Anthony Beevor and Norman Naimark, the Western Allies maintained a posture that over time became untenable.¹³

The American military at first viewed the fraternization problem as a minor one. Initially, there were strong exhortations to the American GIs not to fraternize with German civilians, but no actual ban on fraternization. A letter on 29 July 1944 from Major General J. H. Hilldring, to Brigadier General J. C. Holmes, Deputy Chief of Staff of SHAEF's Civil Affairs directorate made clear that it was up to Allied commanders to decide on the ban against fraternization, depending on the situation.

The Americans worried about whether the policy would be effective. Hilldring also noted: "An anti-fraternization order will be most difficult, if not impossible to enforce, but it is our thought that every effort should be made to the end that the

¹³ Naimark, *The Russians in Germany : A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*.
Merridale, *Ivan's War : Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*.
Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin, 1945*.

German people will be made conscious of their war guilt, and of the contempt in which they are held by decent peoples of the world.” As early as October 1944, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower came to the conclusion that a fraternization ban would never succeed because it did not have the support of the ordinary soldiers. As a result, he instructed the US Army newspaper to “cease making an issue of the nonfraternization problem.”¹⁴

Hilldring also noted the experience of the First World War as rationale behind the new policy. “Out of the experience of the last war, our occupation of Germany in 1919, and observations of our soldiers in this war, it is our view that the following steps should be taken to ensure the broadest possible compliance with an anti-fraternization order, to give it greatest possible effectiveness.” Simply put, Hilldring wanted soldiers to follow the ban so that it would actually work. In an enclosed document, Hilldring also made clear that the reason behind the occupation would ensure that no third such action in Germany would be necessary. Despite the fact that the general in charge of Civil Affairs and the Supreme Allied Commander both had misgivings about the policy, there was enough public anger towards the Germans that the policy was put in place anyway. The policy seems to have been foisted upon at least the American Army that did not want to deal with it.

Despite his misgivings, Hilldring recommended two steps he regarded as essential: troops needed to learn and be aware of the policy that was put in place and

¹⁴ NA UK, WO/219 80013, SHAEF Analysis Sheet, 2 August 1944. Alexander Perry Biddiscombe and University of New Brunswick. Dept. of History., *U. S. Planning for the Future of Germany, 1942-1944 : A Study of the Ideological Background to the American Debate on Germany* (1983), 266.

soldiers needed “adequate provision” for education and recreational services so that soldiers’ time would be completely filled, and thus this would not turn to the local population for their recreational needs. Unfortunately, in another letter on the policy, Hilldring also recommended that German museums and art galleries be placed off-limits under the ban, with the impression that soldiers were not sightseers. This appears to be contradictory since many educational programs for soldiers might have involved the pre-Nazi history and culture of the country they were supposed to be occupying. To get the message across, a program of films, posters, pamphlets, radio and print news was recommended. The next chapter will deal with the media presented to the soldiers in greater detail.¹⁵

Some officials mused on what additional measures would be necessary to make the policy work. Earl Ziemke, in his official history of the U.S. Army’s occupation of Germany, quoted a British SHAEF official, Deputy Chief of Staff General F.E. Morgan: “I consider it essential that, if we are really to follow through with the business of nonfraternization, we should import into Germany at the earliest possible moment our own women in as large numbers as may be.”¹⁶ It is interesting to note General Morgan’s concern for the morale of the troops and the necessity of having female companionship for the Allied troops, to the extent that British, American and possibly Canadian, women needed to be brought in to fulfill their needs. Unfortunately, it is unclear as to what kind of women Morgan thought would be necessary.

¹⁵ NA UK, WO/219 80013.

¹⁶ Earl Frederick Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, Army Historical Series. (Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army : for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1975). 98.

A common problem when studying fraternization is the trans-national military insistence that soldiers are men with natural sexual desires that need to be fulfilled in order to maintain discipline and morale. "Ready, willing and able" women are judged to be necessary, to the extent in some cases that brothels are set up specifically for military personnel.¹⁷ Unfortunately, while male sexual urges were taken for granted, women who associated with them were identified as "loose" or "immoral" because they had relations out of wedlock. There is usually never any assumption that *women* in uniform in this period, such as nurses or clerks, have such natural "urges" that required attention.

By mid-September an item in the *Sunday Express* (London) noted that there had been several protests from members of the British public about a previous article that showed photographs of soldiers fraternizing and sitting with Germans in towns that had been conquered. It was claimed that the complainants desired a non-fraternization rule for the troops. One unnamed admiral claimed: "Unless we stop this sentimental nonsense and treat the Germans as a conquered people instead of a liberated people, we shall never convince the Germans that we have beaten them and that means another war." A Red Cross official was quoted as saying that if pictures of smiling Germans were shown, pictures of their victims should be displayed as well.¹⁸

At least one Canadian sapper complained about the American fraternization in his letter home from a hospital in England:

¹⁷ Willoughby, "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany." 164.

¹⁸ "Petting Germans", *Sunday Express* (London), 17 Sept. 1944.

Looking at a picture in the “Sunday Graphic” where American soldiers were fraternizing with German civilians and sharing rations with them. You’d [sic] think they were liberated friends instead of deadly murderers, and if the U.S.A. had been bombed and blasted for five years as England has maybe they’d think a hell of a lot different.¹⁹

The Canadian Army newspaper, the *Maple Leaf* reported on the decisions to prohibit fraternization as early as October 1944. One article, on 4 October, described a warning given to American soldiers about fraternizing with Germans. Soldiers were to limit conversations with civilians to the “minimum necessary to transact official business.” Soldiers were also prohibited from visiting homes, dining or bartering with Germans except when it was approved by higher authorities for military purposes. An editorial ten days later, “Mistrust Smiling Herrenvolk”, highlighted the new rules by reminding soldiers of how civilians had been treated under *German* occupations. Canadian troops were reminded that Germans had their own guerrillas and partisans to harass occupation armies.²⁰

By November, the British Foreign Office had prepared for soldiers a booklet entitled “Instructions for British Servicemen in Germany 1944”. This pamphlet was prepared by the same organization that had prepared the “Instructions” booklet for British soldiers in France. The booklet begins with an unlikely statement for military document: “This booklet had nothing to do with military operations. It deals only with civilian life in Germany and with the way you should behave to the German civilian population.” Soldiers were also warned that the information provided in the booklet

¹⁹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, T-17924, Vol 12322, 4/Censor Reps/1/5, Canadian Army Overseas, Field Censors (Home), “Special Report on Mail from Canadian Military Hospitals on the invasion of France 16 September to 30 September 1944”, 12.

²⁰ “Mistrust Smiling Herrenvolk,” *Maple Leaf*, 14 October 1944.

might not be accurate by the time the soldiers needed it.²¹ It is unclear how many Canadians saw this pamphlet, but as the Canadians received other British training materials about civilians for the Normandy landings, presumably the Canadians received this item as well.

From the beginning, British soldiers were warned that Germans might welcome them and they would possibly feel pity towards people who had suffered through six years of war. The pamphlet was honest about bombing damage to Germany and explained how the Germans might be starving because of the war. They were reminded that for 100 years, “German writers of great authority have been steadily teaching the necessity for war and glorifying it for its own sake. The Germans have much to unlearn.”²²

More importantly, British soldiers were informed that the German people needed to accept much of the blame for the atrocities committed by the German military machines. This was a suggestion made in all of the non-fraternization propaganda, but this pamphlet took the time to explain why ordinary Germans were being held accountable for the atrocities. The authors admitted the SS and Gestapo were responsible for many of the atrocities, but ordinary *Wehrmacht* officers and soldiers were also guilty. Individuals might have been horrified at such activity, but they found no time or opportunity to protest. The authors stressed that while the Allies needed to prevent such atrocities from happening again, vengeance was not the goal of the “British Commonwealth” and the other Allies. This was not strictly true as it did not

²¹ *Instructions for British Servicemen in Germany 1944*, (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), 2.

²² *Ibid.*

take Soviet motives into account. Soldiers were warned that if it were not for German crimes, British soldiers would not be forced to go to Germany.²³

The “Instructions” warned soldiers against fraternization, but admitted that some contact with German civilians would be necessary. In bold, soldiers were told that there was to be no brutality in a British occupation of Germany. Soldiers had to be firm, but also just. They needed to beware of German propaganda and understand that Germans did not have the benefit of listening to opposing views during the war. As the next chapter on fraternization slogans shows, the Western Allies were just as susceptible to using propaganda as the Axis.

The most questionable sections of the “Instructions” deal with the qualities of the Germans themselves. Soldiers were told that despite the fact that Germans looked like “us”, “they are not really so much like us as they look.” The pamphlet cited stereotypical “good” German qualities, like being hard-working, cleanly, obedient and fond of culture. In general, Germans allegedly showed emotion and might be prone to hysteria. This however, contradicted another stereotype, that of the taciturn, stoic German.²⁴

However, these stereotypes led straight to those of the “bad” Germans. Historically, Germans submitted to authority because “obedience was imposed on them by force.” The German army dehumanized recruits in order to make them obedient and “cringe before authority”. Germans agreed with Hitler because he “ordered them about, and most of them liked it. It saved them the trouble of thinking. All they had to do was

²³ Ibid., 3-5.

²⁴ Ibid., 25-38.

obey and leave the thinking to him.” The authors also suggested that not being required to think also made Germans believe that this absolved them of any responsibility for Nazi crimes. Soldiers were warned that Germans would make such arguments, which indeed they did. Troops were reminded of how Hitler was appointed in a “strictly legal way”. The Germans had to know what Hitler stood for; it was all in *Mein Kampf*. Hitler made Germans distrust one another so that they informed on each other.

According to the “Instructions”, Germans were unabashed militarists and loved uniforms. Curiously, Allied soldiers were told to ignore German uniforms, save those of ordinary policemen. Allied troops were not supposed to impede a policeman in his task of keeping order, even though he had no authority over the troops themselves. Maintaining discipline and dressing in smart uniforms would impress the Germans and the opposite would have a deleterious effect. Children had been taught from an early age that war was natural and necessary.²⁵

Unlike later propagandists, the pamphlet’s authors do not suggest that all Germans were Nazis or shared the negative qualities listed above. Perhaps this is because the pamphlet was not strictly meant to discourage fraternization. Nevertheless, the primary goal of explaining the German personality to Allied soldiers was to caution them against being too friendly. British soldiers were also warned that the Germans might attempt to “drive a wedge” between them and Soviet soldiers because of Nazi propaganda about Slavic peoples being sub-human.²⁶

During the occupation, the pamphlet speculated on how women would act:

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 25-38.

Numbers of German women will be willing, if they can get the chance, to make themselves cheap for what they can get out of you. After the last war prostitutes streamed into the zone occupied by the British and American troops. They will probably try this again, even though this time you will be living apart from the Germans. Be on your guard. Most of them will be infected.

Marriages between members of British forces and Germans are, as you know, forbidden.

But for this prohibition such marriages would certainly take place... Many German girls will be waiting for the chance to marry a Briton—whether they care for him or not. When once they had their marriage lines he would have served his purpose.

During the last occupation there were a number of marriages between British soldiers and German girls. The great majority of these marriages soon came to grief... That is one reason—though not the only one—why this time they will not be allowed.²⁷

(Emphasis in original)

In this regard, the pamphlet corresponds to the later propaganda. Women are depicted as being only interested in what the soldiers can give them, in this case a British passport. Women, in particular, were not to be trusted, because the British soldiers could give them so much more. It cannot be said whether the historical note about marriages from the previous war was true or not.

As part of the fraternization ban, soldiers were not allowed in German homes, nor would they be meeting Germans in social engagements, but the “Instructions” attempted to explain about how Germans lived. Since food and goods of all sorts were limited in Germany, soldiers were advised to “draw the minimum” in pay and save it until there were things to buy. German cuisine was condensed to cabbage, sausages and beer, plus they “don’t know how to make tea, but they are quite expert with coffee. However for present their coffee is ‘ersatz’.” Soldiers would be given their own

²⁷ Ibid., 42-43.

entertainment through ENSA (Entertainments National Service Association) but they were told that before 1933, German film and theatre had been quite good. According to the pamphlet, Germans had “only taken to sport in the last thirty years.”²⁸

The pamphlet ended with sections on German words and phrases, “Dos” and “Don’ts” and finally a “Security Note”. Soldiers were told to be aware of their status as representatives of the “British Commonwealth”. Security was paramount, since Germans were to be considered enemies until a “final Peace Settlement” was concluded and the occupation was finished. Soldiers had to be careful about propaganda, in particular, as well as other attempts to sabotage Allied forces. They needed to be wary and avoid “loose talk and loose contact.” This included talking on telephones and in public. Personal documents such as diaries needed to be locked up because of potential security risks. And of course, soldiers had to be aware of the other gender. “Don’t be too ready to listen to stories told by attractive women. They may be acting on orders.”²⁹

On 2 December, the editors of the *Maple Leaf* announced that Canadians were now fighting in Germany, and they published an editorial entitled “Forget about fraternizing”. Once again, the policy was explained because the “Yanks and Tommies and John Canucks who are just about the most friendly people in the world” had to forget about giving food or candy to German children. The editorial acknowledged that not giving candy to starving children would be hard, but reminded readers about four German children caught in the border town of Aachen who had been sniping at American troops. The article suggested that in being “generous and friendly”, the

²⁸ Ibid., 39-45.

²⁹ Ibid., 51-52, 62-64.

Germans would come to view the Canadians as soft, while by acting “firmly and justly”, the Germans would learn their lesson. This distinction between attitudes, though usually not so explicitly mutually exclusive, would be made several times over the coming months.³⁰

Another editorial in the *Maple Leaf*, on 15 February, warned troops about the sentimentalists “who had been safely at home” but were now “asking sympathy for the ‘good’ Germans”. Troops were admonished to think about France, which had been invaded three times since 1870, and the “sentimentalists” were invited to visit the murder factories or death camps that the Allies had uncovered. All the atrocities mentioned in the editorial had been documented by ordinary soldiers, like the newspaper’s readers. The editor engaged in some cultural stereotyping by mentioning a Dutch writer who allegedly said “the German is a fine fellow until he gets the upper hand, and then he is intolerable.” The French allegedly had a proverb which said that the only way to treat “Prussians” was to step on their toes until they apologized.³¹

A meeting was held on 11 March 1945 where the Assistant Adjutant General for the 1st Canadian Army and other officers discussed the non-fraternization policy as it would relate to Canadian soldiers. The meeting was in response to a letter, now lost, that apparently discussed problems with the policy as it was put in place. The participants at the meeting decided that the problem with the policy was that officers and other ranks did not understand the reasoning behind the ban. The rationale was summarized in a single paragraph:

³⁰ “Forget About Fraternizing,” *Maple Leaf*, 2 December 1944.

³¹ “The ‘Decent’ Germans,” *Maple Leaf*, 15 February 1945.

The only way to ensure a lasting peace is to keep her in this position and the object of the occupation, following her complete defeat, is to ensure that she will never again rebuild herself to the point where she is a threat. The friendly and forbearing [sic] attitude on our part after the last war allowed her to do this. We must, therefore, refrain from friendliness [sic] and forbearance [sic] towards her. If we fraternize with her she will do everything in her power to gain our sympathy and we must therefore refrain from fraternization and provide her with no opportunity of enlisting our sympathy or friendship.³²

This explanation was simple, but no doubt some soldiers were confused as to what was meant by a “forbearing attitude”. No sympathy and no friendship: was this to mean that soldiers had a license for cruelty? Other orders would stress that while soldiers had to refrain from being friendly, their behaviour had to be *correct* as well.

The participants of the 11 March meeting made several recommendations. A letter was to be drawn up for 1 Canadian Army Commander in Chief General Harry Crerar to explain to all ranks the official reasoning for the fraternization ban. Other avenues of propaganda, such as publications by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, films and radio broadcasts were to emphasize the rationale for fraternization. A pamphlet was to be distributed to the troops. Other pamphlets had been produced, but according to the meeting participants, they were written in “appalling English” and the reasoning behind the ban was not explained.³³ It was also noted that the US Army had produced films on non-fraternization. Despite the shortcomings of these materials and the fact that they were not Canadian in origin, the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General recommended they be used as supplemental material to educate troops about the ban.

³² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D21), Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, 1st Canadian Army, “Memorandum: Non-Fraternization Policy”, 11 Mar. 45.

³³ Ibid.

It was also proposed that the Canadian public be educated as well, but there is no evidence that this was ever carried out. Apparently, British newspapers had taken a negative attitude towards the fraternization ban and, if such attitudes continued, there were worries that it would nullify any efforts made by the Army.³⁴ Canadian soldiers needed to be told what situations were permissible and the rules needed to be spelled out so they could be followed correctly. A set of rules for American troops from September 1944 were used as a model for the Canadians.

The pamphlet, "Supreme Commander's Policy on Relations Between Allied Occupying Forces and Inhabitants of Germany", was reprinted for Canadian troops after 28 March 1945. It was explicitly mentioned in the 11 March meeting and had been ordered distributed to the troops. The policy described in this publication was broad-ranging. Non-fraternization was only one element of the document, which also included sections on German propaganda and civilian attitudes, training for Allied soldiers, leave and recreational policy. Allied soldiers were warned that unlike the mixed experience of friendship, subservience and hatred after the First World War in the Rhineland, the Germans were expected to universally hate the Allies because of Nazi indoctrination and the air bombing campaign. German resistance was expected to continue through armed fighting and sabotage. And even where open resistance did not take place, German civilians would encourage fraternization and subject Allied troops to Nazi propaganda.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ DND, DHH, 581.009(D137), 21 A. Gp./791/Ops.(B), HQ 21 Army Group, "Policy on Relations Between Allied Occupation Forces and Inhabitants of Germany", 20 Sept. 44.

As a result, to teach the Germans that racial hatred and militaristic behaviour was wrong, they would be punished by the absence of contacts with Allied soldiers. This policy was defined as “avoidance of mingling with Germans upon terms of friendliness, familiarity or intimacy, whether individually or in groups, in official or unofficial dealings.” German officials were to understand that they served at the pleasure of the Allied military government. Contacts were to be minimal in all situations, with absolutely no entertaining Germans on the part of Allied troops. Troops were to be segregated from the German population in all possible instances and they were to be billeted separately. Religious services were even to be held separately, except in special cases where the troops were to be segregated within the church itself. The policy emphasized prohibitions that would be repeated in the coming months. Troops were not to shake hands, play games, exchange gifts, accompany Germans in public places and especially not engage in political discussions with them. Sexual intercourse was not explicitly prohibited, but policies later would explain that this was a more extreme form of infringement of the ban.³⁶

Of course, a rule without punishment or penalty is impossible to enforce. Thus, the fraternization ban came with instructions on how to deal with soldiers who violated it. Discipline, especially with the fighting coming to an end, needed to be maintained. One memo published on 28 March 1945 outlined the possible infractions of the non-fraternization policy and how such infractions were to be punished. The memo indicated that all infractions were to be punished. Infractions were considered to be:

³⁶ Ibid.

- (a) Shaking hands with Germans
- (b) Permitting children to climb into motor veh[icle]s or to congregate in areas around all premises.
- (c) Associating on familiar terms, especially with women
- (d) Visiting German houses
- (e) Drinking with Germans
- (f) Playing games or sports with them
- (g) Making or accepting gifts of any sort (even to or from children)
- (h) Attending German dances, entertainments or other social events
- (i) Accompanying Germans on the streets, in theatres, taverns, hotels, or elsewhere, except on official business
- (j) Communicating with Germans on any subject except on official business.

The above examples are not exhaustive.³⁷

Not all of these actions were equal in the eyes of Allied officials. Minor offences like shaking hands, exchanging gifts with Germans or even letting children climb over Allied vehicles were not considered to be as serious as visiting German homes, walking together with Germans or even having political discussions with Germans. Such discussions were considered to be especially dangerous because it was believed that Allied soldiers could be duped into accepting the Nazi point of view.

If a soldier fraternized under these rules, his punishment depended on whether he was an officer or an enlisted man. A junior officer's first minor offence would be punished by a summary trial. If an officer's rank was higher than major, he would be reprimanded by a senior officer. On an officer's second minor offence, and for all major offences, officers would be tried by field general court-martial (FGCM).

For other ranks, the first and minor offences would be punished by forfeiture of pay. For the first offence, seven to 14 days' pay would be deducted, on the second

³⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), Adm HQ First Cdn Army, "Non Fraternization", 28 March 1945.

offence, 21-28 days' pay would be deducted. On a third offence, no matter how minor, and for any major offence, the offenders would be court-martialled. Soldiers could also be court-martialled from their first offence if they so wished.³⁸

The next section of the memo dealt with the forms of the charges to be laid against offending soldiers. At the end of the memo, there was a note about sexual intercourse with German women, which suggested that this was a "flagrant breach of the 'Non-fraternization' directive and will always be dealt with by CM [Court Martial]." Presumably most such infractions would be voluntary on the part of both the soldiers and the women; however, the memo hinted at the possibility of *involuntary* relations.

Due to propaganda German women may be in fear of Allied soldiers and may consent to intercourse through fear and consequences of refusal. Where consent to intercourse results from fear, the crime of rape is committed.³⁹

The memo recommended that if consent was produced through force or fear, a rape charge would be added to others of fraternization. Unfortunately, the memo did not discuss the burden of proof needed to convict a person of rape. These cases of violent fraternization/rape will be discussed in a later chapter.

Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery Commander in Chief of 21 Army Group published a letter on non-fraternization to all the soldiers under his command in March 1945. The letter was an attempt to explain to British and Canadian troops why the policy was in existence and how the policy was to be enforced. At least one copy of this letter was subsequently used as evidence in a trial of a soldier accused of rape and breaking

³⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), Adm HQ First Cdn Army, "Non Fraternization", 28 March 1945.

³⁹ ibid.

the fraternization ban. In his letter, Montgomery told the troops that after the First World War, British troops had occupied Germany and that British troops were considerate and were welcomed into German homes within a few weeks. The Germans never believed they were defeated and continued their “worship of brute force”. As a result, “Germany has been at war ever since.” The German General Staff had hidden war capabilities since the last war and had made an “industry” of gaining sympathy for the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. Because of a lax occupation policy, Germany had only grown even more dangerous. He told the troops that “Peace does not exist merely because of a surrender. The Nazi influence penetrates everywhere, even into children’s schools and churches.” Montgomery freely admitted that maintaining non-fraternization would not be easy. He told his troops to remember that their families back home would not appreciate friendliness with the Germans after they had suffered the destruction and privations of war themselves. Allied soldiers had to remember Nazi boasts about Germans being a “Master Race” and every other group serving them as slaves. Non-fraternization was not revenge, Montgomery argued, because the Allies did not have a concept of a “Master Race”. The idea was not only for Germans to be “convicted”, they must also accept their responsibility for the war and their crimes.⁴⁰

Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes, Commander of 1st Canadian Corps, published his own order on “Behaviour in Germany”, dated 31 March. Foulkes noted that as the Canadians had entered Germany west of the Rhine, certain problems had

⁴⁰ LAC, RG 24, T-15839, 5P-60, C-in-C 21 Army Group, “Letter By The Commander-in-Chief on Non-Fraternization”, Mar. 45. (Reported in The Maple Leaf, 30 March 1945).

surfaced that would only become worse as areas that were more densely populated were captured. As Foulkes detailed:

The importance of correct behaviour in Germany cannot be over-emphasized... Anything less than the highest standard will inevitably result in a loss of prestige and prejudice the plans for the complete demilitarization and disarmament of Germany.⁴¹

Acts of looting and pillaging would only sully the reputation of the Canadian Army. But that did not mean the Germans would get off scot free.

Damage done to German property through actual military operations should have a salutary effect upon the population by bringing home to them something of the horrors suffered by occupied allied countries. On the other hand, the principles of for which we are fighting become a hollow sham if we emulate Nazi vandalism.⁴²

Foulkes informed his troops that looting would be punished just as if it had occurred elsewhere, not just Germany. There was little enough food in the world after six years of war and he explained that the Germans would be required to feed themselves. This was not strictly true as the Allies would be forced later to ship copious amounts of food into Europe to feed millions.⁴³ Foulkes admonished his soldiers not to take from the Germans since the rations for Allied soldiers were adequate for their own needs. Forcing the Allies to feed the Germans would only delay the Canadians' return home, something that no doubt weighed heavily on their minds. He also chastised them for breaking into German public buildings and looting, scattering or destroying public records that Military Government units had attempted to secure for their own needs.

⁴¹ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16397, Series 1444, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, Canadian Intelligence Corps, "Part I Orders, Issue No. 15", 1 Apr. 45.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Susan Armstrong-Reid, *Armies of Peace : Canada and the UNRRA Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 375,78.

Foulkes explained that such records were necessary to punish the Nazis. Ordinary soldiers were not to enter buildings claimed by Military Government without an officer's permission. Foulkes ended his memo by noting that the new orders on non-fraternization, including the pamphlet from 28 March 1945, were also enclosed with his orders. On 1 April, No. 14 Field Security Section published Foulkes' order.⁴⁴

On 18 May 1945, 10 days after the war in Europe had ended, General Harry Crerar dispatched an order marked "Confidential" to all Canadian officers. Entitled "Attitude towards Germans in Official Contacts", the order again spelled out soldiers' non-fraternization duties.⁴⁵ Crerar told Canadian officers that dealing with the Germans was all about attitude. Allied control needed to be "complete and inescapable." The means by which this would be accomplished was through "complete mastery" of the person with whom a Canadian officer was dealing. Proper posture and speech was to be maintained. If, for example, Germans were met by officers with crossed legs and cigarettes dangling from their lips, the Germans would be more encouraged to "try some tricks." Officers were to keep an open mind and not be aggressive from the outset, lest they place all their cards on the table in front of the Germans. Salutes would not be exchanged as greetings with German military personnel, only upon German receipt of orders. Officers were exhorted to think before they spoke with Germans in order to contemplate any possible situation and only to make threats that could be

⁴⁴ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16397, Series 1444, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, Canadian Intelligence Corps, "Part I Orders, Issue No. 15", 1 Apr. 45.

⁴⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol. 10976, HQ First Canadian Army, "Attitude Towards Germans in Official Contacts", 18 May 1945.

supported, and then only sparingly. Officers needed to be level-headed and not show anger—but a “show of rage” might afford some good results.⁴⁶

The order explained how Canadian officers should question Germans, using various means to determine whether Germans were telling the truth: for example, making sure to get literal translations and using questions to which the officer already knew the answers. Finally, at the end, Crerar again dealt with the attitude that officers needed to take. Like General Hilldring before him, Crerar suggested an ideal of “stern courtesy”. Germans could not be allowed to question or quibble about Allied orders. Orders would be enforced and have immediate consequences. Military camaraderie would not be allowed:

Insolence will be checked immediately and ingratiating will be ignored. Many German officers will endeavour to build up a feeling of friendliness with their Allied counterparts on the grounds of the existence of a common bond as soldiers. All Allied soldiers will ensure that this is not allowed to occur. Discussion of campaigns fought, narration of personal experiences etc all serve to develop this attitude and will be firmly suppressed.⁴⁷

Soldiers were admonished that “A strict military bearing” would be the general rule. This would include no handshaking and no offers of cigarettes, which were worth their weight in gold. Soldiers were also warned that “Any departure from the principles laid down in this instruction will be regarded as fraternization.”⁴⁸

This order applied only to official contacts because there were to be *no* unofficial contacts. No indication was made of how long the policy was to remain in place, nor

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

what the exact punishment was for fraternization. The rules considering punishment had already been issued since March. What is interesting is the date of the order: ten days after the war ended. The order should have been issued earlier, but now that the war was over, perhaps soldiers needed to be reminded of their occupation duties.

The fraternization ban seemed simple. For soldiers—used to following orders—*not* doing something appeared straightforward; however, soldiers are human beings, not machines. Ignoring everyone around them was not as easy as it sounded. In France, Belgium and the Netherlands, people had either welcomed them or wanted them to leave, but there was some mutual interaction between the two groups. Germans wanted to interact with the Canadians, but the soldiers could not reciprocate. The ban itself may have been simple, but the reasons behind it were more obscure. How long was the “punishment” of Germans through the ban going to last? How would the Allies know when the Germans had “learned their lesson”? These questions never had solid answers, perhaps because there were no concrete answers to give. The soldiers would begin to determine these answers for themselves, and fraternize on their own terms regardless of their instructions. As one officer remarked in letter to General Eisenhower’s Chief of Staff, it was “senseless” to continue a policy “with people with whom we are not at war will appear [to the Allies?] childish, senseless, and in a very short time all of us will be ashamed that we ever behaved in such a manner.”⁴⁹ As a result, the Allies frantically tried to convince the troops of the need to follow the policy.

⁴⁹ Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 321.

CHAPTER FIVE:
DON'T FRATERNIZE!

“Well that went over like a lump of lead.” Dr. Reginald H. Roy, Canadian Army veteran and military historian, referring to the fraternization rule¹

“The Germans want to fraternize with us, but we are not having any. When one thinks of all the harm they have done, one cannot fraternize with such people.” Letter from a Sergeant, 3rd Canadian Infantry Division, March 1945²

The Canadian Army entered Germany in early 1945. Canadian soldiers were immediately subject to the non-fraternization policy. This chapter covers the first three months of relations between Canadian soldiers and German civilians. From the start, the Allies realized that their soldiers would be enticed by the prospect of meeting German women and feel sorry at the plight of German children and this interest would encourage them to forget the fraternization ban. The Allies tried various ways to convince soldiers that the ban was just and necessary to defeat Germany for all time. Censorship reports indicate that when Canadian soldiers entered Germany for the first time, they were enthusiastic about the fraternization ban. Most soldiers felt the ban made perfect sense because after fighting Germans, they had no wish to fraternize with their enemies, soldiers or civilians. However, there were some soldiers who did not understand why the ban had to affect children, just as some of the planners had feared. Canadian soldiers also looted German homes, despite consistent orders to the contrary that set serious penalties. Both fraternization and looting carried potentially serious consequences, but some Canadian soldiers did not seem to mind as they did both.

¹ Interview with Dr. R.H. Roy, 16 November 2006.

² Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Mar 45”, 6.

The Allied High Command decided soldiers needed to be reminded of their obligation *not* to fraternize with the German populace because of a belief that soldiers were naturally friendly and their hard hearts would be softened at the plight of women and children. As a result, the Allied propaganda organs undertook a campaign which can be summarized as “Don’t Fraternize!” This slogan was featured at the end of every radio message about the ban and even placed on billboards in occupied Germany. Fraternization was also the subject of a U.S. Army film entitled “Your Job in Germany”. The Canadian Army newspaper, the *Maple Leaf*, in large part due to its Managing Editor at the time, Major J.D. Macfarlane, supported the ban wholeheartedly and aided in the effort to uphold it. Despite all the efforts described here, Canadian and other Allied soldiers flaunted the ban, sometimes quite openly, and eventually in mid-July 1945, the High Command would lift most restrictions. Many soldiers were very unhappy with the ban, to the extent that the whole idea of non-fraternization was later viewed with some humour.

Early in 1945, the Allied High Command in Britain arranged for the BBC to organize a radio campaign to continue selling the reasons why Allied troops could not fraternize with the enemy. The announcements were short and to the point. Almost all ended with the admonishment “Don’t fraternize”, sometimes with an exclamation point to drive home the admonition. None of the slogans found in the British archives list the punishments that soldiers might encounter. All were concerned with the potential damage a Tommy, GI or Johnny Canuck might cause in talking to civilians. The slogans are a fascinating historical resource because they offer a glimpse at stereotypes not only

held by soldiers, but actively reinforced by Allied officials. A policy that was meant to create an atmosphere of isolation was enforced by means of slogans that used images of hatred and violence to meet that goal.

The overwhelming tone of the slogans was one of harshness. Soldiers were not allowed to be “soft” on the Germans. Considerable time and effort had gone into teaching soldiers how to be polite and respect foreign cultures, but the reverse was now to be true in dealing with Germans. The slogans do not reflect the preferred mode of detached politeness, or cold disdain, suggested by the policy papers on non-fraternization. Major Macfarlane of the *Maple Leaf* would refer to being polite as “the other cheek business”.³ Germans did not deserve kindness and needed to be taught “the hard way”, as one slogan suggested. “The Germans must be taught that war doesn’t pay. They must learn the hard way. If you’re friendly they’ll think you’re soft—don’t fraternize.” Soldiers were told to look at Germans with a “face of iron”. “Bowing” to a pretty girl was the same as bowing “to Hitler and his reign of blood... you caress the ideology that means death and persecution. Don’t fraternize!” Soldiers were encouraged to “blow up” the German “pillbox” of friendship by having nothing to do with the civilians, which was a striking combat metaphor for a non-violent *non-action*.⁴ Unlike the postwar goal of “winning hearts and minds”, this was definitely not the same theme. Despite the inclination of the “naturally” friendly Canadians, who were supposed

³ Maj. J. D. Macfarlane, “No!,” *Maple Leaf*, 11 June 1945.

⁴ The National Archives (United Kingdom) NA UK, War Office (WO), 229/5/1, “Conduct of Allied Personnel in Germany: non-fraternization announcements”, “Number 1”, “Number 49”, “Number 56”.

to make friends and create trust in that manner, friendship and trust were not the object in this situation, nor were they even desired.

A major stereotype in the slogans involved the identity and nature of the German people. According to the slogans, Germans were vicious, underhanded, and double-dealing, without a sense of fair play. There were no, or very few, “good” Germans with whom it would even be worth fraternizing, or at least that is the idea that the slogans tried to portray. This assumption would return again and again. The descriptions were made in crude terms that would presumably appeal to the common soldier. Since even shaking hands was forbidden under the ban, the slogans related it directly to a resurgent Germany. “Shake hands with a German now, and sooner or later there’ll be war again. The past has shown that the German is not to be trusted—let the German know that you know it. Steer clear. Don’t fraternize.” The slogans reminded the soldiers constantly that the Germans who looked upon them favourably now were people they had been fighting only days before. “Remember—the Germans you see now are just the same people who strutted with pride when Warsaw was bombed; who reared approval when Rotterdam was flattened, who cheered when London burned. These are the same Germans. Don’t fraternize.” Soldiers were asked to think about what the situation would have been if the roles were reversed and Germans were occupying their own homes. How would they respond to a conquering enemy? “Don’t give friendship to him or to the people in his town that would celebrate the burning of your home.” Another slogan warned that “every German is Hitler! Hitler is the single man

who stands for the beliefs of Germans... Don't make friends with Hitler. Don't fraternize!"⁵

The slogans not only hit close to home, at least for soldiers born in Britain, they also reminded soldiers of the fighting: "You want to fraternize with the Germans? Would you make a friend of the man who killed your buddy? Or the man who provided the gun? Think about it... every German is part of the Gang. Don't fraternize with any of them." The image of lost comrades was a powerful motivator against fraternization.⁶

One facet of the "lying German" stereotype was the attempt to court world, and Allied, sympathy for the defeated nation:

After the last war, Field Marshall Von Hindenburg, the German leader said, "we must organize a campaign for world sympathy"... and that sympathy campaign laid the foundation for this world war! The Nazis again want to win this war by appealing to our good natures. Don't aid a "Sympathy campaign" by fraternizing with German civilians!"⁷

Another stereotype prevalent in the slogans shows a strong sexist bias against women. Deceitful women represented a deceitful Germany that would lead Allied soldiers to ruin. The slogans follow similar campaigns during the war, which showed voluptuous women, wrecked merchant vessels and the now familiar slogan "Loose Lips Sink Ships!" "Here's a message to all Allied service troops from the men at the front; soldier, when you're up here on business, don't stop on the way to visit with German civilians. The enemy might get a lot of information from our most casual remark! Don't play chances – play safe! Don't fraternize!" This also highlighted tensions between the

⁵ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, "Number 16", "Number 3", "Number 62", "Number 55".

⁶ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, "Number 61".

Interview with Major Charles "Chic" Goodman, 21 Nov. 2006.

⁷ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, "Number 29".

front and the rear because the service troops had not necessarily gone through combat and did not understand the bitterness towards the Germans.⁸

The constant reminder for the soldiers, and Allied civilians in general, was that Nazi spies or German women might smile and act friendly, but all wanted to see the ruin of the Allied nations. More specifically, smiles simply masked a desire to see individual soldiers dead. “A pretty girl is like a melody. But a pretty German girl’s melody is the death march... for you. She hates you... just like her brother who fights you... just like Hitler who speaks her thoughts to the world. Don’t fraternize.” Or, “Soldier, the next time Jerry’s ‘Foxhole Annie’ tries to give you coffee and cake, remember it’s not because she loves you. Nine chances out of ten, the Fuehrer brewed that coffee. She’s helping Hitler and his gang steal your victory from you. Don’t fraternize!” The idea of Hitler brewing coffee for Allied soldiers is amusing, but the idea suggested that the reason German girls were so full of hospitality was to get soldiers off their guard. Another slogan curiously claimed that German women were being “scientifically trained to help steal the peace”.

In a similar vein, beautiful German girls would teach Allied soldiers Nazi hatred: “A German girl might be as good to look at as an English girl—but she has a different way of thinking. She’s been taught the Nazi way and the Nazi way is to hate. Steer clear. Don’t fraternize.” Another variation on this theme was that if Allied soldiers laughed

⁸ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, “Number 40”.

with German women, they were laughing at everyone the Nazis had persecuted: "If you sympathize with any German, you sympathize with their desire to exterminate you."⁹

Women were a prominent target of the slogans because they were the Germans with whom Canadian and other Allied soldiers were most likely to fraternize. Women also made up the majority of Germans who were left at home after the deaths of soldiers on the battlefield or their captivity in Allied prisoner of war camps. The imagery of the sexually active woman as something to avoid is prominent in the slogans and other admonishments against fraternization. The slogans assumed that a soldier normally forced to be celibate while fighting on the front lines would be all the more susceptible to seduction and other "womanly wiles". The pairing of the sexual woman and all Germans as willing Nazis is striking.

However, where the slogans seem most incongruent is where they touch upon the restrictions against talking to children: "The other day English children were playing in a school yard when a V-bomb fell. Some were killed, others injured. Remember that, when you see German children. The Germans have a lot to learn before they can live decently. Don't fraternize."¹⁰ The reasoning behind this slogan is puzzling, since it appears to suggest that soldiers should not talk to children because English children, possibly their own, were killed. The children were not the ones who had waged the aggressive war, so why should they have been punished? Yes, they possibly were indoctrinated as part of mandatory stints in the Hitler *Jugend* (Hitler Youth) or the *Bund deutscher Mädel* (League of German Girls), and needed to be re-educated, but why be

⁹ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, "Number 65", "Number 28", "Number 2", "Number 34", "Number 42".

¹⁰ NA UK, WO 229/5/1, "Number 5".

cruel to those who bore no responsibility? This would be an issue that would haunt Allied leaders such as General Eisenhower and Field Marshal Montgomery.

As well as radio broadcasts, films on fraternization were also shown to Allied soldiers. "Your Job in Germany" was directed by Frank Capra, who also directed such iconic American films as "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington", "It's a Wonderful Life" and the propaganda series "Why We Fight". It was written by Theodore Geisel, at the time a political cartoonist, but who was later better known as Dr. Seuss, the author of popular children's books. The film was directed at American troops serving in occupied Germany. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence suggesting Canadian soldiers might have viewed it during their tenure in Germany, but sources mention it was shown to British troops, which leaves open the possibility that it was shown to Canadians as well. Sources do note similar films being shown to Canadians. This film gave a good description of what non-fraternization was meant to accomplish and offers another glimpse into the methods used to explain the policy to ordinary soldiers.¹¹

By the time the Canadians entered Germany in February 1945, the country was in chaos. Armies were approaching from the East and West. Cities were being destroyed from the air and families were separated. This was what Canadian soldiers had been dreaming of since the beginning of the war, conquering Germany. The Canadians, however, at least initially acted not like conquerors, or at least not enough for the higher authorities. No. 3 Field Security Section reported that there was "too much fraternization" taking place. "75% of Civs searched have been in possession of English

¹¹ Theodor S. Geisel, *Your Job in Germany* (1945).

cigarettes, chocolates etc.” No doubt one of the major sources of concern for the Field Security sections was the fact that Canadian soldiers were being billeted in the same buildings as German civilians. Germans were also hired as cooks without being vetted by FS or Military Government (MG) personnel. These actions were all contrary to the rules against fraternization.¹²

Many soldiers were surprised to learn that by this point, the Nazis had started putting women in the frontlines to fight the Allies. Canadians had already commented in their letters that the soldiers they were fighting were less than prime troops. The mix of old men and Hitler Youth in the *Volkssturm*, the German equivalent of the Home Guard, had already started to reveal to the Canadians that the Germans were getting desperate. The inclusion of women in the fighting only reinforced that assessment. Canadians made similar comments to when they had encountered female snipers in France, but with a marked note of respect. The censors reported that other letters confirmed this comment by a bombardier in the Royal Canadian Artillery:

A couple of nights ago we were frisking prisoners. One of them turned out to be a woman about 25 years of age. She sure must have had lots inside her to come through what she did. So you see what we have to put up with as we go further into Germany. It's bad enough killing men let alone women. However, if they want it this way guess it will have to be so.¹³

Anthony Beevor noted in his book *The Fall of Berlin 1945* how Soviet soldiers were amazed at the conditions they saw in Germany when they conquered the country. The pleasant, and spacious, workers and peasants' homes were contrary to anything the

¹² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16391, Serial 603, No. 3 Field Security Section, 2 Canadian Corps, “By-Monthly Counter Intelligence Report No. 17 Period from 7 Feb to 23 Feb 1945.”, February 1945.

¹³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-28 Feb 45”, 6.

Red Army veterans had seen in the Soviet Union. They failed to understand why people with such bounty could have wanted to conquer them. The Canadians saw well-built homes with large well-stocked cellars. Apparently, the soldiers had been told that the civilians were suffering privations, but that did not appear to be true from what the soldiers saw in the homes.¹⁴ David Marshall described his shock at seeing “a land flowing in milk and honey.”¹⁵ There would be no hesitation against looting and taking food from the Germans because the Canadians had seen how France, Belgium and the Netherlands were starving.

Marshall, a soldier in the South Alberta Regiment, recalled entering Germany in February 1945:

When we entered Germany we had a much different feeling about the land, buildings and people than we had in France, Belgium and Holland. Although by the very nature of it an army, a mass of men and machinery, is destructive when it is moving we had tried to preserve as much as possible and not destroy anything unnecessarily. Here in Germany we felt no such compunction. The Army Command had issued dire warnings and penalties against fraternizing with the enemy and looting, as the civilians were also the enemy.¹⁶

Soldiers reported that civilians were coming to them across “water roads”, presumably canals. They wanted help from the soldiers, but many Canadians refused to help. “We said you people did it, now put up with it along with more you are going to get.” Others disparaged signs the civilians put up on their homes: “Please take care of

¹⁴ Beevor, *The Fall of Berlin, 1945*, 34.

LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-28 Feb 45”, 7.

¹⁵ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 79.

¹⁶ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 77.

our homes. Treat it as you would your own. We never did you any harm, so protect our homes." As one soldier wrote, "Did we laugh."¹⁷

As soon as soldiers entered Germany in February, they knew about non-fraternization. One soldier in the 4th Infantry Division commented that the "rigidly correct and stern attitude" Canadians needed to maintain with Germans would "run very much against the grain with most of us. I suppose that it is right that we should make them realize the penalties of war even more than they already have, but it won't be easy."¹⁸

In March, civilians in Bedburg were anxious to get away from the fighting. 18 Field Security Section reported that one of the ruses the civilians used in attempts to get passes was to denounce "fanatical" Nazis in their hometowns. If the civilians were allowed to remain at home after the arrest, they gallantly offered to accompany the arresting party. The FS troops determined that most of the denunciations were false. According to a wry comment in the war diary, the Canadians were learning elementary German simply to tell them "Raus!" or "Get out!"¹⁹

One unknown Canadian, in the 11 Field Company of the Royal Canadian Engineers, summed up the situation perfectly in a letter, "We are no longer a liberating

¹⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-28 Feb 45", 7.

¹⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-28 Feb 45", 7.

¹⁹ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16397, Serial 1442, 18 Canadian Field Security Section, "War Diary", Mar. 45.

army now we are in Germany. We come as conquerors.”²⁰ Or, as one of the many signs posted by the Provost troops proclaimed, “Stop smiling. You are entering Germany.”²¹

The *Maple Leaf* took an active role in promoting the non-fraternization rule, supporting the policy wholeheartedly. Despite the fact that the newspaper was funded by the Canadian government, it was run by Canadian soldiers for their fellows at the front. Additionally, the Minister of National Defence in 1943, Colonel J.L. Ralston agreed to give the newspaper “complete editorial freedom with no obligations to any ‘brass’ or governmental sources. In return, it was agreed that the newspaper would not express opinions on domestic issues or comments on internal military problems.”²² Regardless of this independence, in a series of editorials, articles and letters to the editor all on the policy, the soldiers’ newspaper presented a consistently negative editorial view of any fraternization with the Germans. This leads one to wonder if fraternization was considered an “internal military problem.” As noted above, one Managing Editor, Major J.D. Macfarlane, was particularly vehement in his signed editorials, speaking against fraternization of any kind. There were also editorial cartoons by William Garnet “Bing” Coughlin under the title of “This Army.” The cartoons usually featured Herbie, a round-faced character with a long drooping nose who was probably as familiar to Canadian soldiers as were Bill Mauldin’s *Stars and Stripes* characters Willie and Joe to American GIs. Herbie cartoons were more ambiguous towards fraternization than Macfarlane’s editorials.

²⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-28 Feb 45”, 3.

²¹ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 79.

²² Barry D. Rowland and J. D. Macfarlane, *The Maple Leaf Forever : The Story of Canada's Foremost Armed Forces Newspaper* (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1987), 11.

Macfarlane would become famous after the war as the hardnosed, frenetic editor of the *Toronto Telegram*, but in retrospective volumes about the wartime paper, he figured prominently.²³ Prior to the war, he had been a reporter for seven years for *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Windsor Daily Star*, but in 1940 he had joined the Army and had been made a public relations officer. By the spring of 1945, he was Managing Editor of the *Maple Leaf*. His blunt, angry style would get him into trouble for reasons other than the fraternization decree. It is likely that his support of the ban had full official approval.

On 8 March, immediately below the *Maple Leaf* headlines, in the centre of the front page, a boxed article proclaimed “Canadian disarmed by plea for chocolate gets bullet for thanks from juvenile Nazi”. The short article by Assistant Editor Captain Jack Golding related the tale of an unfortunate Canadian soldier near Cleve who disobeyed the ban on fraternization and reached into his pockets to get some chocolate for a German boy. With his victim distracted, the German boy apparently drew a pistol and shot the unfortunate Canadian in the abdomen. No information about whether the soldier survived or the nature of the boy’s fate was given. The story was confirmed by an unnamed battalion medical officer. The prominent place the article received in the newspaper could only have been meant to reinforce the prohibitions against fraternization. This was an obvious lesson that would be reinforced with editorials and cartoons as the months went on. On page two of the same edition was an editorial entitled: “So you want to fraternize!” The editor explained that the actions of the

²³ Ibid.

German child in question were typical of the “poison instilled into the plastic minds of the coming German generation of adults.” Unlike later editorials, the tone was not as vitriolic, focusing primarily on the need to re-educate German children, as well as the need to be firm and be just: “The possibility of permanent world peace may depend on it.” Unlike Macfarlane, who would take soldiers to task for fraternizing, this editor simply suggested: “And meanwhile, read the page one story again and don’t fraternize—for your own sake if nothing else.”²⁴

The next day, the Army newspaper published an article entitled, “‘Don’t fraternize’ slogan on test”, obviously referring to the propaganda slogans, although they were not quoted in the article. The article does explain that, whereas previously in places like Aachen, there were few civilians to administer, now, over the Rhine bridgeheads, Allied armies had to deal with tens of thousands of Germans. Fraternization was becoming a much larger problem. The article admits that soldiers were naturally friendly, particularly with German girls, who they found were “‘not so bad, after all’”. Unlike some other articles and editorials published in the paper, this piece published on 9 March does not moralize on the soldiers’ actions or on the Germans themselves.²⁵

More importantly, the 9 March article displays the anger felt by some of the soldiers towards the policy, and their willingness to flaunt their disobedience. As described by the *Maple Leaf*, “non-fraternization is just a brass-imposed doctrine, they

²⁴ Capt. Jack Golding, “Canadian Disarmed by Plea for Chocolate Gets Bullet for Thanks from Juvenile Nazi,” *Maple Leaf*, 8 March 1945.

“So You Want to Fraternize!,” *Maple Leaf*, March 1945.

²⁵ “‘Don’t Fraternize’ Slogan on Test,” *Maple Leaf*, 9 March 1945.

say—and they'll talk to any Germans they 'damn well feel like' as long as they think there's a good chance they won't get caught and have to pay a \$65 fine or be punished otherwise." This article suggests that soldiers did not feel that at least one of the punishments, the \$65 fine, was anything to worry about, nor was any likelihood of getting caught.²⁶

The article ended with a sub-headline "It's Up to Individual". It was explained that enforcement of the ban was going to be lax for the near future because of overworked Military Police and CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) soldiers who were more interested in finding saboteurs and spies than arresting Allied soldiers for misdemeanours. MG units had to feed and govern a larger populace than had previously been assumed and could not take over the responsibility of looking for soldiers who flaunted the ban. Therefore, the article concluded, it would be up to the individual soldiers to work out for themselves how the ban would work in practice.²⁷

Despite what was being said in the newspaper, Army censors reported that the fraternization ban "was being rigidly enforced and observed" by the Canadians all through March.²⁸ 13 Canadian Provost Company also reported that the troops "maintained" the ban.²⁹ Any attempts by the Germans to fraternize with the soldiers were soundly derided: "Of course Jerry is trying to ridicule our No-Fraternization Order. He knows that if the troops do fraternize with the civilians it will mean being a lot easier

²⁶ "'Don't Fraternize' Slogan on Test," *Maple Leaf*, 9 March 1945.

²⁷ "'Don't Fraternize' Slogan on Test," *Maple Leaf*, 9 March 1945.

²⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45", 6.

²⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report for period 26 Feb to 25 Mar 45", 28 Mar. 45, 1.

on Germany. But what a hope he has. We can't even see one of them worth £14!" The last comment is not entirely clear. Perhaps the comment meant that the people were not worth the money or that fraternization was not worth the fine.³⁰

While many soldiers apparently understood the reasoning for the ban and were willing to follow it, their natural inclinations to help the elderly and be friendly to children were being severely tested. One officer in the 4th Canadian Armoured Division commented on the striking changes in some soldiers:

Funny how Johnny Canuck changed when he crossed the border—he is no longer the carefree, happy go lucky, don't give a dam bloke we have always known—by some strange alchemy he suddenly became a grim, hard, cold, fighting man—very stiff, very correct, very proper, very much the soldier—but the fun is gone, he is part of an army of conquest and retribution—and his attitude shows it.³¹

An infantry officer remarked acidly how anyone who "prates about the poor Germans and the good Germans is a damned fool. It's comical but none of the civilians one encounters are ever Nazis—NO NO. What we must have is a hard peace and I think we'll get it. So don't get taken in by such bunk." Troops announced in their letters that they were able to ignore German women, but as the Allied commanders would later suggest, ignoring the children was much harder. However, as one letter writer put it, "but when I think back tho' to things I saw in England and elsewhere it helps a lot." This comment shows how the non-fraternization slogans reflected at least some soldiers'

³⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45", 6.

³¹ Ibid.

beliefs. The memories of English children in the bombing affected how soldiers treated German children.³²

A Warrant Officer in the 2nd Infantry Division, however, questioned the non-fraternization order although at this time he represented a very small minority of Canadian troops:

We are told by those in authority to treat the Germans coldly and with distrust without being abusive—to have no pity. I wonder if they have watched old women trudging miles by the side of the road dragging a wagon holding their meagre possessions. No home, nowhere to go. They look to their men who can do nothing, then hopelessly at us. Is this then why we have gone to war to be indifferent to suffering no matter the circumstance?³³

Some soldiers had harder hearts when they saw Germans in pathetic situations.

One officer met a family in dire straits. The mother could barely walk and they were all very scared.

They were half crazy with fright. My natural inclination was to help them but I'll be darned if I ever will or if I'll ever stop their homes being ransacked—they're getting some of their own medicine back—my motto is regardless of personal feeling—let them suffer to the extent of death or next to it—then they will know what war is and I just betcha those that go through that won't be in favour of another war.³⁴

Other forms of propaganda also had an effect on soldiers. After an officer commented on the physical destruction of the German countryside, he mentioned that despite the turmoil and strife, “none of us seem to have any sympathy for the people and if we should feel inclined that way there are always signs to remind us.” The officer

³² Ibid.

³³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 Mar 45”, 6.

³⁴ Ibid.

described the sign showing a soldier's grave and labelled with the slogan: "Lest us forget. This is Germany. No Fraternizing."³⁵ Another soldier was more eloquent about where he had just arrived.

02.45 hours we roll across the border and into Germany at last, into Germany! And we pass from being an army of liberation and become an army of conquest! This is the soil of the Third Reich—the sacred soil that no invader would ever set foot on. This is Nazi Germany. There by the roadside is a sign erected by the Provost Corps. 'THIS IS GERMANY—TRUST NO ONE-YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED.'³⁶

When soldiers were lucky enough to cross back into the Netherlands, there were signs reminding soldiers, "This is Friendly Holland". One cartoon showed two lads in a Bren carrier having a frantic conversation. The first soldier proclaims, "Hey! Hold it! We're in Holland again! Lay off the shooting up business". The second soldier responds, "You can turn on that 'toothpaste ad' smile now Red". The caption at the bottom read: "This dang continent's all cluttered up wit' boundary lines!"³⁷

An Intelligence Summary given to 2 Canadian Corps on 11 March gives a good example of why the military leadership paid so much attention to the non-fraternization rule. A report of the interrogation of a junior German officer, Klaus-Dietrich Polz, suggested to the Canadians what they would find when they got to Germany. Polz was a committed Nazi, with almost ten years of experience in the Hitler Youth before being sent to officer training school and a Jaeger battalion. His assessment of the future would no doubt have depressed an Allied intelligence officer, despite the fact that the war was

³⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45", 6.

³⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45", 11.

³⁷ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, "Me and George", 95-96.

almost over. Polz asserted that Germany would win the war. Germans would retreat into the forests and mountains and fight on to the bitter end.

But whatever stretches of land you may occupy in GERMANY, you may never occupy or defeat the German nation. As long as there is a German alive, he will fight you. In the occupied parts of Germany we shall fight a partisan war of nerves against you. NO Allied soldier will ever feel safe on German soil. There will be NO traitors or collaborationists. Although outwardly we may smile and bend under the Allied yoke, we shall resort relentlessly to ambushes and tricks of guerrilla warfare until in the end every inch of sacred German soil is freed from the hated invader...³⁸

Polz's statement continues on at length about German soldiers and their tenacity. Statements such as this, deluded as they were, could have only steeled the hearts of the Allied Command in dealing with an unruly and sullen populace.

However, there were some other civilian actions that did give cause for concern. Reports to HQ that normally consisted of terse functional status reports showed a bit of moral colour when discussing civilians. An Intelligence Summary from 2 Canadian Corps two weeks later on 28 March reported that civilians "north of the Rhine" had displayed white flags in an attempt to "appeal to those humanitarian instincts which their sons and lovers in the *Wehrmacht* have so consistently ignored for the past five years." In one town, civilians were reported to have replaced mines that had been removed by Canadian troops. About Germany in general, the report surmised,

As we advance into GERMANY, the civilian problem is going to involve more than just the exercise conditions of refugees and irate householders. The ranks of the cowed *Herrenvolk* who until recently were applauding the thugs of Hitlerism will be stiff with skilled saboteurs, guerrillas and assassins. Poisoned chocolate, coffee and cigarettes have already been reported.

³⁸ LAC, RG 24, Series C-3, Vol. 16391, Serial 1713, Appx "C" to 2 Cdn Corps Int Summary 149

The quotes above sound like the propaganda slogans, reminding soldiers that the civilians who want surrender now had previously cheered Nazi successes. However, with the Polz interrogation earlier in the month, this report could only have reinforced assumptions that Germany was going to be a literal and figurative minefield for Canadian and Allied soldiers as they entered German territory. It is unfortunate that the report does not mention where the accounts of poisoned food and cigarettes originated or who reported them.³⁹

By April, Canadian soldiers knew the war was almost over in Europe and most were satisfied with the job they had done. They were upset with newspaper reports that celebrated the end of the war when they were still dying in order to complete the conquest of Germany. Indeed, the war was not over. On 10 April, after Canadians captured the town of Sogel, in Lower Saxony, the locals rebelled with the help of some *Wehrmacht* troops. As a result, five Canadians were killed trying to recapture the town. The civilians were evacuated and the town centre was methodically destroyed.⁴⁰ One officer lost a friend when a Field Ambulance and an Engineer Unit were fired upon. The Canadian response, as he put it was, “We levelled their town for them, and there has been less trouble since.”⁴¹

Such resistance did not endear the Germans to the Canadians. When a town after Sogel wanted to surrender, David Marshall remembered his CO telling the Germans that, “if a hair on the head of any of my men is to[u]ched five hours at the

³⁹ LAC, RG 24, Series C-3, Vol. 16391, File No. 1713, 15 Field Security Section, “No. 149, 2 Canadian Corps Intelligence Summary, Enemy Situation”, 28 March 1945.

⁴⁰ Biddiscombe, *Werwolf! : The History of the National Socialist Guerrilla Movement, 1944-1946*, 258.

⁴¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45”, 10.

scene of the crime will be burned to the ground.' For good measure, the CO ordered every building that did not display a white flag burnt. We saw many a white flag being aired from an upper window."⁴²

Marshall chillingly explained soldiers' normal practices as they marched through Germany: "I think we are all latent arsonists. As we moved about the country we did not leave a haystack or barn unburnt, and if the house did not have a white flag, then it went too. These were favourite hiding spots for enemy tanks and guns. Did you ever see a haystack move? Once is enough." The reason for all this unease was that soldiers found uniforms cast away by their owners, which led the Canadians to suspect that civilians were soldiers in disguise. However, such suspicion was just what the fraternization ban was trying to achieve and most Germans were "docile".⁴³

At least early on, it looked as if the non-fraternization plan might be working. The Military Government detachment at 1st Canadian Army HQ reported on 19 April that the Germans were apparently "following our policy of non-fraternization in reverse, and instead, it is noticeable that they are showing a commendable activity to help themselves in the speedy rehabilitation of their country." The population was "docile", as usual, and no civilians had been arrested for violating MG decrees.⁴⁴

Troops fighting their way into Germany were already finding the non-fraternization rule awkward. One Document unit of a Field Security Section was billeted

⁴² DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, "Me and George", 110.

⁴³ Ibid., 110.

LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45", 9.

⁴⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 9768, 2/CIV OFFERS/S/2, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Cdn Army, "Weekly Report No. 22", 19 Apr. 45.

temporarily for a night in a German home in Lower Saxony. It was the first time three members of the unit had been into enemy territory. The entire unit, including the commander, a Captain Stonborough, felt the experience “unusual” and the atmosphere was “strange and strained”. Despite the fact that no mention of the ban was made, the war diarist described the results very well: “[T]here were no exchanges of polite civilities, no profuse thank-yous, no open expression of appreciation for favours received, no ‘Aufwiedersehen’ and handshakes on departure... merely acceptance of the facts as they stood, from both parties...” Despite the lack of any verbal civilities, the Germans had placed Captain Stonborough’s boots “conspicuously” outside his bedroom door after having apparently made a “feeble” attempt to polish them. This obviously had an effect on the war diarist who ended the entry commenting, “When shall we be able to treat the Germans again with the civility demanded by society?? It is said ‘When they have learned their lesson!’ Time will tell...” Despite the fact that no apparent violation of the ban was made, other than being billeted in the house, this unit did not agree with the motives behind it, even before the war ended.⁴⁵

While the majority of soldiers’ letters on fraternization showed willingness to follow the ban, there were other signs that showed potential signs of trouble. Soldiers’ hatred of Germany and Germans continued, but the drastic difference between liberated Holland and conquered Germany struck the Canadians pretty hard. While the Dutch waved national flags and were celebrating in the streets, the Germans were nowhere to be seen and left white flags on their doors. Canadians were starting to have

⁴⁵ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16387, Serial 2301, C I (B) Docs Sec, “War Diary”, 22-28 Apr. 45.

feelings for the children they saw. “[E]verytime I see a youngster or baby, as hard as my heart is with this war, it just melts into honey. I guess it’s my fatherly instinct.”⁴⁶

The censorship report for the first half of April noted that some soldiers had a “spirit of loneliness” during this period, perhaps in part to the changed atmosphere. Canadians were taking note of the pretty frauleins they were encountering, but the penalties against fraternization were just too steep: “There is some very lovely German girls around but they are strictly taboo unless of course you are willing to pay \$100.00 fine. I think that’s a little bit too much don’t you?” For other soldiers, the price was too steep, but it did not matter anyway:

They are quite friendly a good proportion of them speak fair English, but we are not allowed to fraternize. It costs anything between 60 days pay and 6 months detention, so I’m not anxious for either, and I don’t feel a bit sorry for any of them anyway.⁴⁷

Later in April, the feelings towards Germany and Germans became even more mixed as the full scale of Nazi atrocities became clarified for Canadian soldiers, many of whom saw these atrocities first hand. Not only did they find dead bodies, but they came across survivors of death marches who had barely survived their treks across central Europe. These discoveries, accompanied by fighting that was “more savage” than at any other time since the invasion of Europe, only reinforced soldiers’ beliefs in the fanaticism of all Germans. This could only but increase hostility towards Germans, including children, especially because of the numbers of Hitler Youth involved in the

⁴⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Apr 45”, 7.

⁴⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Apr 45”, 6.

fighting. However, the soldiers still felt sorry for the children, as one gunner described: "I have no sympathy for the adults, but I sometimes go soft on the wee kids and slip them the odd piece of gum or candy."⁴⁸ As one example of the change in the soldiers' opinion, 13 Canadian Provost Company noted that in April the unit laid one charge of "fraternization" on a soldier for disobeying the ban.⁴⁹

In light of German atrocities, the desire to follow the fraternization ban was strong enough that some Canadians did not even protect the civilians from harm. The Canadians were horrified at finding Displaced Persons (DPs) living in German homes, and they were especially shocked at their poor physical condition. While there is evidence that not all of the slave workers were mistreated, starving emaciated workers did leave an impression on some Canadians. And the DPs who decided to enact revenge on Germans were given a free lease to loot and pillage by the sympathetic Canadians. A sergeant described the Germans as being "scared stiff" of the DPs, who were now liberated and looting "food[,] clothing[,] horses and wagons, anything to help them on their way home." When an old woman, who spoke English, approached the sergeant's unit for help against a band of Polish DPs looting her home, "she didn't get any sympathy from us."⁵⁰ However, in another instance, 13 Provost Company did take action against looting by Polish soldiers, though these people do not appear to have been DPs. Quite possibly they were members of the 1 Polish Armoured Division, and fellow

⁴⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45", 9.

⁴⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report for period 26 Mar to 25 Apr 45", 28 Apr. 45, 1.

⁵⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45", 11.

members of 1 Canadian Army. On 24 April, a German man reported that Polish soldiers had ordered him to “kill and dress two of his pigs for them, as well as to supply them with butter and eggs.” The four soldiers were apprehended, but their punishment, if any, was not recorded.⁵¹ Artilleryman John Raycroft noted that some Polish soldiers did torch German homes during this part of April 1945, but he met at least one Polish commander who prevented a house from being burned because the people inside had been kind to him. The Polish commander also kindly asked the Canadians not to torch the house either. However, according to Raycroft, Polish soldiers were not inhibited from torching the surrounding homes. Raycroft asserted that “the wanton torching of buildings was not a characteristic the Canadians shared with the Poles.”⁵²

John Raycroft had his own moment of fraternization with a German civilian on 22 April. In the town of Weener, a local civilian asked the officer commanding Raycroft’s gun crew if she could go back to her home. The Canadian officer gave her permission to go while being guarded by Raycroft. When the officer told Raycroft not to take his eyes off the woman, in case she would try to attack him, the young Canadian soldier had no problem with his instructions. After all, the woman was *female*. He followed her to her home, which had been looted. Raycroft suspected that a Polish unit had done the looting instead of burning the place. The woman began to faint upon the sight of her ransacked home, and Raycroft did what most young men of his age and generation would do, he caught her. As Raycroft explained,

⁵¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, “Monthly Report for period 26 Mar to 25 Apr 45”, 28 Apr. 45, 2.

⁵² Raycroft, *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*, 245.

I held onto her and never wanted to let go again for the rest of my life. Living in crudeness and cruelty suppresses the flip-side of more tender emotions, as it's supposed to. When a sudden flip like this occurs, the effect is strong. At least it was for me. I could feel her stiffen for a moment when she came to. She straightened up and looked me in the eye briefly as I released my hold. It felt good to be acknowledged as existing.⁵³

Afterwards, Raycroft escorted the woman back. Their eyes met again as another acknowledgement and they went back to their lives, or as Raycroft said, "Back to killing and destruction!" Even though Raycroft's response was natural and human, the Army would have categorized his actions as fraternization, but like most acts of fraternization, this was away from the Army's prying eyes and away from the judgement of others. Raycroft did what he did for no other reason that it was his natural inclination and he felt it was the right thing to do.⁵⁴

Raycroft's encounter with the German housewife stayed in his mind as his unit remained in the area. There were a group of German nurses in the town and Raycroft admitted in his memoir a longing for their company, much as he had about the first woman he encountered. Raycroft expressed

feelings of wanting to draw back to some innocent world, remote from the violence and destruction... Their tender gestures toward their care, and their body movements in those sufficiently form-fitted uniforms, held me fascinated. I hungered for just a glance from one of them, but they ignored me entirely as they swished about.⁵⁵

Raycroft's inclinations were *in spite* of the Army's indoctrination program. He remembered being given a pamphlet entitled "Your Future Occupation" from 21 Army

⁵³ Ibid., 245-46.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 248.

Group, sometime in mid-April. Raycroft had, understandably, believed that the pamphlet's title was about a soldier's future career, not his actions in the military occupation of Germany. The document was labelled "Restricted" and was not to fall into enemy hands. Unfortunately, this document has not been found anywhere other than in Raycroft's memoir, however, his recounting of the document parallels what was in the radio slogans. Raycroft understood the reason why propaganda was used to motivate troops. In wars like the one he fought in, he suggested there was little need to motivate Canadian troops to fight the Nazis. However, the Army pamphlet, as he explained was "an unbelievable screed, the type of attitude-structuring and brainwashing that would have been necessary had we [Canada] sent soldiers to Vietnam." The pamphlet asserted that there were no "good Germans", and that all Germans were natural liars. The pamphlet also presumed to tell the soldiers that their "attitude toward women in Germany [was] all wrong." It asked soldiers if they knew that "all German women have been trained to seduce you?" German women concealed knives in their coats and also carried messages in their underwear. As Raycroft noted wryly: "There's some deeper truth to that." Soldiers were reminded not to give candy to children. Perhaps one of the strangest instructions for soldiers was that Germans had to be watched when bodies were placed in caskets and that civilians had to be prevented from following the corpses to the cemetery. Unfortunately, Raycroft does not explain what the instructions were trying to prevent in this case. Perhaps the Army was worried the Germans would desecrate Canadian graves.

The instructions went on for 26 pages, according to Raycroft. He noted with no small irony that while soldiers were being exhorted to watch for signs of Nazi resistance, such as being “warned that brass knuckles might be hidden in the clothes of a baby in a carriage”, members of the Nazi leadership were escaping the country to freedom. Raycroft concluded that the propaganda would have suited Field Marshal Douglas Haig and his battles of attrition in the First World War.⁵⁶

Despite the assertion that no one wanted to fraternize, many soldiers believed preventing fraternization would be a major concern in Germany, the major problem being “feminine society”. One officer commented, “Our biggest problem is going to be trying to prevent fraternization with the Germans, especially the children (in some cases even the women). Six months is a long time to keep men’s minds occupied enough not to think about women and their ‘petit difference’.” Soldiers felt that they needed to keep an eye on each other to prevent one another from doing the dastardly deed of fraternization. “We’re not supposed to speak to the people over here or fraternize with them. But by the looks of some of these girls over here, they’re going to have to watch some of these boys pretty close or they’re liable to catch them doing a little more than fraternizing.”⁵⁷

The ban was already leading to complaints. One guardsman in the 4th Canadian Armoured Division wrote: “I’m getting tired of this country, nothing to drink, no place to go at nights, and no fraternizing, its nay good for a fellows morale.” Another officer

⁵⁶ Ibid., 256-57.

⁵⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45”, 2, 9.

relayed his frustrations in more detail. He appears to be saying that the Germans were going to great lengths to initiate contacts with the Canadians.

Here in Germany there is nothing whatever to do. I think here the mental effect of knowing one can't go out to a Pub etc, is depressing. I am sure you would disown me if you could see me cursing the German old men and boys who are maybe by accident and maybe not, walking in the way of the traffic and driving wagons on the road.⁵⁸

The report for 16-30 April also excerpted a letter where a soldier described how one of his fellow soldiers, whom he had joined up with in August 1940, had raped two German women with another Canadian standing guard. While the problem of rape will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the important point for this section is that the soldier referred to the actual crime dismissively as a "painless meat injection", yet another soldier's euphemism for sex. However, "now they are both up on a charge of RAPE, which isn't so good."⁵⁹

The 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion reached the city of Wismar on 2 May. The unit had been involved in a race to the city to beat the Soviets there. The paratroopers succeeded in their goal and found themselves dealing with their Communist allies for the first time. As the unit had proceeded further east, the stream of German soldiers meeting them on the road grew. The soldiers did not resist, and some had their families with them. The Germans simply wished to be captured by the Western Allies in order to avoid a worse fate in Soviet hands. Now in Wismar, the civilians begged the Canadians to stay as they feared what would happen when the city entered Soviet control. The Canadian paratroopers encountered Soviet soldiers engaging in rape and violence

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

against the German population and were horrified by what they saw. They noted grimly that the Soviets “were thoughtless of life”, “a ‘pretty wild bunch’”, and “more like an enemy than an ally.” The Soviets immediately set up roadblocks limiting access to what became their Zone of Occupation, even before the war was officially over on 5 May. The Canadians had to turn away drunken Soviet soldiers from their own guard posts who were demanding women. The paratroopers also continued to patrol Wismar because the civilians were so afraid of the Soviets. Sergeant John Feduck recalled going out on patrol and encountering a Soviet soldier attempting to shoot a German woman whose clothes he had removed. Feduck assisted in knocking out the Soviet soldier and rescuing the quite-naturally hysterical woman. The airborne battalion grimly noted shots and screams coming from Soviet lines during their time in Wismar.⁶⁰

One *Maple Leaf* editorial, “Know Thine Enemy” was published on 5 May, as the initial ceasefires began to take effect across north-western Europe. Despite the fact that editor Macfarlane insisted that he did not and would not use his position for “sermons”, the editorial certainly reads like one. His anger is palpable. He mentions explicitly the horrors of Belsen, Buchenwald and Dachau as examples of the Germans’ barbarity and sadism. The world was still, and still is, in many ways, reeling from the revelations of the war crimes and crimes against humanity that the Germans had committed. Macfarlane assured his readers that the Germans, all Germans, would do the same to them if given

⁶⁰ Bernd Horn and Michel Wyczynski, *Paras Versus the Reich : Canada's Paratroopers at War, 1942-45* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003), 223-26.

a chance. "They'll cut your throat if they think they can get away with it. They are no friends of yours, not any of them. Stay t'hell away from them."⁶¹

Canadian troops were incensed in March 1945 when they found German civilians in possession of Red Cross packages meant for Allied POWs. One officer described finding a POW parcel with a tin of American powdered milk in the hands of some Germans. This was apparently the first real proof of a rumour he had heard about elsewhere. The parcel was confiscated and sent to Brigade Headquarters. Another soldier, perhaps describing the same incident, found civilians in a bombed out house consuming an American Red Cross parcel. His comment was simply, "Nice people, I don't think." There was no indication of how the civilians had obtained the parcels. The comments from the Canadians appear to assume that the civilians themselves stole the parcels from POWs. It is always possible the Germans distributed the parcels to feed their own people or received them through other means, but the possession of the parcels only confirmed what many Canadian soldiers already believed about the perfidious and evil German people.⁶²

The Canadians were not oblivious to the suffering they saw, but most, at this point in time, tried to ignore it, as they were being taught to do by the Army. Some soldiers took advantage of the fraternization ban for personal gain. There appears to have been widespread looting as the Canadians continued into Germany in March. Looting and foraging was not related to the fraternization ban, but in Germany there

⁶¹ Maj. J. D. Macfarlane, "Know Thine Enemy," *The Maple Leaf*, 5 May 1945.

⁶² LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45", 7.

was a rougher edge to it because of who the Germans were. The Canadians felt they were right in taking the food and other booty because the Germans had lived like kings while the rest of Europe had starved. “The first thing we do is to go looting in the houses. Of course we don’t call it looting here, it’s booty.” Another soldier suggested that they had not yet received orders prohibiting looting. In their letters, Canadians described finding crystal goblets, “damask, yes damask towels” and other linens, watches and even musical instruments that the soldiers used to entertain each other. One soldier commented that his group broke open a safe full of watches, he only received five, “but I sent four of them home to mother for a souvenir.” Another comment was that the looting was “plenty of fun if we don’t meet up against any booby traps.”⁶³ As Canadian soldier David Marshall noted:

We walked about more cautiously than we had previously and fraternizing was no problem (at this time), but what was ‘looting’? We were never discouraged from living off the land and we ate whatever we could find in the German houses and farms. I think that part of the reason for the tacit encouragement of this, or at least turning a blind eye to it, was the difficulty the supply people had in bringing food up to the troops through the terrible road conditions.⁶⁴

Such acts were not confined to Germany; looting happened wherever Canadians went in Europe. R.H. Roy wrote home from Italy telling his father that he had not needed to draw full pay yet while in the Army, because there was nowhere to spend it at the front. Whatever the soldiers wanted, they got for free:

The peasants, who we ‘liberate’ in more ways than one, are usually quite generous with their eggs and potatoes and such. If they aren’t we merely

⁶³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45”, 6.

⁶⁴ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 77.

liberate the said articles from the peasants. Simple, isn't it. There's no such word as stealing. Heaven forbid. It's all liberation. There's an old saying that Jerry steals everything he sees, whereas the Canuck steals everything they hide!⁶⁵

Roy joked that he should have been getting "fatter" because of all the food he was obtaining, but "those three-hundred yard dashes (flying low) away from a Jerry mortar stonk [succession of mortar fire] keeps me slim."⁶⁶

Later in March, the amount of items recorded in letters as booty increased. Now, in addition to the watches, linen and tableware mentioned before, soldiers looted bicycles, clocks and radios. As one soldier explained, "But to-morrow morning I'm going Looting (and I do mean looting) like nothing you have ever seen. So I'll see if I can get something to send home." The Provost Corps was allegedly stopping supply truck drivers attempting to pick up goods in Germany and sell them in points west. Another Canadian took a watch, fountain pen and a Luger off German prisoners. But perhaps the most audacious type of looting is illustrated through the means with which one soldier obtained German Marks, which he used to pay for items. "Some of us blew a bank in the last town we were in, and my split was little over a thousand of them. I sent you some of the marks I looted in the last parcel I sent you."⁶⁷

There were wide reports of Canadian soldiers taking local livestock and other foodstuffs for their own use. Just a few months earlier, soldiers had complained how the French, Belgians and Dutch gouged them on prices, now they could simply take what

⁶⁵ DHH, BIOG, Roy, R.H., "R.H. Roy to C.H. Roy, Rimini, Italy", 30 Jan. 1945.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-31 Mar 45", 7.

they wanted without major fear of reprisal. Soldiers took cows, pigs, chickens, turkeys and even deer from farms for themselves, opting to throw away Army provisions. “We live like Kings here, steaks and bacon and the rest, all you do is go out and shoot a German cow or pig—it’s too good for the square heads.”⁶⁸ Beef was so plentiful that it was hung from 17-pounder guns. Soldiers swapped beef for pork with each other as they felt no inhibitions in taking from the locals.⁶⁹ No. 7 Provost Company received orders from the “C in C” demanding that looting stop. While it is unclear whether the “C in C” is General Crerar, Montgomery or Eisenhower, the order is very clear. Troops were not to loot food or livestock in Germany, in part because of a world food shortage. The problem was not that the Germans needed to be fed, but the British back home: “It will be explained to the soldiers that any food they may take from the Germans now may well be at the expense of the UK at a later date.”⁷⁰

The Canadians were continuing to loot German and Dutch homes into April. Most of the letters from soldiers on the subject were about how many “Gulden” or “Guilders”, as well as watches, they took off German soldiers. Others were worried that their loot would be taken away:

The Germans have lots and whatever they have belongs to us now and we mean to take everything that we can lay our hands on and we leave nothing behind. But the way that the boys are helping themselves to everything they see, I am afraid that the authorities will step in and stop us from taking things as they call it (LOOTING).⁷¹

⁶⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Mar 45”, 10.

⁶⁹ DHH, 94/28, David G. Marshall, South Alberta Regiment, “Me and George”, 79.

⁷⁰ LAC, RG 34, Vol. 16475, No. 7 Provost Company, “Part I Orders”, 5 April 1945.

⁷¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, “Monthly Report for period 26 Mar to 25 Apr 45”, 28 Apr. 45, 10.

However, there are signs that the military authorities were attempting to clamp down on these acts as much as possible. One soldier commented, “We got orders for no more looting, so if we are caught its [sic] just too bad.” Soldiers who had returned to Germany, perhaps after operations in the Netherlands, noted that there were “No Looting” signs everywhere, “so it means we can’t steal any more chickens or cows.” Another soldier wrote home that he had a “gold mine” of silverware, including dustpans, brushes, trays and cup-holders. Unfortunately, his officer would not let him mail the loot home, so he resolved to bring it all back with him.⁷²

In the town of Ladbergn, Canadian parachute troops helped themselves to what they could find. “The Canadian soldier, remarked [Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser] Eadie, ‘is a marvellous scrounger and whether needed or not is able to find anything.’” In particular, the paratroopers helped themselves to a variety of foodstuffs. According to one account, some of the Headquarters staff were miffed that the troops disregarded what the Army had struggled to bring to them through the supply chain. Bernd Horn and Michael Wyczynski refute a myth that the paratroopers were racing beyond their supply chain as they headed for the German city of Wismar on the Baltic Sea. They insist that the paratroopers were not forced to live off the land, as has been suggested. Private Del Parlee suggested that the soldiers “lived off the land because it was better.” Horn and Wyczynski assert that orders and regulations prohibiting looting were simply ignored, despite the potential consequences to soldiers.⁷³

⁷² Ibid., 10-11.

⁷³ Horn and Wyczynski, *Paras Versus the Reich : Canada's Paratroopers at War, 1942-45*, 214-16.

Colonel Bassett F.G. Wilson, the Provost Marshal of 21 Army Group, ordered on 5 April that all looting and pillaging cease. He noted that while damage done to enemy property in battle may have had been effective in bringing home to the German population that they had lost the war, but “wanton and unnecessary damage and stealing” was “inexcusable and is as much an offence in GERMANY as it is at home or in an Allied country.” The Army needed to shape up because “The subjugation of the GERMAN people will not be effected by breaches of law.”⁷⁴

For the edition published on V-E Day, Macfarlane did not run a non-fraternization editorial, but there was a funny “Bing” Coughlin cartoon next to a sombre editorial about the end of the fighting in Europe [Fig. 1]. The scene is of a farmhouse with a pigpen. Two soldiers, neither one recognizable as Herbie, are standing under a sign which reads “You are in Germany Remember **NO** Fraternizing”. One soldier is jerking a thumb to the sign and the caption reads: “Wonder if that applies to pigs as well?”⁷⁵

⁷⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16475, No. 7 Provost Company, “Part I Orders”, 5 April 1945.

⁷⁵ William Garnet Coughlin, *Herbie* ([Toronto]: Nelson, 1946), 150.

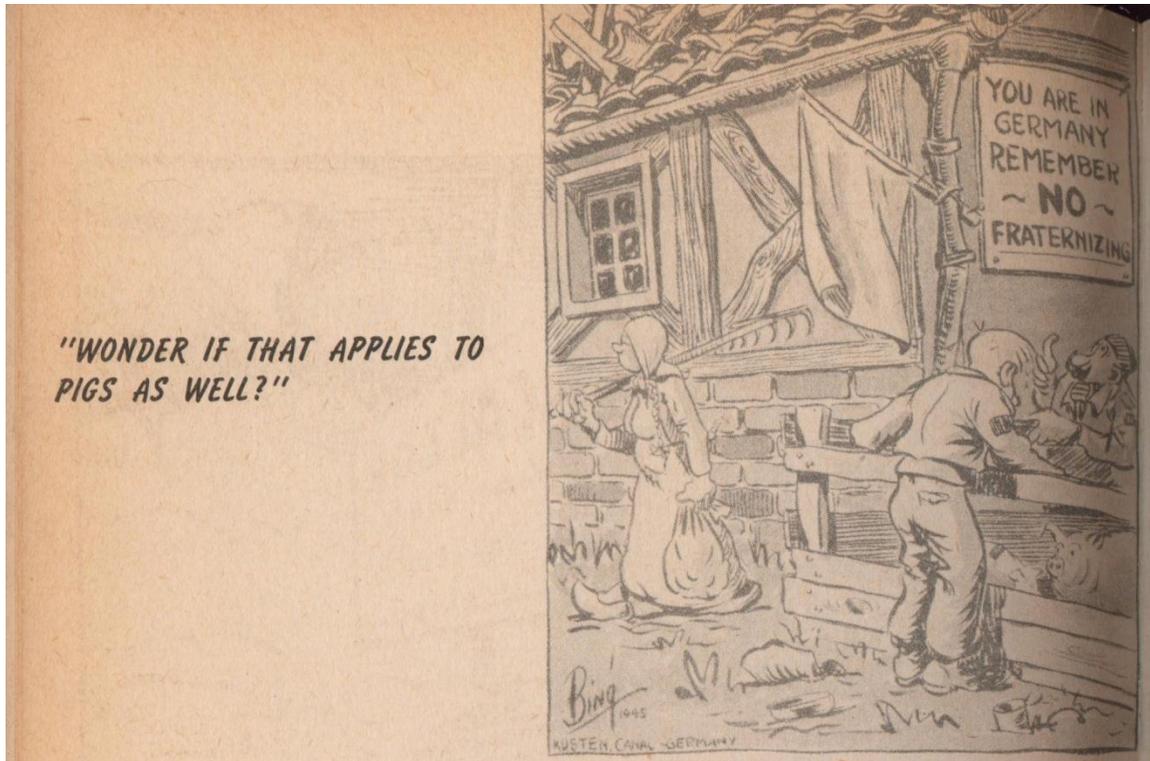


Fig. 1⁷⁶

For the Germans, V-E Day was not a celebration. As Canadian soldiers celebrated their victory, they began their occupation of Germany. Gunner James P. Brady recalled how on 7 May, the day before the celebrations, his unit “roust[ed] a German farm family from their house and [took] it over as our billets. We gave them 15 minutes to vacate which they did with the utmost alacrity.” Brady and his fellows liberated a Russian POW and a Ukrainian DP woman labourer and allowed them to sleep in the beds of their previous “masters”. On V-E Day itself, the Russian soldier helped Brady find the farm owner’s hidden cache of liquor and as the Canadian noted “Our troop have a glorious binge.” Later that day, in another home where they were staying, the unit’s

⁷⁶ Ibid.

kitchen burner exploded, destroying the house. "I could not help but feel pity for this poor peasant family."⁷⁷

The end of the war was worthy of celebration, but the job was not over yet. Canadians were now occupying Germany. Many believed and followed the fraternization ban to the letter. Others, like John Raycroft, saw the ban as utter lunacy and "voted with their feet" by fraternizing with Germans, regardless of the consequences. The Army struggled to retain control over its troops, particularly when fraternization and looting was involved. As Germans put down their arms, Canadians were beginning to see Germans as less of a threat and more as human beings.

⁷⁷ J. L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, *Battle Lines : Eyewitness Accounts from Canada's Military History* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2004), 368-69.

CHAPTER SIX:
FEELING THEIR WAY IN THE “CANADIAN WAY”

“Popular attitude in Canadian Army area is reported as calm, disciplined and obedient. The only outward show of feeling is indifference toward Allied soldiers. The Germans are considered to be “feeling their way” with Military Government and with Allied forces.” SHAEF Military Government – Civil Affairs Weekly Field Report No. 48¹

By V-E Day, the Canadians had been in Germany for almost four months. The non-fraternization policy was still firmly in place and soldiers were still being warned to stay away from civilians. This chapter describes the loosening and finally the end of the fraternization ban for Allied soldiers in Germany. In less than a month, the policy would be up-ended, first with a relaxation on the ban against talking to children and finally, in July, most of the restrictions would be lifted altogether. In essence, much of what the ban’s supporters feared would come true. Canadians and other Western Allied soldiers would see the Germans as human and treat them as such. While the combat veterans still supported the ban wholeheartedly, their determination began to waver. Without the ongoing march of the invasion, soldiers had less to do than before. As a result, one of the soldiers’ biggest challenges was boredom. Germans had been a potential danger while the war lasted, but after V-E Day, the fighting had stopped. Many of the Canadians also left Germany for Holland in this period and did not return until after the ban was lifted in July. Accordingly, as the war of words in Washington, London and Germany heated up about the efficacy of the fraternization ban, many Canadians were not subject to it.

¹ The National Archives UK (NA UK), WO 219/3538, SHAEF Military Government – Civil Affairs, “Weekly Field Report No. 48”, 5.

The Canadians occupied part an area of Northwest Germany that would eventually become the state of Lower Saxony [Fig. 2]. The state itself is the second-largest in Germany in land and fourth-largest in population. The North Sea acts as a northern border and the East Frisian Island chain dots the coastline. In the centre of the north coast is Wilhelmshaven, the past and present German naval base. South of Wilhelmshaven is the large city of Oldenburg. The state is bordered in the west by the Netherlands and the Ems River. To the northeast are Hamburg and the state of Schleswig-Holstein. The southern border makes a large dip towards central Germany around the state's largest city of Hannover. The state includes cities such as Osnabrück, Göttingen and Wolfsburg, originally the Nazi Stadt des KdF-Wagens, the home of Volkswagen. For the most part, what would become the Canadian Army Occupation Force was located in the triangle delineated by Wilhelmshaven, Emden and Osnabrück in the south, but Canadians also served with the Military Government in towns like Wolfenbützel and Hannover.

Fig. 2²

From the start of the occupation, the fear that the German population would cause problems for the Allies was discovered to be quite unfounded. From the week after the war ended, the Germans, generally speaking, were considered to be “orderly and obedient”. This assessment remained the same until the Canadians left in April 1946. The Germans would show arrogance towards the Allies, particularly if their towns

² Base map adapted from “Wikimedia Commons” (Wikipedia). Original by Hanhil, based on work by NordNordWest. Alterations, including addition of cities and text, made by author.

had not been bombed, and tended to blame the entire war on the Nazi Party, but they did not cause substantial problems for the Canadians occupying Lower Saxony.³

Internal military reports indicate that the occupation was proceeding smoothly at this time. A Civil Affairs/Military Government report for SHAEF for the week ending on May 12 noted that the Canadian Army area reported that the German population was “calm, disciplined and obedient.” The people showed only indifference to the Allied soldiers and were “feeling their way” with the Military Government. In comparison, the report noted that Germans in the French Zone and elsewhere also had mixed feelings of indifference and friendliness, though some avoided MG personnel altogether because of fears of Werwolf reprisals.⁴

By mid-May, the Canadians also had mixed feelings towards the Germans. With the war now over and the resulting celebrations underway, the Canadians’ opinions towards the Germans started to change rapidly. The censorship report for the first half of May for the Canadians in 21st Army Group now only said that “some” soldiers “fully approved and observed” the ban that “many were finding the lack of female company increasingly irksome”. However, the report also said that the ban was being “generally observed” and that most troops voiced their “dislike and distrust” of Germans, meeting overtures with “cold indifference”. Some soldiers continued writing about how it was easy to be “stern and severe” with the Germans and how they were “getting it with interest.” The “hate and loathing for everything German” was apparent in letters home

³ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Box 16632, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Canadian Army, “Weekly Report No. 26”, 15 May 45.

⁴ NA UK, WO 219/3538, SHAEF, Military Government – Civil Affairs, “Weekly Report No. 48”, 12 May 1945, 5.

and to the *Maple Leaf*. Even Germans who, at least outwardly, admitted defeat and acted “so servile and humble and polite towards us”, one soldier admitted, only made the Canadians hate them more.⁵ A private in the Lincoln and Welland regiment said that he trusted the Germans, including the “promenading blondes” only “as far as a Jap.”⁶ One corporal commented with a sense of *Schadenfreude* that, “It makes you feel good to see the houses blown up, towns ruined, and in some cases, almost non-existent.”⁷

These comments were nothing new, but other soldiers were finding the urge for female company irresistible. Canadians almost universally commented on the beauty of winsome German women, who attempted to catch their attention, referring to them as “blonde beauties” or even “pretty nice stock”. The language barrier between Canadians and Germans was a problem, but “leave it to us soldiers to find a way of getting around that.”⁸ A sapper in the 7th Field Company of the Royal Canadian Engineers said that the fraternization ban was harming the Canadians more than the Germans. The locals were “just laughing up their sleeves” because they knew the Canadians could not speak to them. As a result, “Every evening the girls parade back and forth in front of our billets, and all the boys sit outside just grinding their teeth and condemning the order of no

⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 May 45”, 1, 6.

⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 May 45”, 6.

⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 May 45”, 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

fraternizing.”⁹ While the Army primarily focused on controlling the urges of the soldiers, at least one officer took it upon himself to deal with the “promenading blondes”:

Did I ever see a nice girl the other day. She came past on a bicycle with just a pair step-ins and a bras on. The Officer picked her up through, so they punish her some way. Most of the girls are like that trying to get us to fraternize with them. If we do that we get a court-martial.¹⁰

There was no indication of what the officer did with the woman.

Soldiers appeared to know the penalties for fraternization, one Guardsman commenting that, “I think I’ll go on the wagon till I get home or out of here anyway, there’s too much at stake. A couple of lads got eight years for fraternization.”¹¹ According to the records, no soldiers were given eight years for just fraternization, but the soldier might have been commenting on rape charges. A private in the Highlanders of Canada (no other designation given) remarked that a fellow in his brigade, who got five months for sleeping with a German woman, deserved what he got: “Just a few weeks ago they were the very people we had to fight against. And we’ve lost a lot of good boys on account of those damned She wolves of German girls. I wouldn’t take a chance with the best of them.”¹²

The soldier who suggested German women were “nice stock” judged the benefits of fraternization more important than the potential punishment: “Over here we aren’t even allowed to talk to these German girls, but a fellow has to do a little on the

⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 May 45”, 6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 May 45”, 6.

¹² LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 May 45”, 6.

side once in a while, or we would go nuts.” It did not help that if Canadians were lucky enough to be in the Netherlands, Belgium or France after the war ended, there were no limits to fraternizing with the locals, which only made soldiers in Germany feel worse. In other countries, Canadians had dances with local women and in Brussels they could even enjoy English beer.¹³

Despite the penalties for fraternization and despite the Army’s attempts to stop it cold, Canadian soldiers apparently believed that eventually a critical mass of fraternization would be reached. As a gunner in the Royal Canadian Artillery explained,

After a while this no fraternizing order is going to run the boys into a lot of trouble and I don’t mean maybe. You or anyone else can’t tell me that the boys can stand to see all these babes over here running around and never so much as speak to them. Sooner or later someone is going to run into trouble.

Or, as an infantry Lance Corporal believed:

They’ll have to get the Canadians out of here or the Non Fraternization law will certainly be broken. You know what Canadians are like when they see a beautiful girl. And there are certainly lots of them here. When they go around in these short blue skirts and white blouses you don’t need any strip-teasing to stir the imagination.¹⁴

Looting continued into May, despite soldiers suggesting that heavy penalties, particularly fines, were in place to prevent such actions. Despite admissions from soldiers that looting continued, others acknowledged that there were now penalties in place for doing so. Soldiers were still tempted to take linen, silver and other goods to send home to Canada, but the fear of punishment was too much. Despite this factor,

¹³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 May 45”, 6, 10.

¹⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 May 45”, 6.

however, one letter writer claimed that “[t]here’s plenty of looting going on, as we are really allowed to do as we please and take what we want. We eat our meals from 2 and 3 dollar plates—don’t bother to wash them but just throw them away as there’s others where those came from.”

Homes were not the only targets of looters. Germans in the black market could not claim their losses when enterprising Canadian soldiers found their stashes. One soldier described how the “Square head”¹⁵ locked the door when the Canadians approached his warehouse. The Canadian letter writer positively gloated that, “I guess by now he is building a new door and mourning over his losses as our boys are running around with black or brown dress shoes or jack-boots.”¹⁶

When looting was the norm, soldiers could surprise German civilians by doing the unexpected. Canadian officer Jack Connor recalled in his memoir how he attempted to hold a magnificent feast for his men to celebrate V-E Day. Connor asked one of his men to translate some phrases into German so he could communicate with local farm households. In a jocular manner, Connor and his sergeant went out to obtain items for the victory feast. They strapped on their Smith and Wesson P.38s and visited a couple of farms, more than one so they would not take too much from one place. Connor’s German was not perfect, but the soldiers made clear that they wanted items from the households, which the Germans reluctantly gave them without any fuss. Connor, surprisingly, promised to take everything back, which the locals did not believe. Among other things, Connor managed to scrounge up plates, tablecloths, and chickens for his

¹⁵ “Square head” is a derogatory term for a German.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

men. The feast was well-enjoyed by all and the next morning, Connor and his sergeant returned all the items they had procured save, of course, the food that had been consumed. The tablecloths had been re-folded, the plates and glasses had not been broken and everything was washed. According to Connor, the locals were so dumbfounded at their items being returned that one household offered a full basket of eggs, more than 200, in gratitude. Connor insisted on only taking 60 for his men and after they left, he never saw them again. Later, he wondered why he had not seen any children at the houses.¹⁷

Despite Connor's courtly attitude towards the persons in the farmhouses, he showed some support for the fraternization ban. He recounted in a letter how, while the young women were "trying so hard to please" and were "smartly dressed and don't mind showing their legs and fancy hose", others, presumably older women, would spit and turn away at the sight of the soldiers. Connor noted that he had already heard rumours of fraternization by Canadians and he figured it would be hard to stop the soldiers from consorting with civilians. He had already had to deter German women from hanging around the barracks' entrance. Of his men, he noted, "I'd rather have them mean and filled with hate. Then you don't have any compunction about being severe and firm with them." Connor does not seem to have supported the ban because of any particular hatred for the Germans, but seems to have been more worried about discipline and what fraternization would do to his unit. In a later letter, Connor insisted he did not fraternize: "There is no fraternizing. We say nothing. They say nothing. The

¹⁷ Jack Connor, *The Way I Saw It*, self-published, 200[?], Canada, [Canadian War Museum Library, GEN D 811 C661 V. 3, B. 3].

boys are hoping we'll get back to Holland soon. They are all very healthy and frisky and the presence of German frauleins merely aggravates the situation. There some fine-looking blondes. I see my guys giving them the once over."¹⁸

With only the anecdotal evidence of letters, the censorship reports do not quantify how many soldiers admitted a desire for fraternization, and there is no way to tell how many soldiers actually fraternized. While units like 13 Provost Company recorded charging five soldiers with fraternization, one with attempted rape and 12 others with assorted theft and looting in May 1945, these statistics cannot be extrapolated for all Canadians.¹⁹ The general comments each month about fraternization from the officers putting together the reports cannot be taken as ultimate proof of whether Canadians fraternized or not. The letters may show tendencies towards one position or the other, but there will always be a degree of doubt as to the numbers. Generalizations such as "The Canadians never fraternized with the Germans" or "All the Canadians fraternized with Germans" do not help explain the situation in Germany in May 1945 and only confuse what essentially was a personal issue for each and every soldier.

The abrupt change for the Canadians from being a fighting force to an occupation one was not easy on the soldiers. The boredom after the tension and activity of months of fighting began to take its toll, but most Canadians took the time to pat themselves on the back for a job well done, and for surviving. While official reports

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report for period 26 Apr to 25 May 45", 28 May 45, 1-2.

suggested entertainment was adequate and soldiers were looking forward to “continental tours” that were being organized, some Canadians believed that being in Germany was “worse than being in jail”. It did not help that some German soldiers had been paroled and were promenading with the wives and sweethearts in front of bored Canadians. Nor did it help that the Army decided that Canadians needed to look and act like an occupation force and demanded that the troops begin acting a bit more soldierly, complete with parades and inspections. Guns shone and “look[ed] like a million dollars.” One soldier, pleased with his spit and polish attitude, compared it to being a Buckingham Palace guard and others were pleased that they paraded in front of their Canadian flag proudly flying over German soil.²⁰ As one private wrote: “As soon as we can convince the whole of Germany that we are better than their men in every respect, then perhaps we will have peace.”²¹

A Situation Report submitted by Captain H.G. Brookhouse, commanding No. 20 Canadian Field Security Section, dated 13 May, reinforces the belief that the troops were quite unhappy about the non-fraternization order. Brookhouse notes that at that time the order was being carried out, but if the troops continued to remain in one place for a long time, there would be problems. He suggests one particular reason why some troops were very unhappy with the order. In the early evening, the German civilians could go out “to dusk” [sic], until dusk, while troops were confined to quarters. Also, troops could see German men and women fraternizing with each other, which only

²⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-31 May 45”, 1-8.

²¹ Ibid., 3.

further depressed the Canadian soldiers.²² However, this did not mean that some units were better off.

A war diary entry on 14 May for 2 Field Security Section, based at the time in Oldenburg, notes the relief felt by Canadian soldiers as an ENSA (Entertainment National Service Association), a British version of the American United Service Organization (USO) show came to town. This was only six days after the war had ended in Europe. The show was greatly appreciated as it “will help relieve the strain of non-fraternization.” Two days later, it was noted that there were three shows in total for soldiers in Oldenburg, two cinemas and one stage show, as well as a swimming pool. There is no immediate indication of whether having multiple sources of entertainment and relaxation for the troops prevented them from breaking the non-fraternization rule, but the morale report included in the War Diary for May 1945 suggested that the policy was “hard on the moral[e] of the average soldier. However there is plenty of work to be done in our line of business, even more so when there is no fighting and that helps to keep the men’s minds from dwelling too much on other things.”²³ The unit had only been in the area for three weeks, having moved only into Oldenburg proper just a few days before the war ended. The war diary had recorded earlier that the unit was unsure whether it had wanted to be settled down into one place. The Field Security troops had enjoyed their variety of assignments and moving around prior to the defeat of Germany. Now,

²² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 1619 and 1719, No. 20 Canadian Field Security Section, “Counter Intelligence Report No. 3: Part II Military Security”.

²³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16390, Series C-3, File No. 542, No. 2 Field Security Section, “War Diary”, May 1945”.

boredom was contemplated as “the show,” as the war diary referred to the war, “was closing.”²⁴

In his book about the experiences of Canadian Women’s Army Corps (CWAC) members during the war, W. Hugh Conrod suggests there was no fraternizing between Canadian female soldiers and the Germans. The women were guarded, in at least one location, by two armed men whenever they walked outside of their posts. German women appeared to want to fraternize, but since the CWACs were located near the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, Conrod’s implication is that no one wished to fraternize. Conrod suggested further that the German soldiers would have liked to have fraternized with the Canadian women, but the civilian population were less happy to do so.²⁵

On 18 May, General Crerar’s instructions to Canadian officers were issued. While these instructions were in reality no different than those given to troops in other armies prior to V-E Day, the order attempted to justify the policy to soldiers and explain why they were to follow it so closely. Even though the war was over, that did not mean that the Germans’ essential character had changed immediately. From the very beginning, Crerar’s instructions cut to the heart of the matter and informed Canadian officers that any show of leniency against the Germans would “betray the sacrifice of our dead.” Following the radio slogans and other assertions by Allied propaganda, leniency would

²⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16390, Series C-3, File No. 542, No. 2 Field Security Section, “War Diary”, Apr. 1945.

²⁵ W. Hugh Conrod, *Athene Goddess of War : The Canadian Women's Army Corps, Their Story* (Dartmouth, N.S.: Writing & Editorial Services, 1983), 199-200.

only breed “secret” contempt from the Germans and be viewed as a sign of weakness. Punishment had to be severe, unaffected “by personal feelings of sympathy or pity.”²⁶

Very few letters to the editor in the *Maple Leaf* spoke against the fraternization ban. The letters are filled with stereotypes of Germany and the German people. The anger displayed in the letters suggests that many soldiers and other writers felt that few, if any, Germans could be redeemed. The position of the newspaper between May and July 1945 would be that all Germans were responsible for starting the war and prosecuting it to its worst extreme. The “FPO” column, as the letters section was known, also published legitimate gripes from the soldiers. At least one unit would suggest later on that the Army newspaper represented the soldiers’ complaints well.²⁷

On 19 May, the *Maple Leaf* published a series of replies from Canadian soldiers regarding what to do about the German people. As the article stated: “No one came down to earth more quickly than the man who faces the Grim Reaper every day.” The responses were mixed. Guardsmen J.N. Henderson of the Canadian Grenadier Guards suggested, “As for the German people, they are as bad as their leaders, however you can’t cross out a nation... You can’t condemn a nation for life and preserve the peace. Surely all the German people are not alike!” In general, the soldiers suggested that the Germans should be forced to rebuild Europe. There was unbridled support for the non-fraternization policy as well from Trooper J. Flamer of the HQ Squadron of the 12th Canadian Armoured Regiment: “We can refuse to have anything to do with these men

²⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol. 10976, HQ First Canadian Army, “Attitude Towards Germans in Official Contacts”, 18 May 1945.

²⁷ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 18 Jan. 46.

and women turned sadistic monsters. That must be our answer. No fraternization must be our badge of mature political understanding, our point of honor toward our Allies.”²⁸

Sean Longden gives a rather poignant example of how, at least for British troops, the fraternization ban was a dead letter two or three weeks after the war ended. He quotes British veteran Stan Procter recounting a rather amusing response to the omnipresent non-fraternization billboards along German roads: “Two or three weeks after the war had ended I was going somewhere and saw a notice by the road—‘No Fraternization!’—and there were six condoms hanging from it!”²⁹

British letters from 21 Army Group in June suggest that troops in that Zone were getting irritated by the frat ban, in particular with the penalties for infractions. Not only could soldiers go to prison, but they would also go to the end of the line for demobilization. What incensed some British soldiers was that they could see American and Soviet soldiers carousing with Germans with no penalization. As an infantry rifleman groused:

To make matters worse (despite the non-fraternisation business) we see the Yanks having quite a good time. And if we're even as much as seen talking to a German we're put on a charge. Here's we fellow doing as we're told, and then there's the Yanks doing just the opposite and having a good time!³⁰

The restrictions on talking to children were another sore point as an officer in the 51 Highland Division complained:

²⁸ “What to Do With the German People? Here's What the Soldiers Say About That One”, *The Maple Leaf*, 19 May 1945.

²⁹ Longden, *To the Victor the Spoils : Soldiers' Lives from D-Day to Ve-Day*, 95.

³⁰ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 033.(D3) Censorship Reports, 21 Army Group, “Censorship for period 1-15 Jun 45”, 6.

Can you imagine being put on a charge for giving a little kid a piece of chocolate! And they are such lovely kids too! I just don't see the point in it—I thought we had to make these kids into men and women having temperament similar to us? But if this thing goes on they will have the same basic emotion of all wars in their hearts—hate!³¹

The British soldiers did not see the point with the fraternization ban because it prevented them from explaining to the Germans what exactly they had done wrong. While one of the reasons for the ban was allegedly to prevent the spread of Nazi propaganda to Allied troops, the ban was too inflexible to allow ordinary soldiers to do the opposite. As one private suggested in a typical comment, "I don't see why we should not speak to the Germans. They seem only too willing to be friendly to us, and I believe only by talking to them will they see our point of view and way of life."³²

By the beginning of June, most Canadians had been moved into Holland, at least temporarily. As a result, there is little information about fraternization that can be gleaned from soldiers' letters. The censorship report for the first half of June 1945, taken from letters posted between 23 May and 10 June, displays only two excerpts that mention non-fraternization. The first excerpt, from an infantry private, explains how the soldiers could not be friendly with the Germans because the Army did not allow it. The letter, however, does mention a rumour that the ban would be lifted on 19 June and "Things might be easier then."³³ The second excerpt is the only one of its kind that can be found in the letters about fraternization:

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 7.

³³ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 June 45", 6.

The lovely women here do everything to get the boys to follow them, and then report them for doing things, “you know”, so they have a parade the next morning and the girls come and pick them, but the boys get anything from 2 to 7 years. There is [sic] quite a few cases right here in Aurich.³⁴

This is the only claim that has been found in the Canadian records of German women seducing or tempting Canadians simply in order to get them prosecuted under the fraternization ban. This could simply be just as much a rumour as the possibility of the ban being relaxed on 19 June. Most other sources assume that enticement by German women was offered without malicious intent and was merely a means for material gain.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made his opinion on non-fraternization known on 4 June with a “personal and secret, private and confidential” telegram to Field Marshal Montgomery. Churchill claimed to see “considerable signs of changes of opinion here on the subject of non-fraternization. The Russians seem to be following the opposite plan and gaining thereby.” Churchill failed to give evidence for this assertion.

Monty responded the next day by saying:

The whole question of our policy with regard to the German population needs careful review. The matter is closely related to fraternization on part of the troops... Secondly I do not believe you can control 23 million people and re-educate them if you never speak to them and therefore I consider we must relax somewhat our present very strict order about non-fraternization. But this I cannot do without Government approval.³⁵

On 10 June, Montgomery published a direct letter to the German populace explaining why “our soldiers do not smile when you wave your hands, or say ‘Good morning’ in the streets, or play with the children.” The letter is a candid and frank

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ NA UK, PREM 3/194/6, Prime Minister W.L.S. Churchill, “Telegram”, 4 June 1945.
NA UK, PREM 3/194/6, Field Marshal B. L. Montgomery, “Telegram”, 5 June 1945.

statement to the German people why such a seemingly harsh policy was put in place. The reasoning fits with other Allied comments regarding the policy. Montgomery explained how the German population had never experienced defeat in “the last war of 1914”. The soldiers had returned home like proper soldiers, the cities had not been bombed to a point of destruction and the peace had been signed in another country.³⁶

Montgomery continued by noting that in this war the German war machine had been defeated and the Allies were determined to bring that defeat home to the civilians. He also admitted that by that point, a month after V-E Day, most Germans realized they had been defeated. The Germans would also have to realize that they were responsible for the war, because if Germans and their children did not accept that fact, it would lead to another war. German civilians had expected to be friendly with occupying forces, but as Montgomery explained, “But too much has happened for that.” British soldiers in particular had seen their families left homeless or killed and soldiers from all Allied nations had lost comrades fighting the war.³⁷

Montgomery noted that Germans would argue that they were not responsible for the decisions made by the Nazi leadership. Montgomery, as well as Allied officials before him, disagreed with that assertion:

But they were found by the German nation; every nation is responsible for its rulers and while they were successful you cheered and laughed. That is why our soldiers do not smile at you. This we have ordered, this we have done, to save yourselves, to save your children, to save the world from another war. It will not always be so. For we are Christian forgiving people, and we like to smile and be friendly. Our object is to

³⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), “Personal Message from the Commander-in-Chief (to the population of the British Area of Germany), 10 June 1945.

³⁷ Ibid.

destroy the evil of the Nazi system; it is too soon to be sure that this has been done.³⁸

The last section explains Montgomery's need to issue the letter. Germans were to read and explain the letter to their children as a means of understanding why British soldiers did not smile at them. As it turned out, Montgomery's letter was slightly premature. Within a week, Allied soldiers would be allowed to talk to German children, but the ban for other civilians would remain in place for another month.

Macfarlane's editorial in the *Maple Leaf* on June 11, entitled simply "No!", was in direct response to two letters that suggested, bravely, that the non-fraternization policy was "un-Christian". The two authors, represented as "Anonymous" and "G.V.P.," argued separately that while firmness with the Germans was required, being cruel and distant to them would only make a situation worse. As the anonymous author suggested, "We must tell them of our homes, our children, and we must show them we are a happy people who hate war—but when our happiness is menaced by tyranny we can fight as equals to any nation in the world. How can we accomplish this when we are not allowed to smile on an innocent child?"³⁹

The editorial response is scathing and deserves to be quoted extensively to show its strong language in favour of non-fraternization and its total rejection of any attack on the policy. Indeed, Macfarlane shows how disgusted he was with the "other cheek business", as he put it:

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ "Non-Fraternization (June 11)," *Maple Leaf*, 11 June 1945.

The other cheek business is starting again... the plea for the poor, guiltless German... the let's kiss and make up attitude... be friends with the Germans, show them we're nice guys with forgiving spirits. Nuts!

We had reasonable cause to believe that any idea the German people, as a whole, were not to blame for what's been going on for the past five and a half years had died a well-deserved death. But seemingly not. There are still those who prefer the theory that Hitler and a few of his boys were the cause of it all... the German people really didn't want to be the master race... they were just kidding... they're really quite nice people if non-fraternization could be relaxed a bit so you could get to know them.

The Germans aren't weaklings. Hitler would never have risen to power if they hadn't been ready to heil their head off for him. They, the German people, are responsible and they, the German people, must be treated as the criminals they are.

Let's not subscribe to this nonsense that the way to convert, to re-educate the German is to make friends with him. The only thing the German respects is authority and there is plenty of it held by the right people to put this conversion and re-education policy into effect. The argument for fraternization is a shallow one. It usually gets around to the basic business of sex. And then it becomes just a selfish, physical desire and has nothing to do with Christian ideals or forgiving hearts.

Normally, we don't figure to publish letters in this paper and then take a crack at them from this corner. But we figure if this kind of sentiment is being promoted by any Canadian soldiers, the time to crack down on it is now. Don't be fooled by short skirts and pretty faces.⁴⁰

Macfarlane's editorial is understandable, considering Nazi atrocities, but the prominent editorial response is unusual as a direct response to soldiers' letters. Not published of course, was the news of actual daily infractions of the fraternization policy by soldiers, which was the real response to the policy and the editorial. The last sentence was frustratingly similar to the radio slogans in that it warned soldiers against "short skirts and pretty faces".

⁴⁰ Maj. J. D. Macfarlane, "No!," *Maple Leaf*, 11 June 1945.

Macfarlane's editorial was a candid and angry display of his feelings about the fraternization ban. A Canadian Press article a few weeks later quoted the editorial extensively when reporting on the situation in Europe. It noted that the Second Division in Germany was following the rules for the most part. Soldiers had determined that the risk of punishment was too great to tempt fate. However, the article did admit that some soldiers were waiting to be tried for offences such as talking to German girls. There is a frank admission of Canadian suspicion and hatred towards members of the German military, but Canadian troops "feel differently towards the girls who, for the most part, walk the street boldly up to the 10:30 p.m. curfew." The article contended that the military authorities were fully aware of the problem and suggested the problem would have been worse if there had been fewer amenities and distractions for the soldiers in Germany.⁴¹

The very same day that Macfarlane's editorial was published, General Eisenhower relaxed the fraternization ban on children in the American zone and Field Marshal Montgomery did the same for the British zone. The possibility had been discussed among the American high command for weeks, as cables flew back and forth between Eisenhower and Chief of Staff George C. Marshall. There had been a "myth", as Earl Ziemke suggests, that children were unduly harmed by the ban on fraternization. As a result, the Allies felt the need to do something about it. Eisenhower had suggested that an age limit of 12 be made for talking to children and Marshall had wondered

⁴¹ "Don't Let the Frauleins Fool You, Canucks Warned," *Toronto Star*, 29 June 1945.

whether troops would ask someone's age before talking to them.⁴² Indeed, when this part of the ban was lifted, in some of the more farcical infractions of the ban, soldiers would talk to women beginning with the salutation, "Good day, child."⁴³ The relaxation of the ban on talking to children was a long time in coming. British soldiers had complained about being penalized for simply being friendly to children.⁴⁴ Canadian soldiers had been commenting about the children they had seen for three months. To some soldiers, the ban on talking to children was wrong and only penalized the youngest Germans for the actions of their parents. There is some small anecdotal evidence that Canadian soldiers appreciated the change in policy. One member of the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry believed that being able to play with German children would help ease tensions with the local population. "That is, I think, a good idea; we are able in this way to educate them in our way of fair play." A sergeant in the Canadian Black Watch, unknowingly echoing General Marshall's concerns noted wryly that, "We are now allowed to be friendly with children. The only catch now is, they didn't mention any age, so all the boys say when they see a girl [is] 'how old 14[,] 15[,] 16?'"⁴⁵

Perhaps in response to the relaxation on fraternization with children, but more likely even before the event, "Bing" Coughlin drew a rare non-fraternization cartoon. This time, Herbie and a companion are travelling in what appears to be a Bren carrier past a town sign labelled "Calcar, Kreis Kleve, Reg-Bez Dusseldorf" [Fig. 3]. The sign

⁴² Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 323.

⁴³ Willoughby, "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany," 159.

⁴⁴ DND, DHH, 033.(D3) Censorship Reports, 21 Army Group, "Censorship for period 1-15 Jun 45", 6.

⁴⁵ RG 24, C-2, vol. 12322, File 4/Censor Reps/2/3, T-17925, Canadian Army Overseas – 21 Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Jun 45", 30 June 1945, 7.

suggests that Herbie and his companion are in western Germany near where the Canadians first entered the country. Standing in the foreground are two German children, a boy and a girl looking very much like Herbie, with their hands out for candy. Behind their backs, both children are holding German stick grenades and the girl is towing a toy popgun artillery piece. The caption reads, with deliberate irony, “Nice Little Kids, eh Herbie?”⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Coughlin, *Herbie*, 151.



[Fig 3.]⁴⁷

Articles appeared sporadically on the home front concerning fraternization, but not with the intensity or the direct involvement typical of the *Maple Leaf*. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* published a few wire service articles about the debate. On June 12, the *Globe* published an AP article by Henry de Luce entitled “Troops in Germany Defy Rule

⁴⁷ Ibid.

on Fraternization". De Luce noted that fraternization was increasing despite the ban and all the orders given to the troops:

It ranges from open comradeship in the villages to bootlegged friendships in the towns. It's a case of boy meets girl and the ranks of allied armies are in favour of it, regardless of what the home fronts may think... this correspondent was unable to discover any difference of opinion among American, British and Canadian troops concerning fraternization. In each army zone I have found abundant violations of Supreme Headquarters policy of non-fraternization. I have yet to meet a soldier whether he comes from London, the Mississippi Valley or the Alberta wheatfields, who wants the ban continued.⁴⁸

De Luce found different admissions of culpability from officers and other ranks.

In one motor service depot, nationality not mentioned, an officer suggested the ban was being carried out, but hoped it would be relaxed, while a sergeant confidentially informed de Luce that each member of the unit had been entertained in German homes. An MG officer in Hanover, again, no nationality mentioned, noted to de Luce that if every infraction of the policy was charged, there would be more soldiers in the jails than outside. He noted, however, that some attempts were made to punish soldiers for violating the policy. He suggested that one possible British punishment for an infraction of the ban as three months in prison, while one American officer received a \$5,000 fine and a dishonourable discharge.⁴⁹

De Luce further found that a common question asked by Allied troops was how were they supposed to punish Germans when they themselves were living in "prison," as they referred to it. De Luce finished his article by noting the two questions foremost

⁴⁸ Henry de Luce, "Troops in Germany Defy Rule on Fraternization," *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 1945.

⁴⁹ Henry de Luce, "Troops in Germany Defy Rule on Fraternization," *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 1945.

on soldiers' minds, regardless of who they were. Not surprisingly, they were "When do we go home?" and "When can we fraternize—legally?"⁵⁰

De Luce's article is noteworthy because it lumps the Canadians in with the British and the Americans and suggests what can be gleaned from other sources: Canadian soldiers at that time felt the same way about fraternization as did their British and American cousins. What is more interesting is that despite what seems to have been increasingly harsher punishments, troops continued to defy the ban. This was becoming a severe disciplinary problem.

On 15 June, Major General Christopher Vokes, the Commander of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division, soon to be the Commanding Officer of the Canadian Army Occupation Force, distributed a personal message to all the COs under his command.⁵¹ This missive was to be read to all ranks on parade and it explained what kind of conduct Vokes expected of his men during the occupation of Germany. Some comments were obviously concerned with events that had already taken place, but some also concerned the future of the Canadians in Germany. Following the standard Allied line, Vokes explained that the occupation of Germany was being undertaken to "drive home" German defeat. Canada had expended much effort in fighting the war and as part of her newfound world stature, the nation was providing part of the occupation force for Germany. Vokes reminded the troops that they represented Canada and their nation would be judged on their conduct, which not only included their fighting proficiency, but

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ DHH, DND, 581.016(D1) HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div (CAOF), Major General Christopher Vokes, "Personal Message", 15 June 1945.

also their “soldierly deportment”. Vokes promised not to tolerate bad discipline, drunkenness or criminal activity. More importantly, despite the relaxation of the rules on fraternizing with children, Vokes’ admonishments to the troops were just as harsh as previous ones had been:

Most of you who have NOT been in Germany will soon discover that German children are just like any other children. They will cluster round you and ask for chocolate. You will find that German girls are as good looking as the girls of any other nation. They will try by every artifice known to woman to advertise, even flaunt, their charms. If you make friends with them we will have fought this war in vain, because they will win you round to their way of thinking. Regardless of what, they would like you to believe, every German has been tarred with the same brush. They all lack a sense of humour and they all believe in the superiority of the German race. Don’t be gullible fools. So long as the order against fraternization is in being, I will see that it is rigorously enforced.⁵²

Vokes did not mention that children were now allowed special treatment, but he gave the same old arguments about other Germans: women were all seductresses and all Germans were humourless and racist. In addition, Canadian and Allied troops were so weak and vulnerable that just having conversations with Germans would turn them into Nazi sympathizers.⁵³

Letters were published in support of the fraternization policy in the Army newspaper throughout June. E.W. Longley wrote on 16 June, “I feel that our policy towards Germany is very short sighted. I think that non-fraternization must be held rigidly in effect for at least one generation...” While this letter definitely advocated a strong and harsh measure, it was not the most virulent communiqué received at the *Maple Leaf*. A second letter in the same edition demanded that the Allies “get down to

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

business” and “Hurl back in the Huns’ teeth the empty boast that they will win the peace somehow, and look with disgust upon a people who upheld a filthy regime for so long.”⁵⁴

There were hints that soldiers in other Zones had easier times with fraternization than did the Canadians or the British. A war diary entry for 17 June of the No. 4 Canadian Reserve Field Security Section tells of Canadians visiting Bremen, an enclave set aside for U.S. control in the British zone, and watching the Americans fraternize to their hearts’ content.⁵⁵

In Oldenburg, soon to be under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Army Occupation Force, non-fraternization appeared to be having an unexpected benefit. The ban was beginning to “irk” segments of the German population, which was “only natural”. However, it appears that some refugees wanted to move *east* into the Soviet zone: “An obvious reason might be that the oldest profession in the world is not flourishing here.”⁵⁶

“J.O.P”, writing in the Army newspaper on 21 June, suggested that only members of the rear echelons and late reinforcements would want to allow fraternization. He commended them for their duties and immediately went into describing the deaths of his comrades throughout the conquest of Europe in very gruesome detail. He ended his letter with angry comment. “And I say, don’t give me the sweets for the Germans, issue me with a whip.” Beneath this letter, another, from “A Dutch Girl”, suggested that

⁵⁴ “To Frat or Not?,” *Maple Leaf*, 16 June 1945.

⁵⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 2304, No. 4 Canadian Reserve Field Security Section, “War Diary for June 45”.

⁵⁶ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 Det Military Government, “Weekly Report”, 18 June 45.

Germans only knew two sorts of people, those above and beneath them, who either gave or received shouted orders. She suggested that all Germans were like that archetype, not only Nazis. She recommended that people let the re-education authorities do their work and suggested that if people knew the Germans, they would understand that “non-fraternization is the right thing.”⁵⁷

On 23 June, a short piece in the *Maple Leaf* quoted an article in the American Army newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, which suggested that Venereal Disease (VD) rates had skyrocketed 300 percent among U.S. Army ground forces. In the six weeks after 29 April, 2,830 cases were reported from Germany alone, where the non-fraternization policy was supposedly in effect. VD in the entire European theatre had increased by 50 percent since V-E Day.⁵⁸

Number 4 Reserve Field Security Section noted at least one active measure to prevent fraternization. In Delmenhorst, on 25 June, the Army switched swimming pools with the civilian population, partly because it was “better and much closer to the center of town and also much easier to control for civilians trying to fraternize with the soldiers.” Unfortunately, the War Diary did not specify what features made civilian control easier or what made the pool a locus for fraternization, other than it being summer.⁵⁹

Perhaps as part of Macfarlane’s belief in presenting opposing views, a short piece on 26 June, entitled “Non-Frat Relaxation Needed, Say Generals,” from the

⁵⁷ “Non-Fraternization (June 21),” *Maple Leaf*, 21 June 1945.

⁵⁸ “300 Percent Boost in Venereal Disease,” *Maple Leaf*, 23 June 1945.

⁵⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12176, Serial 2304, No. 4 Reserve Field Security Section, “War Diary”, June 1945.

Associated Press (AP), appeared in the *Maple Leaf*. The article stated that three American Army Generals, Jacob L. Devers, Joseph C. MacFarlane and William H. Simpson, had all held a press conference in which they suggested that not only should the non-fraternization order be relaxed, but that arms should be removed from the occupation forces. The Germans “know we are their master now”, as Devers put it. There was no recorded response from MacFarlane at the time, understandably because it was unwise to question generals, even American ones, but soon other readers of the *Maple Leaf* raised concerns.⁶⁰

On 26 June, *New York Times* correspondent Drew Middleton also reported that some senior Allied generals were questioning the need for the fraternization ban. The article was also repeated in the *Globe and Mail*. While the generals were not listed by name, they were identified as American and British generals who advised that the ban be lifted. Middleton followed the same line that de Luce had suggested earlier in the month, noting that all officers the reporter spoke with desired the ban to be lifted. He also acknowledged the rising VD rate that needed to be addressed.

Middleton suggested that German girls waited along roads for Allied soldiers to come along and give them candy, chewing gum and cigarettes, which the soldiers referred to as “frat bait”. In cities, soldiers would meet openly with women and if an MP wandered by, the MP would ignore the fraternization order or the soldier would insist the woman was a Displaced Person and was therefore not limited by the ban. As a result, some commanding officers gave DPs buttons to wear, so that Allied troops could

⁶⁰ “Non-Frat Relaxation Needed, Say Generals,” *Maple Leaf*, 26 June 1945.

not make that excuse. In rural areas, as de Luce had suggested, the ban was flouted even more openly, with some officers suggesting that it was a “damn fool rule”.⁶¹ One soldier of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division had particularly strong invective against the ban,

What the hell’s the matter with those guys up top? We fight all the way across Europe and take a lot of losses and then when we can’t enjoy ourselves. Do they think because we ‘shack up’ with some Kraut that we’re going to become Nazis? If you obey that rule you can’t even pass the time of day with some gal if she come walking along while you’re on post.⁶²

Middleton also revealed a striking, and most surprising, note of discord in the Allied High Command. He recorded that 12th Army Group commander General Omar N. Bradley suggested to Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight D. Eisenhower at a luncheon that he felt the ban was not going to work and asked his superior what could be done to get it relaxed. Surprisingly, General Eisenhower suggested that considering Nazi crimes as reported in U.S. and British newspapers, it was not yet time to relax the ban. It is unclear whether the Supreme Allied Commander meant that because of feelings on the home front or because of the crimes themselves that the ban should not have been relaxed. Eisenhower himself had already relaxed the ban on children.

Unlike de Luce’s article, which made little distinction between soldiers of the Western Allies, Middleton suggested that British soldiers did not fraternize as much with German civilians because of national memories of German bombing of British cities in

⁶¹ Drew Middleton, “Non-Fraternization Rule Hurts Discipline; Officers Would End It,” *The Globe and Mail*, 26 June 1945.

Middleton, “Officers Oppose Fraternizing Ban”, *New York Times*, 25 June 1945, 2.

⁶² Drew Middleton, “Non-Fraternization Rule Hurts Discipline; Officers Would End It,” *The Globe and Mail*, 26 June 1945.

the Blitz of 1940 and the V-bombings of 1944. Such memories elicited a comment from a British soldier that “I’d sooner sleep with a snake.”⁶³

Middleton quoted the same VD statistics that the *Maple Leaf* article mentioned on 23 June. Unlike the Army newspaper, he suggested the reason why the rate had skyrocketed was that fraternization had been banned, so troops were afraid to ask for prophylactics. Finally, he ended the article with comments from an anonymous general officer who suggested that the ban was based on a “strategy of fear”, that the ban could not be effectively enforced and that the Germans would never learn “the superiority” of Allied life if troops were not allowed to mingle with them.⁶⁴

On 28 June, in the *Maple Leaf*, “An Irish Immigrant” identified himself as someone who had served in the Royal Irish Rifles with the occupying army after the First World War. He suggested that Germans in the interwar period wanted “another go” at the British Empire and Hitler had the full support of the German population in starting the war. Thus, “The only good German is a dead one. They can’t be trusted, so why fraternize with them? I am definitely against fraternizing with people who would destroy instead of building.”⁶⁵

The Oldenburg MG detachment reported the discovery of an anti-fraternization pamphlet on 1 July that denounced the Allied occupation. The author claimed that Allied soldiers feasted like kings while Germans starved. Surprisingly, as the translation shows, this pamphlet did *not* urge resistance against the occupation:

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ “Non-Fraternization (June 28),” *Maple Leaf*, 28 June 1945.

The reality!

Deprivation of nearly all personal liberty

Theft and plundering in occupied houses

...

Hunt upon German girls

(Girls keep your honour)

Contempt of all Germans

Think of it: They who during years trembled before us, we can only despise them! Alone they could not get the victory! [sic]

No senseless "Wehrwolf"-actions!

But icy disdain against the oppressors!

The German concentration-camps have been a shame for all who had knowledge about it. The English concentration-camps during the "Boer"-war were just the same.

With Russia for a free Germany!⁶⁶

The pamphlet is fascinating because of the way it is different from the Allies' assumptions about German resistance. The Allies are not to be resisted by force, but through "icy disdain". As with other anti-fraternization propaganda, the author reminds German girls to maintain their "honour" and not fraternize. The pamphlet acknowledges Nazi crimes like the concentration camps, but does not forget to remind Germans of British camps in the Boer (South African) War. The pamphlet blames the Allies entirely for looting, starvation and rape, with no mention of the DP crimes that were the constant complaint of German civilians and Allied soldiers at the time. This does not make sense until the last line: "With Russia for a free Germany!" This appears to be *Soviet* or at least domestic German Communist propaganda, hence the blame being shifted entirely to the Western Allies instead of the DPs as well as the occupation forces.

By the end of June, there were few soldiers' letters that mentioned fraternization. According to the censorship report for the period, most letter-writers

⁶⁶ NA UK, WO 171/8084, Military Government Det. 821 Oldenburg, "Public Safety", 1 July 45.

spoke against fraternization, but the four appended excerpts did not all take that position. The CAOF had not yet been set up in Lower Saxony and the only letters mentioning fraternization were from two units, the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry (RHLI) and the Royal Highlanders of Canada (RHC, or the Black Watch). Two comments about the relaxation of the ban on relations with children have already been discussed. One soldier hoped the ban would not be lifted because “there would be a lot of good guys getting tied up with wrong people and these German girls are no good even if they are pretty.” Another soldier refused to fraternize because of the stiff penalties and the fear that doing so would delay his return to Canada. He noted with sour disapproval how flirtatious German women made it very hard and that firm discipline and punishment was the only way to prevent soldiers from fraternizing.⁶⁷

Members of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders were posted to Canadian Berlin Battalion in early July. According to the unit history, while German civilians ignored the soldiers on their way to Berlin, the civilians in the defeated and divided Nazi capital were more than eager to fraternize. They wanted the Canadians to stay in Berlin because of their fear of the Russians and the atrocities they had committed. German children, like all the others the Argylls had met, were attracted by curiosity to the pipers, in particular their instruments and their kilts. Candy and food was distributed to the children, but no one else, since the fraternization ban still remained in force with regard to adults. Initially, non-fraternization was easy for the Argylls because of the history of the war, “but as it became apparent, all [Germans] were neither Nazi nor sympathetic

⁶⁷ RG 24, C-2, vol. 12322, File 4/Censor Reps/2/3, T-17925, Canadian Army Overseas – 21 Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 16-30 Jun 45”, 30 June 1945, 7.

toward the war but rather victims, suffering now the agonies of lost homes, families and country, and the loss of almost all hope." The Argylls, for their part, "felt the desire to talk to these people and in the Canadian way, now that the war was over, and the enemy hordes destroyed or put away, at least to be civil if not cordial..." However, the Canadians did have a reason in fraternizing, since:

[C]ameras, radios and watches of quality for which the German makers had world-wide reputation were offered for such a few Canadian cigarettes. A German man or woman would give almost anything then for a cigarette, and to the young soldier's eyes, moreover, the young blond women were attractive, often beautiful.⁶⁸

The *Globe and Mail* published an opinion piece on 3 July by influential American journalist Dorothy Thompson which questioned explicitly the *lack* of fraternization with the Germans. A well-known anti-Nazi, and a critic of the fraternization ban, Thompson asked what the United Nations had been fighting for, a set of ideals so beautifully explained in its charter at San Francisco, if soldiers were not able to meet their enemies and see their common humanity? Thompson was not only concerned with fraternization with Germans, but between the Allies themselves. However, she made an excellent point that was being proven every day in occupied Germany: like the attraction of forbidden fruit, soldiers would not be able to stay away from the Germans, and it would take an organization more powerful than the Nazi Gestapo to keep them from doing so. Indeed, this was a point that had already been made by Allied officers in Germany.⁶⁹

Surprisingly, the *Maple Leaf* was charged by its readers as not being supportive *enough* of the non-fraternization policy. A letter signed by Captain S. G. West and "Nine

⁶⁸ *The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's), 1928-1953*, 230.

⁶⁹ Dorothy Thompson, "On the Record: Fraternization with Our Allies," *Globe and Mail*, 3 July 1945.

Others” and published on 4 July took the *Maple Leaf* and three unnamed American generals, presumably the ones named in the 26 June article, to task for sabotaging the non-fraternization policy. The editor, Macfarlane, suggested, in a response to the letter, that the paper had “never taken a stronger stand in its editorial policy than the one it adopted regarding non-fraternization.”⁷⁰ Macfarlane agreed that the newspaper sometimes used humour and objectivity in its reporting, but quoted at length the June 11 editorial to prove his support. The impression one gets is that the protestors had not read Macfarlane’s angry editorials closely enough, or that Macfarlane was viewed as being *too* objective because he simply published opposing viewpoints.

The *Globe and Mail* published rumours about the fraternization ban relaxation one day before the *Maple Leaf*. On 9 July, the *Globe* published an AP wire report from Germany that suggested the troops believed the fraternization would be ending soon. Soldiers believed this despite the concerns of medical authorities who felt that it was necessary for the ban to remain in place for the moment, although eventually it had to be ended. There were the obvious fears of the VD increase that had occurred, but the doctors felt that troops had to be prepared for when the ban would be lifted so they could have normal relations with the Germans. Of course, this was despite the fact that “normal” relations were already beginning to happen, whether the authorities wanted it or not. The AP dispatch noted an earlier Reuters dispatch which had suggested that the British 21st Army Group, and hence the Canadians, were preparing to lift the ban.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Maj. J. D. Macfarlane, “Editorial Response, Non-Frat Letter to the Editor,” *Maple Leaf*, July 4 1945.

⁷¹ “Fraternization Ban May End Soon Troops Believe,” *Globe and Mail*, 9 July 1945.

The AP report notes in general terms the actions of German girls that were quite provocative. For example, the report noted the tendencies of German girls to lie around on diving boards so that soldiers wanting to use pools had to step over the women in their bathing suits. Also, perhaps even more provocatively, the report suggested that women deliberately tried to sabotage the ban by dressing in nothing but “atmosphere” and undressing right in front of the troops. Treated to free stripteases, soldiers would have been sorely tempted to break the ban if they were ruled by their hormones, as the Allied high command feared. Unfortunately, these examples are only given in the most general of terms, but they certainly fit the seduction part of the slogans mentioned earlier, if perhaps not politically motivated.⁷²

The British government had finally recognized the problems with the ban and decided to give Field Marshal Montgomery some leeway in dealing with the situation. The Secretary of State for War, P.J. Grigg, cabled Monty to tell him that the cabinet gave him permission to relax the ban in the British Zone, providing that it was done gradually. The relaxation did not explicitly encourage fraternization. Montgomery was encouraged to consult with General Eisenhower in order to have uniformity between the two allies.⁷³

A week after the 4 July letter of protest, in preparation for the Potsdam Conference between the Allies (July 17 to August 2), Macfarlane published an editorial (10 July) entitled “Uniformity”. His rhetoric was much more subdued in tone, but his point still comes across clearly. He notes the “lack of uniformity” in Allied control of

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ NA UK, PREM 3/194/6, Secretary of State P.J. Grigg, “Telegram”, 9 July 1945.

Germany, in particularly the Russian decision, or lack thereof, concerning fraternization. While Western Allied soldiers could not talk to the Germans, the Russians did, despite an ostensible non-fraternization policy in that zone as well. Macfarlane suggested that the situation, as it was at the time, would cause “conflict from confusion”. He also noted that, while the Russians had re-established the KPD (German Communist Party) in their Sector, the British, Americans and French had not allowed a new KPD in their Sectors. Macfarlane pleaded that “Uniform control of Germany is a must for the Big Three meeting.” No doubt he was thinking of the fraternization rules as well.⁷⁴

Two other articles in the same issue hinted that, at least for the Canadians, the fraternization issue was perhaps coming to a head. On the front page of the 10 July edition, “Frat Relaxation In British Area Termed Likely” suggested that fraternization rules were going to be relaxed for soldiers in 21 Army Group, but such a decision was still being discussed.⁷⁵ Also, a Canadian Press article announced “Third Div Takes Over Occupation Role in Germany”. The Canadian Army Occupation Force (CAOF) had been established formally on 9 July under the command of General Christopher Vokes who was under the purview of 30 British Corps and thus, 21 Army Group. The article notes that only 30% were volunteers, while the other 70% were those who did not have enough points for repatriation back to Canada or were other essential personnel. This force would form the bulk of Canadian forces in Germany until their removal in just under a year. The fraternization policy, as it unravelled, was important to these Canadians.

⁷⁴ Maj. J. D. Macfarlane, “Uniformity,” *Maple Leaf*, 10 July 1945.

⁷⁵ “Frat Relaxation in British Area Termed Likely,” *Maple Leaf*, 10 July 1945.

On 11 July, the *Maple Leaf* published a short article entitled “Increased V.D. Rate Evident in Germany”, this time with information on British rates. Referring to rumours that the non-fraternization rules might be relaxed, the article noted that there had been 40 courts-martial dealing with fraternization and “soaring VD figures.” VD rates in Germany were purportedly twice what they were for British soldiers in France, Belgium and Holland. No mention of the Canadian troops as a group was made. The rise had led to an increase in free contraceptives given to the troops. The article noted that despite courts-martial for infractions of the ban, fraternization still occurred and was on the rise.⁷⁶

A *Toronto Star* editorial on 13 July also looked ahead to the Potsdam conference, and the issues that were going to be discussed, including the fraternization ban. The *Star*, true to its left leanings and avowed desire for social justice, took issue with the fraternization ban:

To many Canadians the Anglo-American ban on fraternization has seemed absurd not only because it is unlikely to work out successfully in practice, but because there are undoubtedly people in Germany who are anti-Nazi and have been persecuted by the Nazis, and because no nation can be re-educated by non-fraternization.⁷⁷

The *Star* editorial admitted that re-educating the Germans would not be easy. Some would never be redeemed from Nazism, but others could be saved. It asserted that the decent Germans had limited Nazi crimes, though one could make the argument that they had not done a very good job. These Germans needed to be utilized in making a new Germany. “Germany cannot be regenerated entirely from without. There must be

⁷⁶ “Increased V.D. Rate Evident in Germany,” *Maple Leaf*, 11 July 1945.

⁷⁷ “The Non-Fraternization Order,” *Toronto Star*, 13 July 1945.

cooperation from within. Non-fraternization does not encourage it.”⁷⁸ This comment alone shows the absurdity of the non-fraternization policy. How could Germany be reborn into a model of liberal democracy without the help and support of the Germans themselves? Of course, it was this “other cheek business” that had so enraged Macfarlane.

The editorial turned to other Allied attempts at fraternization. It noted the Soviet method, which was to tell the Germans that the Allies had wanted to defeat Germany as a nation, not as a people. A *Star* correspondent had observed that the Russians were intent on letting the Germans run their own country. Unfortunately, this “better plan” of the Soviets was phony. The *Star’s* editorial preceded the installation of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and the creation of the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR), but Soviet soldiers had not yet been brought under control, and their depredations against German women were continuing, as described by Beevor and Merridale. The *Star* seems to have focused only on the propaganda of the Soviets and not the reality. Soldiers on the ground also believed that the Soviets were having an easier time with non-fraternization because they saw it on trips into the Soviet Zone.⁷⁹

The perhaps aptly named Captain R.N. Bligh of 2 Canadian Field Security/Counter Intelligence Section of the CAOF republished two orders to Canadian troops in Oldenburg on 13 July as warnings against certain activities. One warning admonished troops for selling cigarettes and other goods to civilians. The goods had been gifts from back home, were part of Army issue, or were purchased from Auxiliary Services or

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ DHH, 033.(D3) Censorship Reports, 21 Army Group, “Censorship for period 1-15 Jun 45”, 7.

NAAFI/EFI. Not only was this a black market, but it also contravened all rules for dealing with civilians. Any civilians working for the Army and found to be trading or selling such goods were liable for instant dismissal. This was a particularly salient threat since civilians working for the military were given steady jobs with regular wages and the threat of a loss of those jobs might have been enough to prevent further trading.⁸⁰

A second republished order warned troops that, three days before sailing home, they would be examined for VD. Anyone found to have contracted VD would not be permitted to leave for Canada until he was cured. This is another implicit acknowledgement that soldiers had been engaged in forbidden fraternization. Soldiers could have gotten VD from DPs, and medical officers would make this assertion in the summer of 1945.⁸¹

“Soldiers in Berlin Ignore Non-Frat Policy But They Can’t Hold Hands”—an article published in the *Maple Leaf* on 14 July only gave credence to Macfarlane’s comments of four days earlier. British and American soldiers and, presumably, the limited number of Canadians with the British, were found “copying the internationally friendly ways” of the Soviets in Berlin. British and American troops joined Soviet soldiers in cabarets and Military Police (MP) argued that they could not suggest that what was allowed and okay for Soviet soldiers was not okay for their own boys. MPs and other Police were not raiding German homes to enforce the ban. If Germans invited Allied soldiers to their homes, as the article suggested, the MPs would not stop them. “And you can stroll along

⁸⁰ LAC, RG 24, Series C-3, Vol. 16390, File No. 543, FS CAO. 2 CDN FS/CI Section (COF), “Part I Orders”, 13 Jul. 45.

⁸¹ LAC, RG 24, Series C-3, Vol. 16390, FS CAO, File No. 543, 2 CDN FS/CI Section (COF), “Part I Orders”, 13 Jul. 45.

residential streets with a fraulein if you do not hold hands.” The article ends with the heavily loaded statement, “Generals may say that nothing has been changed in the rule book since they moved in more than 30,000 Anglo-American troops. But that is just a polite way of avoiding possible home-front criticism.” In essence, as the article suggests, and despite the Allied High Command’s hopes and efforts, the soldiers had created their own policy, regardless of consequences, which were becoming nil.⁸²

Finally, on the same day, the Allied High Command bowed to the inevitable and relaxed the fraternization rules. Joint statements from General Eisenhower and Field Marshal Montgomery announced the change. The letter to the troops in the British zone is humorous because of the way in which it glossed over the realities taking place on the streets of occupied Germany. Montgomery applauded the apparent success of the denazification process, the willingness of the German population to obey Allied orders and the loyalty of the troops in carrying out the non-fraternization policy, while noting the strain it caused them. While the population, in general, was found to be docile, other historians have questioned the success of the denazification policy and the “loyalty” of the troops to the non-fraternization policy is not a comment based on reality. If the troops had been completely loyal to the policy, the Allies would likely have kept it in force for much longer, if only for ideological reasons. Before even mentioning the changes to the non-fraternization policy, Montgomery mentioned denazification

⁸² “Soldiers in Berlin Ignore Non-Frat Policy but They Can't Hold Hands,” *Maple Leaf*, 14 July 1945.

first, perhaps to have something tangible to congratulate the troops about, later revisionist history notwithstanding.⁸³

Montgomery likened the relaxation to the previous allowance of talking to children; this was the next logical step. The troops were now allowed to converse with civilians in the streets and in other public places. Bans against entering German homes and Germans entering Allied billets remained. In the instructions accompanying the order, officers were told that “public place” was to be interpreted liberally. The example given was that it was all right for soldiers to talk to Germans in cafés. Offences against the ban committed before 14 July would not be condoned by the relaxation, but “those which have been the subject of Court Martial proceedings will be reviewed at this HQ with a view to levelling up the sentences imposed.”⁸⁴

Relaxation of the ban made front page, “above the fold” headline news in the *Maple Leaf* on 16 July. Under a typically folksy sub-headline, “Allies Relax Fraternization Rules,” the paper noted, “You Can Talk to ‘Em Chum, If You Wish—but No Entry Sign Still on German Homes”.⁸⁵ The article was based on the personal letter to the troops from “Monty”.

What is also revealing about the 16 July article is the revelation that, as soon as the relaxation in policy was announced, troops were found to be chatting with German women. One soldier sounded relieved as he told the newspaper that he was glad he could speak to German women without offending people at home and tell German men

⁸³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), “Copy of letter No. 3 by the Commander-in-Chief on Fraternization”, 14 July 1945.

⁸⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), 21 Army Group, “Non-Fraternization”, 14 July 45.

⁸⁵ “Allies Relax Fraternization Rules: You Can Talk to ‘Em Chum, If You Wish-but No Entry Sign Still on German Homes,” *Maple Leaf*, 16 July 1945.

what he thought about the atrocities at places like the Bergen Belsen concentration camp. Despite the soldiers' joy at being able to talk to Germans, the article also noted a French correspondent's report that "This is the first victory for the Germans."⁸⁶

An Oldenburg No. 2 Area Security Office Situation Report from the same date indicates that soldiers were already taking advantage of the lifting of the ban to engage pretty German women legally. The report cautioned that, despite the ban being lifted, soldiers were taking it to mean that the curfew (22:00-04:45) had also been extended. "...As long as a sun-kissed Fraulein was in the green fields under their protective custody she was exempt from 'curfew'."⁸⁷ The War Diarist for the No. 4 Canadian Field Security Section noted that "The non-fraternization order has been relaxed to the extend [sic] where one can accompany Fraulein Muller up to her doorsteps but must not accept her invitation to come in the house (and meet her folks)."⁸⁸

A 15 July article in the *Globe*, again from the *New York Times*, offers some interesting contradictions. Again using the "holding hands" image, the article was entitled: "Troops Hold Hands as Fraternalization Allowed".⁸⁹ Again, the article implies that soldiers reacted immediately and openly to the relaxation. However, it also suggests that more Germans only fraternized among themselves and so did a lot of Allied soldiers. Not everyone was ready to accept the ban, willing to immediately "jump into the sack" with German women, or at least that is the implication from the article. The article also suggested that women were not trying to beguile or seduce the soldiers

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4074, No. 2 Canadian Area Security Office, "Weekly Sitrep No. 3", 16 Jul. 45.

⁸⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16392, Serial 544, No. 4 Canadian Field Security Section, "War Diary", July 1945.

⁸⁹ "Troops Hold Hands as Fraternalization Allowed", *New York Times*, 15 July 1945.

“ideologically or otherwise”, and that they were the same type of women who made similar casual friendships with foreign soldiers in France or Britain. Perhaps that is hinting at feminine immorality, but unlike the article about the naked women, it says nothing else about that “sort” of women other than the fact that they willingly fraternized casually with soldiers.

Artilleryman John Raycroft, now with the occupation force in Germany, remembered the day the ban was lifted. That day he was assigned to guard the Royal Canadian Artillery’s castle headquarters. Raycroft noted that despite the lifting of the ban, it had been ignored since the third week after the ceasefire. According to Raycroft, soldiers had been conversing with German men freely since the ban’s main concern had been relations with women. He noted rumours that the Americans had kept their ban in place for a much longer period and had executed soldiers for disobeying the ban. He may possibly have been referring to executions for rape. In any case, Raycroft asserted that Canadians had few women their age to fraternize with since families “kept their daughters well chaperoned.” After Raycroft’s stint as a castle guard, his detail was “bursting with optimism of a more carnal texture” when it went on leave in Oldenburg.⁹⁰

The 821 Military Government Detachment in Oldenburg reported on 15 July that a brisk black market trade was taking place between soldiers and civilians. The report described troops bartering cigarettes, chocolate and food in exchange for fresh eggs and

⁹⁰ Raycroft, *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*, 299.

vegetables as well as wine. It was not mentioned whether the activity had been taking place before or after the ban had been lifted.⁹¹

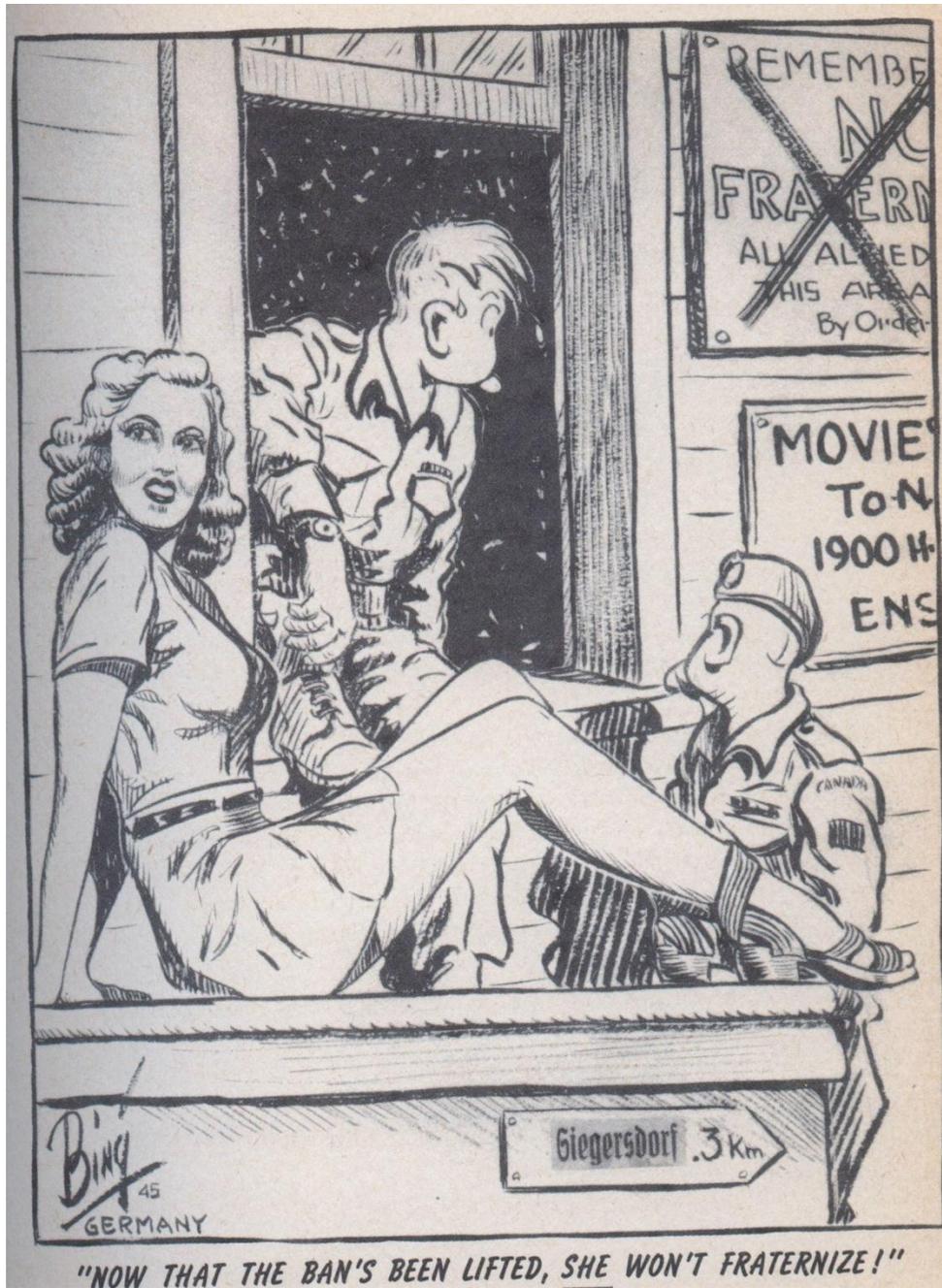
In late September 1945, the Allied Control Council announced a uniform policy concerning fraternization with the Germans. All previous orders about non-fraternization were abolished. The only two restrictions that remained were that no troops were to be billeted with German families and members of the armed forces would not be allowed to marry Germans. The order exhorted troops to “conduct themselves with dignity” and use “common sense” with the Germans, because of their former status as enemies.⁹²

“Bing” Coughlin could not help but draw a cartoon about the changed atmosphere [Fig. 4] A beautiful woman, looking very much like a 1940s movie star, is lounging in front of Herbie and another soldier. They are all beneath a sign which reminds the soldiers not to fraternize, but has been crossed out. Instead, an Entertainment National Service Association (ENSA) movie announcement is beneath it. Herbie turns to his comrade and says: “Now that the ban’s been lifted, she won’t fraternize!” The implication is that the German women were simply being mischievous in trying to attract Canadians and other Allies, but now that they were allowed to associate, fraternization had lost its lustre.⁹³

⁹¹ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 LR Detachment Military Government, “Oldenburg Interim Report”, 15 July 45.

⁹² LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16387, No. 2652, HQ Canadian Counter-intelligence, Sept. 1945.

⁹³ Coughlin, *Herbie*, 152.

Fig. 4⁹⁴

For Canadian soldiers, the fraternization ban lasted from February 1945 to July 1945. As Earl Ziemke suggests, "Fittingly, the non-fraternization ban did not end, it

⁹⁴ Ibid., 152.

disintegrated.”⁹⁵ Some Allied leaders, like Eisenhower, did not believe the fraternization ban could ever work. As a result, when provided with evidence that soldiers were not following the ban, rather than ramping up efforts to enforce it, the ban was relaxed and later almost entirely lifted. The assumption on the part of the military leaders was that British, American and Canadian troops were, on the whole, a “friendly lot.”⁹⁶ The ban went against their natural inclinations to feel for and aid the people with whom they were in contact. Not all soldiers fraternized, but enough did to make the policy hollow and ineffective. It was *despite* the radio announcements and rhetoric-filled editorials that Canadian soldiers, by choice, decided to risk official disapproval and even punishment, and so they smiled, talked and even engaged in sexual relations with German civilians. The ban failed, at least for Canadians, for a variety of reasons. With the war over, soldiers were looking for recreation, and did not understand why they could not talk to the women directly in front of them. Many had not been in intimate contact with a woman for almost half a year. The Germans did not brandish knives or grenades and many Canadians did not see them as a threat. While some soldiers refused to associate with Germans on principle, others did not understand the principle behind the ban since it would only continue to strain relations between the occupiers and the defeated Germans. With the war in Europe over, soldiers did not understand the need for wartime restrictions like the fraternization ban.

⁹⁵ Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 325.

⁹⁶ University of Victoria, Special Collections, Reginald H. Roy Military Oral History Project, Alfred James Tedlie, Maj.-Gen, "Interview," ed. Chris D. Main.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
RAPE

“Few cases of fraternization have been reported, and very few cases have been prosecuted. There have been more cases of rape than fraternization.” “Weekly Report No. 26” 15 May 45, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Canadian Army¹

“It is a well known fact that the Cdn soldier is instinctively friendly and the publication of an order, with its incidental sanctions, cannot be expected to change his nature overnight.” Statement submitted in Mitigation of Fraternization charge, Field General Court Martial²

Sexual violence on the part of soldiers has a long history. This chapter is going to examine in detail several cases of rape committed by Canadian soldiers at the end of the war and in the immediate postwar period. The cases discussed here occurred in Germany, predominantly in and around the city and *Land* of Oldenburg, in what would become the state of Lower Saxony. The cases in this chapter follow patterns found by other historians of rape. These rapes were committed as part of a victory ritual by soldiers to humiliate their enemies. The soldiers responsible were unaware of any political or other motives in committing these crimes. The Army prosecuted these crimes as it became aware of them, but soldiers were given limited sentences for reasons that are unclear. Since most cases happened during the fraternization ban, soldiers who might have been acquitted of rape charges were instead convicted of fraternization.

The last few months of the war in Europe signalled the start of a major wave of violent crime, particularly rape. As Norman Naimark, Catherine Merridale and Anthony

¹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Vol. 16632, Military Gov Branch, Main HQ First Cdn Army, “Weekly Report No. 26” 15 May 1945, p. 4.

² LAC, RG 24, T-15804, 5P-143, “Field General Court-Martial, F., Thomas”, June 1945.

Beevor, among others, have examined in separate histories, the Soviet invasion of eastern Germany resulted in thousands, if not millions, of rapes.³ However, as Perry Biddiscombe notes in his article on anti-fraternization in the American Zones of Germany and Austria, "Even in Western Germany, however, there was a considerable spate of raping by French and American forces, particularly during April and May 1945."⁴ This "spate" included 500 cases being reported per week in the American Zone in April 1945. However, J. Robert Lilly, in his study of American rapes in Europe, notes 552 rapes reported in Germany altogether. Lilly only takes into account cases reported to the American Judge Advocate General and uses sociological methods to theorize how many rapes there actually were. He suggests that convictions represent only five percent of cases that actually occurred, suggesting that the actual number of rapes may have been *20 times* larger or roughly 11,040. Of the 552 rapes with 484 victims, Lilly notes over all, there were only 284 American soldiers convicted in 187 cases between January 1 and September 23, 1945, of these, only 12 were committed between June and September. He further explains that of the 187 cases, 68 had 159 rapists. Lilly refers to these cases as "buddy rapes". There were more such cases in Germany than in other countries where American soldiers had raped local women.⁵

One postwar commentator noted that "[t]he difference is that the American and the British ask the girls to dinner and then go to bed with them, while the Russians do it

³ The common estimate for the number of women raped during the next 10 years of Soviet occupation of eastern Germany is two *million*.

⁴ Biddiscombe, "Dangerous Liaisons: The Anti-Fraternization Movement in the U.S. Occupation Zones of Germany and Austria, 1945-1948," 614, 35 (footnote 27).

⁵ Lilly, *Taken by Force : Rape and American GIs in Europe During World War II*, 12, 117, 27-29.

the other way around.”⁶ Sean Longden would agree with this assessment. Only looking at 21 Army Group, he suggested the rapes by British and Canadian soldiers were not that numerous because as in other countries that were liberated, German women would have sex for money or cigarettes, regardless of the fraternization ban. If Allied soldiers could pay for sex, there was no reason to obtain it by force. The fact that the American numbers peter out after June 1 supports this view. The Canadian numbers could be explained similarly.⁷

Only 52 cases of rape allegedly committed by Canadians in Germany were brought to trial in 1945. A total of 49 soldiers were charged with rape in the spring and early summer of that year before the fraternization ban was lifted. Three more cases were found between 1 August and 25 November 1945. Twenty-four transcripts have been found to shed additional information on the cases. Other cases are recorded in the military records, but the relevant transcripts were not located. Also, some of the transcripts that have been found are practically illegible because they were photographed onto microfilm from badly mimeographed pages. Additional records have been located for soldiers charged with only fraternization, indecent assault, burglary and aggravated robbery. Before an investigation of the facts and figures of the rapes is related, the nature of the charges needs to be examined.

While Sean Longden notes that three rapes occurred in the town of Neustadt on 16 April 1945, the height of the Canadian rape crime wave appears to have been the

⁶ Anne-Marie Durand Weaver, quoted in Robert G. Moeller, *West Germany under Construction : Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 48.

⁷ Longden, *To the Victor the Spoils : Soldiers' Lives from D-Day to Ve-Day*, 93.

first 10 days of May when 25 German women were raped by Canadian soldiers. What makes these dates more startling is that this is the period of the announcement of a ceasefire and the formal observation of V-E Day on 8 May. It leads one to suspect whether such violent acts were celebratory in nature. Germans were the enemy and soldiers might have been acting out their conquest in a more personal manner than simple territorial occupation. One wonders that since the fraternization ban prevented ordinary sexual relations between civilians and soldiers, perhaps this made rape more likely. In the court-martial transcripts, little attention is given to motive or why soldiers would commit such violent illegal acts. With so much concern that soldiers would fraternize with German women, either by being seduced or by enticing women without force, it is surprising there was no correlation made between the fraternization ban and the large number of rapes in Germany.

A definite pattern can be reconstituted from several of these cases. Generally, soldiers would arrive at a civilian home, usually in the evening, and demand alcoholic beverages. Those present, men and women, might be convinced to drink with the soldiers. Sometimes only the women were pressured to drink. Either through force, or the threat of force, generally with weapons brandished, soldiers would take women into another room and begin raping them. If anyone protested, including the alleged rape victim, they would be either threatened with a gun or sometimes struck with a weapon. Either during the rape or immediately after, a family member would generally leave the home and attempt to contact the Military Police. In some cases, the offending soldiers would be caught *in flagrante delicto* with the women. In other cases, the soldiers would

be arrested afterwards based on the identification of the German civilians. Sometimes it took a week or two before the civilians were able to bring the matter to the attention of the military authorities. In many cases, soldiers were acquitted of the rape charge and convicted of fraternization.

This pattern can be seen, if not entirely explained, by histories of rape. The first book written to deal specifically with the topic was Susan Brownmiller's groundbreaking *Against Our Will*. Brownmiller posited that rape, the ultimate test of manhood and male strength, is meant to keep women in a continual state of fear. This was no less true during war, except that it is the victors who rape women in wartime. Rape is a means for conquering soldiers to humiliate their enemy by debasing the women they are ostensibly protecting by fighting. According to Brownmiller, and Claudia Card, martial rape is a means of "domestication".⁸ Brownmiller suggested the purpose is to dominate women and to ensure their obedience to the conquerors. By raping the women, the victors are proving that the defeated soldiers are unable to protect their women, which emasculates them. Despite the fact that rape is common in all wars, the soldier-rapists have no concept that this is what they are doing. They have no conscious political motivation in raping defeated women.⁹ Claudia Card suggests that domestication is a means of terrorizing the locals, or an attempt to "tame" women for "service" to the rapists. Also, rape may serve as a means to expel or disperse civilians from an area that is being conquered. Other theorists have posited different reasons for

⁸ Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will : Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Bantam Books, 1975).
Claudia Card, "Rape as a Weapon of War," *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (1996).

⁹ Christoph Schiessl, "An Element of Genocide: Rape, Total War, and International Law in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Genocide Research* 4, no. 2 (2002): 198-99.

rapes including cultural genocide and race defilement, but they do not seem a factor in Canadian rapes in Germany. Building on Brownmiller's idea of domestication, the pattern followed by the Canadians in Germany seems to fit Card's concept of domestication for service, not expulsion or dispersal. Many soldiers stated they were looking for alcohol before the rapes. This perhaps suggests the soldiers were looking for amusement or wanted to escape the war, unknowingly following the same pattern as in other wars.

The pattern of German rape cases was quickly discernible. In the typical case, one or more armed soldiers entered a German house, either by force or by stratagem (such as a pretense of searching for German soldiers), and engaged in sexual intercourse with one or more of the female occupants. Sometimes the act was accomplished through the application of direct force, at other times by submission resulting from the occupants' fear for their lives.¹⁰

This is not a Canadian source, but an American Judge Advocate General report quoted by Madeline Morris. The sole element different from the pattern of cases researched in this study is that Canadian soldiers searched for alcohol, sometimes without pretext, before raping German civilians. Lilly found in his study that only 6% of American soldiers admitted being intoxicated when they raped German women, but alcohol was involved in 31% of the other rapes and another 6% of soldiers raped after drinking in a pub or a café. Lilly argued that for 58% of the cases he found, it was unknown whether alcohol was a factor or it was no factor at all. This is a big difference from the Canadian cases.¹¹

¹⁰ Madeline Morris, "By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture," *Duke Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (1996): 670.

¹¹ Lilly, *Taken by Force : Rape and American GIs in Europe During World War II*, 133-35.

A moment should be taken to explain the nature of Canadian military law. Since the Canadian Army was modelled after the British Army, military rules and offences were based on those used by the British. When in Canada, Canadian soldiers were subject to Canadian criminal law if they committed crimes against the public. However, the Army used *British* criminal law for offences that were committed outside of Canada, despite the fact there was a Canadian Criminal Code. If they were in Britain, Canadians would be charged by British courts-martial, though legally Canadian courts could also try the cases. Even outside of Britain, but away from home, Canadians committing offences against foreign civilians would be charged with British common law offences under Section 41 of the Army Act.¹²

From a legal standpoint, there were two problems in prosecuting these rapes as an offence. First, in general, if the rape itself was not witnessed by a credible third party, and there was no acceptable forensic evidence, it was unlikely that the charge could be proven. If there were other witnesses, the Canadian courts would be more willing to accept their testimony and convict the soldiers of rape. Second, if a woman's conduct before the rape could be considered "loose" or immoral, her story or that of her family might be doubted by the court. As a result, many of the soldiers charged with rape were acquitted of that charge, but that did not mean the courts let them off altogether.

By just being in the German homes and asking for food or alcohol, Allied soldiers were violating the fraternization ban. Indeed, "fraternization" as a concept became

¹² Madsen, *Another Kind of Justice : Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia*, 82. R. Arthur McDonald and Canada. Office of the Judge Advocate General., *Canada's Military Lawyers* (Ottawa: Office of the Judge Advocate General, 2002), 51-53.

something else entirely when soldiers began to be charged with it in April, May and June of 1945. In several of the policy documents regarding the ban, Allied officials had suggested that intercourse was perhaps the worst offence against the fraternization ban.¹³ Most reports of fraternization are anecdotal and are not found in military records. However, some Canadians were charged and convicted of fraternization in Germany, resulting in jail sentences. Civilians did not report fraternization, but they did report the rapes. They assumed, as in any society where law and order was present that the government, even an enemy one, would deal with a problem of violence. Law and order, of any kind, was better than anarchy. This action of reporting the crime to a new and untested enemy authority, is significant. Despite the fact that Canadians were hurting German civilians, the civilians looked first to the Canadians for redress, before the war was even over.

Since rape could not always be proven, some Canadian soldiers who had been charged and were going to be acquitted of rape were instead found guilty of offences against military discipline (i.e.: violating the fraternization ban) in the same courts-martial. Instead of the \$65 fine for minor offences, soldiers could be sentenced to jail terms with hard labour for several months or years, or even dishonourably discharged from the Army.

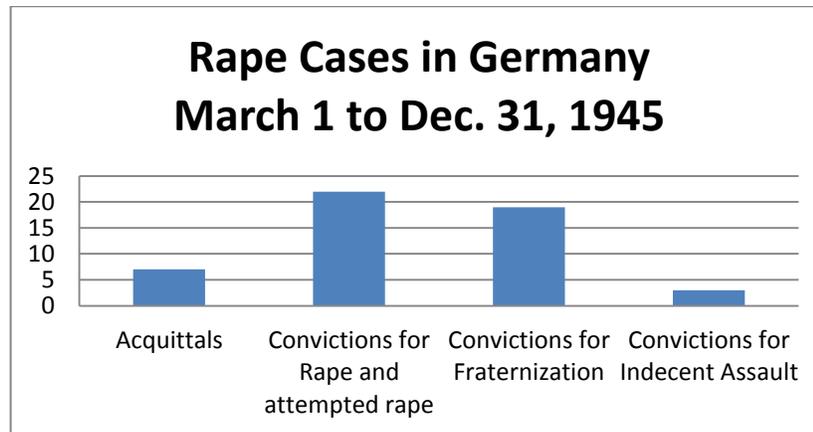
Accordingly, some soldiers who committed rapes were not convicted of that charge, leading to some skewing in the statistics. Between March 1, 1945 and November 25, 1945, 54 soldiers were charged with rape. One soldier was in France,

¹³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10507, 215A21.009 (D51), Adm HQ First Cdn Army, "Non Fraternization", 28 March 1945.

another was in the Netherlands, but the other 52 cases were in Germany. Twelve other soldiers were charged only with indecent assault, with one case in Belgium and another in France. Additionally, 11 more soldiers in Germany were charged with fraternization and no rape charges. Unfortunately, because of the lack of transcripts, we cannot be certain if the fraternization charges were actually rapes that could not be prosecuted for lack of evidence. Only two of these charges identify the person the soldiers fraternized with. These two cases resulted from one incident of attempted rape by two soldiers. Two other fraternization cases were not with civilians, but with German soldiers in the traditional sense of “fraternization with the enemy”. The remainder of the fraternization-only cases either indicate soldiers were only drinking and carousing with German civilians or do not indicate the nature of the charge.

Of the 52 Canadian soldiers charged with rape in Germany in all of 1945, 19 were convicted of rape along with other assorted charges [Fig. 5 and Table 1]. A further 19 were convicted of fraternization instead of rape, four were convicted of indecent assault and a final three of attempted rape. Seven soldiers were acquitted of the rape charges altogether. Of the soldiers who were convicted, there was only one life sentence, which was given to Gunner S. Jones. However, this sentence was reduced to 10 years by General Harry Crerar, and was later further reduced to five years before the soldier was finally released after just under three years in prison. Because of the stringent punishment, and because there is an excellent court file, the case will be discussed in detail below. Eight other soldiers received sentences totalling five years after being

convicted of rape and/or fraternization. Most sentences over five years were reduced to that number. One soldier convicted of five rapes was given 10 years.¹⁴



[Fig. 5] Rape Cases in Germany March 1 to Dec. 31, 1945¹⁵

| Table of Rape and Fraternization Cases in Germany March 1 to July 31, 1945 | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Date | Charge | 2nd Charge | Verdict | Conviction charge | Sentence |
| 05/03/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | indecent assault | 6 months |
| 05/03/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 1 year NHL |
| 10/04/1945 | rape | frat x2 | guilty | rape/robbery | 5 years DI |
| 10/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | attempted rape | 3 years, red. 2 |
| 10/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | attempted rape | 3 years, red. 2 |
| 13/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 6 years red. 5 |
| 13/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 6 years red. 5 |
| 18/04/1945 | rape | frat x2\pled guilty | guilty | rape/robbery | 5 years DI |
| 21/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 9 months |
| 21/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 9 months |
| 21/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 9 months |
| 21/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 5 years DI |
| 21/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 22/04/1945 | Att. rape | frat x2 | guilty | att. Rape and robbery | 8 years, red. 5 |
| 23/04/1945 | rape x 5 | frat x5 | guilty | rape x4/in. as. | 15 red. 10 years |
| 24/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | NG | | |
| 27/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | life, red. 10 (served 3 years) |

¹⁴ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 111.6 (D3), Boxes 9 to 12, Office of the Judge Advocate General, "4G" to "CAOF-2".

¹⁵ Ibid.

| | | | | | |
|------------|----------|----------------|--------|------------------|---------------------|
| 28/04/1945 | rape | fraternization | NG | | |
| 01/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | DI 18 months HL |
| 03/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 18 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 18 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape x 2 | frat x2 | guilty | rape x 2 | 18 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 18 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | ind. Assault. | 6 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | NG | | |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | ind. Assault. | 90 days |
| 04/05/1945 | rape x 4 | frat x4 | guilty | rape x 3 | 10 red. 5 years |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 5 months |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 90 days |
| 04/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | red. ranks 7 months |
| 05/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 5 years DI |
| 05/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 3 years DI |
| 05/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 8 months |
| 05/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 8 months |
| 05/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 7 months |
| 08/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 3 years |
| 09/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 1 year HL |
| 10/05/1945 | rape x 2 | frat x4 | guilty | rape x2/frat | 5 years DI |
| 11/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | NG | | |
| 12/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | Rape | 2 years |
| 22/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 22/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 22/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 22/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 22/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years HL |
| 28/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 2 years |
| 28/05/1945 | rape | fraternization | guilty | fraternization | 9 months |
| 25/06/1945 | rape x 2 | stealing | guilty | rape/stealing | 3 years DI |
| 15/07/1945 | rape | | NG | | |
| 31/08/1945 | rape | | NG | | |
| 04/08/1945 | Rape | Assault | NG | | |
| 25/11/1945 | rape | | guilty | Indecent assault | 2 years red. 1 |

[Table 1] Table of Rape Cases in Germany 1 March to 31 Dec, 1945¹⁶

¹⁶ Ibid.

Legend: att. rape= attempted rape; DI=disgraced with ignominy; frat=fraternization, HL=hard labour, ind. Assault=indecent assault; NG=not guilty/acquittal; NHL=no hard labour, red.=reduced.

Despite the Allied command's insistence that the fraternization ban be upheld stringently, many of the defending officers who were responsible for answering to the charges of rape and fraternization questioned the ban itself. The "friendly" nature of Canadian soldiers was emphasized by defending officers, as well as the fact that Russian and Polish soldiers and DPs did not need to follow the ban. Also, the Canadians held the confusing belief that "intercourse without being friendly" was not fraternization. The meaning was that soldiers who had intercourse and left without talking were not fraternizing, despite the fact that this perhaps was the worst form of fraternization, according to the well-defined rules. However, the defending officers always suggested the intercourse was completely consensual. To have admitted otherwise would have admitted that the soldiers were guilty of rape. The charge sheets from the Judge Advocate General's Office show that only one soldier pleaded guilty to a rape charge in the spring of 1945. Private J.W. Russell pled guilty to rape, fraternization and robbery and was sentenced to five years in prison and to be discharged with ignominy.¹⁷

While there is a striking pattern to each case, from a legal standpoint, some cases are more complex than others. One example was the case of Katharine V.¹⁸ This young German woman was gang-raped by a group of Canadian soldiers, but the woman

¹⁷ LAC, RG 24, T-15804, 5P-143, "Field General Court-Martial, F., Thomas", June 1945. DHH, 111.6(D3), Canadian Army Overseas Extracts of Courts-Martial, 5K-150. DHH, 111.6 (D3), Office of the Judge Advocate General, "5K-150".

¹⁸ Full name withheld by myself for protective purposes.

had suffered a head injury as a child and was considered not mentally competent, to the extent that the Nazi authorities had her sterilized. Another example was a rape committed by a Canadian soldier who was also a member of the Ojibway First Nation. At least one observer suggested that sexual violence was part of the Native soldier's heritage, but this was a cultural stereotype. In addition, women who were sexually active who alleged they were raped was another such complexity as their evidence was given short shrift by the military authorities.

The court-martial transcripts suggest that rape charges were taken seriously. What is fascinating is that from the start, from even before the war ended, according to one Military Government report, the German population viewed the Canadians and Military Government as its "protector, complaints of looting and rape are quickly reported to detachments, with the plea for protection against roving bands of displaced persons, prisoners of war, etc. They particularly show an obvious fear of Russians and Poles." Unfortunately, there is no record of cases that were not even brought to trial and the records found for this project do not cover acts committed by DPs, including POWs. All that remains are scattered statistics about DP crime. The trials took place roughly within a month of the alleged offences. In many cases, some defending and prosecuting officers were the same since many of the cases occurred in the small pocket of Germany occupied by the Canadian Army before and after the war ended. Punishments for rape and fraternization ranged from two to ten years, many including being discharged with ignominy. Sometimes, the sentences set by the courts-martial were altered by a senior officer to place them in line with similar cases. Many sentences

were reduced or soldiers released altogether after the fraternization ban was partially lifted in July 1945. Soldiers would also be paroled for good behaviour after the war when serving their sentences in Canada.¹⁹

Rapes did occur in other places during the liberation of Europe. Before the Canadians even reached German soil, court-martial transcripts show troops causing disturbances. One example, on 26 September 1944, happened when Lance Corporal Robert J. Kerr entered a Belgian home with three accomplices. The Flemish speaking residents were not entirely clear what the Canadians wanted, but it was indicated that the soldiers wished to search the home and perhaps sleep there. The homeowner's wife was taken upstairs by two of the soldiers at gunpoint, while the others remained downstairs with the man of the house. The woman was raped in turn by Kerr and the other soldiers, a total of four times. Kerr was convicted of rape and sentenced to five years in prison and to be discharged with ignominy from the Army.²⁰

To give another example, according to one soldier's testimony, after having escaped from serving field punishment, he believed a Dutch home was a brothel and the women inside were prostitutes. He claimed to have been invited inside where he made a young girl sit on his lap. The girl's sister ran to get their mother while the soldier passed around cigarettes. The mother entered and saw her girl on the soldier's lap, whereupon she slapped her daughter for being with the soldier. None of the people present disputed that fact. The girl claimed to have been coerced. The soldier was

¹⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 9768, 2/CIV OFFERS/S/2, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Cdn Army, "Weekly Report No. 25", 8 May 45.

²⁰ LAC, RG 24, T-15658, 55-K-548, "Field General Court-Martial, Kerr, J. R.", Sept. 1944.

charged with escaping from confinement, “forcing amorous attentions” on the young woman and causing a disturbance. Because of the mother’s confusion and the girl’s smoking, which the court inferred was consent, the soldier was not convicted of the sexual assault, but was convicted of the escape and the disturbance. He was given a sentence of one year.²¹

While there were cases in other countries in which the accused would confess to committing assault, this was not so in Germany. The only time this happened was in the case of Katharine V. which will be discussed below. Some of the soldiers involved pled guilty to fraternization, and were duly convicted. As a result, however, they would receive similar sentences to other soldiers who were convicted of rape.

One early case occurred in Esche, Lower Saxony, just across the border from the Netherlands. On 8 April, at 20:00 hours, two soldiers arrived at a farmhouse where a large extended family was living. The family consisted of a farmer, his son, daughter-in-law, two grandchildren, a Russian woman who was a slave labourer, and her child. The soldiers searched the house and found bottles of schnapps. According to the testimony of the family, using Dutch and rudimentary hand signals, the soldiers demanded the family drink with them. Afterwards, the Russian girl was taken into a bedroom by Private Albert Pollard. She was sexually assaulted without intercourse, but once the Canadians realized the woman was Russian, the assaulter actually left chocolate for the woman’s child before stepping out of the bedroom. While having been in Germany for just over three years, she had been taken by German soldiers from Russia. She said she

²¹ LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15820, 5E-3, “Field General Court-Martial, Kolochynski, Mike”, 16 Mar. 45.

was treated correctly by the German family and was paid 21 marks a month by them. She would have preferred to go back to Russia after the war, but chose to go to Yugoslavia, as her husband was Serbian.

The German mother was also forcibly assaulted, and this time the accused attempted to have intercourse with her, but in his drunken state he was unable to fulfill the sexual act. It was this attempted rape that formed the basis of the main charge upon which Pollard was convicted. The soldiers, in this case, also looted the inhabitants of some possessions. Pocket watches were examined and wedding rings were taken. One soldier returned the farmer's pocket watch, but the German woman's wedding ring was kept. In the accused's defence, he claimed not to have seen the orders concerning fraternization. While explicit orders concerning punishment for fraternization might not have been readily available, the troops had been educated on proper behaviour in Germany, and other European nations, for several months. The accused's accomplice claimed that he had not seen a non-fraternization order either, but he knew the policy meant that he was to ignore the German civilians and to stay out of German homes while not on duty. The defending officer argued that if a non-fraternization order had not been posted, how could the troops have been expected to follow it?

Interestingly, because he worked in the mess, the accused also claimed that it was standard policy for troops to go forage for food from farmhouses. He claimed that this was done with the knowledge of and condoned by the officers in the unit. He said he was invited into the Russian woman's room and did nothing untoward to her.

In the end, Albert Pollard was convicted of the attempted rape and the robbery, the fraternization charge being unnecessary. He was sentenced to eight years' hard labour, later reduced to five years. General Crerar tended to reduce sentences of more than five years to that limit. Why Pollard initially received the unusual sentence of eight years is unclear. One theory is that Pollard was described as "black" by some of the witnesses. It is possible, taking in mind other courts-martial, that defendants of colour were given harsher sentences for cases with similar actions and evidence. Unfortunately, the case files do not give any background information about soldiers so there is no means of verifying charges of racial prejudice.²² Whereas we can only speculate about racially-based judgements in Canadian courts-martial, J. Robert Lilly has found that African-American GIs were more likely to be punished severely for rape than their white counterparts. Blacks received tougher sentences and more were executed on rape charges than white American soldiers. However, the US Army executed no soldiers for rape in Germany, choosing instead to give soldiers life sentences. Lilly does not discuss the possibility of the American rape cases having to do anything with the fraternization ban.²³

Another early Canadian case questioned whether the soldiers had received enough information about the fraternization ban. The trial of Walter H. Pflughaupt ended in a conviction on a rape charge. On 13 April, Pflughaupt had raped a German civilian in a barn in Esterwegen, Lower Saxony. Because another woman was present and corroborated the victim's story, the soldier was convicted of the rape without

²² LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15840, "Field General Court-Martial, Pte. Albert Pollard."

²³ Lilly, *Taken by Force : Rape and American GIs in Europe During World War II*, 152-56.

physical medical evidence of the crime. Pflughaupt was charged, but was acquitted, of an additional charge of fraternization. The prosecution had submitted in evidence the letter Montgomery had sent to the troops in March as a means of detailing what information the troops had on the fraternization ban. The defending officer successfully argued that there was no evidence that the ban had been explained to the troops while on parade. What is remarkable about the Pflughaupt case is that the soldier convicted of rape professed that he did not understand what the word “fraternization” meant. Indeed, the prosecuting officer was incredulous at such an assertion, noting that the rules prohibiting fraternization had been discussed in detail in each unit and had been posted for several months. The prosecution could point to the articles in the *Maple Leaf* and all the orders that had been posted, but there was no evidence that they had been actually read or understood by the troops. This was very unlikely, to say the least, but academic because the court was primarily concerned with the rape and felt there was enough evidence of the convict Pflughaupt of the crime. Other cases would suggest troops did not understand the ban, but courts were still willing to convict accused soldiers of fraternization regardless of hard evidence that they knew what it meant.²⁴

A few brave Germans proved that they would not necessarily be cowed by the guns brandished by the Canadians during their late night searches. On 25 April, two soldiers, Private Walter Gallagher and Private Charles Goodwin entered a house in Oldenburg during the afternoon to search for alcohol, apparently having learned from fellow soldiers that the family had bottles. The two soldiers took two bottles of

²⁴ LAC, RG24, Series C-27, T-15839, File 5P-60, “Field General Court-Martial Walter F. Pflughaupt.”

schnapps and left. Later, as the family was going to bed, the soldiers forced their way into the house again, this time possibly inebriated. Even though they were charged with drunkenness, the court decided not to convict them of it as the German family could not offer substantial proof that they were drunk. One of the soldiers brandished a gun and began searching the house. They lit a match to see the young niece of the home owners sleeping beside her mother. This sparked the attention of the soldiers and they attempted to make her drink out of one of the bottles they had purloined.

The girl's mother refused to let the soldiers approach her daughter and blocked them from approaching her. She held out despite the fact that a soldier with a Walther P38 placed the gun against her chest and threatened her brother-in-law, the house's owner. For her part, the young girl, Anna Marie Von S., was frightened for herself and her mother, but in the soldiers' drunken state, she was able to run out of the single room home and to a neighbour's house. The soldiers ran out looking for the girl, but fortunately were unable to find her.²⁵

The soldiers were charged with fraternization, not rape or even attempted rape. The trial took place at the end of May, after the war had ended. Despite the fact that the ban had been in place for several months and several rules had been published, the court needed an explanation on what was considered to be fraternization from the Judge Advocate. The soldiers were both convicted of fraternization and creating a disturbance. They were not convicted of drunkenness. Private Goodwin received a

²⁵ LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15635, 55-G-1811, "Field General Court-Martial Gallagher, Walter", May 1945.

LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15636, 55-G-1867, "Field General Court-Martial Goodwin, Charles", May 1945.

sentence of one year's detention, while Private Gallagher was given a two year sentence without hard labour and discharged with ignominy.²⁶

Perhaps what is most interesting about the case, is that when the fraternization ban was lifted in July, Goodwin's sentence was mostly suspended because of the changes in the regulations. However, he was later convicted of being drunk on duty on another occasion. Gallagher's sentence was not reduced, perhaps because he was the one with the gun, and the fact that he had been given a dishonourable discharge. His sentence was confirmed in June with no other notation in his file.²⁷

The case of Gunner S. Jones represents a striking example of the divisions within the Army itself about how the incidents were treated. On 27 April 1945, in the town of Falkenburg, a crying German woman, Frau S., sought assistance from the 2 Company Canadian Provost Corps. The woman explained to the Canadians that a soldier had barricaded himself into a room with her daughter and she was afraid he was hurting her. Sergeant E.A. Nault responded by taking two junior ORs (Other Ranks) with him to the woman's home. Nault found that indeed the door in the home was locked and ordered the soldier inside to open the door. According to the Investigation Report, the soldier responded, "Come in and get me, I have been laying for you fucking Provosts for a long time so now is the time, come on in." According to the girl inside, the soldier was armed with a pistol, so the Provost troops did not attempt to force entry.²⁸

²⁶ DHH, 111.6(D3), Canadian Army Overseas Extracts of Courts-Martial, 5M-52 and 5O-26.

²⁷ LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15636, 55-G-1867, "Field General Court-Martial Goodwin, Charles", May 1945.

²⁸ LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-16652, 55-J-459, "Field General Court-Martial, Jones, Stanley", May 1945-1948.

Sergeant Nault left a guard on the door and went to find the soldier's unit, the Royal Hamilton Light Infantry. Six troopers and a sergeant arrived at the home explaining they were from the same platoon and company as the barricaded soldier, Gunner Jones. The sergeant told Nault that he would make a deal with him. If the Provost let Jones go free, his unit fellows would get him out of the room and take him away. There followed an argument between the two sergeants. Corporal Romeike, one of Nault's subordinates, reported the platoon sergeant telling Nault, "He would have nothing to do with it whatsoever, that some men had made it safe for the Provost many a time so they could move up." Presumably the sergeant was referring to the normal animosity between frontline and rear echelon troops and this was a definite example of two differing world views concerning unit discipline. The loyalty of the unit was admirable, if more than a bit misguided. Later, the platoon sergeant told Corporal Romeike that "If he [Sergeant Nault] gets the platoon Officer, we are okay, but if he happens to get the Co[mpan]y Commander we are fucked."²⁹

Nault went to visit the platoon HQ where a Lieutenant Lisson asked Nault to only charge Jones with drunkenness. This perturbed Nault, who responded by saying that Jones would be placed under close arrest. Lisson argued it was not his responsibility to go to the house and Nault asked to visit the Company HQ. Arriving at the HQ, Nault was informed that Captain Parker, the adjutant, and the Company Sergeant Major (CSM) had gone to the house.

Cpl. A. Romeike, with Sgt. Nault, reported that Jones said "I never had a fight with a fucking Provost yet, in Canada or England so now is the time, so come and get me."

²⁹ Ibid.

While Nault was gone, 20 more men from the RHLI had arrived and attempted to determine a way to get Jones out of the house. The platoon sergeant, ever colourful, allegedly told Corporal Romeike, “[T]he Provost will never get this man if they had to kill all the Provost that were there.” Furthermore, other troops informed Romeike that “they would use grenades and did not care as long as the Provost did not get their man”! The men allegedly grew violent and held Romeike, but fortunately for him, Captain Parker and the CSM arrived. When the two officers went into the house, soldiers called to Jones (using his nickname) saying, “‘Tiny’ come out Jones jump through the windows we will catch you.”³⁰

At CSM McLelland’s demand, Jones came out of the room, but would not let go of the woman until he was outside. Helene S. had a cut over her left eye and most of her clothes were off. According to Nault, not surprisingly, she was frightened and crying. At this point, Jones was placed under close arrest.³¹

At the trial, the events in the home were portrayed in similar terms to other cases that have already been discussed. There was some dispute whether Jones had come first in the afternoon and later back in the evening, or had just come in the evening, but his presence at the home was obviously not disputed. According to the family’s testimony, Jones entered brandishing his pistol and began “loving up” the young woman, according to the address made by his Defending Officer. He showed her a picture of a heart with a crown of thorns to prove that he was Catholic like the home owners. He demanded she drink with him and took her from room to room in the house

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

assaulting her. There was a lot of evidence to refute Jones' claim that the encounter was voluntary. At one point, the court concluded that he pistol whipped the woman and tore her clothes off. Captain Parker and CSM McLelland testified they saw bloodstains and torn clothes in the room where Jones had barricaded himself with the woman. They and the medical officer who examined the woman afterwards, noted that the victim was in an understandably nervous state. The prosecutor noted in his address that the woman, while in court, was still afraid to be in the same room as Jones, which, considering the violent attack, is not surprising to say the least.

There was enough physical evidence to prove conclusively for the court that the young woman had been raped. The Court Martial ruled that Jones be sentenced to life in prison and discharged with ignominy from the Army. As stated earlier, this was the only life sentence handed out for a rape case, but it would not stand. On 28 May, General Crerar confirmed the finding of the court, but reduced the sentence to only 10 years, which was under his authority as the officer in command of 1 Canadian Army. Almost a year later, on 12 March 1946, the term was remitted again to only 5 years. This was the only case found where a sentence of more than five years was retained for a year after the war.³²

Most of the other cases do not have any further information after the verdict was given, but the file on Jones offers some interesting pleas for mitigation on behalf of at least one lobby group. Jones was a Native Canadian of the Cape Croker Band (Ojibway First Nation) in Ontario. The President of the North American Indian Brotherhood,

³² Ibid.

Andrew Paull, sent a letter to the Department of Indian Affairs on Jones' behalf in the spring of 1946. Paull expressed confusion at the idea that a military court would try a soldier for a civil offence. According to Paull, other soldiers, Native and non-Native alike, claimed that because many German women had been raped, "an example had to be made" and "because Pte. Jones was an Indian, he was made the goat." The other court cases show that Jones was not the only soldier charged at this time with rape and Jones' file includes records of similar sentences handed out to soldiers for charges like rape and murder. His initial life sentence, while longer than the other sentences examined in his chapter, particularly ones where soldiers were convicted only of fraternization, is the longest on the list. However, the reduction by General Crerar puts it in line with many of the other sentences for rape and murder.³³

Mr. Paull's most intriguing, and perhaps disturbing, comment was an assertion he made about Native customs:

May I also pass on the information that according to old Indian customs of war, the administration of rape is the final act by the conqueror to make the enemy realize that they are really defeated. So it is permissible to presume that Pte. Jones was completely fulfilling his duties according to his conscience and according to his oath.³⁴

This statement is problematic for several reasons. The cultural stereotype emanating from this quote is of the "savage Indian" only acting according to his nature and cultural background. There is no evidence that this stereotype had any basis in actual fact and presumably was Paull's own belief, or he was using the stereotype to Jones' advantage.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

According to the court-martial records, the soldier was a violent drunk who had not only lashed out at British civilians and servicemen, but had also struck a superior officer on at least one occasion. He was a violent recidivist who happened to be Native Canadian. The case shows that his fellow soldiers appreciated his presence in the unit, as is evident by their attempts to protect him from the Provost. However, according to the records of other cases, no other soldier was given as harsh a term as Jones' initial life sentence. Even though the Army reduced all of the other sentences to a maximum of five years, Jones' sentence was not reduced until a year after the war ended. Since many cases were just as violent as Jones' actions, this does seem a racist discrepancy. However, after further pleas on behalf of Jones, in April 1948 the government ordered him released and the rest of his sentence was remitted altogether.

One incident was recorded in an April censorship report. It is unclear which rape case the letter writer was referring to, but from the full excerpt of the letter we can definitely see that the offence fits the pattern of the other cases:

One of the guys I joined up with... got himself into a hell of a jam here just the other day. He an another fellow hurded [sic] a couple of German Frauleins "up them stairs" ahead of a Sten Gun. While one held the Sten Gun the other gave them a painless meat injection, now they are both up on a charge of RAPE, which isn't so good.³⁵

This case might have been that of Craftsmen R.W. Smith and R.F. McKay who were apprehended by 13 Provost Company on 19 April 1945 after having tried to rape two German women. They also fired some shots and stole some clothing. The soldiers were placed under close arrest and charged. According to the Army court-martial

³⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-30 Apr 45", 9.

records, Smith was charged with fraternization, found guilty and given a sentence of 120 days. McKay was acquitted of fraternization and receiving stolen goods and instead convicted of burglary and sentenced to 12 months. Later this conviction was changed to larceny and the sentence was reduced to six months.³⁶

John Raycroft reported that at the end of April, his unit came across two women who attempted to hang themselves, but were cut down before they died. Apparently, soldiers were billeted in homes with civilians since working farmers had not been evacuated. The woman claimed that they were about to be raped. The men accused of the crime asserted that "they had only ordered them to wash the dishes, and that the language barrier had caused the confusion. Headquarters accepted the story, and a Court Martial was averted."³⁷

Several cases were directly related to the end of the war in Europe. Either on the night before the initial ceasefire with German forces (4/5 May) or on the nights before and after V-E Day (7/8/9 May) Allied soldiers celebrated their victory. In one instance, two soldiers of the 7 Canadian Field Company, Royal Canadian Engineers, Sapper J.C. Kostis and Sapper M.C. MacQuarrie entered a home in Oldenburg. The unit had received several bottles of rum to celebrate the ceasefire, as well as some wine. The soldiers consumed copious amounts of hard liquor, but were not happy with the wine. According to their own statements, they went looking for some schnapps to continue their binge. The household was comprised of a husband and wife, their daughter and her

³⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report for period 26 Mar to 25 Apr 45", 28 Apr. 45, 2.

³⁷ Raycroft, *A Signal War: A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*, 264-65.

child, as well as another family living on the top floor of the house. Through a neighbour acting as interpreter, they asked if there were any arms or schnapps in the household. The S. family said they had neither in the home, but the soldiers proceeded anyway to search for alcohol and weapons. The search revealed nothing and the soldiers rummaged around until they entered the bedroom. One soldier allegedly held Mrs. S. down and held her mouth open while the other soldier assaulted her in the dark. The victim fainted during the assault. The soldiers did not admit the assault, claiming they simply entered the bedroom and passed out on the bed, not having seen anyone in it. The other members of the household had witnessed one of the soldiers groping the victim, but saw nothing else. One of the soldiers returned a ring to the victim they had taken in the search. Kostis had apparently wanted to kiss Mr. S.' daughter and her child. While the daughter allowed him to kiss the child, she was able to fend off his drunken advances. She referred to his actions as "decent". The court did not convict the soldiers of either rape or fraternization, but instead convicted them of indecent assault. One received a sentence of six months' detention, the other only 90 days.³⁸

In another V-E Day related incident on the night of 8/9 May Pte. Fernand Marcel Dennis, a 24 year old married soldier with a child back in Canada, entered a home in Lingen with an officer identified only as Captain McTeer and terrorized the group of women and their children inside.³⁹ Surprisingly enough, despite it being prohibited by the fraternization ban, the soldiers were billeted in the house next door with a German

³⁸ LAC, RG 24, Series C-27, T-15820, 50-75, "Field General Court-Martial, Kostis, J.C", June 45.

³⁹ The Dennis case did not appear in the Army charge books and no further information about "Captain McTeer" was found.

family. The women of the home next to the billet and their neighbours were talking while a raucous party was going on next door. Late in the evening, Dennis and McTeer entered the home and in broken German demanded the women and the children go upstairs. Once in bed with their children, the Captain demanded a woman to come to him and Dennis came in to take one of them downstairs. All the women refused. McTeer entered the room and slapped one woman twice across the face before taking her out of the room and raping her. Dennis in turn took the woman into another room and coerced her to have sex by threatening to tell McTeer. Afterwards, Dennis let the woman and the others leave the home without McTeer's knowledge. Dennis was convicted of fraternization, but that was apparently because there was no other witness to see the actual raping of the victim.

This case was the only one examined in this study that mentioned an officer being responsible for assaulting and raping a German civilian. His involvement in this event is not entirely clear because there is no information about "Captain McTeer" except in the testimony, which was about Dennis' role in the crime. No other evidence has been found about McTeer. There is no transcript or charge sheet with that last name among the rape cases. He was not present at Dennis' trial and was never even mentioned by full name.⁴⁰

The Defending Officer stated in his concluding address that he believed all the women were coached in their evidence. The anger and, more importantly, contempt, in his comments came through quite clearly. He questioned several inconsistencies in their

⁴⁰ LAC, RG 24, T-15609, 55-B-1854, "Field General Court-Martial, Dennis, F.M.", May 1945.

evidence and argued that they could not be trusted at all stating further that they had not given him a single truthful answer. His belief in the witnesses' credibility was also tainted from a racial perspective: "As to the credibility. I don't know. If the Archbishop came in and gave evidence I would not believe him if he were a German." This off-handed comment sheds a limited amount of illumination on the antipathy shown by many of the soldiers towards the process of military justice. Since the Germans were so evil, as they were constantly being told by non-fraternization slogans and the *Maple Leaf*, how could one believe their testimony? In the end, Dennis was sentenced to a term of 18 months in prison.

Jack Connor's memoir offers a peripheral view of one unidentified rape case from when the war ended. Connor was a Canadian officer who on 4-5 May was stationed in Bad Zwischenahn, Germany. The ceasefire had been reported on 4 May and Connor went to bed very drunk. The next morning, he was woken up by one of his sergeants who informed him that the unit had to be ready for an identification parade at 10:00 hours the next morning. Two soldiers with rifles were alleged to have entered a farmhouse on the lake near the town and threatened three women inside with rape. According to Connor, the women managed to push the soldiers away and out of the house. The women then reported the incident to the Canadians, who were lining up the men to see if the women could identify them. Connor was certain none of his men were responsible, partly because his artillery unit did not have rifles, and blamed the incident on a different unit. While his men were waiting for the identification parade, the unit's radio operator received the news that the war was over in Europe. In light of that news,

Connor thought it ridiculous that his senior officers had ordered an ID parade for the enemy. To him, the women were not particularly pleasant, and he assumed the soldiers must have been inebriated when they tried to effect entry into their house. Fortunately for Connor and his unit, the women did not recognize any of the men there and the matter was soon forgotten with the realization that the end of the war was upon them.⁴¹

Even though all of the cases described in this chapter are indicative of the darker side of human nature and are disturbing to some degree, one case stands out as particularly distasteful. On 22 May, Katharine V. was gang-raped by several soldiers that came to her family home in Germany. Four were Caucasian while one was a “negro”. One was also an American, but it is unclear which soldier this was. Brandishing pistols, the V. family was held at gunpoint while the soldiers took turns raping the young woman. This was not unusual compared to the other cases examined in this chapter. What was striking was that Katharine had been declared mentally incompetent by the Nazi authorities and had been sterilized in 1941. The mental defect had been caused by a fall at two years of age. According to the testimony before the Field General Court Martial, she did not have a mental competence greater than a child. However, the statement that was used by the court in a few of the trials of the persons in the V. home appears quite lucid and clear.

Several of the soldiers were tried. The complainant was unable to testify for each trial and her recorded statements were reused. One soldier, Private Frank Gagen,

⁴¹ Jack Connor, *The Way I Saw It*, self-published, 200[?], Canada, [Canadian War Museum Library, GEN D 811 C661 V. 3, B. 3].

admitted having had intercourse with the victim, but claimed it was consensual. Unfortunately, the young girl initially refused to be examined by a doctor. Later, upon a medical examination, no signs of rape were found according to the affidavit given by the medical officer to the court. Even though Gagen claimed the sex was consensual, he was still guilty of a crime under the fraternization ban, in part because the others admitted to the fraternization. And the “consensual” nature of the sexual act was also called into question. Gagen admitted that the troops that visited the V. household looking for schnapps and women had all brought rifles and pistols. The presence of such weapons in a private home two weeks after the war had ended damaged the claim of the frightened family and young girl having given “consent”. This was a common claim made by soldiers convicted of fraternization rather than rape. Their acts were consensual, yet the civilians were clearly frightened into doing their bidding.⁴²

Gagen was convicted of fraternization and sentenced to two years at hard labour with an “ignominious” discharge from the army. Three other soldiers, James Mitchell, Thomas Fendley and R.E. McQuaid pled guilty to the fraternization, but were given the same punishment. It appears that even though legally the troops were convicted of fraternization, the court was intent on punishing them for the act of rape, legalities aside. Mitchell admitted having intercourse with the girl, but claimed that she did not cry and was never threatened, despite admitting that the group of soldiers had brought their rifles with them.

⁴² LAC, RG 24, T-15635, 55-G-1791, “Field General Court-Martial, Gagen, Frank M.”, June 1945.

The defence for Thomas Fendley presented a “statement in mitigation” for the fraternization charge to which he pled guilty. Fendley had not admitted to the intercourse, but to simply being in the home, drinking some schnapps and frying some eggs. The statement told the court that Fendley had a wife and two children back in Canada, one of whom was only two weeks old. He had spent part of the war serving in Canada and the Aleutians before being sent to Britain and Europe. The statement focused primarily on challenging the fraternization ban. Defending Officer Lieutenant W.E.C. Colter began by noting, “It is a well-known fact that the Cdn soldier is instinctively friendly and the publication of an order, with its incidental sanctions, cannot be expected to change his nature overnight.” Colter suggested that the fraternization ban actually punished patriotic soldiers who had fought for their country and now had to fight their “natural inclinations, not to punish the people who are responsible for his having to be in this country in the first place.” Colter asserted that it was because Canadians were so “naturally gregarious” regulations could not “quench” that “spirit”. It was for that reason that the ban against talking to children had been lifted by this point in June 1945. Colter pointed to the fact that while Canadians had to follow the ban, Russians and Poles did not. Their Allies had even organized soccer games between Russians and Germans. He also indicated that British newspapers were clamouring for lifting the ban and that it was only a matter of time before it was lifted. Colter insisted that if it was not for the fraternization ban, the accused would not be forced to plead guilty. Colter said he felt it was “scandalous” that Fendley would be

convicted of something that other soldiers would be able to do with “impunity” later in the future.⁴³

The Fendley case shows that while the Army was intent on punishing soldiers for fraternizing, the trial was going on while the situation in Germany was changing. Colter’s assumption was that the fraternization ban was a dead letter and would be abolished in the near future. Indeed, Colter was correct and the ban would be lifted, but it appears that the court was determined to exact punishment for a gang rape, even if the charge of rape could not be substantiated because of the circumstances.

The most shocking part of the crimes detailed above is that the sentences seem extraordinarily light compared to the heinous nature of the crimes. The highest sentence is that of life imprisonment, but that was later reduced to five years, and the rapist only served three years in total. Most of the sentences range between 18 months and five years, including sentences reduced to five years. One additional soldier, convicted of multiple fraternization-rapes, was given a 15-year sentence, reduced to 10 years. Most sentences were reduced by senior officers, sometimes by General Harry Crerar himself, to a maximum of five years in prison. There is no explicit explanation as to why this was done. One might think it was in relation to the fraternization, but many sentences were reduced in May and June 1945 after the war’s end, but before the ban was lifted.

A look at the history of rape in Canada may offer a solution to why the courts-martial sentences were reduced. Constance Backhouse has written the most recent

⁴³ LAC, RG 24, T-15804, 5P-143, “Field General Court-Martial, F., Thomas”, June 1945.

history of 20th century rape in Canada, building upon previous work on the previous century. Backhouse uses nine individual cases to study sexual assault law in Canada between 1900 and 1975. As part of her research, she found 1,202 cases from legal reports and archives for the entire period.⁴⁴ In general, she found that civilian offenders in rape cases were not sentenced to terms longer than 10 years. While rapes under the Canadian Criminal Code were potentially capital crimes, the death penalty “was never administered to rapists in the twentieth century.”⁴⁵ In effect, the Army’s reductions were in line with what was happening in Canada in civilian cases. Neither the Army nor civilian courts sentenced soldiers to life imprisonment or death for rape cases.

Backhouse also uses an example of a gang rape case where each rapist was tried individually despite the group nature of the crime. This was also found in the V. case where soldiers were tried individually, albeit using the same statement from the victim and her family as evidence. As Backhouse points out, “the law failed to respond to the many ways in which homosocial group dynamics affected the actions of young men out looking for sexual conquest.” This was definitely true for the rapes in Germany. Many of the cases found in this study were committed by pairs of soldiers or more who took turns raping German women. The soldier rapists had an additional factor that affected their behaviour that would not have been found in civilian trials, which was a solely homosocial environment where women were mostly excluded due to the fraternization ban. The courts-martial trying the V. rapists were able to convict soldiers of

⁴⁴ Constance Backhouse and Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History., *Carnal Crimes : Sexual Assault Law in Canada, 1900-1975* (Toronto: Published for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History by Irwin Law, 2008), 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 281.

fraternization, which did not need to distinguish which soldiers actually raped the woman or merely encouraged the others to do so.

By August, the Canadian Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General of the 5th Canadian Armoured Division, Lieutenant-Colonel W.L. Dutton distributed an order requiring Commanding Officers to remind soldiers about what constituted sexual offences and what the punishments were for such offences. Apparently, the rate of sexual offences in the unit, which was based in the Netherlands, not Germany, had been one sexual offence per week for the previous six weeks. This was not as high a rate as experienced by the troops in Germany during the fraternization ban, but it seems to have been enough for the 5th Armoured HQ to send out the memo. Unfortunately, Dutton did not give examples of the cases that had occurred, but he did spell out what constituted sexual offences.

The order explained that rape was having sexual intercourse without a woman's consent. If a woman gave consent out of fear or was intoxicated, she was not considered to have given consent. As previously stated, if a soldier was convicted of rape, he could be imprisoned for life. The next sexual offence was intercourse with a girl under 13, which would usually be referred to as statutory rape. Consent, if given, or if the soldier believed the girl to be over 13, was no defence. This crime had the same penalty as rape. When a girl was between 13 and 16 years of age, intercourse was another criminal offence, except if a soldier was under the age of 23 and it was his first offence. Again, if the soldier believed the girl was over 16 that was no defence. The penalty for this crime was two years imprisonment with hard labour. The final crime

listed in the memo was indecent assault. The specific definition was rather complicated, but basically, if a man touched, or attempted to touch a woman without her consent, it was considered an offence. Again, consent under age 16 was no defence, nor was belief that the young woman was over the age of 16.⁴⁶

Between July and December 1945, only four rape cases were reported in Army charge books. The last one was in November, with no later rape cases recorded. The soldier in the last case was convicted of indecent assault and sentenced to two years and that was later reduced to a single year. The other three cases resulted in acquittals. During this period, there was no fraternization ban and sex was freely available, and legal, to soldiers who wanted it.⁴⁷

There was at least one complaint of rape in January 1946, but the case does not appear in Canadian court-martial records because the Provost authorities did not believe the charge was warranted. A German woman complained that on the evening of 15 January, she was stopped by two Canadian soldiers, told her identity card was out of order and was informed she had to go with the soldiers. The woman claimed she was taken to a house where one of the soldiers was billeted. Once inside, she claimed the soldiers ripped her clothes off and then raped her. Afterwards, she claimed she was allowed to go to the toilet, from where she managed to escape. The next day she complained to the military police and after an identification parade, the two soldiers were located and arrested. An investigation found that no other occupants of the house in which in the alleged rape was committed heard anything wrong at the time of the

⁴⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10632, 249C53(D2), HQ Canadian 5th Armoured Division, "Sexual Offences", 6 Aug. 45.

⁴⁷ DND, DHH, 111.6 (D3), Boxes 9 to 12, Office of the Judge Advocate General, "4G" to "CAOF-2".

incident. One of the soldiers claimed that, while the other was out of the room checking the woman's papers, he made advances on the German woman, who rebuffed him. He denied having struck her or raping her. The woman was suspecting of having made up the story because she did not go to the authorities right away and a German doctor could find no conclusive evidence of the rape having occurred. The woman's clothing was torn, as she had suggested, but this was not considered evidence of the crime having occurred.⁴⁸

Rapes committed by Canadian soldiers in Germany are part of a long history of such wartime offences involving sexual conquest. The pattern of the crimes, the circumstances in which they were carried out and the frequency of such offences can be explained in part through a glance at other histories of rape. The only difference between Canadian cases and others is that alcohol was involved in most cases. Canadian soldiers entered German homes demanding alcohol, while in some cases they were already intoxicated. The high evidence standard of actual sexual penetration required for rape convictions might have ensured that many cases would have resulted in acquittals. However, proof that the soldiers were in German homes for no military reason meant that they could be convicted of offences against the fraternization ban. In several cases, the sentences for fraternization were comparable to those given for rape cases. Only two of the sentences handed out and amended would be greater than five years and there is no explanation as to why only one of the offenders were sentenced to life imprisonment, despite the regulations allowing for that. In the cases with available

⁴⁸ DHH, 581.009(D66), 220/Disc/A-3 (DPM), HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division, CAOF, "Charge Sheet". 26 Jan. 1946.

transcripts, the Army appears to have looked upon the rapes as a serious breach of discipline. The Canadians did not hesitate to believe evidence from the defeated Germans to prosecute its own troops. Unfortunately, there can only be anecdotal evidence for cases not found in the court-martial records.

CHAPTER EIGHT:
CALM, DISCIPLINED, OBEDIENT AND EXILED: FRATERNIZATION AND THE CAO F

From observation and conversation with Mil Gov Detachments it would appear that the General Population realize that they have lost the war and the last thing they can do is obey all the laws and ordinances of Mil Gov. They seem anxious and willing to work so that the country can get back to normal as quickly as possible. They have also come to realize that as long as they stick to the straight and narrow that they need have no fear of our people.¹

Counter Intelligence Situation Report No. 22, 4 Canadian Field Security Section, 17 July 1945

They probably think we're awful suckers to have won the war and then turn around and give them our chocolate rations, but you can't help feeling sorry for them, the children and old people mainly who are suffering through no fault of their own really.²

Letter from Staff Sergeant Margaret E. Jones (nee Reade), Canadian Women's Army Corps to friends, 29 December 1945.

Canadian soldiers were in Germany for almost a full year before all were repatriated across the Atlantic. By December 13, 1945, most Canadian soldiers, over 180,000, had returned to Canada. The Canadian Army Occupation Force (CAOF) was composed of 10,000 volunteers and 8,000 others who were not given priority for repatriation. This chapter will discuss the background to placing the CAOF in Germany, the post-ban rise in fraternization, and finally the discussions about the departure of the force. While in Germany, the soldiers still had mixed feelings about the Germans and the task they were undertaking. While many Canadians refused to have anything to do with the Germans, others launched themselves into the dances and activities now allowed after the lifting of the fraternization ban. Whereas before July fraternization

¹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 1719, No. 4 Canadian Field Security Section, "CI Sitrep No. 22", 17 July 1945.

² Canadian War Museum (CWM), 20030071-001, Margaret E. Jones, "Letter", 29 December 1945.

was banned, now it was permitted. The Army did not encourage fraternization in any way. The soldiers themselves were responsible for creating these new relationships, or continuing ones that had begun illicitly. During this period, there were numerous dances held to introduce German women to Canadian soldiers. Even with the government's planning for the CAOF and willingness to donate forces until enough shipping was available for repatriation, the scheme was not perfect and soldiers complained they were not able to go home fast enough. Riots, work stoppages and other displays of unhappiness in England and Germany led the military and political leaders to advocate for quick repatriation.³

Planning for the CAOF began before Germany was defeated. Canadian involvement was first discussed prior to the invasion of Europe in February 1944. The Canadians had always been sensitive about the lack of Canadian control of the war, in particular the "mandarins" of the External Affairs Department. Canada offered support for the occupation of Germany voluntarily with the belief that the other Allies were going to offer a space on what would become the Allied Control Commission for Germany. The belief was that Canada would not be given a position of power in the postwar administration if it did not offer personnel support. In any case, the Soviet Union pushed for maintaining the wartime division of power between it and the Allies in the postwar period, preferring only to deal with the other established powers. Canada was left out of any controlling mechanism for Germany in part because it was not viewed as an independent country by the U.S.S.R. and would only tow the British line.

³ J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army : Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). 312-314.

The civil servants believed the British government under Winston Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden desired to speak for the Commonwealth as a whole.⁴

By the fall of 1944, it was abundantly clear to the Canadian Department of External Affairs (DEA) that Canada was to have no substantive role in the occupation of Germany. As future Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson described in a letter to the Department:

An occasional bone of participation will be thrown to the European allies and the Dominions but it will be done without enthusiasm and there will be little meat on it... Other United Nations who have contributed heavily are in a position of subordination which amounts almost to disappearance; except in respect of the acceptance of new responsibilities.

Pearson recommended that Canada not “sulk” and isolate itself, but continue its “vigorous participation in other forms of international activity...”⁵

Another recommendation from the DEA in November 1944 was that Canada should confine its occupational duties to one area and reject suggestions that it help occupy places like Austria, Greece or the Middle East. There was a desire to unite/reunite Canadian forces in Europe. This was part of the continuing Canadian frustration to keep their troops as a national unit rather than spread out under the control of British forces. Despite the fact that the Canadians managed to keep their occupational responsibilities to one nation, they were still completely under British control. In January 1945, the decision was made to supply the proposed British Zone

⁴ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 581.013(D1), Major A.K. Reid, Army Historical Section, “Memorandum” Oct. 46.

J. L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men : The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1982).

⁵ DND, DHH, 581.013(D1), Major A.K. Reid, Army Historical Section, “Memorandum”, Oct. 46.

with 25,000 Army troops of all ranks and 11 RCAF squadrons, some of which were to be based in the UK itself. The Canadian government asserted that the CAOF would be limited in scope and duration, in part because there was no chance that Canada would have any say in the occupation. There never were more than 20,000 Canadians in the CAOF.

Recruiting for the CAOF had started in 1944, before the soldiers were even in Germany. Along with being asked by the authorities whether they would like to serve in an occupation force, soldiers were also polled on whether they wished to serve in the Far East in the defeat of Japan. It seems odd that the military wanted to entice soldiers into more service before Germany had been defeated, but this shows that the Allied planners realized that the war would not simply end with Victory in Europe Day and other obligations for Canada still remained.

The Army was very interested in the opinions of the soldiers towards the prospect of continuing to serve in Germany or in Asia. A section of the censorship reports consistently listed excerpts of soldiers' letters that voiced their opinions on future service. Some soldiers thought that the Army had been good for them and because they had nothing special to go home to, decided to apply for future service. Other soldiers utterly refused to have anything else to do with fighting once there was victory over Germany. Also, by June 1945, as it became clear what occupation duties in Germany would entail, soldiers expressed in their letters a greater preference for serving in the Far East.

The acquiescence of the Germans to their new occupiers in the Canadian area was perhaps one of the largest surprises to the Allies. While some towns were more “Nazified” than others, most Germans were willing to blame the war and its atrocities on the Nazi leadership. Canadian soldiers were surprised at the overall lack of trouble they received from the Germans. Indeed, this led at least one Canadian officer to be *more* suspicious of the Germans:

Contrary to original expectations we are having surprisingly little trouble a fact which yours truly receives with a considerable amount of reserve and suspicion. From observations they are falling over each other trying to convince us how anti-Nazi they were.⁶

While the Germans acquiesced easily to Canadian commands there seemed to be a general mystification on the part of the civilians as to many of the military orders to which they were subject. For example, two German women in February 1946 probably got the fright of their lives when a Canadian guard fired over their heads after they had failed to stop when challenged. The women claimed that they did not stop because “they had been using this bridge for years and did [not] see why they were required to show their pass or KenKarte when crossing the bridge.” The guard corrected their error and let them go with only a warning.⁷ And this incident was eight months after the occupation had begun.

On 11 July 1945, the Headquarters of 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade of the 3rd Infantry Division of the Canadian Army Occupation Force posted “notes” for units in Germany. First, no “lethal” weapons were to be carried by any German military

⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Aug 45”, 5.

⁷ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, “Military Security Report”, 4 R Regina Rifles, 15 Feb. 46.

personnel or civilian. Police sticks were acceptable for Germans. Second, a curfew was in effect for everyone. Third, civilians were limited to being no more than 100 kilometres of their place of residence, unless they had a special Military Government (MG) pass. The remainder of the notes concerned passes for discharged Germans, requisition procedures and filling out arrest forms for Germans.⁸

Canadian soldiers raided a farm in *Land Oldenburg* and found 183 people at a barn dance in July 1945. The revellers scattered and attempted to escape. Everyone was rounded up and vetted by the soldiers. Apparently, the occasion was a birthday, which was confirmed by checking the papers of one of the participants. The report noted that a barn dance had been held the week before for no stated reason, no doubt the reason for the raid a week later. Despite the seemingly innocent reason by the gathering, it was unlawful and the Military Government was requested to prosecute everyone present. The reason stated was that, "It is possible that both dances were a cover for an opportunity for the 'back-room boys (and girls)' to get together and attempt to re-organize."⁹

Fraternization was not universal, even after it was deemed acceptable. Canadian soldiers remained divided over whether to associate with the Germans. Major Charles Goodman asserted that soldiers who had seen combat in Europe were unwilling to associate with the "enemy" as they still referred to Germans even after V-E Day and V-J Day. However, participation in the ubiquitous dances held by the Canadians with

⁸ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D17 Vol. 10976, HQ 2nd/7th Canadian Infantry Brigade (Rifles) CAOF, 11 July 1945.

⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4074, No 2 Canadian Area Security Office, "Weekly Sitrep No. 3", 16 Jul. 45.

German civilians disproves the assertion that all Canadians were unwilling to fraternize. Letter excerpts in censorship reports also berated any soldier who chose to fraternize. One comment from an infantry officer is particularly illuminative about the belief that Canadian soldiers are uncontrollable beings held hostage to their masculine urges:

You don't want to pay too much attention to all the rumours you may hear about this non-fraternization because about ninety per cent of the boys will have nothing to do with the German women, and those that do are the ones that can't help themselves.¹⁰

There was also the assumption, also held by many combat veterans, that the only people who wanted to fraternize were those who had not been in combat. As one lance bombardier explained:

Some fellows have never fought the Germans so they cannot understand why some of us are bitter against anyone who does mix with the enemy. Many of us remember the awful things we have seen what the German soldiers have done.¹¹

Of course, there were also soldiers who were relieved and thankful for the disappearance of the fraternization ban since they could now "talk to Germans free from the risk of getting a year in prison", as one private said. He also noted that some officers did not like this change in policy at all and "learnt nothing from the past; and who love to use the whip rather than commonsense." One Army craftsman was poetic in his thankfulness, "Since the non-frat. ban has been lifted we do not feel so much like forgotten souls in a strange land."¹²

¹⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Aug 45", 5.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

A Counter Intelligence Report for *Land Oldenburg* noted that the relaxation of the ban was welcomed on all sides. "On the one side it represents a legalization for associations which may not increase in the proportion one might expect." This meant that with so many people already fraternizing before the relaxation, the numbers would not leap upwards. "On the other, a feeling of ostracism which was regarded as a stinging insult by many thinking average Germans, has in part diminished. Many more temperate and moderate citizens are encouraged to approach us for or with information and help. In any case, it is universally felt to be a move in a healthier direction." Cooperation was essential for the security and military government personnel. If the Germans came to them independently, the occupation would run a whole lot more smoothly than if there was mutual distrust.¹³

A Military Government report for *Land Oldenburg* for the same period, dated 29 July, noted that the relaxation of the ban had made "little difference". Under the heading of "Mental Health", the Detachment reported that the Germans were living in a state of "mental vacuity" due to the destruction of their idols (i.e.: the Nazis) and the fraternization ban that reminded them that they were moral outcasts. The report noted that the adverse effects of the ban, "and the complete lack of public amusements have now been remedied". Public concerts were held on 15 July, the day after the ban was lifted. Films had been collected for censorship prior to public release and three plays,

¹³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4074, 2 Canadian Area Security Office, "Counter Intelligence Monthly Report No. 1", 25 Jul. 45.

two English (translated) and one German were being prepared at the Oldenburg Staatstheater.¹⁴

Major R.M. Lane, a British Military Government official in the Oldenburg detachment, gave his own thoughts about the occupation and the fraternization issue in one of his bi-weekly reports. Lane's views on the occupation were the same as other observers. The occupation was going well. The Germans were not making a fuss and were showing a desire to break with the past and to prove themselves as anti-Nazi, but MG did not believe them because of the mass nature of the Nazi Party and the close ties it had to every level of society. According to Lane, the Germans did not understand the reasoning behind the fraternization ban. It was felt a limited ban was good to protect German women, presumably meaning their honour. Lane asserted that British troops could not be "nazified" by the civilians and there was no use trying to "defame" the German people with the ban. He noted that if it were abolished in its entirety, after July of course, limited restrictions still remained, MG would gain the confidence of the people and fighting the infringements would not be necessary. Lane also questioned the prohibition on soldiers giving Germans food. He pointed out the lunacy of having to "destroy" or "bury" perfectly good excess food for the Army while the Germans had little enough to eat.¹⁵

Two weeks later, Lane's reporting of the attitude on non-fraternization was slightly different. Fraternization was described as "good for both victor and vanquished

¹⁴ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 LR Detachment Military Government, "Fortnightly Report No. 1", 29 July 45.

¹⁵ NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Detachment Military Government Oldenburg, "Political Intelligence", 12 Aug. 45.

for the first period of occupation. However, it could not be kept up so far as the female sex was concerned and relaxation of the order will further mutual understanding.” One wonders if Lane had been prodded by his superiors about his questioning of the ban that had so recently been lifted. For the next report, dated 5 September, Lane described yet another attitude about non-fraternization, which was now considered by the Germans to be an “undeserved humiliation”. Germans should not have been blamed for the war crimes of the Nazi leaders. “If co-operation based on mutual understanding is sought, it should either be abolished entirely or still further relaxed.” The maddening thing is that Lane does not list where this information and opinion comes from, so it is unknown whether it was one person’s changing opinion or those of different Germans.¹⁶

On 6 August 1945, Field-Marshal Montgomery, Commander in Chief of the British Zone published a new directive to the German people concerning their future. Most of the message concerned Montgomery’s assurances that the Germans would be fed and sheltered for the oncoming winter as well as information on how the Allies were restructuring German society. The civilians were encouraged to hold public meetings, as well as to create volunteer and juvenile organizations. The Commander in Chief also reminded the Germans that the fraternization rules had been relaxed, allowing British, and therefore Canadian, soldiers to “engage in conversation” with Germans in public.

¹⁶ NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “Political Intelligence”, 25 Aug. 45.

The change was framed as a move that would give the Allies greater contact with the Germans and allow the occupation authorities to better deal with their problems.¹⁷

The Headquarters of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division, in effect the Canadian Army Occupation Force, demanded biweekly security reports from each unit. The reports covered various topics, most dealing with security in and around the military units themselves. "General Security" was a broad overview of conditions in the unit's area. "Security of Information" described breaches in that area and what action was taken to secure it. "Security of Material" dealt with actions against army property, while "Security of Access" described steps and actions to protect the perimeter. "Security of Personnel" was more applicable to problems of fraternization. This section discussed the health and morale of the Canadians, as well as the influence of civilians including rumours and propaganda. As a result, the reports were an excellent recounting of the highly dubious and unsubstantiated rumours that proliferated during the Canadians' time as occupiers. The HQ asked that not only problems of security, but cases of "good" security be reported as well. The instructions for units ended with an admonishment to report to HQ immediately any serious problems that were encountered.¹⁸

By the end of August 1945, the Canadians in Germany were starting to get to know the locals in Lower Saxony. With the division of troops between active service volunteers and Zombies there were a variety of responses to fraternizing with the Germans. The censorship report for the end of August asserted that a majority of the

¹⁷ DND, DHH, 581.009(D137), B.L. Montgomery, "Montgomery's Personal Message to the population of the British Zone in Germany", 6 Aug. 25.

¹⁸ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol. 10976, HQ 3 Canadian Inf. Div. (CAOF), "Mil. Security Reports", 26 Jul. 1945.

CAOF members did not wish to fraternize, "particularly those who had been in action." The report also said that responses were "varied" but only one pro-fraternization letter excerpt was included in the report. Most of the excerpts were from officers and ordinary soldiers who were disdainful of what was going on and claimed they had nothing to do with the Germans, except on official business. There was allegedly the same mistrust between Canadians and Germans that existed between the Canadians and the Dutch across the border, according to a gunner in Wilhelmshaven who suggested that: "The Jerries around here don't like us and are scared of us too. We're near WILHELMSHAVEN. We don't like the square-heads either, so that makes us quits." Presumably, the soldier meant that neither he nor the Germans wanted anything to do with the other. On the other hand, dances were being held for the Canadians and the Germans. And despite the amount of "fratting" that did take place among the Other Ranks, according to one officer, he and his fellows did not participate. Another officer, who had combat experience, lamented that members of the CAOF who had not seen the "sly" Germans "in action" treated the locals "like brothers and sisters".¹⁹ One non-commissioned officer in the Canadian Dental Corps took a particularly principled stand:

As for Germany and Germans, I like neither. I have made no friends and do not intend to. I have no desire to fraternize. Nor have I forgotten the dead and injured Allies. With that attitude I can see that my life here will not be a happy one, but I will have a clear conscience.²⁰

The next censorship report gives a completely different impression of the fraternization situation in Germany. Very few soldiers commented on the situation in

¹⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, "Censorship Report for period 16-31 Aug 45", 4.

²⁰ Ibid.

their letters and of the paltry four excerpts from the 3,860 letters collected overall between 24 August and 13 September, two were positive about the Germans, one was indifferent and only one showed the same negativity of the preceding month. A lance corporal from a reconnaissance regiment summarized what many pro-fraternization soldiers had felt throughout the summer and now into the fall:

You wouldn't believe it but there are nearly as many women going to our shows with soldiers as there are soldiers themselves. I know some people think it is crazy but my own personal thought is that it is OK... as they soon have to be re-educated somehow and if so are not allowed to associate with them, how are we going to do it?²¹

Another soldier stated simply that he liked being in Germany because he felt the Germans were decent people who gave the Canadians no trouble, in direct contrast to the Dutch. Such an observation is remarkable considering that half a year earlier, the sullen Germans were being compared to the happy and carefree Dutch. And, in what seemed to be a normal ritual for the censorship reports, one signalman insisted that not even one-quarter of the Canadian soldiers fraternized with the Germans:

and those that do were mostly blokes that came to Europe after the war was over. If it had been left to us the ruling would not have changed. We do not play games with the Germans as do the English and help them on their lands as they do. The English hate them and fight them hard in wartime, but forget too easily when it is over.²²

Soldiers who were against fraternization used consistent imagery in denouncing the activity, but offered few facts. Whereas the previous month, according to letter writers, only one in 10 soldiers had wanted to fraternize now almost one in four wished

²¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Repts/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, "Censorship Report for period 1-15 Sept 45", 4.

²² Ibid.

to do so. There is little statistical or anecdotal evidence to determine the exact numbers or ratio of who fraternized, but the impression one gets reading the censorship reports month after month is that fraternization became less of a topic for soldiers because it became more of the reality. Whereas in March and April 1945, it can easily be said that most Canadian soldiers chose not to fraternize, for a variety of reasons, after the ban was lifted, there was only the moral argument preventing them from doing so. After the war ended and the CAOF was complemented by troops who had not served in action, these soldiers did not even have the moral argument preventing them from fraternizing. Despite the constant assertions that few Canadians wanted to fraternize, by the end of the summer of 1945, many obviously did oftento the chagrin of their fellows.

The Queen's Own Rifles reported in the middle of September that fraternization was occurring between Canadians and Germans, but the German women who had Canadian boyfriends were only coming out "after dusk" so that they would not be recognized by German men because of the "dim view" taken to such liaisons. What concrete anti-fraternization measures were taken, were not described in the reports.²³

One of the ways to conquer the boredom Canadian soldiers experienced in Germany was to publish their own local newsletters to keep their fellows amused and entertained. These amateur newspapers, sometimes included with official situational reports to HQ, were generally humorous, but also belie troops' attitudes towards army life and more importantly for our purposes, relations with the local population. Even

²³ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Queen's Own Rifles (CAOF), "Security Report", 17 Sept. 45.

such small newsletters were not left out of the campaign for war bonds, if only in jest. As one issue ordered its readers, "Bonds not Blondes".²⁴

The No. 3 Canadian Area Security Office reported on a successful party on 8 September in an issue of its "Canteen Sitrep", and "published and edited by the boys in the back room". The report was written in pidgin German for amusement and explained that the party in the "Privaten messen" was "plenty success". A local orchestra performed and there was lots of schnapps to drink. There were also lots of pretty frauleins, who allegedly looked even prettier the more schnapps one drank.²⁵

One interesting nugget appears in the "Canteen Sitrep No. 5", from 29 September.

The new regs governing "frattin" will NOT be interpreted too literally. Now that visiting is allowed in German homes it is pointed out that these visits will terminate before the next days work starts. This of course does NOT allow for Reverse Lend-Lease in this respect.²⁶

Apparently, the writer was referring jokingly to the fact that soldiers were not allowed to have women in the barracks as well as not being able to spend the entire night in German homes. The "reverse lend-lease" comment refers to how the United States offered lend-lease aid to Allied nations, but American forces overseas received a large amount of goods and civilian goodwill in return as well.

The 29 September edition of the "Canteen Sitrep" also conferred "party" appointments to certain members of the unit, including one for fraternization. One soldier was given the title "Oberkantinedirektor" and another was appointed

²⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, "Canteen Sitrep", 27 Oct. 45.

²⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, "Canteen Sitrep", 15 Sept. 45.

²⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, "Canteen Sitrep", 29 Sept. 45.

“Quartiermeister”. However, more interestingly, one unfortunate was given the title “Protektors Bund deutscher Madel” (Protector League of German Girls). The honourees were allowed to wear the appropriate “Party insignia”, which in this case was “Crossed Lipsticks on a background of Entwined Hands”.²⁷

The joking about “frattin” continued on the Canteen Sitrep’s pages into October. The newsletter published an obviously fictional letter from an almost illiterate soldier who explained a problem he had. The unfortunate soldier had decided to get married and had found a “squash” who was interested. However, when the soldier had tried to get married, he had been told there was “some law or somethin’” that prevented him from doing so. The hapless soldier asked the editor of the newsletter for advice. The editor’s final response was simply: “You’re beat brother. They got ya. Ya better scram!”²⁸

In the same issue, the Canteen Sitrep advertised an “informal” party for that evening (Saturday, 14 October). The editor questioned the “informality” of the party. Was Herr Schubert, the local orchestra conductor, charging more for performing, “or can it be that Strauss has given way to Artie Shaw. Or maybe having an orchestra cuts down on the frattin time! Nevertheless, hob-nails will be aflyin’ come this evening.”²⁹

Under the heading of “Obituary”, the Canteen Sitrep announced the “passing” (i.e.: departure for Canada) of the Quartermaster. Jokingly, the newsletter suggested that, “[t]rue to his Scotch background, Scotty is running a lottery for the disposal of his

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “Canteen Sitrep”, 14 Oct. 45.

²⁹ Ibid.

frattin fraulein! Tickets may be had from Scott or see your Unit Educational Officer.” No doubt such a lottery would have been popular among the men, if not necessarily for the woman in question. The next week, the Sitrep reported that a large party was held to celebrate the Quartermaster’s departure. The Quartermaster denied the young woman spoke English, which was not true. The report implied that the woman was *not* happy with the situation.³⁰

Also on 20 October, under its “Rumours” column, the Canteen Sitrep reported that cigarettes were not the only popular means of exchange on the “Fraternistrasse”. The editor claimed to have heard from a German woman speaking to the Canteen Director, “Make with the candy, Andy”. The writer promised full details of the in the next issue of the newsletter. True to his word, the next week the editor claimed to have cornered the “fratmeister” who claimed that his success was due to exercising, to wit, puckering and un-puckering, embracing pillows, or frauleins, and maintaining a strong mental attitude. As the editor told his readers: “You too can be an MF (Master of Frat).”³¹

However, still not all Canadians wanted to fraternize. As a private from the Canadian Black Watch wrote:

We have to make a trip to a dance tonight for the Serjeants [sic] and they will want to take some of these damn Jerry women with them. I don’t mind driving the Army around but when it comes to driving these damn Jerries it sure burns me up. We came out here to fight the swine not to

³⁰ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “Canteen Sitrep”, 14 and 20 Oct. 45.

³¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “Canteen Sitrep”, 20 and 27 Oct. 45.

show them a good time. The other drivers feel the same way about it as I do.³²

The previous writer suggested that even though many of the drivers resented what the non-commissioned officers were doing, obviously some soldiers attended the dances with German women. Other sources, such as the war diaries from the Canadian Scottish Regiment hint that such dances were well attended, at least by some units. Another private from the Cameron Highlanders of Ontario suggests that some soldiers did not go to the dances because of the Germans: "We had a big dance and party last week. It was good as far as all arrangements were concerned. However German girls were invited as partners so very few men went. They didn't want to dance with the Germans." Unfortunately, the excerpt does not explain whether the writer went to the dance in spite of the Germans or because of them, or even his own opinion on the subject. One officer put the matter simply, "Some guys here go with the German girls but I can't see myself fighting with them and then going out with them." Another officer from the Black Watch hinted at the lack of entertainment as a reason for fraternization. "There is nothing to do with oneself in the evenings unless you fraternize and as yet I do not feel inclined."³³

However, in roughly the same period, on 15 September the 4th Battalion Royal Winnipeg Rifles held a dance in Brems Gardens at Aurich which was a "huge success" because around 125 German girls attended. No German males were allowed to attend, perhaps to make the Canadians feel more comfortable and not to anger local men.

³² DND, DHH, 581.023 (D2), Canadian Occupation Force, Censorship Report for the period 16 Oct – 15 Nov. 45.

³³ Ibid.

According to the report, the evening was “very enjoyable” for those present. However, the Headquarters (HQ) 2nd Battalion, 7th Infantry Brigade of the 3rd Division suggested that, in future, mothers of German girls be allowed to attend so that the girls would not attend the dances unaccompanied. The QOR reported in October that while relations with civilians were “generally quite good” many of the Canadians were quite “aloof” in regards to fraternization.³⁴

There are also signs that the Germans were beginning to appreciate they had Canadians as occupiers in Lower Saxony. A rifleman in the Royal Winnipeg Rifles repeated the oft-mentioned comment that, “The Germans like the Canadians best of the occupying forces.” In fact, according to a corporal, “Most of them have no use for the British or Americans. At first they were afraid of the Canadians... they have learned different now, and think we’re just about right, and respect us in all ways.” While many Canadians stopped to give Germans rides in their vehicles now that the fraternization ban had mostly been lifted, the Germans who were lucky enough to have their vehicles returned the favour: “They even stop, and give you a ride if they see you walking on the road.” However, the letter writer was not entirely laudatory towards the Germans: “In some cases I think we are getting a little too easy with them.”³⁵

Indeed, one soldier in the Queen’s Own Rifles reported that the Germans were laughing at the Canadians’ “clumsy attempt to ‘occupy’ them. They laugh at us drilling,

³⁴ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 15 Sept. 1945.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, 4th Battalion Queen’s Own Rifles, “Military Security Report:”, 2 Oct. 45.

³⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 16-30 Sept 45”, 4.

laugh at the spit and polish of our ceremonial guard mounting: yes they laugh at our regimentation—while they are free.”³⁶ It is unclear whether this soldier is upset at the German disdain for the Canadian parades and ceremonies or at the CAOF’s attempts to maintain military discipline. Throughout the period of the CAOF, and before, soldiers complained of being bored most of all, but a close second was the interminable parades and inspections. Such events comprised an attempt to maintain the soldiers as fighting men, but were also staged to remind the locals that the Canadians were an occupation force. While some soldiers took pride in their drilling, others absolutely hated it.

The 827 Military Government Detachment reported in detail on 7 October about the state of the civilian population in Kreis Wolfenbuttel. The situation was summarized as satisfactory. The greatest problems for the local population were the lack of fuel, Polish DP attacks, and the “still so severely maintained separation between the various zones of occupation”. The fuel situation made it difficult to cook food and heat homes, as well as rear livestock for slaughter. The raids and thefts by Polish DPs were increasing and the population was glad that the CAOF HQ had ordered that German police be provided with guns to deal with the violent offenders. DPs were also causing traffic accidents because of their lack of driving “discipline”.³⁷

One of the most pressing concerns for civilians was that there was little communication between the four zones in Germany. There were little or no means of communications or coordination between families that had been separated by the war

³⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Forces in the Netherlands and Germany, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Oct 45”, 10.

³⁷ CWM, 20010158-007, Landrat of the Kreis Wolfenbuttel, “Weekly Report No. 7”, 7 Oct. 45.

and occupation. As the report noted, the civilians were more than willing to risk every personal possession they had to cross the border out of the British Zone to try and find their loved ones. Rumours coming out of the Soviet Zone were contradictory. Some reports indicated there was more food or that the population was being used to dig trenches close to the border. The food situation in Wolfenbuttel was considered adequate, but "scanty". The lack of clothing and footwear was a bigger problem. One later Canadian observer would not that note that she saw more wooden footwear in Germany than in the Netherlands, which perhaps was a means of coping with a lack of shoe leather.

The main point in the MG report was to push for the delay of local elections in the region, which were expected sometime soon. The author submitted that denazification in the area was not complete and "active Nazis" were still in their positions. The German people had not yet been educated in the "self responsibility" needed to take part in elections. There was no local newspaper. The author took particular exception to conducting the elections in the "hard" winter, preferring them to take place in the summer. It is unclear why more education was necessary nor what difference the weather would make, unless he was referring to a scarcity of supplies that might affect voting patterns. The author explained that MG would have to make "severe" decisions that would affect large groups of the population. The FS units reported extensively on "political intelligence" in Lower Saxony throughout second half of 1945. The activities of German political parties such as the Social Democratic Party

and the Christian Democratic Union, were described to ascertain the German path to democracy.

The MG report commented that “only favourable” opinions of the British troops were held by the Germans, because of their fetish for rules and regulations, which made them appear “incorruptible”. As a result, the Germans believed they were being treated fairly. “Summarising it may be said in this connection that just now England has real great chance to gain mentally [sic] and politically [sic] influence over the German people within the British occupied territory.” It is unclear what influence to which the author referred. Perhaps he meant that Germans could be influenced towards democracy.³⁸

One set of censorship reports by the Army from mid-October to mid-November 1945 suggested that soldiers in Germany had some gripes about the food and the expense taking leaves in England and other places, but morale was generally high. The report’s preamble on attitudes concerning civilians suggested that the “majority” of soldiers writing letters did not wish to have anything to do with the Germans. The only sympathy was reserved for German children. This suggests, again, that Generals Montgomery and Eisenhower had not been too far off in their assertion that soldiers felt that children were harmed by the earlier ban on fraternization. Seven comments about fraternization, out of the 3,463 letters in that period, were reprinted in the report. In September and the first half of October there had been few comments about fraternization in soldiers’ letters. By the end of October, non-fraternization feelings seem to have risen to the surface once again.

³⁸ Ibid.

One Rifleman from the Royal Winnipeg Rifles suggested that the Germans were:

[L]ike a lot of those who live in the bush at home—the only thing they understand is superiority and the rule of a man with a gun. They do not insult us but are too dam cocky to suit me. But for a people that were taught to hate us and such, they really respect the Canadians but I think we are too soft with them.³⁹

Two letter excerpts expressed pity towards the Germans. The first, from a private with the North Nova Scotia Highlanders, noted the children in Varel were very attached to the Canadian soldiers and followed them around whenever the occupiers were in town. The writer felt sorry for them since they obviously did not have enough to eat. Another writer from the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps lamented the lack of food and fuel that was available and noted the winter was going to be hard. He asserted the CAOF's job would not be easy and "I am afraid the poor old British troops are going to take the brunt as usual."⁴⁰

Canadian attitudes towards fraternization were not unique. Members of the British occupation forces had similar responses to contacts with German civilians. The wide variety of responses suggests even more strongly that soldiers' beliefs cannot be generalized. Some British soldiers felt the only way to prevent another war was to be in close contact with the Germans, while others were angry at any form of fraternization. There were fears that a lack of food was going to cause riots and other disturbances that would make the occupation harder for both soldiers and civilians. Some British soldiers simply wanted to make friends during a very dull period of their military service and

³⁹ DND, DHH, 581.023 (D2), Canadian Occupation Force, Censorship Report for the period 16 Oct – 15 Nov. 45.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

enjoyed meeting and spending time with German families. Others still thought it was a non-issue now that the ban was over. One particularly apt comment came from a soldier in the Irish Guards: "I notice that 'fratting' in the sense that wives and sweethearts are thinking about, is already on the wane. It's not much of a topic these days. The newness has worn off or the attraction and opportunities are less."⁴¹ One apparent difference with the Canadians was that some British soldiers did not mind attending dances with German girls, but the idea of giving the former enemies food was unforgivable. While at some time British soldiers complained about the lack of food they received for themselves, the bigger problem here was that they worried not enough food was going home to the United Kingdom to feed their own families.⁴²

For the German point of view, a Political Intelligence Brief by the Regina Rifles from late October suggests that the Germans were still confused why at least some Canadians did not wish to be friendly with them. The summer's now cancelled fraternization ban still generated confusion from the Germans. As well, some Germans still did not want to have anything to do with the occupation troops, but the Brief insisted that the "average class of working people are quite willing to be friendly". The Queen's Own Rifles reported that while the middle and upper classes did not seem too affected by fraternization, the working classes were indeed enthusiastic in wanting to entertain Canadians because of the possibility that their daughters might marry soldiers and live comfortably in "the lands of honey". A Brief from 2nd/7th HQ in the same

⁴¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10508, 215A21.009(D68), British Army of the Rhine, "Censorship Report for the period 1-15 Oct 45", 8.

⁴² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10508, 215A21.009(D68), British Army of the Rhine, "Censorship Report for the period 16-30 Sep 45", 14.

period noted that the relaxation of the fraternization ban had merely brought clandestine relationships to the surface and Canadians were acted as enthusiastic “good-will ambassadors”.⁴³

Germans informed on their neighbours to the Canadians in the fall of 1945. Robert Gellately’s landmark study of German police records has shown that Germans were more than willing to inform on their neighbours for a variety of reasons, from ideological motives to personal gain. The Germans apparently continued this practice with the Canadians. The 2nd/7th HQ reported on 2 October that a former member of the Gestapo had been arrested in Aurich. He had been living with family for two months, but after he stole his niece’s stove, she reported him to the Canadians for “revenge”. The report continued with the comment: “It seems the old saying ‘you can’t trust a German’ still holds true.” Another German woman reported to the Canadians that her father had tried to kill her and the German police were dispatched to help. And finally, a German mother reported on an SS man living with her daughter, his presence was apparently not appreciated by the townspeople.⁴⁴

Despite the impression given by the censored letters in October and November, the 4th Battalion of the Winnipeg Rifles reported that “from day to day” fraternization

⁴³ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D17 Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Regina Rifle Regiment (CAOF), “Supplement 1 to Political Intelligence Brief No. 3”, 28 Oct. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D17 Vol. 10976, HQ 2nd/7th Canadian Infantry Brigade (Rifles) CAOF. “Political Int. Brief”, 27 Oct. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D17 Vol. 10976, 4 BN Queen’s Own Files of Canada (CAOF). “Political Int.”, 24 Oct. 45.

⁴⁴ Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society : Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 2 Oct. 45.

was on the increase. Canadian soldiers were commonly seen walking with German girls or even entering their homes. The report suggested that the dances at Brems Garten were “an excellent example of the increase in fraternization.” The Queen’s Own Rifles reported that by mid-October Germans were enjoying the relaxation of the fraternization ban and happy to have Canadians in their homes. They realized that the Canadians’ fondness for children was actually genuine. By 30 November, the unit reported, “[M]utual interest is really growing fast. Going out with German girls is now normal!” However, there were still the same concerns that the troops were not security minded enough and that the Germans viewed fraternization as “a moral victory for them.” By mid-November, Canadians were welcomed into German homes almost as members of families. 2nd/7th HQ remarked that even the more attractive women were emerging from their “ivory towers” to fraternize. However, a morale report in late November described Canadian soldiers as being “indifferent” towards the Germans, but claimed they were showing interest in learning the German language. Soldiers also were taking time out of military life to visit German homes, but what they did while there was not explained.⁴⁵

With the increase in fraternization, the Germans were also becoming curious about Canada itself. Soldiers were purportedly asked why Canada was not part of the United States or “independent” instead of being a dominion of the British Empire. The Germans believed that relations between Canada and Britain were strained because of this fact. Indeed, relations were strained between Canada and Britain at this time, but

⁴⁵ DND, DHH, 581.009(D159), 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Morale Report”, 25 Nov. 45.

this was because the King government was about to announce its decision to pull the troops out of Germany. Canada had been legally “independent” technically since the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

Despite this natural confusion over Canada’s political status, a Winnipeg Rifles Military Security Report noted that as Germans still believed that the Russians were going to continue to move westward, the Canadians were still preferred as occupiers because they were “the most kindly disposed of the people occupying Germany.” Unfortunately, it is unclear how people in north-western Germany might have much experience of the other occupying forces other than the British. But the American enclave in Bremen was nearby and was run by another group of occupiers. However, one report mentioned that the Germans remembered the occupation of 1919, and it was claimed that the Canadians were better than the Belgians, who had been occupiers, or the Dutch. The Belgians helped to occupy Germany after the First World War and aided in the second postwar occupation, but the Netherlands had not originally been an occupying nation because it had been neutral in the previous war.⁴⁶

The Headquarters of the 2nd Battalion, 7th Brigade reported on 4 December that the German attitude towards Canadians was starting to turn to resentment. According to the report, the resentment was prevalent on the streets and in the shops. The Provost Corps had investigated incidents where “ardent youths give expression to their

⁴⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, 4th Royal Winnipeg Rifles (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 17 Oct, 1 Nov, 17 Nov. and 30 Nov. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Queen’s Own Rifles (CAOF), “Political Intelligence Brief No. 3”, 15 Oct. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Security Reports”, 2 Nov. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, “Military Security Report”, 4 R Regina Rifles, 17 Nov. 45.

feelings by heaving bricks, after dark at some of our troops...” Even more dangerous were reports of “cigarette dealers ‘roughing it up’ with some of our men when they wouldn’t sell cigarettes to them.” Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the German “cigarette dealers” were operating legally or within the confines of the black market, though the violence would suggest they were part of the latter. HQ was concerned partly because persons, presumably both German and Canadian, failed to adequately report such occurrences to the proper authorities. Many streets in Aurich had no street lighting, which allowed for Germans to commit “acts of violence” against Canadians and not get caught because of the darkness.⁴⁷

In the CAOF area, Christmas was celebrated vigorously and the Canadians hosted children’s parties as well as visited German women in their homes. One Security Office report was almost poetic in its description of how the Germans put a lot of enthusiasm into the celebrations, despite the harsh conditions:

Christmas has come and gone during those three days the inherent romanticism of the German came to his aid to make festivities possible. In spite of the misery and ruin which surround it, almost every family seems to have made a hard effort to recapture the spirit of Christmas it used to know. Every Catholic family managed to have its crib and the more fortunate, a Christmas tree, however small.

The Canadians did their part to make the holiday a happy occasion by setting up parties. “The children’s parties organized on Christmas Eve proved a great success and the relaxation of restrictions on social functions between troops and civilians appear to have been duly appreciated.” But, the report suggested that the most important action

⁴⁷ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Security Reports”, 4 Dec. 45.

taken by the Canadians was to relax the curfew on Christmas Eve, allowing Catholics to attend midnight mass. The streets were reportedly overflowing with persons who went out for this occasion.⁴⁸

One Canadian arrived for the first time in Germany just in time for Christmas in 1945. Staff Sergeant Margaret E. Jones (nee Reade) travelled from England, where she had been stationed, to Amsterdam by plane and then overland to Germany. Jones' first "Bulletin" from Germany, as she calls her letter, offers a wonderfully fresh outsider's, perspective of the occupation at this time.⁴⁹

Sergeant Jones' travels from Amsterdam to Bad Zwischenahn are fascinating simply for the roundabout way she travelled. No one was waiting for her off the plane, so she had to hitch a ride with a staff car loaded with officers going back to Germany. No doubt in this case, being a CWAC helped a lot. Because her ride was not leaving for Germany until the next day, she went into the charming little town of Hilversum, east of Amsterdam, to spend the night. A billet was found for her in a civilian home, but the homeowner, even after over six months of having Canadians and Brits stationed in the area, professed to know no word of English. Jones ended up having dinner with neighbours who had visited the United States and told her stories about the occupation.

It turned out to be one of the most interesting [evenings] I've ever spent, and it was always the humorous side they told, but you really have to talk to some of those people to realize just what they did go through at the hands of the Germans and how they feel towards them now. It makes you wonder why they don't let the countries do the occupying who

⁴⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3 Canadian Field Security Office, "CI Sitrep No. 18, Part 1 Civil Population", 31 Dec. 45.

⁴⁹ CWM, 20030071-001, Margaret E. Jones, "Letter", 29 December 1945.

themselves were occupied—then the Germans might get a little of what they really deserve.⁵⁰

The next day, the sergeant continued onto her journey into Germany. Jones was surprised at how Holland looked compared to England. It was very modern, though flat, and she saw no windmills, or people in wooden clogs for that matter. At a stop in Leer for lunch, across the border in Germany, the officers she was travelling with desired to eat at the Officers' Mess. Being an OR, the CWAC could not dine with them. One officer, presumably a major, gave her a uniform for the meal. "[S]o I had dinner in the Mess with them, the only girl present, and sporting three pips, five years' service stripes and a First Hussars badge!" Jones arrived just in time at Bad Zwischenahn for a nap and the regular Sunday evening party.

This is certainly the life and I'm sorry I didn't get over sooner—everyone has a complete disregard for the rules and regulations—there isn't much organized entertainment but lots of scope for making your own fun and work is something you do a minimum of and don't take very seriously. Some of the boys who do nothing but sit around and wish they were home do get very browned off but having had dates every night except one since coming here I have no complaints on that score and after my nil-social life in Ottawa the change is wonderful. The attitude towards the CWACs is something I haven't encountered anyplace else—there isn't anything they won't do for us. They don't seem to like the girls having anything to do with the local people, so insist on doing it all for us—I'm not quite sure what they think they're protecting us from but it seems to make them happy and we certainly don't object. Also we are a definite minority, not only in the Mess, but in the camp, which all helps our popularity and most of us are having a gayer time probably than we've ever had in our lives.⁵¹

As for the Germans, Jones obviously humanized them very quickly, despite her comments to the Dutch civilians she had met on her journey to Lower Saxony. She gave

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the example of the head waiter in the mess who was a former Regimental Sergeant Major in the *Wehrmacht*. He was prompt and efficient: “[H]e’s a typical German type, very stout with a flat head and closely cropped hair and we can’t help liking him although you always feel as though you shouldn’t.”⁵²

As for the rest of the Germans, they passed Jones on the street without looking at her, as if she were not there. The children did the same, because, Jones asserted, they had “been schooled to avoid you like the plague, although over Christmas they changed their attitude slightly and loosened up enough to ask for ‘Shocklit’ and ‘Gum’ at every opportunity... which we couldn’t resist giving them.” This led Jones to suggest that the Germans probably thought the Canadians were “awful suckers” to have conquered Germany, but to change their minds and give chocolate to the children. She admitted, however, that one could not help feeling sorry for the Germans, in particular the young and elderly who were “suffering through no fault of their own really.” Jones was satisfied to see the damage the war had caused to the region; she was glad to see that the Germans had “really got back more than they dished out this time, at least in some parts.” Nevertheless, she admitted that in “untouched” areas the Germans were much friendlier.⁵³

Jones’ observations confirm that there was a difference of opinion among the troops about how to treat the Germans. Most had arrived, ready to “hate every German they saw”, but after a few weeks, some Canadians did not see the point and began to feel sorry for the civilians, much like Jones herself. She also mentioned a practice that

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

had frustrated the Civil Affairs officers in France and other liberated countries before Germany. Even though soldiers were still not allowed to transport civilians in official vehicles, “nine times out of ten” if they saw an elderly woman pulling a cart laden with wood or other cargo, they would stop and give her a lift. This comment perhaps shows the wholesale change towards the German people. In March 1945, Canadians resisted helping German civilians pull their wagons out of a desire to punish them for the war, but now, under a year later, most wanted to help without hesitation.

Jones described a very happy Christmas in Germany, one where the liquor flowed extensively. She commented that she had not seen so much in her life. King George VI spoke on the radio about “the ‘privations’ of war and the poor army of occupation, toasted him in champagne! There aren’t many privations around here that I can see.” Jones mentioned that they had parties complete with trees, orchestras and, of course, more liquor.⁵⁴

In terms of entertainment, Jones did not think there was a lot. There was a movie house in Bad Zwischenahn for the troops and the picture changed every two nights. There were also different messes for the troops, which she said were well stocked. In the summer months, boating and swimming were popular, Bad Zwischenahn being on a lake, but Jones suggested that there was a rumour going around that the Canadians would not be there by the time summer returned, which was prophetic. Jones hoped that she would be in Germany long enough to see Paris, especially in the

⁵⁴ Ibid.

spring. Unfortunately, remnants of the letters in the Canadian War Museum do not tell us whether she got her wish.⁵⁵

By December, units like the 4th Battalion of the Queen's Own Rifles were also reporting a rise in fraternization, which the Canadians viewed as just a means of protection against the cold winter. German women were anxious to form relationships. "Realizing that this winter will see many shortages of foodstuffs, these frauleins are all out to make an acquaintance of a Canadian soldier." However, the unit commander Lieutenant-Colonel J.N. Medhurst suggested that all German women were not the same. "Prostitutes" were congregated in areas in Aurich and at Brems Gardens for the unit dances. Another "self-respecting" German woman suggested to Medhurst that "she would rather not be seen at any of our dances because of these promiscuous women that area easily picked up on the street the night of the dance."⁵⁶

Several units between January and March 1946 noted the rise in fraternization, particularly the openness with which it was being conducted. This was also quoted directly in security reports for the entire CAOF. The Osnabrück Area Security Office reported dances being held over the Christmas season that were popular and well-attended without any friction. The report noted that the type of women at the dance was "improving" and suggested that in some areas "the better class of people fight shy of such ostentatious fraternisation".⁵⁷ Lt.-Col. J.N. Medhurst now at the Headquarters of the 2nd Battalion reported on 5 February that officers were holding "whispered"

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, 4th Battalion Queen's Own Rifles of Canada (CAOF), "Security Report", 17 Dec. 1945.

⁵⁷ DHH, 581.009(D171), HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, "CI Sitrep No. 9", 11 Jan. 1946.

conversations about beautiful blonde German women. Even some soldiers were starting to ask about marrying German women, even though this was still forbidden. Even one soldier had asked to be demobilized in Germany rather than be repatriated back to Canada.⁵⁸ Medhurst indicated that dances were an incredible boost to morale. Dances gave the men entertainment “which cannot be achieved through canteens, pubs and movies alone. These dances remain a highlight on the entertainment programme.” Medhurst also made a striking comment on how the dances helped the soldiers decide whom they would fraternize with: “Since lighted ballrooms tend to eliminate the false impressions of beauty so attained on dark street corners, the men are much more careful in choosing girls which they hope to keep as CAOF ‘companions.’”⁵⁹ The Queen’s Own Rifles noted in the same report period that personnel behaved well at the dances, but “there are still a few unruly ones who continually jeopardize the reputation of the Canadian soldier by their fighting and uncouthness.” A handwritten note on the report suggested “no incidents have been reported.”⁶⁰

The 25 February morale report for the CAOF continued to describe the soldiers as “indifferent” towards the Germans. The soldiers, however, were gaining “tolerance” towards the German men who were beginning to speak to the Canadians and spread stories of their ignorance of and innocence in Nazi crimes. Twenty-seven Canadian

⁵⁸ This section of the report was repeated word for word in a Counter-Intelligence Situation Report dated 25 February 1946 in file: DHH, 581.009(D170).

⁵⁹ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2/7 Inf. Bde, CAOF, “Security Report”, 5 Feb. 1946. This report was submitted ten days prior to the government’s announcement that the CAOF would be repatriated within two to three months.

⁶⁰ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion The Queen’s Own Rifles of Canada (CAOF), “Security Report”, 3 Feb. 1946.

soldiers had approached chaplains requesting marriage to German girls. Marriage was still prohibited between Allies and German nationals.⁶¹

As fraternization rose, there was a corresponding rise in anti-fraternization feelings from the civilian population. Letters sent to German women who fraternized with Canadian men threatened them with “hair-cutting”, as well as other forms of violence. It is interesting to note the practice of shaving heads was practiced by groups as diverse as French, Belgian and Dutch liberation groups, and ordinary civilians, as well as Germans dissatisfied with the Allied Occupation.⁶² Posters and poems warning women against fraternizing with Canadian soldiers had been seen at least since the summer of 1945. Former members of the *Wehrmacht* also grumbled that German women should not associate with Allied troops, threatening violence against fraternizers. One “Discharged Soldiers’ Club” sent a following poem, a racist screed, to three German women in the town of Westerstede. The doggerel charged: “‘You German women, have you no shame?’ For German soldiers who’ve lost a limb, You show no feeling, not a single thing!” The poem complained that the women had destroyed German honour, “But the day is coming when you will pay!... But just you wait, just wait for the day When even the nigger will cast you away.”⁶³

The report from the Winnipeg Rifles on 1 March also noted the increase of fraternization between Canadian soldiers and German civilians “from day to day”. Dances at Brems Garten were still an “excellent example” of the increase in

⁶¹ DND, DHH, 581.009(D159), 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Morale Report”, 25 Feb. 46.

⁶² LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division, “CI SITREP Number 11”, 25 Feb. 46.

⁶³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3 Canadian Area Security Office, “CI Sitrep No. 19”, 22 Jan. 46. Poem quotes: DHH, 581.009(D170), 204/Int/2G, HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, “CI Sitrep No. 10”, 23 Jan. 46.

fraternization as well as numerous Canadian soldiers walking and holding hands with German women. At this point, fraternization was legal, but still troubling for the security personnel, despite the fact that the war had been over for almost a year, and the Canadians were pulling out in less than two months: "There is still too much free talking with German civilians. With fraternization on the increase, discussions with German civilians are not watched with sufficient care. There are still too many soldiers who like to impress people with what they know."⁶⁴

Through the winter of 1945-1946, Canadian soldiers conducted raids throughout the CAOF area to search for infractions of Military Government law, including hidden weapons and illegal alcohol. The searches were supposed to be a surprise, but some soldiers contacted German friends about the upcoming raids. Other soldiers roughed up civilians in heavy-handed encounters in houses.

On the night of 8-9 January 1946, the Canadian forces in Aurich conducted a search of the entire town. The reason was not specified; it was possibly a test of CAOF security. Unfortunately, the security was breached from the start. Soldiers were "CB'd" or confined to barracks, before the start of the raid at 16:30, and guards were posted around the camp. One soldier, who had been sleeping in the town with a girlfriend, had to break CB to get some of his kit at the home. According to the report sent to the HQ of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Infantry Brigade, the soldier ran frantically to his unofficial home where he told his girlfriend about the raid. By midnight, the raid was fully known

⁶⁴ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, "Military Security Report", 4 R Winnipeg Rifles, 1 Mar 1946.

across Aurich. Civilians were also employed in the MG offices in the town and there was a good possibility that the secrecy was breached that way as well.

The report on the raid commended several German *hausfraus* who, upon the soldiers' knock on the door, invited the searchers into the kitchen and fixed them cups of tea. Such a welcome prevented any looting from taking place. Indeed, a German girl was upset with the welcome she had given the soldiers: "Had I only known! My hair was a mess and I didn't even have on my good dress!" Not all women were so happy to see the soldiers. In one restaurant in the town, 20 women holed up in the washroom. The Provost Corps "boldly" followed them in and found the women were without proper identification. Whether they were without any identification at all or whether they had left theirs at home, the report did not say.⁶⁵

One report from the Aurich raid potentially shows the attitude of soldiers towards ordinary male civilians. A hardware store owner, Carl Schüt, was arrested during the mass raid. In a letter to the *Regierungpräsident* (district official) in the town, Schüt complained that he had been arrested and mistreated by the soldiers that had detained him. He had been arrested at home, because he had not opened his door fast enough for the soldiers. He explained that he had been in a deep sleep and that his bedroom was too far from the front door to hear the knocking. He was guarded by two soldiers, while others searched for contraband material, but none was found. One of the soldiers purportedly beat him with a rifle butt, in front of his wife, before he was taken to another house at the Ostertor (Easter Gate) of Aurich where soldiers were guarding

⁶⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), "Military Security Report", 18 Jan. 46.

prisoners. Once there an NCO asked Schüt how long he had been a member of the Nazi Party, a charge to which the German vehemently denied. The NCO did not accept this explanation. "They sneered at this statement and said, that no German to-day admitted to have been in the Party." Schüt was made to wait, standing, facing a wall with his hands behind his back. Later, he was moved elsewhere. During the journey he was beaten again by rifle butts and guarded by more soldiers with guns. Finally, arriving at the other guard house, the soldiers there released Schüt, admonishing him to open his door upon demand. Schüt suggested that the soldiers who released him acted appropriately and "the treatment was absolutely correct." Unfortunately, there is no other record of this incident. It is unknown who the soldiers were or why they had suspected Schüt of any wrongdoing. Raids were common, a means of clamping down on the black market in weapons and alcohol. Schüt's complaint might be perfectly true, but that cannot be established absolutely with only one side of the story.⁶⁶

Another raid two months later was conducted on the island of Norderney, one of the East Friesian Archipelago north of the German coast on 4 March 1946. Number 3 Canadian Field Security Section carried out the raid. Ninety-four members of the Queen's Own Regiment were detailed to assist in the raid along with 12 German policemen from Aurich. The MG rep for Norderney, the eponymous town on the island, a Captain Unwin, was initially opposed to the security check and demanded to know whether permission had been given by the Military Government Detachment. He was insistent on knowing the reasoning for the search because, on a previous raid, troops

⁶⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Carl Schüt, Letter, 16 Jan. 1946.

and stolen and looted from the civilians and “set back the work of Mil Gov by three months. It was rather difficult for the NCO in charge to prevent the object being revealed.” As perhaps a result of Captain Unwin’s opinions of soldiers’ previous actions, infantry in support of the raid were kept outside of civilians’ homes, unless their presence was absolutely necessary for arrests or other physical aid. They formed a perimeter to prevent persons from leaving or entering the area in which the check was being conducted.

The outlying nature of Norderney Island obviously caused some confusion. The raid performed security checks of former *Wehrmacht* soldiers who had or had not been properly discharged, which was common. Some persons had been discharged with papers stamped with the wrong date. Others had not been officially discharged, though their presence was known to the MG authorities. A change of identity cards had resulted in some people not having the proper papers. One member of the Grenzschutz, or the Customs and Border Protection Police, claimed that he did not know the organization had become part of the SD or Sicherheitsdienst, the Nazi security organization, which was now considered illegal. Further investigation was required. An SS man who had been rumoured to be on the island was searched for without any success. The only contraband found were pairs of German Army binoculars and wire cutters and one Luftwaffe uniform. The final confusion concerned curfews. Dances, predominantly for the Germans themselves, were held until midnight, but no curfew passes had been distributed to them. This was a potential security problem, and 3 Field Security asked whether curfew passes were essential.

The raid was satisfactory, in part because secrecy had been maintained before the security check was carried out. No problems of major concern had been found and there was no trouble from the civilians. Presumably because of the precautions taken with keeping troops outside of the homes, there were no problems from the soldiers as well. The report noted that the search "was carried out in good order." Food and supplies were judged to be adequate for the population on the island.⁶⁷

As the postwar period continued, the Germans would come to tolerate the foreign occupiers, but shedding themselves of the Nazi stereotypes and racial images was not easy. The fear of continued Russian advance westward would be a common reoccurrence in military government and field security reports. But civilians in Europe were also aware of events in Canada, like the Gouzenko Affair. Igor Gouzenko was a Soviet cipher clerk who defected in Ottawa after a long night of trying to convince Canadian authorities he was serious. When Gouzenko applied for asylum in Canada, in September 1945, less than four months after the war ended in Europe, Canadian soldiers overseas were hearing rumours of impending war with the Soviets from their German hosts. Even more fascinating, such rumours were heard in Holland from the Dutch merely a month after the war ended. A war between East and West had always been part and parcel of Nazi propaganda, but it appears that, in this instance, the propaganda might have been just as effective in Holland as well as Germany.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ LAC RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, 3 Canadian Field Security Section, "Report on Security Check on Norderney," 4 March 1946.

⁶⁸ LAC, RG 24, C-3, Vol. 16395, Series 1193, 14 Canadian Field Security Section, "Monthly CI Report No. 4", 19 Jun. 45

By October, the rumours were rampant. Every German seemed to have either heard of war breaking out with Russia, either the Turks had attacked first and the British joined them, or, despite the fact that Germany had been at war with the Western Allies, the Soviet Union was the real and eternal enemy. The situation was not helped as POWs, DPs and refugees made their way westward. The horror stories that they told of what happened in the Russian Zone confirmed the rumours, which only frightened the local population. Some of the other rumours were not just about the “inevitable” fighting with the Russians. One persistent story was that war had broken out between the British and the Dutch. This was not so surprising, considering the changes in the Dutch attitude towards the Canadians. According to one very unlikely rumour, at a showing of a film about concentration camps, a Jew allegedly stood up and claimed that the SS was not responsible for the destruction, but blamed the British and the Americans. The rumours were not helped by the newsreels that were shown to the Germans. In Oldenburg, an audience was shown a three month old newsreel showing the Potsdam Conference. The narrator made reference to the eternal “solidarity” of the Big Three (Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union) at which point the audience burst out into laughter, which was noted with concern by the local MG Public Relations Officer. The Germans had been told enough whoppers by Goebbels that even they knew that the victors were not inseparable. If anything, the situation on the ground in Germany had showed them that. Countless public opinion surveys conducted by MG

detachments showed that the Germans had good ideas of what was going on in the Russian Zone, even if much of it was based on rumours.⁶⁹

In December 1945, the Canadians received a “lecture” by Lieutenant-General Brian Horrocks, commanding officer of 30 Corps, which, according to security reports, allayed fears surrounding Russian intentions. Horrocks assured the troops that the Russians’ intentions were good. Meanwhile, the security reports noted that DPs were still telling stories of what happened over in the Russian Zone, but that the Canadian troops were probably not paying them any heed.⁷⁰

By March 1946, a Security Report for the HQ of 2nd Battalion, 7th Infantry Brigade (Rifles) of the CAOF reported that the Canadian troops were beginning to show apprehension about the Russian “problem” related to the Ottawa Gouzenko “incident”. Rumours of a future war against the Soviet Union were cropping up every day and those fears were shared by the German population.⁷¹ Another report, this time from the Winnipeg Rifles, noted the same Gouzenko rumours, leading to doubts concerning Russian good intentions. A report from the Royal Regina Rifles in the same period suggested that civilian rumours had little effect on Canadian troops.⁷²

⁶⁹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “CI Sitrep No. 12” and “CI Sitrep No. 13”, 11 and 18 Oct. 45.

⁷⁰ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2/7 Inf. Bde, CAOF, “Security Report”, 19 Dec. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, 4 R Winnipeg Rifles, 17 Dec. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment (Oldenburg), “Public Relations”, 31 Oct. 1945.

⁷¹ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 4 March 1946.

⁷² LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, “Military Security Report”, 4 R Winnipeg Rifles, 1 Mar 1946.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, “Military Security Report”, 4 R Regina Rifles, 1 Mar 1946.

The Canadian Army Occupation Force officially lasted less than a year. After its creation in June and July 1945, the Canadian government was soon discussing its departure from Germany. This next section will discuss the frantic and often tense relations between the Canadian and British governments in the discussions over the removal of the CAOF between December 1945 and January 1946. Whereas the Canadian Mackenzie King government under had always intended the CAOF to be a short-term military involvement, the decision to pull out was viewed with alarm by the British Labour government of Clement Attlee. The Canadian refusal to continue to lend troops to the occupation was tantamount to desertion in the eyes of the Imperial General Staff. Prime Minister Mackenzie King, always stubborn, had made his decision and it was left to the British to accept it. When news reached Canada that its soldiers in Germany were engaged in protests and work stoppages, tantamount to mutiny, this only added to the King government's argument that the soldiers be taken home as soon as possible.

General Vokes' headquarters was disbanded on 20 May 1946 after having handed over its control to the British 52nd (Lowland) Division five days earlier.⁷³ The CAOF had ceased to exist as most of the Canadian soldiers headed back to Canada in April, happy that their tours of duty were over. No one had any indication that, within five years, Canada would be sending troops back to Germany during the Cold War.

On 3 August 1945, the Canadian cabinet resolved that Canadian troops overseas be repatriated home as soon as possible. In this regard, the British government was to

⁷³ C. P. Stacey and Canada. Dept. of National Defence., *The Victory Campaign : The Operations in Northwest Europe, 1944-45*, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War ; 3 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960). 622.

be reminded that they had been advised that the presence of Canadian troops in an occupation force was to be reviewed before the end of the fiscal year, and that it had been decided to bring the troops home. The cabinet debated the exact timetables for removing Canadian troops from Europe for the next few months until early December. In November, it had been decided to retain a limited number of RCAF squadrons in Germany until June 1946. On the 5th of that month, the cabinet decided to repatriate CAOF troops as soon as the rest of the Active Service soldiers had been sent home. One of the reasons given was that having such a comparatively small force away from Canada would lead to organizational and administrative concerns, which were not elaborated upon in the Cabinet minutes.⁷⁴

On 9 December 1945, the Canadian government telegraphed the British government to inform them of the decision to repatriate all Canadian troops. The telegram began by reminding the British that the Canadian decision to aid in the occupation had always been hinged on the “review” by the end of the fiscal year. This might have been simply a typical King ploy to protect himself from promising long-term Canadian commitments, but it appears that the Cabinet had looked at other possibilities for maintaining troops in Germany, but had judged that the domestic atmosphere deemed the troops needed to be sent home post haste. The British were informed within four days of the Canadian decision, but this did not make them any happier.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ LAC, RG 2, Privy Council Office, Series A-5a, Volume 2636, T-2364, “Cabinet Minutes”, 3 August 1945.
LAC, RG 2, Privy Council Office, Series A-5a, Volume 26367, T-2364, “Cabinet Minutes”, 5 December 1945.

⁷⁵ The National Archives (NA UK), United Kingdom, DO 35/1665, WG 573/10, “Telegram from Canadian Government”, 9 December 1945.

The British were confounded by the Canadian preoccupation with domestic priorities. The British Army Chief of Staff drafted a memo to the British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, in which he viewed the Canadian action as “unfortunate” because “we consider it most desirable for the Dominions to share with us the burden of the occupation of ex-enemy territories, which we undertake for the benefit of the Commonwealth as a whole.” The more important reason was stated second: “[T]he withdrawal of the Canadian Division is bound to affect the size of forces which we must ourselves maintain, since the withdrawal of one Canadian division necessitates the retention of one further British division.”⁷⁶

Much ink was spilled within the British government before a telegram was finally sent in response to the Canadian one. In his response sent on 3 January 1946, while noting Canadian concerns over domestic pressures and administrative problems, Attlee strongly urged King to reconsider his decision to pull out the troops. He made his plea based on several points, including the fact that all Canadian troops would have returned home while the British would still have troops with five years of service occupying Germany. He also reminded Canada of the role of Commonwealth in acting together in defeating Germany and of its necessity to act conjointly in the postwar world. In place of the Canadian suggestion, Attlee and his advisors wished that Canadian troops would at least remain until September 1947. Attlee hoped the Canadians would appreciate the candour with which he asked for their continuing help.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ NA UK, DO 35/1665, WG 573/10, “Annex VI: Draft Minute to the Prime Minister”, December 1945.

⁷⁷ NA UK, DO 35/1665, WG 573/10, “Telegram to Canadian Government”, 3 January 1946.

Prime Minister King responded in an equally frank telegram on 15 January. He replied by stating that, if it was within the Canadian government's power to accede to the British requests, it would do so. However, King said that the Canadians would be unable to change the decision that had already been made by a "full" Cabinet after a serious discussion. King's use of the Cabinet as the excuse for not being able to acquiesce to the British request is interesting since his preference for evading extensive external entanglements for Canada is well known. However, it is an excellent example of continuing Canadian independence from British control and diplomatic pressure that had begun with the Statute of Westminster in 1930. King had waited a week for a Parliamentary vote in 1939 before declaring war on Germany and now noted that the representatives of the Canadian people had made their decision in wanting the troops to come home.

One might think that with such a polite rebuff, the matter might have been closed, but this only angered the British military even more. Chief of Staff Hastings Ismay and the other British service chiefs were particularly indignant over the Canadian refusal. They viewed this action as "not only wholly selfish, but grossly unfair." If one Commonwealth member was to not pull their fair share, the burden would fall disproportionately on the other members. Not only did it shine poorly on Canadian participation in the Commonwealth, but on the future of the United Nations, which required participation of member nations to be effective.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ NA UK, DO 35/1665, WG 573/10, General H Ismay, "Annex IV: Copy of a Minute" 17 January 1946.

However, the matter was *still* not closed. Even after King's refusal to reopen the debate, the British still hoped that the Canadian decision could be altered. More meetings with the Canadians, including one by General Ismay himself, proved fruitless. Finally, King dispatched another private note on 13 February to Attlee explaining that a "new urgency" only supported the Canadian decision. Reports of unrest by Canadian soldiers had reached the cabinet, confirming their worst fears. Indeed, many must have remembered the riots in Britain after the First World War.⁷⁹

This incident of unrest, a "sitdown strike" by the 3rd Battalion of the Galt and Kitchener Highlanders, may be an incident that General Vokes recalled in his memoirs as an RCAF "mutiny". According to reports in the *Globe and Mail (Globe)*, Vokes informed the troops that their actions constituted mutiny, but representatives of the strikers met with Lt.-Col. G.B. Buchanan and the problem was solved quickly and amicably after a few hours. The troops' "beefs" concerned two familiar soldiers' gripes: food and, of course, repatriation. There were also other concerns about hot water for showers and being able to smoke in the mess. The strikers complained that they did not receive proper Canadian rations with a full variety of meat and vegetables. To this, Gen. Vokes responded that the troops were better fed than most people in Europe. However, the bigger question of repatriation was left unanswered. The strikers insisted that they did not care *when* they were repatriated, they just wanted to know the actual date so they

⁷⁹ NA UK, DO 35/1665, WG 573/10, "Inward Telegram: No. 27 TOP SECRET AND PERSONAL", 13 February 1946.

could prepare for it. A report on the CAOF in the *Globe* in January suggested that the soldiers believed they were “exiles”.⁸⁰

The Canadian Army was naturally disturbed by these “sitdown strikes”. The Deputy Judge Advocate General for the CAOF, Lieutenant-Colonel W.B. Bredin ordered a report for Maj.-Gen. Vokes concerning the relevant (British) Army Act Sections that covered mutinous insubordination. There was no doubt that the strikes were acts of mutiny, according to the regulations.⁸¹

To respond to the troops as well as the British government, in his note of 13 February, King proposed to publish a statement on 15 February announcing the withdrawal of Canadian troops. After the decision was finally made, there were worries that the other Allies might not appreciate Canada’s withdrawal so soon after the end of the war. The Canadian Ambassador in Washington D.C., future Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, wrote to the Department of External Affairs that: “I think you will be interested to know that there has been no, repeat no, reaction in the press in the U.S. to the announcement that Canadian occupation troops are to be withdrawn from Germany. We have not, in fact, seen even a news item.”⁸²

Angelika Sauer points out that the Canadian reasons for removing troops were not because Canada had been excluded from decision-making in postwar Germany. Indeed, her argument is that the decision to pull the troops out in 1946 was made prior

⁸⁰ William Boss, “Vokes' Warning Ends Occupation Sitdown,” *Globe and Mail*, 14 February 1946.
Ralph Allen, “Canada’s Forces in Europe: Food Brings Criticism, But Broader Problems Affect ‘Exiles’ Morale”, *Globe and Mail*, 19 January 1946, 1.

⁸¹ DND, DHH, 305/Disc/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Army Act 7, 8 &9”, 8 Feb. 45.
DND, DHH, 305/Disc/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Sitdown Strikes”, 9 Feb. 46.

⁸² DND, DHH, 581.013(D1), Major A.K. Reid, Army Historical Section, “Memorandum” Oct. 46.

to when the Occupation Force was even put in place in 1945. Canadian concerns were primarily with getting the troops home and not aggravating a tense atmosphere in Quebec that had erupted with the decision to send conscripted soldiers overseas a year earlier. As Sauer notes, Canadian officials viewed the lack of Canadian occupational control as a “further argument” to limit Canadian involvement. Indeed, the government position at the time was that Canada might be served better by not being connected to the Big Power occupation of Germany.⁸³

Sauer also notes the media response to the Canadian government decision, which was resoundingly negative. Papers like the *Globe and Mail* and the *Hamilton Spectator* viewed the decision as failing to fulfill obligations made to the other Allies, without knowing that the King government’s promise of an Occupation Force had been conditional upon the need to return troops home as fast as possible as well as shipping space. Sauer does not mention that a *Globe* report noted that Field Marshal Montgomery had told King that it would be “rather nice” to have a Canadian brigade in Europe as Commonwealth window dressing, to which King had replied that there would be complete withdrawal if there were no *practical* reasons for keeping Canadian troops there.⁸⁴

Sauer points out that even the *Winnipeg Free Press*, usually a strong supporter of the Liberals, castigated the government for letting people think that Canadians were not

⁸³ Angelika Sauer, “‘So Untimely a Retreat’: The Decision to Withdraw the Canadian Occupation Force From Germany”, in Greg Donaghy, Hector Mackenzie, and Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, *Uncertain Horizons : Canadians and Their World in 1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1997), 33-45.

⁸⁴ “Canada’s Occupation Force to Be Withdrawn, Dutch May Take Over,” *Globe and Mail*, 16 February 1946.

interested in supporting peace in the postwar world. This criticism, which may seem unlikely in an era of strongly linked partisan papers, is not out of line considering the belief in collective security held by several members of the *Free Press* staff.⁸⁵

King's firmness with the British is not surprising considering his previous assertions of Canadian independence. No doubt the troops' disaffection was a major factor in the Canadians' desire to bring them home. Some troops had been overseas for six years. While some members of the CAOF were volunteers, many judged the living conditions and food situation to be inadequate. However, some occupation troops were fortunate to sleep in German *Kriegsmarine* barracks.⁸⁶ Other troops were there because of the NRMA, and King had never liked any form of conscription. As Sauer points out, conscription was still an explosive issue within Canada and Quebec in particular as well as with the troops' themselves. The soldiers' anger and violence only put the final nail in the CAOF's coffin and illustrated the government's case for them. Sauer also makes an excellent case that suggests the Canadians had never believed in continuing the occupation after the end of the war. The economic and pragmatic reasoning for the Occupation Force had been because there had been precious little shipping to send the troops home early on. Also, the British had estimated a large continuing contribution of Canadian forces, something to that the Canadians had never agreed upon. The final decision was made in November 1945 and once it was made, King would not be moved.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Sauer, "So Untimely a Retreat", 34.

⁸⁶ Interview with Major "Chic" Goodman, 21 Nov. 2006.

⁸⁷ Sauer, "So Untimely a Retreat", 36-41.

In late February, a report for the entire Occupation Force noted that troops returning from rotational leave to Canada were “painting a very black picture insofar as ‘good old C[ana]da’ is concerned.” The troops returning from leave suggested that Canadians should remain in Germany as long as they could because “acon” (accommodation) was not available at home. There was a great shortage of available homes in Canada. Clothes were not cheap back home, but cheaply made and “the cost of living is generally very high.”⁸⁸ By mid-March, however, troop morale had increased considerably. The 2nd/7th HQ report on 4 March suggested that crime had disappeared, in part because of the “rear party” warning. Medhurst noted that “[i]t is very interesting to note how a bit of news can make 25,000 men forget about bully beef, mess tins and low points.”⁸⁹

The 2nd Battalion HQ and some of its component units noted the since the government had already announced the impending departure of the CAOF, troops were becoming increasingly lax in terms of security. However, the troops could never have been considered strict in that area since the Security Reports had complained about soldiers’ willingness to talk to Germans long before the announcement was made. The Germans were increasingly anxious as to who would replace the Canadians in the area. The Canadian soldiers, according to several reports, told the civilians that it could be anyone from the Russians, Poles to even the Belgians who would be relieving them: “Even the civ[ilian]s who resented the tps are now sorry to hear that the Cdns are

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 4 March 1946.

leaving, for it is rumoured the Poles are moving into Ostfriesland.” These answers were, of course, fated to generate the most panic in the minds of the Germans. The truth was that the soldiers did not know, even though this was still the British Zone and there were no Allied plans for changing the responsibility for the area. Indeed, the British would have preferred the Canadians to stay on as part of the occupation for a much longer time. The next HQ report noted that “signs of anguish that the Canadians are leaving is quite a general reaction, possibly just “balm for our souls.”” The Regina Rifles suggested that, “They expect the worst naturally, and are afraid that our successors will not treat them as fairly as we have.” The Winnipeg Rifles reported that the civilians “continue to insist on their preference for Cdn troops over those of any of the Occupying Powers.” War with Russia was still rumoured to be close and DPs crossing from the Russian Zone only heightened the anxiety by describing what happened in that area. Finally, the Germans were curious as to why the British and Canadians did not seem to be getting along. This was the only report of this comment, at this time, but perhaps it can be explained by the departure of the Canadians at a time the British still presumed was very inconvenient to them, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.⁹⁰

As much as the soldiers did not know who was replacing them, they did know when they were leaving and according to 2nd/7th HQ, the civilians knew everything the

⁹⁰ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 18 Mar 1946.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion the Regina Rifle Regiment (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 18 Mar 1946.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, “4th Battalion Royal Winnipeg Rifles (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 17 March 1946.

soldiers did. According to another report, German women also reported that their “boyfriends” were leaving, knowing the dates and routes of departure. The information came from during the “love-lorn [sic] Canadian making fond farewells to his German fraulein. In some cases it is suspected that the impending departure may be used as an expedient excuse to effect a more rapid compromise ‘let us not dilly-dally Gretchen.’” The unmistakable impression is that the Canadians were using their departure as a last excuse to heighten their fraternization.⁹¹

The manner in which the Canadian soldiers pulled out of Germany was no doubt frustrating for the British government, but at least on paper, the Canadian government stressed the importance of independent democratic action. Great Power and international concerns gave way to entirely domestic ones. The Canadians in Germany were unsure why they were there and wanted a definite answer to when they were coming home. The government was painfully aware of their concerns and acted upon them despite British protests.

The Canadians and the Germans, for the most part, got along well during the period of occupation. From July 1945 to April 1946, Canadian fraternization increased because it was now allowed. But even without the barrier of the ban, fraternization was not automatic. Margaret Jones’ account shows how pre-existing attitudes changed once soldiers actually saw Germans for the first time. Dances helped “break the ice” between

⁹¹ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 18-19 Mar 1946.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion The Queen’s Own Rifles of Canada (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 18-19 Mar 1946.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Royal Winnipeg Rifles (CAOF), “Military Security Report”, 17 March 1946.

Canadians and Germans. Canadians also began to trust civilians more, but some soldiers still suspected the Germans of hiding things from them. Most soldiers, however, were getting bored and did not see the point of the occupation. It did not help that rumours of another war seemed to be everywhere. The Canadians simply wanted to go home.

CHAPTER NINE:**VD**

Fraternization, after the ban was lifted, did have its down side. From the summer of 1945 to the spring of 1946, venereal disease (VD) was a persistent and pernicious feature of occupation life for Canadian soldiers in Germany. Army officials were often at odds at how to deal with the problem, and it did not help that prophylactics were in short supply. Soldiers were either unaware or showed a complete lack of care in preventing infection and many officials found it easy to blame the problem on allegedly promiscuous prostitutes and other “loose” good-time women. There was also some resentment shown by the Germans against the Canadians, but this was not the norm.

Venereal Disease was a problem that could not be ignored. Canadians, in general, had higher rates of VD than other armies and in Holland and Germany, this was especially so. There were several reasons why the VD rate was so high. First, if condoms were given to troops, there might not have been a sufficient supply to go around. Second, there is evidence that some Army officers viewed condoms as a reason for sexual promiscuity and argued against their distribution to Canadian troops. Third, because the Army treated VD solely as a public health problem, troops were not disciplined for being carriers. Fourth, there was a gender-biased focus on women as VD carriers. Under the Military Government, German women could be detained in a hospital to get VD cures if they were found to be spreading the disease, but soldiers were not treated the same way.

By the time Canadians left Holland and Germany, their rates of infection were consistently astronomical. The records of the Canadian Scottish Regiment, and soldiers’

letters home, indicate that once the fraternization ban was relaxed in Germany, the number of VD cases there rose exponentially. The Army and the Canadian government were extremely worried that infected soldiers could spread high rates of infection at home as well as overseas.¹ As one soldier wrote, "Since we have been allowed to fraternize the V.D. rate has been doubled. I'm telling you it's something fierce." The problem worried the medical units as well, "Lately more than 50% of our customers have been V.D. cases. We are also handling tremendously long sick parades every day. All in all we have never been so busy since the Battle of Falaise." One soldier did not understand his fellows' lack of care, "I don't know what is the matter with the guys. They have safes [condoms], and Pro-Kits which cut the odds down to about 100-1 of getting a dose, but the silly b----- don't use them."² A Counter-Intelligence Situation Report in September 1945 suggested that soldiers were unable to get condoms from their units or Field Dressing Stations and then would go on leave to cities like Paris or Brussels without adequate protection.³

On the contrary, suggested one VD control officer in Holland in September 1945, the problem was not that the Canadians did not use the condoms they were given, but the fact that they had them at all. Major R. Cowan of the 14 Canadian Field Hygiene Section believed that the increase in the VD rate was directly proportional to the rise in

¹ University of Victoria, Special Collections, Canadian Scottish Regiment, "War Diary", multiple dates, 1945.

Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Vol. 12611, 11/Hyg VD/1/B, CMHQ, "V.D. Control-Programme and Policy, Diagnosis of V.D. on Troopship", 30 Aug 45.

² LAC, RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/4, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, "Censorship Report for period 16-31 Jul 45", 9.

³ Department of National Defence (DND), Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), 581.009(D171), HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, "CI Sitrep No. 3", 10 Sept. 45.

soldiers' promiscuity. He suggested that the use of prophylactics did not alter the VD rate since of the 1036 cases he had reviewed in the previous two months, 560 cases had resulted despite the use of a preventative measures. He argued that:

[T]he issue of prophylactics in the army has resulted, in a higher incidence of infection, than would have occurred had no prophylactic been supplied. I believed that many young men take a prophylactic with them not intending to use it "Just in Case". With it in their pocket they get themselves involved in a situation, from which they would have steered clear were they not in possession of what they believed to be 'protection'. In this way promiscuity begins and continues.⁴

Unfortunately, Major Cowan did not offer proof that the availability of condoms sparked a rise in greater Canadian sexuality. Other authority figures were also horrified about the distribution of condoms. Anthony Beevor reported one Canadian chaplain who "ranted" to airborne troops just before their D-Day drop into Normandy that they should not go into battle, possibly to their deaths, carrying "'the means of mortal sin'". This apparently encouraged the soldiers to drop their condom packets on the floor before departing on the "crusade" in Normandy.⁵ Just as Canadians obviously chose to have sex without condoms, having prophylaxis did not necessarily encourage them even further. Without the limited stopgap of condoms and EPT (Early Preventive Treatment) kits, the rate could have been even higher than what was found.

For the most part, the Army treated the VD outbreak as a public health problem, *not* as a moral issue. Common wisdom among the Army medical units dealing with the issue in both the Netherlands and Germany was that any attempts to

⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9/3, 14 Canadian Field Hygiene Section, "Venereal Disease Control Officer's Report, Sep 45".

⁵ Beevor, *D-Day: The Battle for Normandy*, 58.

criminalize VD or to use punitive measures against soldiers with VD would only exacerbate the problem and drive it even further underground. The Army tried many tacks to reduce the infection rate. Other than giving away free condom and treatment kits, the usual plethora of VD films, pamphlets and posters were shown to the troops in an attempt to educate them about the dangers of VD. The Army even offered a poster contest for soldiers to create their own warnings about the problem.⁶ Unfortunately, even when units needed methods of prophylaxis, the Army did not supply enough. According to the CAOF's Venereal Disease Control Officer (VDCO), no condoms were received in October 1945, but a fresh supply did arrive in the next month.⁷

One solution suggested by the army was to take infected women to hospital and to raid areas where infected prostitutes were known to work. It was also suggested that soldiers' morale be raised, but there was no clear way to do so since most soldiers' morale could only be raised with the prospect of female companionship or returning home. In at least one instance, it was reported that films and lectures had little effect on the problem. CAOF HQ feared that travelling VD infected prostitutes were being used to "sabotage" soldiers. While there seemed to be no proof to this assertion, HQ required the detention and treatment of any woman found to be infected.⁸

Deciphering exact VD rates is problematic, but the general trend through the end of 1945 into the spring of 1946 is shockingly high. Canadians in Lower Saxony had more

⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Overseas, "Venereal Disease Control—Cdn. Army (Overseas), Progress Report for period Sept. 1945-Dec. 1945", 2.

⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Occupation Force, "VDCO Monthly Report", Nov. 45.

⁸ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, "Military Security Report", 4 R Regina Rifles, 1 Feb. 46. LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, Headquarters (HQ) 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), "Prostitutes", 11 Sep. 45.

VD cases than the British troops in the same area. That makes sense because the CAOF area was primarily garrisoned with Canadians; however, the rates of Canadian VD are astronomical. Brent Watson notes the Canadians had a “long, if not proud tradition” of VD. He suggests that the Canadians had a Second World War peak of 68.4 per thousand strength in 1945.⁹ His statistic appears to come from a Korean War vintage document and does not correspond with the numbers found in the Northwest Europe records. In fact, the VD rates of the postwar period appear to match the rates Watson found among rear-echelon troops in Korea.¹⁰ In June, First Canadian Army reported 400 new cases *per week*.¹¹ Later, in the last quarter of 1945 alone for all units of the Canadian Army Overseas, in the Netherlands, the rate was 171.8 cases per 1,000 per annum (year) of gonorrhoea alone in October and 249.8 in November. In the CAOF in Germany, the rate was 193.9 per 1,000 per annum of gonorrhoea in October, 227.2 in November and a slight decrease in January of 135.7. Certainly, these numbers as a whole represent smaller rates than what Watson describes, but his statistic of 611 per 1000 per annum for the 25 Combat Infantry Brigade Group in October 1952 can be matched by units of the 7, 8 and 9 Infantry Brigades in the months after the Second World War.¹² In actual fact, Canadians had a problem with VD that was consistent between the two conflicts.

⁹ This comment is made in Watson’s PhD dissertation and not his book of the same name. Brent Byron Watson, University of Victoria (B.C.). Dept. of History., and University of Victoria (B.C.). "Far Eastern Tour : The Experiences of the Canadian Infantry in Korea" (Thesis (Ph D), University of Victoria, 1999), 309-10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 312.

LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9/4, Venereal Disease Control Officer (CAOF), “VDCO’s Monthly Report CAOF February 1946”, 5.

¹¹ LAC, RG 34, Vol. 16475, No. 7 Provost Company, “Part I Orders”, 28 June 1945.

¹² LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Overseas, “Venereal Disease Control—Cdn. Army (Overseas), Progress Report for period Sept. 1945-Dec. 1945”, Appendix “C”.

LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9/4, Venereal Disease Control Officer (CAOF), “VDCO’s Monthly Report CAOF February 1946”, 5.

What skews the Canadian records for the Second World War is perhaps the fact that the Canadians were in Europe for a year after the war ended.

Despite all the attempts to bring the VD problem under control, the problem continued to rise through the fall of 1945. According to the VDCO Major B.D. Layton at CMHQ:

The intense desire of the majority of soldiers to return to their homes, combined with the combined boredom of prolonged waiting for repatriation, cannot be offset by instructions, exhortations or punitive measures. There is only one solution which must be obvious to all—the return of these dispirited men to their homes, a normal environment and way of life.

The lack of any change in the situation, according to Layton, would be catastrophic for Canadian society, “unless their economic security and opportunities to advance themselves in civilian life are provided in the manner which they have long looked forward to, the continued incidence of venereal disease among the civilian population of Canada presents an ominous picture.”¹³ Boredom was considered a prime reason for VD, according to one security report. Soldiers would get off duty at 17:00 hours and would have little to do before curfew. The canteens would be packed and soldiers would wander the streets where they would meet prostitutes.¹⁴

One article from the “Canteen Sitrep” of Number 3 Area Security Office was entitled “Prevention of Communicable Disease”. One would expect that such an entry was a warning about VD, but concerned a different problem entirely. “As you know, every week we draw quite a tidy quantity of that morning repast for ladies of

¹³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16213, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Overseas, “Progress Report for Period July to Sept. 1945 (incl)”, 5 Oct. 45, 4.

¹⁴ DHH, 581.009(D171), HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, “CI Sitrep No. 3”, 10 Sept. 45.

questionable virtue, viz. SCHNAPPS.” The canteen was not receiving the empties of the bottles of schnapps it distributed to the troops and was asking for the empties back. The health aspect was that the empties were not sterilized properly at the distillery and soldiers were asked to rinse out their bottles before returning them. One has to wonder which disease the unit was worried about since it is not mentioned by name.¹⁵

In early December, 2nd Battalion HQ was concerned that there were not enough condoms, but also said that VD was “well under control”. Diseased women were reported to the Provost Detachment by persons who had been unfortunate enough to catch diseases. Two locales were considered the primary areas of infection, with a lot of prostitution taking place there. The troops had responded by launching raids into the districts to arrest infected prostitutes and VD cases decreased as a result. A morale report from the same period suggests that VD was “constant” and steps were being taken by COs, MOs, chaplains and educational officers to help reduce the rate of infection. The report describes the “general” health of the soldiers as “good”.¹⁶

A January 1946 report by Lt.-Col. Medhurst of 2nd Battalion HQ reported a slight increase in the VD rate. German police and Provost troops, however, were doing “excellent work in controlling wandering prostitutes.” A hospital at Sandhorst (north of Aurich) could not accept any more patients and had to turn them away.¹⁷ In February, Medhurst noted a *decrease* in the rate. A “spot check” of the German women outnumbering soldiers at a dance had been made. While the exact results were not

¹⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “Canteen Sitrep”, 29 Sept. 45.

¹⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009 D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2nd Battalion 7th Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Security Reports”, 4 Dec. 45.

DND, DHH, 581.009(D159), 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Morale Report”, 25 Nov. 45.

¹⁷ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2/7 Inf. Bde, CAOF, “Security Report”, Jan. 1946.

available at the time of the report, Medhurst indicated that 72% of the sidewalk “pickups” were infected according to information received from the Provost Corps. A hospital in Leer (south of Aurich) had been set up to treat female carriers. It is significant to note that the women were viewed as carriers and not the soldiers themselves, but that would soon change. A CAO F morale report from 25 February described the VD rate as “alarming” and requested “drastic” methods to clear up the problem. Soldiers were continuing to be infected because they presumed the risk was not large and they could be cured easily. An early draft of the report recommended that disciplinary measures, like stoppage of pay, be used to convince soldiers of the problem. This suggestion was crossed out with black pencil and not used in the final report.¹⁸

While the VD was consistently high for Canadians in Germany in the first three months of 1946, the number of cases was going down, albeit slowly. Of the 131 cases of syphilis, 64 were recorded in January, 44 in February and 23 in March. There was a much higher tally of 1,061 cases of gonorrhoea, but again there were 408 cases in January, 378 cases in February, and 275 cases in March. As Colonel E.L. Davey of the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps noted in his report:

V.D. continues to be the outstanding medical problem confronting the medical authorities in both the C.A.O.F. and the U.K. All efforts to reduce the incidence of this disease have been rigidly enforced. Nothing has been left undone in the attempt to reduce the V.D. to a minimum in the C.A.O.F.¹⁹

¹⁸ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2/7 Inf. Bde, CAO F, “Security Report”, Feb. 1946. DND, DHH, 581.009(D159), 3 Canadian Infantry Division (CAOF), “Morale Report”, 25 Feb. 46.

¹⁹ LAC, RG24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9/4, Canadian Army Overseas, “Venereal Disease Control—Cdn. Army (Overseas), Progress Report Jan-Mar (incl.) 1946”, Appendix “A”, 2.

In what was perhaps a desperate attempt to control the problem, 2/4 Canadian Provost Company conducted “sweeps” in Oldenburg in February 1946 “apprehending all females between 16 and 35 years of age found in area of OR’s Club, [which] resulted in arrest of 67 females, 16 of which were found to be infected with VD.” Nor did it help that in the same month, six civilian women escaped the former German Marine Hospital where they were being held for treatment of VD. All were recaptured and arrested, including one woman who was charged with “having intercourse with an Allied soldier knowing that she was infected with VD.” She was given two months in prison.²⁰

A report from Medhurst on 4 March made suggestions about the health of Canadian troops who would soon be returning home. He indicated that while VD might have been on the decrease, but it was still a problem. Married men apparently made suggestions that all soldiers returning to Canada be given blood tests and examinations “to safeguard the health of everyone concerned.” It is not recorded whose health he was worried about, either the soldiers, their Canadian wives or whether the concern was simply to ensure that no embarrassing evidence of matrimonial digressions would be found upon returning home. However, an FS report from the Royal Regina Regiment reported that there was no significant VD increase during the same period as the HQ report, perhaps because officers had hinted about a “delayed repat” where a “rear party” would be left behind after everyone else was sent home.²¹

²⁰ DHH, 581.009(D66), 222/Reports/1 (DPM) HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, “Monthly Provost Report”, 27 Feb 46, 2-3.

DHH, 581.009(D66), 222/Reports/1 (DPM) HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, DPM 30 Corps District, “Monthly Report Eclipse”, 27 Feb 46, 1-2.

²¹ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, Headquarters 2/7 Infantry Brigade (Rifles), “Military Security Report”, 4 March 1946.

While there are obvious reasons for soldiers' infection, like the previously noted assertions that Canadians did not use prophylaxis, Army officers, like Major Cowan tended to focus on prostitutes and other women as sources for the disease. The presumption was that since everything was being done to educate soldiers and treat their cases of VD, the only acceptable cause for the continually rising rate were these "loose" women who were beyond the reach of the Army. In Germany, there was suspicion that infected prostitutes were part of a plot to harm Canadian soldiers.²² In areas like Belgium where prostitution was legal, prostitutes could be checked and given a clean bill of health. In other areas where prostitution was illegal, the Army sometimes ruled certain cafes and bars "Out of Bounds" for Canadians because they were found to be centres of VD. In the Netherlands, VD officers complained that the rate there skyrocketed after V-E Day because of the numbers of soldiers fraternizing with Dutch women, particularly those who had fraternized with the Germans as well. The Dutch would have argued back that the rate was not as high until the Canadians arrived. In Germany, the rate was very low until the CAOF became established in July 1945. The rates appear to show that the arrival in Germany of Canadians previously stationed in Holland led directly to the high rates of early 1946. From July to November, VD rates in the CAOF jumped from 168 per 1,000 strength per year to 278. In terms of numbers of cases, in July there were 175 new cases of VD and in November there were 578. In July there had been 19 recurring cases, while in November that had jumped to 111 cases,

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, "Military Security Report", 4 R Regina Rifles, 1 Mar 1946.

²² DHH, 581.009(D171),204/Security/1 G, HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, "Prostitutes", 11 Sept. 45.

but the peak had been 122 in October.²³ Sean Longden, in his social history of 21 Army Group, points to doctors in British 2nd Army HQ who suggested female DPs were responsible for the spread of VD because they were “willing partners and one may be justified in assuming they have been the source of infection.”²⁴

As to other reasons why VD was so prevalent in the postwar period, the sources are of mixed opinions. Much information about where the VD originated came from the soldiers’ themselves upon their treatment. The Army had forms for the soldiers to fill out to determine the loci of their infection, who had infected them and when it had occurred. Looking at the results for August 1945, half of the infected Canadian soldiers reported to having been infected with VD from girls referred to as “pick ups” on the “street”, rather than prostitutes in cafes, pubs, bars or brothels. Of the 209 cases, 110 used prophylaxis, but only 29 used condoms. Forty-six admitted to using no prophylaxis and a further 53 refused to say. Sixty-nine were “exposed” in an “open place” and another 68 in “her home”. A further 27 were exposed in a “park” and the rest of the exposures came in encounters in hotels and cafes, with only 3 in brothels. One hundred and forty-nine of the soldiers did not pay for sex. VD officers like Major Cowan viewed the forms as wholly inadequate in that the form “provides nothing that is useful in locating VD sources other than the girl’s name and address.” He pointed out that soldiers needed to inform medical authorities who they had been with and where the

²³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9, Canadian Army Occupation Force, “VDCO Monthly Report-Appendix ‘G’”, Nov. 45.

²⁴ Longden, *To the Victor the Spoils : Soldiers' Lives from D-Day to Ve-Day*, 94.

girl was located. Cowan himself went around to locate some of the contacts to determine if they were the source of the infections.²⁵

Venereal disease was a large problem for the CAOF in Germany. At times, soldiers either did not use or were unable to get V-Packets and prophylactics that were supposed to help prevent the spread of VD. This was also hampered by at least one puritanical medical officer who worried about regulating morality instead of treating the diseases. The Army attempted to at least maintain surveillance on where its soldiers contracted VD, through forms and interrogation but such attempts were not as successful as imprisoning women who tested positive for VD and forced them to have treatment. The Military Government in Lower Saxony made it easier for the Army to focus on German women as carriers despite the fact that Canadian soldiers were just as responsible and could be disciplined for having VD.

²⁵ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 12613, 11/HYG VD/9/3, Army Troops Area, "Venereal Disease Control Officer's Report", Aug. 1945.

CHAPTER TEN:**DPs: A FAR BIGGER PROBLEM THAN THE GERMANS**

The Russians and Poles have a habit of going out at night on the neighbouring farms of their cantonment, whilst awaiting their return to their countries, to kill and steal the animals, and even the rations from the mouths of these farmers.¹

Letter from a Canadian Sergeant in either Holland or Germany.

“The problem of displaced persons (DPs) remains the most onerous single task in the whole complex burden of Military Government”, stated a Public Relations section of a Weekly Report of Civil Affairs/Military Government (CA/MG) about Germany in early May 1945. This chapter will discuss the problems the Canadian Army had with keeping displaced persons in check in Lower Saxony. Before the end of the war, DPs were expected to be passive agents while the Allies considered their fate. Instead, many displaced persons did not remain in their camps and some took revenge on German civilians for their situation. DP crime was a greater concern for the Canadians than German crime. Others refused to be repatriated to their home countries for fear of political reprisals. The Canadian Army repatriated the DPs as fast as possible to try to lessen the problems of occupation duty.² The issues of displaced persons (DP) were not thought to be as problematic as that of running a conquered country and keeping an enemy populace in check. Instead, the DPs caused trouble for the Allies, as well as the Germans. This situation would not change until the Canadians left the country in 1946. The most surprising aspect of dealing with the DPs was that it placed the Canadians in

¹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, Vol 12322, T-17925, 4/Censor Reps/2/3, Canadian Army Overseas, 21st Army Group, “Censorship Report for period 1-15 Jul 45”, 11.

² National Archives (United Kingdom) (NA UK), WO 219/3538, G-5 Division, Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEP), “Military Government - Civil Affairs Weekly Report No. 47”.

the position of protecting German civilians from harm. Not too long before, Canadian soldiers had viewed Germans as the enemy, and DPs as allies. Defending Germans only humanized them even further in the eyes of the Canadians.³

Displaced Persons were, in part, Allied civilians. Many were *Ostarbeiter* (Eastern workers) who had been shipped to Germany as slave labour for the insatiable German war economy. Some were French workers who either volunteered or were forced to work in Germany as part of the Vichy French *relève* scheme. Others, and most under Canadian jurisdiction, were POWs of Allied nations that had to be sent back to their respective nations as well. Some might argue that this was poetic justice, the DPs merely taking revenge on the country that had mistreated them. However, such actions were not considered acceptable by the Allies, particularly because they disrupted the calm of postwar Germany and the Allied attempts to reconfigure Germany into a peaceful nation.

The most delicate problem the Allies faced concerning Displaced Persons was what to do with them. Soviet DPs were supposed to be repatriated back to Soviet-held territory. Final arrangements had been made to ship DPs overland to Soviet-held territory in an agreement signed at Halle on 22 May 1945.⁴ Canadians did not challenge this policy at all, despite the fact that Soviet policy was to imprison in the gulag any Soviet citizens who had been captured by the Germans or had “volunteered” for labour service in Germany. Stalinist policy was that anyone who had been captured, even for

³ The term DP used in this research refers to both civilian Displaced Persons as well as Prisoners of War (POWs) and a term used during the war (PWX) Prisoner of War, Executive, which probably refers to officers.

⁴ Nikolai Tolstoy, *Victims of Yalta* (London: Corgi Books, 1979), 386.

very limited periods of time, as a “fascist” spy and liable to spend a “tenner” or ten-year sentence in a labour camp. As a result, many DPs refused to go back to the Soviet Union. In the case of Polish DPs, many were distrustful of the Soviet Lublin Government and did not wish to go back to a Communist-controlled Poland.

Along with Displaced Persons were German refugees divided into two groups: expellees and evacuees. Expellees were German-speaking nationals of other countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania. After the *Wehrmacht* was pushed out of these countries, the nascent provisional governments had expelled the German speakers, some of whom had been there for generations, some only for a few years. German nationals who were forced to leave their homes because of the war were evacuees. Between October 1945 and June 1946, 1.7 million evacuees were moved from the Soviet to the British Zone and half a million were sent in the opposite direction. Similar arrangements were made by the Americans and the French with the Soviets.⁵

In the planning for Operation Eclipse, the final attack on Western Germany, 21st Army Group estimated the number of DPs in its projected occupation area of Germany at 2,461,500. No source was given for this number. Earl Ziemke quoted another estimate from Operation Eclipse that said there were 3 million DPs in all of the Western Zones. Hannover Province, which included cities like Osnabrück, Oldenburg and Aurich was assumed to have just over a million of those DPs. In comparison, the Rhineland was projected to have 614,000 DPs. In terms of individual cities, Aurich was estimated to have 50,000, Oldenburg with 33,000 and Osnabrück 80,000. Bremen, which would

⁵ Don Buerk, "The 'British Zone Review' and the Occupation of Germany, 1945-1951" (U. of Toledo, 2005), 111 and 16.

become an American enclave was supposed to have 60,000. There were supposed to be 254,000 French DPs in Hannover, followed closely by 242,000 Russians. The next largest groups were 182,000 Poles and 100,000 Belgians. During the invasion, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders reported meeting more DPs than civilians.⁶ By October 1945, these numbers in the British Zone would be reduced to roughly 500,000, but DPs would come and go as time went on.⁷

One element that exacerbated the DP problem from the start was the Allies' decision to keep certain groups within the camps where the Germans had placed them. DPs heading to Holland, Belgium and France were known as "westbounders" and were sent on their way as fast as possible. As Don Buerk points out, "This movement was done chiefly by rail and by the end of May, DPs were being repatriated at a rate of 7,500 *per day* and by November, the total number moved had passed the 2 million mark."⁸ Those DPs who were theoretically supposed to go east towards Soviet occupied territory were to remain in place for the time being after the end of the fighting.

Cases of DP violence had been reported to the Allies in Lower Saxony as early as 8 May. Houses were looted and women were molested, but in the same report, Allied troops were also supposedly responsible for similar offences. According to the Oldenburg MG Detachment, German Police were "unable" to deal with DPs. They were told to record the information and pass along the information to the Public Safety

⁶ *The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's), 1928-1953*, 201.

⁷ Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government, North-West Europe, 1944-1946*, 342.

NA UK, WO 205/853, 21 Army Group, "Operation Eclipse: Appendix D: Analysis of Displaced Persons in North-West Europe", 1945.

Germans away from their homes were not included in this tally and were defined as refugees. "3 million" comes from Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, 169.

⁸ Buerk, "The 'British Zone Review' and the Occupation of Germany, 1945-1951", 241.

Officers of the MG. Another reason may have been because their firearms had been confiscated by the Allies.⁹ Three weeks later the situation was not any better, according to the Public Safety Report:

The situation is most unsatisfactory and it is no exaggeration to say there is no householder in the land south of the Wester-Ems Canal who can consider himself safe from the DPs, mainly Russians and Poles. They appear to have complete freedom to murder, loot and rape as and when they please. The system of control over them is completely nil. Troops have been asked for an up till now have not been available. The Police are powerless to act by themselves.¹⁰

Even though at the end of May, looting and violent crime by Canadians had appeared to diminish, there was violence between Germans and DPs. Two Germans were reported to have killed DPs and there were weekly reports of DPs killing Germans. The 1st Canadian Army report stressed that in the cases of DPs killing Germans, they were agricultural workers who had been mistreated. This does not correlate exactly with the violent raids where murders were taking place for other reasons. Patrols were being sent out to watch for DP raids. POWs were also responsible. Many of the Soviets who were caught by the patrols possessed sawn-off rifles and looted food. The Soviet liaison officers that had arrived were urged to instil more discipline in their people. Unfortunately, they were not able to do so, despite organizing every camp into military units. The Canadians believed that the Soviets were under orders from their superiors to control the discipline situation. At the same time, anti-Allied propaganda was being

⁹ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 Det. Oldenburg, "Police Kreis Stadt Oldenburg", 8 May 1945.

¹⁰ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 Detachment Military Government Oldenburg, "Public Safety", 29 May 1945.

disseminated in the DP camps, though the Canadians believed this to be German propaganda and not Soviet in origin.¹¹

The War Diary for the Cameron Highlanders noted on 25 May that 1,554 DPs had already been removed from the area around Oldenburg. Of that number, there were 524 Dutch, 510 Soviets, 306 Poles, 132 French, 69 Italians and a dozen assorted Italians, Belgians, Finns and Norwegians. As one chronicler of the Camerons explained, "Living witnesses, all, to the depth of Nazi depravity. These poor bewildered, and in many cases undernourished, souls somehow had to be dealt with in an organized way, without adding anything to their burden of private misery."¹²

One area where Canadian letters are relatively silent is on the issue of DPs. While the official records show distrust and disgust with the actions of DPs, censorship reports do not discuss the subject to any significant degree. Some British comments can perhaps enlighten historians on soldiers' attitudes, but one unfortunate problem is that the letter excerpts do not always distinguish between DPs and members of Soviet occupation forces. Some British soldiers in 21 Army Group in June commented in their letters about the Russians and Poles raiding German homes. While some letters show the British soldiers were already feeling sorry for the Germans, others had not yet made a connection to the people they were occupying. Some sympathized more with the DPs and ex-POWS. One infantry corporal commented:

¹¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 9768, 2/CIV OFFERS/S/2, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Cdn Army, "Weekly Report No. 28", 29 May 45.

¹² Queen-Hughes, *Whatever Men Dare : A History of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada, 1935-1960*, 190.

The Russians are here in strength there is a Camp of 5,000 of them about ½ mile away and parties go out at night and raid these German houses and farms—of course the Jerries come and complain here, although I can't write the words I tell them but believe me its plain Army style. And the Russians carry on the good work—it will give these Jerries a bit of their own medicine.¹³

The British soldiers realized that the DPs were angry over their treatment by the Germans and it did not help that they were being underfed as well. At this stage, less than a month after the war ended, the soldiers' letters show compassion for their fellow Allies. However, this would not last long. One excerpt commented that the DPs were a bigger problem than the Germans; this point of view would gain greater acceptance in the near future.

Canadian soldiers in Oldenburg attempted to deal with the DP problem. There, soldiers under an NCO were billeted with the police to back up anti-criminal actions. Part of the problem was that the DPs had weapons, while at this time, the police were not allowed to be armed. The soldiers, of course, did have weapons as well. As a result, several DPs were arrested. The report maintained that the primary problem was that the DP officers, predominantly the Russians, would not discipline their own troops. In a special note appended to the regular public safety report, Major R.M. Lane suggested that the DPs be compelled to remain in the camps where they were billeted. Many DPs operated out of the camps, leaving after dark and returning before dawn. They would approach a home, lock the occupants into one room, and plunder the rest of the house.

¹³ Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH), Department of National Defence (DND), 033.(D3) Censorship Reports, 21 Army Group, "Censorship for period 1-15 Jun 45", 8.

Lane also suggested that camps be searched for loot and firearms from time to time. This suggestion would be put into practice later. By 16 June, a later report stated that while DP crime had fallen in most areas around Oldenburg because of military patrols, the official crime rate had risen because the German civilians were starting to trust the police again and were more reliable in reporting crimes. Another report three days later suggested the patrols were working, but were not at sufficient strength to deal with the DP looters. DPs were also leaving to go home at a rate of hundreds a day which was improving the situation.¹⁴

In a communiqué to British Prime Minister Winston Churchill dated 5 June that hints at early suspicion of Soviet actions, Field Marshal Montgomery warned that Russian DP camps were sources of Communist propaganda and German “agents” were attending meetings held there. Montgomery explained that the Russians were being repatriated, but “this is a slow business and in any case communist ‘cells’ will be left behind for certain.”¹⁵

Through June, “westbounders” were moved out, while “eastbounders” were segregated into national groups. For example, Poles who had been used as farm labour initially stayed where they were until they moved into an “enclave” that was set up by evacuating nine German villages along the Ems River south of Leer. No doubt this caused considerable hardship for the Germans and contributed to animosity between the two groups. The camps for Russians and Poles were overcrowded and the Military Government units wanted the DPs shipped eastward as soon as possible. Assaults and

¹⁴ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 Military Government Detachment, “Public Safety”, 16 and 19 June 45.

¹⁵ NA UK, PREM 3/194/6, Field Marshal B. L. Montgomery, “Telegram”, 5 June 1945.

raids by Russian DPs led to searches for weapons by Canadian soldiers. However, the DPs responded by hiding caches of weapons outside their camps.¹⁶

Captain T. Jamieson Quirk, the commanding officer of 13 Canadian Provost Company, offered a short analysis of crime in Germany at the war's end. He divided crime into two types, incidents committed by Canadian troops and those committed by DPs. There was little evidence for Canadian crimes because they had occurred mainly before the war had ended and there was little to no hope of bringing anyone to justice. Quirk submitted that if exact information was known about the soldiers' involved by the unit, then it sent the matter along to the Assistant Provost Marshal.¹⁷ As Quirk commented about the problem, "Displaced Persons have, as usual, been the alleged cause of many complaints in Germany of looting and thieving." Unfortunately, it was even harder to identify responsible DPs than it was to find Canadian criminals and, "as they are not actually the concern of the Provost, it is presumed that no check is made on them whatsoever, other than the few times at which assistance has been given to unarmed German Police."¹⁸

The Military Government Detachment in Wolfenbuttel reported on 7 July that the population was content, but the presence of a Soviet liaison officer made people fear that the Russians were coming west. Wolfenbuttel, in Brunswick on the Oker River, was close to the border with the Soviet Zone and understandably the Germans were nervous the line would be moved further west. DPs presented a problem in the town

¹⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 9768, 2/CIV OFFERS/S/2, Military Government Branch, Main HQ First Cdn Army, "Weekly Report No. 31", 19 June 45.

¹⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16483, Serial 1388, 13Prov/5-7-0, 13 Canadian Provost Company, "Monthly Report", 28 June 45, 2.

¹⁸ Ibid.

because they had not been moved to a central location and were scattered from village to village. From 22 June to 28 June, the Detachment reported that of the 60 cases of theft or looting reported, 41 of which were attributed to the DPs.¹⁹

The situation remained volatile into mid-July. In *Land Oldenburg*, Germans no longer had faith in the Allies to maintain law and order. Two women had been assaulted within a mile-and-a-half of the city limits. Many civilians were refusing to come forward with information about the crimes because they feared reprisals from the DPs. It was also reported that around the Adelheide DP camp, farm workers were refusing to go into the fields for fear of being shot. In addition, 1,200 cattle had allegedly been slaughtered by the DPs.²⁰

One of the problems that the Allies encountered when dealing with DPs was that civilians could be disciplined by the Military Government and the Canadian troops, but the POWs could not. The CAOF HQ reported on 18 July that, within the previous six weeks, 996 crimes had been committed by DPs in the Oldenburg area alone. The offences ranged from simple theft to rape and murder. The report suggested that most of the crimes were committed by Russian DPs. Patrols with members from the DP camps would be set up to secure the areas that were having troubles. If Russian officers were part of the patrols, then they would be able to discipline the POWs.²¹

As part of the 15 July MG report, the *Land Oldenburg* Detachment enclosed a table of statistics of DP crime for the preceding six weeks. No source was given for this

¹⁹ Canadian War Museum (CWM), George Metcalf Archival Collection, 20010158-007, Military Government Detachment LK Wolfenbuttel, "Weekly Report No. 9", 7 July 45.

²⁰ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 LR Detachment Military Government, "Oldenburg Interim Report", 15 July 45.

²¹ DND, DHH, 581.009(D137), HQ 3 Canadian Division CAOF, "DP's/PWX", 16 Jul. 45.

information, but it is one of the few sets of aggregated statistics of DP crime in the MG files. The MG unit reported that DPs had committed 996 crimes in *Land Oldenburg*. The crimes reported were Murder, Burglary, Housebreaking, Larceny, Rape or Indecent Assault, Robbery and Assault. Most of the crimes were labelled "Larceny". A total of 511 occurred incidents in six weeks, with more than half in the immediately preceding three weeks. The next largest heading was Robbery, with 199 cases, spread out over the period. There had been 138 Burglaries and 103 Housebreakings in June and July. Crimes against persons were the lowest categories, with 17 Rapes/Indecent Assaults, 15 Murders and 13 Assaults. Statistics for German crimes were unreported, incidence being "remarkably low".²²

The MG detachment for Aurich reported its own set of crime statistics for July. DPs committed 409 crimes, while Germans committed only 180. DP crime had increased from 285 in June, while German crime had decreased from 208. Most of the crimes were not serious in nature. In July, Russian DPs had committed 398 thefts, Poles had committed 22 thefts and German DPs had committed 88. Another 35 were committed by other various nationalities. There were four robberies committed by Russian DPs, 16 by Polish DPs and 11 by other DPs. There was only one murder committed by a Russian DP, and a total of four rapes, two by Russians, and one by a Polish DP and one by a person of an unnamed nationality. The report suggested that while the rape numbers were low, there was reason to believe that many more were not being reported. Approximately 200 Russian DPs were arrested for various crimes and handed over to the

²² NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 LR Detachment Military Government, "Public Safety", 15 July 45.

Soviet Army for punishment.²³ The situation had become serious enough that, by 28 July, the commander of the CAOF, Major-General Christopher Vokes gave authority to his subordinates to shoot DPs if the situation warranted it.

In late July, a large number of Polish DPs continued arriving in Lower Saxony. 18,000 DPs and 14,000 POW officers arrived in *Land Oldenburg*. They were rumoured to be an advance group of 70,000 DPs, but this larger group may not have materialized in the area. The Public Safety Officer for the MG Detachment recommended dispersing them to farms in the region rather than putting them in camps. This suggestion does not appear to have been followed.

There were also 4,000 Italian POW officers in the CAOF area in late July. They seemed to be following the lead of the Russian DPs according to the Public Safety Report and were molesting the local women. The report claimed they were infected by a virulent type of VD that unfortunately was not identified. The report explained that the Italians were not being moved because there was no transport available. The report boldly asserted that the Italians could march or walk, presumably south over the Alps, to get home. The Italians were reportedly moved out by the end of the second week of September.²⁴

²³ NA UK, WO 171/8030, 613 Military Government Detachment Aurich, "Public Safety Weekly Report", 10 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8030, 613 Military Government Detachment Aurich, "Public Safety Weekly Report", 23 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, "PS-Fortnightly Report", 12 Aug. 45.

²⁴ NA UK, WO 171/8084, 821 Military Government Detachment, 29 July 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, "PS Fortnightly Report", 8 Sept. 45.

Violence against civilians, in addition to looting and robberies, continued into August. Two elderly German women were raped and beaten by Polish DPs, who were also attempting to rape and rob another 74 year-old woman. 821 MG Detachment reported that 25 armed Poles took part in these assaults. They were based in Adelheide Camp, which had previously been reserved for Russian DPs before their repatriation. The camp was surrounded and searched for the missing goods from the robberies. However, a search for was unsuccessful because, as one report claimed, Polish soldiers and female DPs were used to search the barracks, not German police as had been the original idea. The DPs responsible the rape and robbery were picked out at an Identification Parade. When the MG Public Safety officers attempted to remove the DPs, Polish troops and civilians "rescued" the accused parties from the MG officers, who were also "manhandled". The Poles later handed over the culprits, but much of the evidence was "spoilt" presumably meaning destroyed or disappeared. The CO of the Polish Armoured Division was going to determine whether the Poles would discipline the offenders or whether it would be up to MG. Polish officers from the Division had been sent to the camp to restore order, and reportedly the crime rate had dropped as result. However, by 8 September, one of the armed bands of Polish DPs was still roaming the countryside and was apparently still receiving support from Adelheide camp, despite the Polish Division's assertion that the problem would be remedied by the end of August. Farmers were abandoning their farms close to harvest time because of the DP raids. Many of the looting and assault charges had to be withdrawn because the Germans were still simply too afraid to afraid to give evidence. "This attitude on the

part of the Germans is general. They are undoubtedly terrified of reprisals if they give evidence. A condition engendered by terrorist methods of the departed Russian DP and by reprisals which have been carried out by Polish DP in other areas.”²⁵

As can be seen in the following months, any sentiment the Canadians felt towards Polish DPs disappeared when it became clear that there was to be no quick solution to the problem. Incidents began to take place between the two groups. Because of incidents like that in Adelheide camp, Canadian and British soldiers began to search Polish DPs themselves in order to locate stolen goods, on little or no evidence. The MG detachment in Oldenburg complained that the exact amount of DP crime in Cloppenburg was unknown because the area was at the current time under control of the Polish Armoured Division. The Detachment had received reports that the crime was much higher than the official statistics because the Polish soldiers were supporting Polish DPs and “cause reprisals on anyone who complains to the Police.”²⁶

By late August, Allied Military Government was confident that the DP problem would be solved soon and easily. Concerning DPs from Poland, 223 Detachment stated that Poles from west of the Curzon Line (the pre-1939 border between the Soviet Union and Poland) would “probably” be evacuated soon. However, the scheme was not absolute because DPs would be asked “Are you willing to return to Poland now under

²⁵ NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “PS Fortnightly Report”, 25 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “PS Fortnightly Report”, 8 Sept. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “Fortnightly Report No. 3”, 23 Aug. 45.

²⁶ NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “PS-Fortnightly Report”, 25 Aug. 45.

conditions as you know them?" As the report put it succinctly, "No Poles will be returned to Poland against their will." To facilitate the evacuation, the report recommended that a scheme be submitted for "concentrating" Poles in an area. Three days later, a second report stated that the number of Polish DPs in the area in 13 camps was 29,454.²⁷

The Polish troops were polled and half of them did not wish to return to Poland under the Warsaw government, sponsored and supported by the Soviet Union. The Polish officers contacted by the Canadians supported the British/Canadian policy arguing that they did not support the Warsaw government because it was not elected by the people. They also did not want to have liaison officers from the Warsaw regime as part of their units, only allowing them to act as observers.

There was roughly the same amount of Russian DPs in the Canadian area in early August. Most were expected to be taken by sea to the Soviet Union. A group of POWs was scheduled to leave in early August, which made the MG officials hope that the crime rate would decrease. The 3rd Battalion of the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders had arrived in Lower Saxony in late June and its largest problem was dealing with the Soviet DPs. The local Germans had initially been apathetic to the arrival of this new group of Canadians, until they realized that the Battalion was well-disciplined and was going to treat them better than the DPs. The Glengarrians detached an armoured car and a platoon to patrol the local DP camp to enforce curfew. The first night of this assignment, Canadian soldiers were lucky to find a trip-wire stretched across the

²⁷ DND, DHH, 273/Poles/1, 223 Military Government Detachment, 22 Aug. 45.
DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division CAOF, "Polish DP/PWX Camps", 25 Aug. 45.

highway before the armoured car passed the spot. The unit history gave no indication as to who set up the trip-wire. Maintaining “law and order” was the most important job faced by the Battalion in Germany, and the unit history leaves no doubt as to the fact that the DPs were the greatest threat to keeping law and order. The unit made “endless sweeps” of the area in which they were stationed and this continued during their entire tenure in Germany. The Glengarrians also guarded food trains travelling to Berlin. One unusual act was that they torched a PWX (Prisoner of War Executive) DP camp with flamethrower fuel, though it is unclear as to why this was done. The proof that the Glengarrians were facing a tough job was indicated by the orders they were given in order to maintain the peace:

Due to the depredations by displaced personnel against German civilian farmers and supply dumps, the Military Commander has been compelled to instigate a very firm policy to enforce law and order.

1. British and Canadian troops operating to enforce law and order will SHOOT TO KILL. (Capitals in original)²⁸

The Glengarrians also assisted an American MG officer who was in charge of a DP camp near Varel at Bockhorn Airfield. The camp was large and consisted of several hundred men and women, as well as children. According to William Boss in the unit history, “Feuding and plundering the local inhabitants seemed to be their chief form of relaxation. In addition, they had regular Saturday night parties that were invariably violent and unruly.” During one night, two people had been killed in the camp, but two

²⁸ Boss, *The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, 1783-1951*, 274-5.

babies had also been born. It did not help that the DPs brewed their own liquor in the camp and secreted away several illegal firearms.²⁹

Unfortunately, while 4,000 Russian POWs left by 20 August, they committed a rash of crimes, mainly thefts, before they left. The Oldenburg MG Detachment reported that in one week in August, 200 DP crimes had been reported, not including crime within the towns of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst.³⁰ However, after 25 August, the Russians in that area were gone. Unlike the Poles, many of whom would be left in Lower Saxony at least until February 1946, there was more impetus for the Soviet citizens to be returned home as soon as possible. 821 MG Detachment in Oldenburg reported on 12 August that all Russians from the Adelheide Camp near Delmenhorst had been repatriated, causing a dramatic decrease in the crimes in the area. Unlike the Poles, there is no evidence that they were questioned as to whether they desired to go home.³¹

The Glengarrians were given part of the task of rounding up Russians and assisting in their deportation to the Soviet Zone. The unit history admitted that the repatriation to the Soviet Union was very “disagreeable” to many Russian DPs, since their fate at the hands of Communist authorities was no secret. The Glengarrians were

²⁹ Ibid., 276.

³⁰ NA UK, WO 171/8030, 613 Military Government Detachment Aurich, “Public Safety Weekly Report”, 10 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8030, 613 Military Government Detachment Aurich, “Public Safety Weekly Report”, 23 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “PS-Fortnightly Report”, 12 Aug. 45.

³¹ DHH, DND, 581.009(D91), HQ 3 Cdn. Inf. Div. CAOF, “Evacuation of Russians”, 4 Aug. 45.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment Oldenburg, “Fortnightly Report No. 2”, 12 Aug. 45.

responsible for sealing the area around the DP camps and maintain order while DPs were screened by the Soviets to determine their nationality and placed aboard trucks. According to William Boss, author of the unit history, the DPs attempted all sorts of tactics to delay or prevent their repatriation, including self-inflicted wounds and lying down on the ground kicking and screaming. The Soviet officers did not attempt to intervene or assist the Canadians in their unpleasant task. Boss described the scene as something out of Dante's *Inferno*.³²

John Raycroft, a soldier in a Royal Canadian Artillery unit assigned to CAOF, recalled hunting down Russian DPs during the end of July and beginning of August. Raycroft remembered rounding up Russians hiding in haystacks, but the British troops had the responsibility of putting the DPs onto ships for their repatriation. Raycroft also remembered that female Russian DPs did not give the Canadians any problems. They remained in the camps and tried to make the best of it. The true horror of what awaited these people back in the Soviet Union was only partly realized by Raycroft 30 years later. While employed as a high school librarian he met a woman who had been repatriated and had been able to escape from Soviet custody *in the Soviet Union* after spotting her family on a train station platform. According to Raycroft, the woman escaped with her family and was later able to immigrate to Canada. While during the immediate postwar period, Raycroft did not see anything wrong with what he and his fellow soldiers were

³² Boss, *The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, 1783-1951*, 274-76.

doing, encounters with the former Russian DP and Holocaust survivors gave soldiers like Raycroft a more nuanced view of what their service had entailed.³³

All the available evidence shows that the CAOF wanted to be rid of any and all DPs as soon as possible, regardless of where they came from. Polish DPs were asked whether they wanted to go home, the Soviets were not. And if there were no orders to ask DPs whether they wanted to stay, they were simply handed over to the national authorities in question. Fewer people to deal with meant fewer problems for the occupation. In at least one instance, on 17 June 1945, 900 Soviet POWs (actually Georgians), who had served under the Nazis in Holland, were transferred by the Canadians from Texel Island in the Netherlands to Wilhelmshaven. Some of the Georgians had mutinied against their German officers when told they were to be fighting the British. They helped the Canadians liberate the area which they were supposed to be defending. The Georgians agreed to be moved east with the promise that the British would treat their case delicately because traitors were being put to death in the Soviet Union. It is unknown what happened to this group after their arrival in Germany.³⁴

In early September, the Aurich MG detachment reported that only one crime by DPs was reported to the police during the previous week. The detachment surmised that this was not necessarily because the situation with the DPs was improving, but rather the local population were afraid of reprisals from the DPs. A Political Intelligence

³³ Raycroft, *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*, 300-02.

³⁴ NA UK, WO 205/1074, "Brief Historical Outline of the Occupation of N.W. Holland by 1 Canadian Corps." LAC, RG 24, Vol. 9768, 2/CIV OFFERS/S/2, Military Government Branch, Main HQ, First Canadian Army, "Weekly Report No. 32", 27 June 45.

report a week later from the same region stated that the civilians did not believe DP lawlessness was “prevalent”. However, despite the previous assertion, Poles were viewed in a harsh light and judged responsible for robberies in the area. More dangerously for the Allies was the belief that failure to act about the DPs was tarnishing British, and therefore Canadian, prestige.³⁵

The Chief of Staff for 30 Corps distributed a memo dated 4 September explaining measures that were to be taken to counter DP crime. He asserted that the criminal activity was the work of a small number of “habitual offenders”. If the criminals were captured promptly, they would learn the futility of their actions. As a result, secret patrols were to be established in each town and village. Only the burgomeister of the town would be notified of their presence since DP raids normally occurred after the criminals were assured that British and Canadian troops were outside of the area. The burgomeisters were to provide secure accommodation for the patrols, even in a civilian house if necessary, despite rules forbidding entering and using civilian houses. In addition, since the first act of DP raids was to cut the burgomeister’s telephone wires, the officials were to be given signal pistols and ammunition to alert occupation forces to their predicament.³⁶

The problems with the DPs led to more cooperation between the Canadians and the Germans. The violence on the part of the DPs became so bad that finally, the Canadians were forced to arm the German civilian police with guns, weapons that they

³⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, Det. 613 Mil Gov., “Weekly Report”, 7 Sept. 45.
LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, HQ 2nd/7th Canadian Infantry Brigade (CAOF), “Political Intelligence Report”, 15 Sept. 45.

³⁶ DND, DHH, 581.009(D137), HQ 30 Corps Dist, 240/4/G(Ops), “DP Crime”, 4 Sept. 45.

were not allowed to normally have under the provisions of the occupation. This was not to be a permanent solution: German police were not meant to be armed. This was a means to “sustain” the morale of the police. Only rifles and revolvers were to be issued, with no provision for automatic weapons. The guns were not issued “personally” meaning they were kept under lock and key in police stations rather than held by individual officers. They were only to be used in specific situations by “responsible” officers and authorized by Military Government Detachments. Later, authorized German chiefs would be allowed to release the weapons for use.

As the report stated, handing out weapons was an issue of morale. In addition, German police were to be allowed out after curfew, perhaps another morale booster so they could patrol more effectively. The CAOF was also limited in size and this is an example of how the Canadians came to depend on the Germans for an orderly occupation.³⁷

No. 3 Canadian Area Security Office (based in Osnabrück) reported on 29 September that the Poles were the only significant DP group left in that part of Germany. The Russians and Yugoslavs left in the area “have NOT the numbers to cause any trouble”. Reportedly, the younger Poles wanted to join the Army, while the older men wished to return home, if they were certain it was not going to be a Russian dictatorship. They expected to remain where they were for the winter and intended to use force to fend for themselves if necessary, despite the fact that “they appear to be fairly well looked after at present.” The Poles did not know what was going to happen,

³⁷ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division, “Order-Arms German Police”, 27 Sept. 45.

and the apparent Allied lack of interest in their fate disappointed them and “consequently the weaker ones give way to criminal instinct.”³⁸

The MG detachment in Oldenburg reported that 75% of the local crime was committed by DPs, of which there were 22,520 still in the area, predominantly Poles, numbering 18,350. The crime rate had dipped in September, but by the end of the month, murder and looting had continued. For the first time, it was speculated that in addition to DP crime, a German gang was operating in the area. To the southeast in *Landkreis* Wolfenbittel, as the result of Polish DP raids, thefts and robberies, civilians did not wish to leave their homes after dark. Whenever taking trips outside of the towns, people sought to travel in groups for protection. The detachment attributed the raids to “[a] small lawless gang” and warned the raids were on the increase. The “Fortnightly Crime Report” indicated that there had been a total of 13 armed raids by DPs and four by “unknown persons”. There had been one murder committed by DPs. Only four thefts were thought to have been committed by DPs, while 82 were again by “unknown persons”. Twenty-nine additional thefts had been definitely committed by Germans. There had been 14 cases of livestock being slaughtered by DPs, and 17 by “unknown persons”, while only one by Germans. In total, from 23 July to 16 September, 32 cattle, two calves, 145 pigs, and 46 sheep and assorted other farm animals, including 489 hens and chickens had been stolen.³⁹

³⁸ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “CI Sitrep No. 11 for Period 27 Sep—4 Oct 45”, 4 Oct. 45.

³⁹ NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment (Oldenburg), “Fortnightly Report No. 5”, 30 Sept. 1945.

NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment (Oldenburg), “PS Fortnightly Report”, 30 Sept. 1945.

Despite this crime, at least one Canadian unit attempted to befriend DPs at Westerstede. The camp was “adopted” by the Glengarry Highlanders “became there were many nice children living there and the average Canadian soldier loves kiddies...” During the same period, the Glengarrians were starting to have children’s parties for local German kids as well. The festivities included cake, ice cream and lemonade as well as plenty of games for the children to play. One of these parties was deemed “the finest children’s party the little guests had ever attended.” The children thanked the Canadians with bows and bouquets for the officers. The troops enjoyed every minute of it and the unit history does not mention any hesitation by the Canadians to take part. As one Canadian soldier described, “How can you resist when a four year old tot sneaks up to you, shoves a tiny hand trustingly in yours, looks up to you with her china blue eyes and offers to share her ice cream and bench with you—[o]ne smile and my heart was gone!”⁴⁰

Soldiers in the British Zone, and in the British Sector of Berlin, were beginning to get exasperated with DPs and the other Eastern Europeans. It seems inter-Allied relations between ordinary troops was so poor that Soviet soldiers treated their British co-belligerents no better than German civilians. Soviet soldiers held up their fellow Allies at gunpoint *in their own* sectors of Berlin. This resulted in British soldiers confessing to carrying pistols to warn off wayward Soviets. The Red Army soldiers would rob Western

CWM, 20010158-007, 827 (K) Military Government Detachment (Wolfenbuttel), “Fortnightly Report No. 10”, 18 Sept. 45.

CWM, 20010158-007, The Landrat of the Kreis Wolfenbuttel, “Weekly Report No. 7”, 7 Oct. 45.

⁴⁰ Boss, *The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, 1783-1951*, 276-77.

Allies of not only their cigarettes, but also their watches. According to soldiers' letters, they also robbed food trains.⁴¹

The DPs were no better. While some soldiers still felt sympathy for the DPs, others' patience had worn thin. As one British officer in the 46 Infantry Division grumbled, "These Poles give me a headache. I'd like to help them, but they won't help themselves. They are a far bigger problem than the Germans."⁴² While some soldiers appreciated the cultural exchanges, like dance performances and football games that allowed British and Soviet soldiers to get to know one another, others looked upon the "Russians" with distaste. One soldier in the British Sector of Berlin complained that people back home should see the Soviet occupation forces who were acting like overlords, "stealing, raping and treating us like dirt. The glories of Russia wouldn't seem so good anymore." Another soldier referred to the Russians as "uneducated savages", which led him to forego any support of communism. About DPs in particular, one soldier reported going out and shooting some of the "pests", suggesting they were the only reason the army of occupation was there: "The Germans give us no trouble. With winter approaching the will get worse. I'd shoot the lot of these DPs—half of them are crackers [liars?] anyway." Another soldier in the Cameronians commented bitterly that, as long as the Russian and Polish DPs were "looting and murdering", it was not easy for the occupation soldier.⁴³ The Poles in particular angered the British soldiers because of their vicious tactics in threatening German farms with arson if the civilians did not give them

⁴¹ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10508, 215A21.009(D68), British Army of the Rhine, "Censorship Report for the period 1-15 Sep 45", 20-21.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10508, 215A21.009(D68), British Army of the Rhine, "Censorship Report for the period 1-15 Oct 45", 19.

milk, eggs and butter. The DPs had allegedly knifed an unfortunate Tommy in the back. The British could not see the backs of the Poles soon enough, according to one driver in the Engineers: "The Russians won't have them and we don't want them and that's how it goes on out here." One private was "dead against" having any DPs resettled in Britain in part because, "we've got too many bloody foreigners as it is."⁴⁴

By late October, the Regina Rifles reported that the areas around Aurich and Norden were free of DPs. For about four to six weeks there had been no violence or lawlessness from those groups and the Germans were satisfied by the way the Canadians had been handling the situation. In contrast, the Queen's Own Rifles reported the Germans in their sector were still very worried about DPs, particularly because winter was approaching. It was felt that the German police did not deal harshly enough with the DPs out of fear.⁴⁵

According to No. 3 Canadian Area Security Office, Polish DPs were still causing problems in and around Osnabrück and up in the Emsland along the Dutch border. In Meppen, the capital of Emsland, locals purportedly cheered when several hundred "selected" Poles were repatriated. The report asserted that "DPs would cease to be a security problem if only the criminal element could once be eradicated." Polish units were supposedly helping to keep outside agitators from causing trouble. What is not clear is what exactly the "criminal" elements were or what exactly the "agitators" were

⁴⁴ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 10508, 215A21.009(D68), British Army of the Rhine, "Censorship Report for the period 16-30 Sep 45", 18.

⁴⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Regina Rifle Regiment (CAOF), "Political Intelligence Briefing", 13 Oct. 45.

LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D17, Vol. 10976, 4th Battalion Queen's Own Rifles (CAOF), "Political Int. Brief", 15 Oct. 45.

telling the troops. In Oldenburg, the crime rate by DPs had dropped from September and the locals were greatly relieved. However, livestock were still being slaughtered illegally. No DPs had been evacuated in October, and the total number in the camps in the region had increased slightly to 24,520.⁴⁶

By November 1945, despite the continued optimism that most of the Polish DPs would be returned home, thousands still remained in the CAOF area. As time passed, larger numbers of DPs did not wish to return. 30 Corps was troubled by this development and ordered that an officer, no lower than a Lt.-Colonel, be sent to explain that no further decrease in the numbers wishing to be repatriated would be allowed. Among the reasons why this was the case was because there was not enough food and accommodation for everyone during the coming winter. The Poles were to be informed that on a previous census of DPs, 80% had indicated that they wished to return to Poland. This figure does not match the one the Canadians determined, it is possible that the percentage quoted by the 30 Corps order included all the Polish DPs in the British Zone.

Despite the fact that the Germans rarely physically impeded the Canadians in their occupation duties, in at least one instance, German youths obstructed the exit of Polish soldiers from a movie house in the town of Furstenau on 15 November. When the young Germans were told to step away, they responded by telling the Poles, "You better

⁴⁶ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, "Monthly Counter Intelligence Report No. 2, Period 1-29 Oct 45", 29 Oct. 45.
NA UK, WO 171/8085, 821 Military Government Detachment (Oldenburg), "PS Fortnightly Report", 31 Oct. 1945.

return to Poland to make order there.” The Canadians met the challenge by imposing an evening curfew on the town for a five-day period from 19-24 November.⁴⁷

By the end of the month, Major-General Christopher Vokes, commander of the CAOF sent a signed personal appeal to the Polish DPs to encourage them to return home. He reminded them of the 80% who had indicated a desire for repatriation. He told them that their change of heart represented a “breach of faith” on the part of DPs. The Poles had a duty to return home “for the future greatness” of Poland, and 8,000 DPs a week were about to be repatriated. The DPs had already been warned about the limited food situation; if they remained their rations would be cut. However, in Poland, according to Vokes, Allied relief organization had been able to work unhindered, because it was an ally, not an occupied enemy nation. He finished by exhorting the Poles to return home to build “a more glorious and greater Poland. Only the Polish people can make Poland great—Just as the British have made Britain great—by their self-sacrifice and loyalty to their country.”⁴⁸

Such appeals had little or no effect on the attitudes of the Poles. A week after Vokes’ appeal, a Royal Army Lieutenant-Colonel (name unknown) submitted his report on his talks with two DP camps to the Military Government and the CAOF. The probability of limited rations and accommodation did not faze the Poles and “only a very small percentage” wanted to go home. The officer asserted that he believed the authorities needed to know why the DPs were unwilling to return to Poland. The

⁴⁷ LAC, RG 24, Vol. 16398, Serial 4075, No. 3. Canadian Area Security Office, “CI Sitrep No. 16 for Period 16 Nov—30 Nov 45”, 29 Nov. 45.

⁴⁸ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division CAOF, “Repatriation Poles”, 23 Nov. 45.

primary reason was because of the Russian occupation. Many people from Eastern Poland did not wish to go back to Russian occupation, even if it was their home. Also, there were fears, quite justified, that the Russians might cart them off to Siberia. An additional note was that they feared winter more in Poland than in Germany, since they knew what conditions were like in Germany already. He also noted that the “breach of faith” argument did not sway them in the least. It is more than clear that the Poles were worried about freedom and survival than a British ideal of integrity and “fair play”.⁴⁹

Despite the indications that few Poles were interested, British 30 Corps continued to assume that many would follow the advice of the Warsaw Government Liaison Officers and choose repatriation. There was a belief that many would want to be home before the grain sowing season of 1946. As a result, units were instructed to set up repatriation centres to facilitate the removal of DPs. Unfortunately, despite the high hopes, for the first week of December, only 7,568 Poles were evacuated from Luneburg to Stettin according to a weekly situational report given to the CAOF. Of this number, only 600 were from the 30 Corps District and thus from the Canadian area. Transport units were also being removed, thus limiting the departure to less than 1,000 persons a day. There was finally an admission that the Liaison Officers had little effect on helping the Poles decide to return to Poland. Two weeks later, by 20 December 1945, a further 1,500 DPs were evacuated, all from the 30 Corps area, and three weeks after that, on 14 January 1946, 1,700 DPs were repatriated from the Canadian area.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division CAOF, “Repatriation of Poles”, 1 Dec. 45.

⁵⁰ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 30 Corps District, Royal Army, “Repatriation of Poles”, 30 Nov. 45. Ibid., “Tenth Weekly Sitrep Evac Polish DP/PWX”, Dec. 45.

The DP problems caused by the Poles led to the establishment of an isolation camp on the island of Borkum off the German coast, immediately next to the Dutch border. A total of 22 people were “nominated” by Polish Camp Commandants to be deported to the island for a four-week period. On 12 January 1946, 30 Corps HQ ordered that all Poles who crossed back into the British zone after having been evacuated were to be placed in the Borkum camp.⁵¹

The British had to re-emphasize that Poles who wanted to stay in the British Zone and had elected to do so before, could not be compelled to leave. Reports had been received by 30 Corps HQ that units had been pressuring Poles to return to Poland. As the Chief of Staff for 30 Corps emphasized, “Such instructions are contrary to the policy of H.M. Government... It is emphasized that NO pressure will be brought to bear on POLISH DP/PWX to return to Poland if they do not wish to do so.”⁵²

February 1946 in particular appears to have been a particularly nasty month for Canadian soldiers and Polish DPs. Several incidents took place at Delmenhorst railway station where soldiers were charged with searching incoming travellers’ possessions. The troops were cracking down on the black market and the Polish DPs appeared likely culprits. The reports detail the anger Polish soldiers at being searched and the rough manner in which the British and Canadian soldiers conducted the searches.

One Polish officer, a Second Lieutenant Skowronski, asserted he was assaulted in the railway station on 7 February after his briefcase had been searched quite roughly.

DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, 223(R) Military Government Detachment, 19 Jan. 1946.

⁵¹ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division CAOF, “Segregation Camp Borkum”, 18 Dec. 45.

DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 30 Corps Dist., 12 Jan. 1946.

⁵² DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, HQ 30 Corps District, RA, “Repatriation of Poles”, 23 Jan. 46.

He was pushed towards the exit of the station when he happened to mention to the English MP that he should be treated with more politeness. The MP responded by slapping the Polish officer, who was dressed in his uniform indicating his nationality and rank. This was particularly galling to Skowronski since the Poles, British and Canadians were supposed to be allies, and it showed discord between them in front of German civilians.⁵³

However, this was not the Canadian version of version of events. The “English” MP, was a Canadian of the 2nd Battalion, 4th Brigade Canadian Provost Corps, Lance Corporal M.N. Obermeyer. According to his version of the event, Obermeyer asked to search Skowronski’s “handbag”. The Polish officer refused, purportedly stating “What right have you to ask me to open my handbag?” Obermeyer informed him that he needed to look inside. Skowronski refused, so in the Canadian’s euphemism “force was used”. He did not indicate whether he hit the officer or not.⁵⁴

Skowronski was supported in his version of the event by his commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Werschner who chastised the black market searches as “unappropriate [sic] and humiliating”. MPs behaved “brutally—they push, hit in the face” and the German police assisted in the searches, which was very degrading for the Polish soldiers. He reasserted Skowronski’s claim that he offered his bag for the search voluntarily.⁵⁵

⁵³ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Polish Officer Military Centre 112, “Polish Officer actively insulted by M.P.”, Feb. 11, 46.

⁵⁴ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, 2nd Battalion 4th Brigade Canadian Provost Corps, “Black Market raid at Delmenhorst Railway Station”, 12 Feb. 46.

⁵⁵ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Polish Officer Military Centre 112, “Translation”, Feb. 20, 1946.

There were more raids at the railway station on 8 February. A Second Lieutenant Franciszek had 440 cigarettes, 1065 Allied Marks, a coat and his identity card confiscated while under inspection. When he protested, his coat and satchel were returned to him, but the cigarettes, money and identity card were still withheld. But more surprisingly was Franciszek's description of the treatment of the other DPs meted out by the by the Canadians and the Germans:

I report that during the search in the waiting room I was witness of brutal treatment of the Poles from the DPs Camp, they were beaten on their faces until they lost consciousness, then water was poured on them to the delight of German women, German policemen and civilians.

Myself and other officers were threatened with fists.

I ask you, Sir, to take steps in order that my effects be returned to me and to protest against such methods of treatment towards the Poles, which very much resemble conditions in concentration camps.⁵⁶

Even Poles who had elected to return to Poland were subject to harsh treatment. On a truck to Lübeck, while approaching Bremen (the American enclave), the soldiers under repatriation were sent back to Delmenhorst after an examination of their papers by MPs. In the Delmenhorst guard room, the MPs there searched the baggage of the repatriates and looted several items including, Red Cross parcels, chocolate, coffee, tea, soap, clothing, razors and cigarettes. The Poles were at first informed they were only allowed to take 500 cigarettes with them; this limit was later reduced by a British MP officer to 300. There appears to have been no reason for this arbitrary limit. The search was particularly galling because according to the orders distributed to the British and Canadians in the summer of 1945, possessions of DPs were not to be taken from them.

⁵⁶ Ibid, "Translation", Feb. 46.

Of course, some of the items involved may have been part of the black market, which was the excuse given to the repatriates, but the items also included Red Cross parcels.⁵⁷

The searches were not confined merely to the railway station or to people undergoing repatriation, but also to the barracks of Polish DPs as well. One particularly incensed Polish officer, again Lieutenant-Colonel Wercshner, complained to the authorities that British patrols entered the barracks at Westerstede on 19 February and searched the building “in such a brutal and terrible way, that it hardly differed from the methods used by SS-men.” The soldiers were purportedly looking for electrical appliances that used up valuable electrical current, but instead engaged in looting personal effects, including rations that had been distributed to the Poles. Among the items that were taken included shoes, watches, money, an alarm clock, an electric stove and a penknife. The patrol, according to one report, even took light bulbs that were installed in the barracks, including one in the CO’s office! Another incident at the barracks included a Polish woman who refused to reveal how she had come into possession of a large sum of money, in particular, American dollars. She was detained for a night and the money confiscated until an investigation was made. Upon the results of the investigation, the woman was released and the money was returned to her.⁵⁸

Colonel Wercshner was incensed of the treatment towards the Poles. In a letter to a senior officer he complained that the “repressions” of the British had “increased appallingly”. Every day, Polish billets and persons were searched without respect for the “principles of decency and offends the rights of free man”. DPs were relieved of

⁵⁷ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Polish Officer Military Centre 112, “Translation”, 18 Feb. 46.

⁵⁸ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Delmenhorst Military Centre Br-112, “Translation”, 22 Feb. 46.

whatever they were carrying on their persons at the time of the search. "Victims" were also detained in German jails, one to three days along with criminals. He pointed to the numerous cases of officers being kicked, pushed around, and in the case of Skowronski, even being slapped in the face.

The brutality of British patrols has reached such a form which hardly differs from the methods of the Gestapo. Such chicanery and such a treatment we did not endure even in German prisoners' camps. The German "Wachmanns" knew to respect the dignity of an officer even of an enemy army, while the Allies treat us worse than slaves.

With such harsh words, Wercshner practically begged the CAOF HQ to do something about the situation, ominously warning that if the Allies did not "desist from such methods, the more that there exists the possibility that the PWX's (POWs) will resist with force against them."⁵⁹

Lieutenant-Colonel Aleksandrovicz, the Commanding Officer of the Polish Special Detachment, which was part of the Canadian 3rd Infantry Division, did not place the blame on all the Canadians: he focused on one individual in particular. He blamed a Captain Wolfe, the Public Safety Officer of the 811 Military Government Detachment, for many of the problems that were occurring. According to Aleksandrovicz, Wolfe took it on his own authority to conduct many of the searches, while the normal procedure was for Polish security troops to conduct the searches on their own. He also displayed severe anti-Polish attitudes, while being pro-German. He blamed this bias as the reason for the German nature of the methods used in conducting the searches. Aleksandrovicz argued that in such an atmosphere no real collaboration between the Poles and

⁵⁹ DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Polish Officer Military Centre 112, "Translation", 14 Feb. 46.

Canadians could be accomplished. He also admitted that a few black marketers ruined the reputation of the entire Polish group in Delmenhorst. In response to Canadian orders, he noted that further searches by Poles were conducted with no incidents.⁶⁰

Wolfe, for his part, had been present during Franciszek's interrogation and was the senior officer to whom Lance Corporal Obermeyer submitted his report. He supported Obermeyer's claim that nothing untoward had happened with Skowronski. Obermeyer, according to Wolfe, did "excellent" work and would not use force unless it was absolutely necessary. Several Polish officers believed they were exempt from searches, while Wolfe asserted he had the right to search anyone under his authority, including officers. Wolfe asserted that the Polish DPs and POWs were engaging "in the Black Market on a large scale". He admitted to authorizing the checks on the railway station and the barracks, but claimed not to have been present during at least one raid on the barracks. He asserted that all property that was not connected with the black market was returned to the Poles. A senior officer at CAOF HQ supported Wolfe's assertions that anyone could be searched and that force would be used upon refusal. He regretted the "untoward" incidents and hoped they would not happen again, but he warned the Polish Special Detachment that the Provost Corps was given absolute authority to deal with the black market.⁶¹

Lieutenant-Colonel Wercshner realized that the searches were the result of many DPs engaging in the black market. On 22 February, he ordered that all items that

⁶⁰ DND, DHH, 273/Poles/1, Polish Special Detachment, 3rd Can. Inf. Div., "Letter", 21 Feb. 46.

⁶¹ DND, DHH, 273/Poles/1, HQ 3 Can. Inf. Div. CAOF, "Alleged Ill treatment of Polish subjects", 25 March 46.

were going to be sold were to be removed from the barracks. Any notices advertising such items were also to be removed. Any items found were to be confiscated and distributed to the entire unit. On a more interesting note, any German civilians found in the barracks were to be removed, and the soldiers that had brought them there were to be punished. It appears that despite the overall antagonism between civilians and Polish DPs, just as with the former enemy, the Canadians, Germans were willing to fraternize with Poles as well.⁶²

There appears to have been another raid on a DP Camp on 19 February, but this seems to be at Sande, a different town from Westerstede. This raid was apparently made in response to an armed robbery allegedly committed by a Polish DP on three German civilians. 2/4 Provost Company detailed two officers and 100 soldiers to search the Sande camp at 08:15 on 19 February. A total of 48 soldiers—half Canadian, half Polish—mustered the Camp residents for an identification parade while the rest of the area was being searched. One Polish DP was detained after being identified conclusively by the German civilians. In addition, two German pistols and six alcohol stills were found hidden in the camp and confiscated by the authorities. According to the report by a Canadian Provost Lieutenant, “No cases of looting by the search party were reported.”

Despite the assessment of blame on DPs for most of the crime in Lower Saxony, Canadians were also criminals, including cattle rustlers. According to a provost report in February, members of the Canadian Scottish Regiment allegedly slaughtered 17 heads of cattle, and one pig. A farmer who saw two cows slaughtered on his farm did interfere

⁶² DHH, DND, 273/Poles/1, Polish Officer Military Centre 112, “Translation”, 18 Feb. 46.

because he did not want to get involved with the soldiers. The eventual complaint against the soldiers was made by some farm labourers and an identification parade was held. Only one witness identified three of the soldiers. The other so-called “star” witness “failed or refused to identify” any of the soldiers who had been involved in the crime, despite the fact that he worked as a groom for a Canadian Scots officer and had given a statement that he had assisted in the slaughter of the animals. The Deputy Provost Marshal (DPM) for CAOF HQ, Lieutenant-Colonel J.R. Stewart, noted sourly in his report that this was, “An obvious case of intimidation.” Stewart’s assumption appears to have been that since the “star” witness was employed by Canadians, they were able to lean on him to change his story. His employment was worth more to him than any number of cattle to a farmer. Despite the fact that the DPM ordered the investigation to be carried out while the matter was still “hot”, there was insufficient evidence to make a case. Stewart suggested that the longer it took for a case to be investigated, the more time there was for soldiers to pressure civilian witnesses. There appears to have been obstruction from the unit as well as individual soldiers. According to the DPM, the adjutant of the Canadian Scots told an investigating sergeant that one of the soldiers allegedly involved in the crime had been repatriated, when he had simply been transferred to another unit.⁶³

Medhurst recorded at 2nd/7th HQ on 5 February that while military security had been good in the previous period, an armed robbery was reported in Aurich. A German civilian was held up by a Canadian Lance Corporal at gunpoint. The soldier made off with

⁶³ DHH, 581.009(D66), 220/Discipline/P-1 (DPM), HQ 3 Cdn Inf Div CAOF, “Alleged Slaughtering of Cattle by Mil Pers” 1 Mar 46.

500 marks. The CAOF already had a suspect, though not named in the report, and he was searched. Unfortunately, the incident was not mentioned again in the reports.⁶⁴ The Army Charge Books record numerous robberies, burglaries and other crimes committed by Canadian soldiers in Holland and Germany after the war ended. No doubt such crimes occurred because of the boredom of duty after the liberation and a desire to improve one's position upon returning to Canada. There was also at least one other reason.

There are several accounts of soldiers roughing up civilians and searching homes, but as one officer noted, "Observations by (Intelligence personnel) have concluded that various incidents of misconduct as shown by Allied tps[troops] are in most incidences directly proportional to the amts of locally produced intoxicants consumed."⁶⁵ In one instance, where alcohol caused the death of one Canadian, Dr. A Pleiffer, a Norderney manufacturer of illegal schnapps, was imprisoned for two years by a Military Government Court. The author of the report apparently desired a much harsher penalty: "In Cda[Canada] murderers are executed." There are numerous warnings in Field Security and Provost reports that soldiers needed to be aware of how dangerous it was to drink illegal schnapps. The same report noted with the same simplicity: "All GERMAN males between the ages of 16 and 35 years will be sent as slave labour to FRANCE,

⁶⁴ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol 10976, HQ 2/7 Inf. Bde, CAOF, "Security Report", Feb. 1946.

⁶⁵ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, "Alcoholic Liquors—German", 10 Dec. 1945.

BELGIUM and HOLLAND.” Unfortunately, nothing more was said about this last comment, which probably was just a rumour.⁶⁶

One illustrative DP case encountered by Canadian forces concerned one fellow detained by the Canadian Provost Corps at Delmenhorst railway station after the two suitcases he carried were found to be filled with British Army property. Upon his arrest and interrogation, his overcoat was taken off and it was revealed that he was wearing a battle dress beneath his civilian clothing. “Under the battle dress he was wearing 10 army pullovers, and 10 pairs of army hy[sic] underwear pants”. A written comment on the side of the report asked simply “Cold Pole?”⁶⁷

It is obvious that errors were made on both sides, but both Polish DPs and the Canadians involved with the searches. While some MPs apparently stepped over the line in confiscating a few too many materials, the Poles were not entirely blameless when it came to engaging in Black Market activity. A greater amount of trust and cooperation would have gone a long way to ease tensions. Unfortunately, the use of local German police angered the Poles greatly, who viewed this as a severe humiliation after German atrocities in Poland. However, there would definitely have been less tension if the Polish officers had submitted to searches.

The problems with DPs lasted the entire time the Canadians were in Germany. The CAO, focused on only keeping the peace, did not question the policies they were carrying out. While it appears that the outright violence on the part of DPs towards

⁶⁶ LAC, RG 24, 260C7009, D15, Vol. 10976, HQ 3 Canadian Infantry Division, “CI SITREP Number 11”, 25 Feb. 46.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Germans diminished over time due to increased security restrictions and repatriations, antagonism between Canadians and DPs appears to have increased. Since the Canadians were unable to punish the DPs directly, there was increasing frustration at the inability to deal with the situation on the ground. The Allies tended to lump all the DPs together, failing to distinguish between Allies and enemies. By the end of 1945, the Canadians simply wanted all the DPs out of the area, regardless of whether they wished to be repatriated or not. The Polish and Russian DPs had legitimate concerns about returning home to Stalinist regimes, and if given the choice, or the opportunity, attempted to remain in the area. The Canadian Army only saw DPs as a problem to be removed rather than as something to be worked out between themselves and fellow Allies. The Canadian Army failed to see that the Displaced Persons were victims and put Germans solely in that role. A population that had been the "enemy" just a few months earlier was now a group that the soldiers defended willingly. This was a complete reversal of attitudes towards the German civilians. This helped relations with the local population, but created an environment of distrust between the Army and the DPs. The Canadians were there when there were no German authorities to deal with the problem and were forced to step in to make sure the occupation was not placed in jeopardy.

CONCLUSION:

Canadian soldiers were initially less likely to fraternize with German civilians than other Allied soldiers. Despite having a wild reputation of not having enough discipline, most Canadians thought that Germans needed to be punished for the war and tried to follow the fraternization ban. Whereas initially there were a few dissenters who did not agree with the ban, after the war ended, the justification for the ban did not make sense. Soldiers began to fraternize of their own accord, even when it was illegal. After the ban was lifted, Canadian soldiers began to dance with and date German women. With little to do, fraternization was a practice enjoyed by most soldiers. However, this also created a giant increase in the venereal disease rate. Displaced Persons were the biggest problem Canadians faced in Germany, but defending civilians against DP depredations actually helped to improve relations with the Germans. The Canadian government decided to send the Canadian Army Occupation Force home barely after it had arrived, limiting the scope and experience of the Army's immediate postwar activity in Germany.

In France and Belgium, Canadians were welcomed as liberators during the intense fighting for those two countries. Despite having strict regulations on how to interact with civilians, the Canadians ignored many of these as they received and bartered for food with the local population. Soldiers were shocked that not every civilian was happy to see them, as they found that some French women sniped at them from buildings and trees. In the fall, after the vicious Battle of the Scheldt, the

Canadians' eagerness for rest and relaxation in the city of Ghent led to some wild behaviour, but the Army—and the local civilians—did not worry about such activity.

The case of relations in the Netherlands shows that even the best relationships in historical memory can have downsides as well. After the joyous Liberation, the Canadian "occupation" of the Netherlands was beset by rumours and anger that told the Canadians they were no longer wanted. The rumours suggested that the Dutch were so fed up with the Canadians, even their *Queen* wanted them gone, despite there being no proof that this was true. The soldiers noted in their letters that the Dutch were upset that local women preferred the relatively rich and well-fed Canadians to the local men. Reports that women had their heads shaved for fraternizing with Canadian soldiers were believed by soldiers and civilians. The anger played itself out in the street fracas between Canadian soldiers and Dutch men, soldiers and civilians alike. Canadian soldiers, after the Liberation, had too much time and money, but nothing to do.

There were three clear periods of fraternization in Germany: before V-E Day (February 1945-early May 1945), after the end of the war to the end of the fraternization ban (late May 1945-mid July 1945) and, finally, from the end of July 1945 to April 1946. At the beginning, soldiers wanted to follow the ban. Censorship reports show that most Canadians viewed German civilians as an "enemy" who still needed to be defeated. The propaganda campaign had been successful in painting all Germans as Nazis. However, as the Canadians met more Germans, most were not the monsters they had heard about in the "Don't Fraternize" slogans. Some saw through the billboards and propaganda slogans and questioned the motives behind ban. Other soldiers were also

confused as to what fraternization actually meant, despite a concerted propaganda effort. After the war ended, and a seemingly long and boring occupation was ahead, the soldiers grew curious about the people they met. Allied leaders like Field Marshal Montgomery and Winston Churchill were unsure of the ban and pointed to rumours and other examples to suggest that the ban was not effective and possibly harmful to occupation policy. As soldiers began asserting their own opinions about fraternization in May and June 1945, the ban was relaxed partially and a month afterwards was removed almost completely. Fraternization rose significantly. While there were still a few determined Canadians who wanted nothing to do with Germans, they were now in the minority, albeit a vocal one.

Venereal disease and Displaced Persons were the biggest problems for Canadians after the end of the fraternization ban. The Army attempted to control VD by maintaining surveillance on prostitutes and soldiers' sexual habits, but at certain points the required preventative measures like condoms were unavailable, either because of prudish medical officers or simply due a lack of supply. Eventually, the situation was brought under control just as Canadians were leaving Germany at the end of their period of occupation. Just as the Army had problems with other diseases like malaria, the Army failed to adequately deal with venereal disease, and this represents a severe failure of command. Displaced Persons were a problem for Canadians because their future was uncertain. Since they feared Communist oppression back home, the DPs did not know whether they wanted to go home, but the Canadians, following their orders, simply sent the DPs home. Whereas some Poles were given a choice, DPs from areas

within the Soviet Union were not given a choice. Crime was the biggest problem faced by the Canadians when dealing with DPs and this led to some tension between the two groups. In addition, the problems with DPs also increased the bonds between the Canadians and the local German population. The Canadian soldiers had been taught to fear all Germans, but now they were actively protecting those same German civilians from the DPs. The reversal of roles only created stronger ties between the Canadians and their German hosts.

Between April and May 1945, this study has uncovered 52 rapes that were prosecuted by courts-martial. These rapes followed a pattern analyzed by other historians of sexual assault. The Canadians were acting out their victory in a form of sexual conquest to humiliate their German enemy. Many cases of rape could not be proved conclusively, but there was enough evidence to convict these same soldiers of fraternization. It is unknown how many cases went unreported, but the Canadian Army took the cases examined here seriously enough to order courts-martial for soldiers accused of rape. The only aspect of the Army prosecution of these rapes that seems curious is that long sentences were reduced to maximum of five years, since the standard penalty for rape was life in prison. However, since rapists in Canada were only given sentences of five to ten years, upon reflection this is not a large discrepancy.

The fraternization ban debacle was another failure of command for the Canadian Army in the Second World War. The Army was fortunate because most soldiers appeared to want the non-fraternization policy since they viewed Germans as beneath contempt and unworthy of civilized relations. However, the Army still failed to make use

of this support for the policy. It did not make examples of soldiers who flaunted the ban. This leads this historian to suspect that the Canadian Army leadership did not believe in the policy much like their comrades in the British and American Armies. It was left to non-authority figures like J.D. Macfarlane and the *Maple Leaf* to excoriate soldiers for daring to suggest that not all Germans were evil. Even a committed non-fraternization supporter like Macfarlane allowed dissenting viewpoints to be published from ordinary soldiers.

Another aspect of this study that is unique for a military history is that there is very little material involving "combat". Most soldier-civilian interactions occurred after fighting had taken place. Combat affected how soldiers would treat civilians, as is evidenced by the willingness of many Canadians to follow the fraternization ban, but relations rarely took place during combat itself. Relations also changed once combat had stopped. Enemies became friends, and friends almost became enemies. In Germany, the lack of combat bound soldiers to civilians when they were forced to fight crime committed by DPs. If the Germans had continued fighting the Canadians, the results would have been much different. Canadians would not have lost their fear and anger towards the Germans if their lives continued to be threatened. In the Netherlands, the lack of combat fractured the common cause that Canadians and the Dutch had been fighting for. The liberation became an occupation. Both groups wanted the Canadians to leave as soon as possible and vented their frustrations upon one another.

The Canadian experience in Germany helps us to understand the actions of human beings in wartime. If two groups of people are placed together long enough, if there is no physical or other barrier between them, the two peoples can become friends. This is despite attempts to keep these groups apart. However, conversely, the experience in the Netherlands shows that two groups that may have been friends can also be torn apart through ignorance, misinformation, and mistrust. What happened in the Netherlands can be compared with the experience in Korea. Canadians went back to Germany as allies, but after four years, there is little connection between the CAOF and the NATO force that replaced it. If one wishes to see parallels and contrasts, one needs to look further at Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan and peacekeeping. If a population appreciates having a foreign army in its midst, there is a greater chance for harmonious relations. If a foreign army is viewed as an interloper and there is a segment of the population that is fighting a “liberator”, relations will not go as smoothly. Armies also need copious amounts of rest and relaxation to maintain discipline. Fortunately, the 21st century allows for constant rotation of troops in and out of combat areas.

Canadian soldiers fraternized with Germans even when it could have cost them money or their liberty. Despite a multimedia propaganda campaign, some Canadian soldiers were not able to take messages of hate at face value. Many Canadians who had fought the war were furious at the idea that any soldier would fraternize with an enemy, but the closer the Canadians got to the Germans, the more similarities they saw. Canadians were far from home, with few distractions as they saw a people who were tired of six years of war and were trying to put a gruesome past behind them. Not every

German was a Nazi and not every Canadian was a fraternizer, but enough ordinary soldiers came to the realization that peaceful fraternization was worth the penalty because, in truth, there was no harm in it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Archival Sources:

Canada. Canada War Museum. (CWM).

Canada. Department of National Defence. Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH).

Canada. Library and Archives Canada. (LAC).
 RG 24. Department of National Defence.
 RG 2. Privy Council Office.

United Kingdom. The National Archives-United Kingdom (NA UK).
 Dominion Office Files. (DO).
 Prime Minister's Office. (PREM).
 War Office Files. (WO).

University of Victoria. Special Collections.
 Canadian Scottish Regiment Files.
 Reginald H. Roy Military Oral History Project. Interviews.

Periodicals:

Globe and Mail. June 1945-February 1946, 2005.

Maple Leaf. June 1944-April 1946.

Toronto Star. June 1945-July 1945.

Washington Post. 17 September 2006.

Books, Journal Articles and Websites:

The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's), 1928-1953.
 [Hamilton? Ont: The Regiment], 1953.

Armstrong-Reid, Susan. *Armies of Peace : Canada and the UNRRA Years*. Toronto:
 University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Backhouse, Constance, and Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History. *Carnal Crimes :
 Sexual Assault Law in Canada, 1900-1975*. Toronto: Published for the Osgoode
 Society for Canadian Legal History by Irwin Law, 2008.

Beevor, Antony. *D-Day : The Battle for Normandy*. New York :: Viking, 2009.

Beevor, Antony. *The Fall of Berlin, 1945*. New York: Viking, 2002.

Biddiscombe, Alexander Perry. *Werwolf! : The History of the National Socialist Guerrilla
 Movement, 1944-1946*. Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

- Biddiscombe, Alexander Perry, and University of New Brunswick. Dept. of History. *U. S. Planning for the Future of Germany, 1942-1944 : A Study of the Ideological Background to the American Debate on Germany* 1983.
- Biddiscombe, Perry. "Dangerous Liaisons: The Anti-Fraternization Movement in the U.S. Occupation Zones of Germany and Austria, 1945-1948." *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 3 (2001): 611.
- Boss, William. *The Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, 1783-1951*. Ottawa: Runge Press, 1952.
- Boss, William. "Vokes' Warning Ends Occupation Sitdown." *Globe and Mail*, 14 February 1946, 1.
- Brownmiller, Susan. *Against Our Will : Men, Women, and Rape*. New York: Bantam Books, 1975.
- Buerk, Don. "The 'British Zone Review' and the Occupation of Germany, 1945-1951." U. of Toledo, 2005.
- Card, Claudia. "Rape as a Weapon of War." *Hypatia* 11, no. 4 (1996): 5-18.
- Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. "Ties to GOP Trumped Know-How among Staff Sent to Rebuild Iraq: Early U.S. Missteps in the Green Zone." *Washington Post*, 17 Sept. 2006.
- Conrod, W. Hugh. *Athene Goddess of War : The Canadian Women's Army Corps, Their Story*. Dartmouth, N.S.: Writing & Editorial Services, 1983.
- Coughlin, William Garnet. *Herbie*. [Toronto]: Nelson, 1946.
- Davis, Franklin M. *Come as a Conqueror; the United States Army's Occupation of Germany, 1945-1949*. New York,: Macmillan, 1967.
- de Luce, Henry. "Troops in Germany Defy Rule on Fraternization." *Globe and Mail*, 12 June 1945.
- Desjardins, M. "Butter Thick for French People but Bread Still Slices Thin." *Maple Leaf*, July 27 1944, 1.
- Donaghy, Greg, Hector Mackenzie, and Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War. *Uncertain Horizons : Canadians and Their World in 1945*. Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1997.
- Donnison, F. S. V. *Civil Affairs and Military Government*. London,: H. M. S. O., 1966.
- Donnison, F. S. V. *Civil Affairs and Military Government, North-West Europe, 1944-1946*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961.
- Dubord, Denis Gerard. "Unseen Enemies: An Examination of Infectious Diseases and Their Influence Upon the Canadian Army in Two Major Campaigns During the First and Second World Wars." Dissertation, University of Victoria, 2009.
- Edmonds, J. E., and Imperial War Museum (Great Britain). *The Occupation of the Rhineland : 1918-1929*, History of the Great War Based on Official Documents. London: H.M.S.O., 1987.
- "Focus on Liberation." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/focus/liberation/signal-corps/?content=1>, Date Accessed 16 October 2010.
- Fritz, Stephen G. *Endkampf : Soldiers, Civilians, and the Death of the Third Reich*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004.
- Geisel, Theodor S. *Your Job in Germany*, 1945.

- Gellately, Robert. *The Gestapo and German Society : Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Gimbel, John. *A German Community under American Occupation : Marburg, 1945-52*, Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961.
- Goedde, Petra. *Gis and Germans : Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*. New Haven Conn. London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Granatstein, J. L. *Canada's Army : Waging War and Keeping the Peace*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Granatstein, J. L. *The Ottawa Men : The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957*. Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1982.
- Granatstein, J. L., and Norman Hillmer. *Battle Lines : Eyewitness Accounts from Canada's Military History*. Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2004.
- Halladay, Laurel. *Ladies and Gentlemen, Soldiers and Artists: Canadian Military Entertainers, 1939-1946*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 2001. microform.
- History of the 6th Field Company Royal Canadian Engineers, 1939-1945*. [New Westminster, B.C.]: s.n., 1955.
- Horn, Bernd, and Michel Wyczynski. *Paras Versus the Reich : Canada's Paratroopers at War, 1942-45*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003.
- Horn, Michiel. "More Than Cigarettes, Sex, and Chocolate: The Canadian Army in the Netherlands, 1944-1945." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16, no. 3-4 (1981): 156-73.
- Instructions for British Servicemen in France 1944*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2005.
- Instructions for British Servicemen in Germany 1944*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007.
- James, Edwin L. "Bar Soldiers' Talk with German Girls: "Fraternization Rule" as Construed in Our Occupation Area, Raises a Problem." *New York Times*, 14 Feb 1919.
- Jeffery, Keith. "'Hut Ab," "Promenade with Kamerade for Schokolade," and the Flying Dutchman : British Soldiers in the Rhineland, 1918-1929." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 16, no. 3 (2005): 455-73.
- Keshen, Jeff. *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers : Canada's Second World War*, Studies in Canadian Military History ; 5. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- Lilly, J. Robert. *Taken by Force : Rape and American GIs in Europe During World War II*. English ed. Basingstoke, Hants, England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Longden, Sean. *To the Victor the Spoils : Soldiers' Lives from D-Day to Ve-Day*. London: Robinson, 2007.
- Madsen, Chris. *Another Kind of Justice : Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.
- McAivty, J. M. *Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians) : A Record of Achievement*. Toronto: Bridgens Ltd., 1947.
- McDonald, R. Arthur, and Canada. Office of the Judge Advocate General. *Canada's Military Lawyers*. Ottawa: Office of the Judge Advocate General, 2002.
- Merridale, Catherine. *Ivan's War : Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945*. 1st ed. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006.

- Moeller, Robert G. *West Germany under Construction : Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.
- Morris, Madeline. "By Force of Arms: Rape, War, and Military Culture." *Duke Law Journal* 45, no. 4 (1996): 651-781.
- Naimark, Norman M. *The Russians in Germany : A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Neiberg, Michael S. "Remaking the Conquering Heroes (Book)." *American Studies International* 40, no. 3 (2002): 100.
- Peterson, Edward N. *The Many Faces of Defeat : The German People's Experience in 1945*, American University Studies. Series IX, History, Vol. 88. New York: P. Lang, 1990.
- Queen-Hughes, Richard Wilfred. *Whatever Men Dare : A History of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada, 1935-1960*. [Winnipeg: Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada], 1960.
- Raycroft, John. *A Signal War : A Canadian Soldier's Memoir of the Liberation of the Netherlands*. Prescott, Ont.: Babblefish Press, 2002.
- Reynolds, David. *Rich Relations : The American Occupation of Britain, 1942-1945*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 1995.
- Rose, Sonya O. "The 'Sex Question' in Anglo-American Relations in the Second World War." *The International History Review* 20, no. 4 (1998): 884-903.
- Rowland, Barry D., and J. D. Macfarlane. *The Maple Leaf Forever : The Story of Canada's Foremost Armed Forces Newspaper*. Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1987.
- Roy, Reginald H. *The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada, 1919-1965*. [Vancouver: Printed by Evergreen Press, 1969.
- Sauer, Angelika Elisabeth. "The Respectable Course: Canada's Department of External Affairs, the Great Powers, and the German Problem, 1943-1947." microform, National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1994.
- Schiessl, Christoph. "An Element of Genocide: Rape, Total War, and International Law in the Twentieth Century." *Journal of Genocide Research* 4, no. 2 (2002): 197 - 210.
- Stacey, C. P., and Canada. Dept. of National Defence. *The Victory Campaign : The Operations in Northwest Europe, 1944-45*, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War ; 3. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960.
- Stacey, C. P., and Barbara M. Wilson. *The Half-Million : The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Tolstoy, Nikolai. *Victims of Yalta*. London: Corgi Books, 1979.
- Watson, Brent Byron. *Far Eastern Tour : The Canadian Infantry in Korea, 1950-1953*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.
- Watson, Brent Byron, University of Victoria (B.C.). Dept. of History., and University of Victoria (B.C.). "Far Eastern Tour : The Experiences of the Canadian Infantry in Korea." Thesis (Ph D), University of Victoria, 1999.

- Williamson, D. G. *The British in Germany, 1918-1930 : The Reluctant Occupiers*. New York: Berg : Distributed exclusively in the US and Canada by St Martin's Press, 1991.
- Willoughby, John. *Remaking the Conquering Heroes : The Social and Geopolitical Impact of the Post-War American Occupation of Germany*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Willoughby, John. "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany." *The Journal of Military History* 62, no. 1 (1998): 155-74.
- Ziemke, Earl Frederick. *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944-1946*, Army Historical Series. Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army : for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1975.